A Case Study of GADRA's Community-Engaged Praxis for Educational Transformation

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is as a result of my own work, except where otherwise stated. I have given the full acknowledgement of the sources referred to in the text. This study has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

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Nqobile Nomonde Msomi

February 2024

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to *abantu baseRhini - mabaphile*.

Umhlaba ungaka ngabe umona kwakuyini…

Bathi basiwelisa ulwandle sabuya.

Bathi babulala umzimba nengqondo kwaphola.

Bathi babulala umlando sakhumbula.

Bathi bayasibulala sanda.

Bathi bayasihlukanisa sabambana.

Bathi batshontsha ubukhosi kanti amabutho ayababona.

Bathi bantshontsha umhlaba kanti imvelo iyababona.

Lyrics from *Elihle* by Sibusile Xaba

Abstract

Although South Africa has achieved considerable steps in development over the last thirty years, post-apartheid South Africa is characterised by widespread poverty, high unemployment and systemic inequality. According to the country's National Planning Commission, education is central to achieving the overarching democratic goals of eliminating poverty and reducing inequality. This positions education as an important site for the liberation and well-being of our country's majority. This case study takes a community psychology perspective on education; more specifically the education-development nexus wherein Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are centrally positioned.

NGOs are contentiously positioned in the development discourse. Nonetheless, they have played a key role with regards to siding with the poor, the excluded, persistently marginalised and oppressed majority and to bringing about social justice, following South Africa's colonial and apartheid histories, as well as in the current democratic dispensation. This study situates a local NGO, GADRA Education, within the country's socio-political and educational landscape. Founded in the 1950s and located in Makhanda, it has been operating in the rural Eastern Cape province for more than sixty years. In the present-day, GADRA Education positions itself at the centre of a dense network of education institutions in Makhanda, including Rhodes University, and collaborates with a number of education stakeholders in the small city.

The case study consisted of two consecutive phases: a Foucauldian discourse analysis of GADRA's annual reports between 2012 and 2021, followed by individual narrative interviews with 13 organisational members. An Africa(n)-centred community psychology orientation, revealed counter-discourse to the national "crisis in education" discourse surrounding the NGO. The discourse of crisis produced the legitimation for GADRA Education's continued existence, action and embeddedness in Makhanda. The discourse of transformation informed their modes of support across primary, secondary and higher education. The discourse of access and participation constructed the NGO as a bridge and link between phases of education. The discourse of collaborative partnerships enabled solidarity between state and non-state actors towards educational change. Finally, the discourse of development positioned development at a grassroots level. These constellations formed GADRA Education's counter-discourse, which produced the Organisation's apparatus of resistance, formulated as situated praxis. The

organisational members' narratives revealed the apparatus's impacts on the subjectivities of youth in Makhanda in engendering hope and driving educational change in the city.

In contrast to conceptions of education NGOs who work in the public schooling sector making little progress in dismantling educational inequity, this study illustrates the techniques of resistance leveraged, in the context of collaborative partnerships, by the local NGO. These techniques have wider applicability for education-development practitioners concerned with transformative change in their educational locales. It illustrates the principles and modes by which NGOs can operate in solidarity with the persistently marginalised majority, and thus contribute to shaping our imagined educational futures.

I argue that psychology is a useful site to think about justice. Critical psychological theory can enable a deeper understanding of practice that contributes to impactful community organisation, intervention and resistance in the country's education sector. The operationalisation of the values and principles of community psychology can make important contributions at the nexus of theory and practice in working towards educational, and ultimately social, change.

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Acronyms

ABET   Adult Basic Training

ADC   Assumption Development Centre

ANC   African National Congress

AR   Action Research

BNIM   Biographic Narrative Interview Method

CBO   Community-Based Organisations

CBPR   Community-Based Participatory Research

CSO   Civil Society Organisation

DBE   Department of Basic Education

DHET   Department of Higher Education and Training

DoE   Department of Education

DSD   Department of Social Development

ECD   Early Childhood Development

FET   Further Education and Training

FETP   Further Education and Training Phase

FOGADD   Friends of Grahamstown and District Development

FP   Foundation Phase

GADRA   Grahamstown Area Distress Relief Association / GADRA Education

GET   General Education Training

GMS   GADRA Matric School

HEIs   Higher Education Institutions

HET   Higher Education and Training

INGO   International Non-Governmental Organisation

IP   Intermediate Phase

LCE	Learner-Centred Education
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NDE	National Department of Education
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NPC	National Planning Commission
NPO	Non-Profit Organisations
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
NSC	National Senior Certificate
PAG	Psychology and Africa Group
PAR	Participatory Action Research
PEDs	Provincial Education Departments
PEP	Primary Education Programme
PIRLS	Progress in International Reading Literacy Study
PsySSA	Psychological Society of South Africa
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RPERC	Research Proposal and Ethics Review Committee
RSA	Republic of South Africa
RU	Rhodes University
RUCE	Rhodes University Community Engagement
RU-HEC	Rhodes University's Human Ethics Committee
SACMEQ	Southern African Consortium for Monitoring and Educational Quality
SAHO	South African History Online
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SP	Senior Phase
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa

SQUIN	Single Question Inducing Narrative
TIMMS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TPD	Teacher Professional Development
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
UN	United Nations
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OSSSA	Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa
VC	Vice Chancellor
VCI	Vice Chancellor's Initiative

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CHAPTER 1: SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

1.1. Rationale: why education, why GADRA, and why psychology

South Africa has achieved considerable steps in development over the last thirty years. However, post-apartheid South Africa is characterised by widespread poverty, high unemployment and systemic inequality. The country's National Planning Commission ([NPC], 2011) identified unemployment and the poor quality of education for Black people as the top two key challenges in democratic South Africa. Thus, education is central to achieving the overarching democratic goals of eliminating poverty and reducing inequality (NPC, 2011). This, therefore, positions education as an important site for the liberation and well-being (Riemer et al., 2020) of our country's majority, and positions my interests at the centre of the education-development nexus.

I take a community psychology perspective in my approach to education. Community psychology can be understood as a worldview and approach to action and research (Riemer et al., 2020). Kagan et al. (2020) describe it as focused on principled social change that addresses the most pressing issues of our time. I operationalise the principles of community psychology to explore the contributions that can be made at the nexus of theory and practice in working towards social change (Evans et al., 2017). Specifically, I consider the place of a local education-focussed Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) in Makhanda, South Africa. Although NGOs occupy contentious positions, they hold influential roles on the continent as well as internationally as advocates of development, economic growth, human rights and other such emancipation and justice related functions (Matthews & Nqaba, 2017). In South Africa, NGOs have played a key role with regards to siding with the poor, the excluded, persistently marginalised and oppressed majority (Burton & Kagan, 2005), as well as bringing about social justice following the colonial and apartheid histories, and in the current democratic dispensation.

GADRA Education, the NGO under study, was founded in the 1950s and located in Makhanda (at that time the city was known as Grahamstown). It has been operating in the rural Eastern Cape province for more than sixty years. Formerly known as Grahamstown Area Distress Relief Association (GADRA), and presently known as GADRA Education, it was initially established

in response to South Africa's oppressive apartheid regime. It formed to fill gaps in education service delivery, resist the racially segregated education systems and advocate for education under one ministry for all South Africans (Westaway, 2017). In the present-day, GADRA Education positions itself at the centre of a dense network of education institutions in Makhanda, including Rhodes University (RU). This study seeks to explore and articulate the ways in which GADRA Education deploys community-engaged praxis in contributing to educational and social change in Makhanda. Through this, I aim to explore and illustrate the ways in which critical psychological theory can enable a deeper understanding of prominent factors contributing to impactful community organisation and intervention in the country's education sector.

More broadly, I propose that psychology is a useful site from which to think about transformational educational change in South African school education. At the interface of the country's socio-political histories and the contentious histories of the discipline of psychology in South Africa (Laher & Cockcroft, 2014), I place psychological concepts within a political register, showing how socio-political and historical factors shape human psychology. I locate a psychological understanding of persons, and the dynamics of power which surround them, within their specific social, historical, political and economic contexts (Hook, 2004). Specifically, I deploy an African-centred community psychology perspective, which takes an explicitly political stance by identifying where power lies and how it is used to maintain privilege and discrimination against certain groups (Evans et al., 2017; Ratele et al., 2022). Insights from developmental psychology show that the years of basic education constitute formative stages in the lifespan of people (Nsamenang, 2006). From an African-centred community psychological perspective, I seek to move beyond ameliorating challenges during these stages towards embracing the values of education for emancipatory purposes.

Using a social constructionist paradigm and qualitative case study approach (Rowley, 2002), the study seeks to develop both practical and emancipatory knowledges (Riemer et al., 2020) of GADRA Education. That is, I seek to understand and capture the place of the Organisation and its members in their particular cultural-historic and socio-political context; as well as to understand the institutional and environmental forces that increase or constrain agency for its members and the potential for social change. This systemic understanding of the position of GADRA, at the interface of the intersections between the so-called education crisis, Makhanda

landscape and the country's broader socio-political context, hopes to reveal insights that are valuable in contributing to dialogues about transformative change in public schooling.

1.2. Outline of chapters

In this first chapter I present a techno-political overview of the structure of education in South Africa. I describe the features of formalised schooling in the pre-colonial, colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid eras. The structure is closely linked to the country's socio-political dynamics, a socially engineered differentiation. The evolutions in its structure indicate that schooling functioned, and perhaps continues to function, as a disciplinary technology for the country's majority.

In the second chapter, I consider the education-development context in which GADRA Education exists. I describe the cultural-historic features of the Eastern Cape, and then consider the roles of NGOs both in Makhanda, and in Africa more broadly. Makhanda has been dubbed "the cradle of education in South Africa" (Westaway, 2012, p. 1) and the "education hub of the Eastern Cape" (Nomsenge, 2018, p. 4). I consider these characterisations in light of features of the landscape, the city's exit-level educational outcomes in the past decade, and the activities of NGOs. I conclude this introductory section of the context of the study by clarifying key terms.

Foucault's (1972) concepts are useful in thinking about the de-centralised, ubiquitous forms of power we see in the current times. I identify and discuss the power-knowledge nexus, discourse, technologies of self and resistance, as well as disciplinary techniques in the third chapter. I couple this with a community psychology orientation which has a focus on power and how it is exercised in ways that maintain privilege and discrimination against particular groups. Via an African-centred orientation to community psychology, I consider what research and action from "here" (Ratele, 2019) might be.

In the fourth chapter, I focus on discourse and its productions on education in democratic South Africa. With a focus on power-knowledge relations, I identify and review the prominent discourses circulating in the country's education sector post-apartheid. A commitment to side with the persistently marginalised majority propels me to consider what an emancipatory

perspective in education might be, and the implications of this for the subjectivities of South African youth.

I then pivot my attention to the methodology of the study. In the fifth chapter, I describe the ethical considerations as well as the research strategy. This case study comprises two units of analysis, viz., GADRA's annual reports and organisational members' narratives. I describe the research techniques of data gathering and analysis in the sixth chapter. I close the methodological section of the thesis by offering my reflections on the deliberative moments in the research process.

An in-depth description of GADRA Education is presented in the seventh chapter. I describe its position in Makhanda and its modes of intervention across the study period (2012 - 2021). GADRA has over 60 years of experience in Makhanda's educational landscape. It deploys three distinct modes of intervention across various phases in the education system. I describe these modes and their various activities in the educational landscape in this chapter.

The eighth chapter presents the findings of Phase One of the study. The discourses of crisis, transformation, access and participation, community development as well as collaborative partnerships are evidenced as circulating prominently within the Organisation's annual reports. The identification of the discursive constructions produced by these discourses enables the formulation of GADRA's apparatus of resistance (Tamboukou, 1999). In this first phase, the macro-interactional aspects of GADRA's apparatus are identified. Phase Two draws our attention to the dynamics between practice and subjectivities, and reveals the micro-interactional aspects of the apparatus, discussed in the ninth chapter. In the tenth chapter, I surmise the features of GADRA's counter-discourse in Makhanda's educational landscape, and discuss GADRA's apparatus of resistance, *situated praxis*. I draw on the fields of community-based development, community-based participatory research, and community psychology to identify its constituent features.

Finally, the eleventh chapter presents an overview and summary of the research. I discuss the micro- and macro-interactional features of *situated praxis* for NGO practitioners in education. I identify the limitations of the study and point to recommendations for future research.

Importantly, I signal to what was initially proposed as Phase 3 of the study, with plans now for a post-doctoral project.

In this next section, I contextualise GADRA Education's practice by tracing the history of South African education through pre-colonial, colonial, apartheid and democratic socio-political periods. The techno-political description of the structure of the South African education system, focuses particularly on the current situation. The overview of education indicates the function of education as a disciplinary technology that continues to produce a differentiated system, even in the present day.

1.3. An overview of history of education in South Africa

> We have to know the historical conditions which motivate our conceptualisation. We need a historical awareness of our present circumstance (Foucault, 1982, p. 778).

In this chapter, I describe aspects of the present circumstances in South African education. In order to do so, I attempt to outline the historical conditions that have produced the structure of education during our time. A review of the history of schooling in Southern Africa suggests that the formalisation of education practices have functioned as a technology of power (Foucault, 1978) to classify, control and discipline majority indigenous peoples (see Chapter Three for the discussion of education as a technology of power). Whilst some education scholars offer liberal accounts of the rise of schooling as an ideological manoeuvre, others offer Marxist accounts, which hinge this rise on capitalist interests and the needs of the nationalist state (e.g. Christie & Collins, 1982). From a Foucauldian (1982) perspective, I offer a technico-political summary account of schooling in South Africa as a discontinuous disciplinary technology for managing people (Deacon, 2006), across the pre-colonial, colonial, apartheid and democratic eras.

1.3.1. The pre-colonial and colonial eras

African-centred scholars describe educational practices in Southern Africa before the disruptive arrival of the Europeans in the Cape Colony in 1652. They describe so-called informal and formal educational practices, steeped in community life, to prepare youths for their social roles (Seroto, 2011). Some of these systematic processes of socialisation and learning persist in the

present era, as children participate in the cultural and economic life of the family and society (Masuku, 2018; Nsameng, 2006).

In the pre-colonial era in Southern Africa, education practices centred around family and community life. The San/Tsam//Xam peoples taught their children how to hunt and gather food; how to skin animals, prepare and cook food, as well as ways to make and use stone tools. The Khoi peoples taught their children similar skills, but also how to tend to animals and gather seafood from the ocean (South African History Online [SAHO], 2011). During these times, community life and learning consisted of traditions, legends and tales, as well as the procedures and knowledge associated with rituals. Rituals were transmitted orally from generation to generation within each tribe. These processes of teaching and learning were steeped within the social, cultural, artistic, religious and recreational life of the indigenous peoples. Jansen (1990) labels this the "traditional African education" (p. 195) period, during which education was led by elders and inextricably linked with cultural life. The indigenous peoples (the Khoi, the San and the Bantu-speaking peoples) were constituted by several Black[1] communities, which today form part of groups that make up the diverse population of what has now come to be known as the Republic of South Africa (Seroto, 2011).

Progressively with time in the seventeenth century, colonial rule marked a new epoch in Southern African history. The colonial encounter, systematically over time, disrupted all forms of life in Africa. This is documented to have begun in 1652 with the arrival of white settlers in the Cape. The first formal school is reported to have been established by the Dutch East India Company. This school was established for the schooling of the slaves that arrived at the Cape in the Dutch ship *The Amersfoort* (SAHO, 2011). Jansen (1990) labels this the "slave education" (p. 195) period that was based on simple Christian religious instruction. In the 1800s, missionaries opened schools, transporting European forms of education to Africa. This is considered the "mission education" period in Africa (Jansen, 1990, p. 195). During this period, the administration of public education was transferred from the Church to the state. A progressive number of schools and higher education institutions opened in various locales, and governance structures emerged because of this.

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[1] See Chapter Two's Key terms section, which describes the way in which I deploy this racialised term.

It is also during this period that the Union of South Africa was formed on 31 May 1910. It was formed through the amalgamation of the Cape, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange River colonies to produce the provinces of the Union as depicted in Figure 1 below.
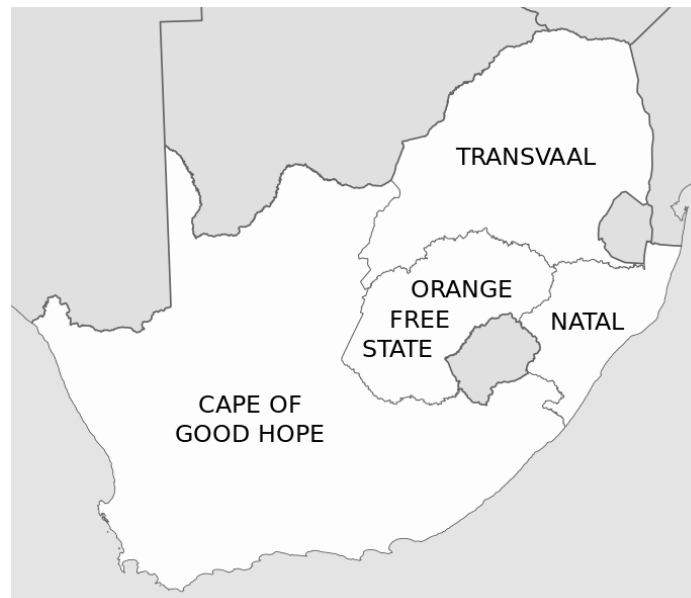
Figure 1: Map of South Africa with provincial borders 1910 - 1976

Source: Htonl, 2023

The 1920s are described as the "Native education" period in the history of South African education (Jansen, 1990, p. 196). During this period, the demand for mass education was noted and questions about access to schooling and the nature of the curriculum became highly contested and political (Kallaway, 2005).

1.3.2. The apartheid era

A key feature of South African history was the installation of apartheid (1948 - 1994), a keystone political policy of the Nationalist Government. Apartheid, a technology of colonial power, concretised segregationist ideologies, practices and policies and resulted in heightened discipline, regulation and surveillance of indigenous peoples. As it relates to education, the Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953 was the key apparatus by which differentiation was achieved in the schooling system. The relatively young(er) post-apartheid education system in South Africa can thus only

be understood with reference to the pervasive impact of *Bantu*[2] education on the majority peoples for a period of almost 60 years (Thobejane, 2013). Jansen (1990) labels this the "Bantu education" (p. 196) period, and argues that the productions from the previous era persist in the present democratic era, albeit under different labels.

The discourse of race circulated powerfully during this period. At the time of the installation of the new ruling party, it provided the foundation for and legitimation of apartheid. The discourse produced hierarchised subject positions based on global ancestry. European people, or those categorised as "white"[3], were positioned as superior, whilst African people were categorised as "black"[4] and assigned inferior positions - economically, politically and socially. The productions of the discourse of race were used to engineer society, including the education system.

Similar to the ways in which the NPC (2011) of the democratic era considers education central to achieving the country's democratic goals, so too the Commission on Native Education considered differentiated black and white education as integral to segregated development. The Eiselen Report of 1951 (cited in Christie & Collins, 1982) provided the foundations for the rationalisation of Bantu education. It provided the

> formulation of the principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitudes, and their needs under ever changing social conditions are taken into consideration. (p. 59)

And so, the idea of a separate education for black peoples was legitimised, and produced the discourse of *Bantu* education. Morrow (1990) provides the historical context for the production of Bantu education. They argue that "historically the ground had been well-prepared for Apartheid", and subsequently Bantu education (Morrow, 1990, p.173). They assert that the foundations for the segregationist and unequal educational practices in the country pre-dated the installation of apartheid under the National Party in 1948. The social engineering practices and legislated racial dominance were already embedded in the 1930s and 1940s; these can be genealogically traced to The Welsh Report of 1936 (cited in Morrow, 1990). The Welsh Report

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[2] *Bantu* means "people" in a number of central and southern African languages, including in IsiZulu. IsiZulu is widely spoken in the country and is one of the 11 official languages in the present day.
[3] A race classification used under apartheid, referring to people of European ancestry.
[4] A race classification used under apartheid, referring to people of African ancestry.

resolved that education was an important disciplinary technology for the regulation and surveillance of black people, and that so-called "Native education" was essential to establishing two separate social orders and thus advancing the socio-economic development of South Africa (Christie & Collins, 1982; Morrow, 1990).

The Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950 attempted to categorise all of South African society into four distinct "races". The Act ascribed persons a racial category based on arbitrary sociocultural and biological signifiers (Posel, 2001). People were categorised as "black", "Indian"[5], "Coloured"[6] or "white" based on arbitrary factors such as hair, pigmentation, facial features, home language, area of residence, eating and drinking habits, for example. This powerful construct of race was the primary mode of governance. It was

> the fundamental organising principle for the allocation of all resources and opportunities, the basis of all spatial demarcation, planning and development, the boundary for all social interaction, as well as the primary category in terms of which this social and moral order was described and defended during the apartheid era (Posel, 2001, p. 58).

Race shaped all areas of sociocultural life and experiences, where one could reside, which beaches one could frequent, which shops one could visit, which public benches one could sit on and which buses one could use, who one could marry, including where one could access education. Through this, all aspects of everyday life were racially bounded and regulated (Posel, 2001).

Thus, ideological productions of the discourse of race were included in both The Welsh Report and The Eiselen Report, which birthed Bantu education, and enabled legislated segregation and separate schooling systems: firstly via the Population Registration Act in 1950 at a societal level; and then within education specifically, the Bantu Education Act in 1953, the Coloured Persons Education Act in 1963, and the Indian Education Act in 1964. These policies, which functioned as modes of dominance, shaped the structure of society, including the apartheid education system. Homelands, also known as "Bantustans"[7], were created by the National Party in order to establish separated spaces for black and white South Africans. In total, ten homelands were

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[5] A race classification used under apartheid, referring to people of Asian ancestry.
[6] A race classification used under apartheid, referring to people of mixed ancestry.
[7] A partially self-governing geographical area set aside by the apartheid government for people of African ancestry. It is also known as a homeland.

created in South Africa during the 1960s and 1970s: the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Venda, Gazankulu, KaNgwane, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu, Lebowa, and QwaQwa (Evans, 2012). The apartheid education system comprised 10 Bantu education departments for administration in each of the homelands, one education department for black people in the non-homelands, an Indian education department, a Coloured education department and a white education department.

By the beginning of the 1980s, four of the above homelands had been declared independent (see Table 1 below). The four that became independent became known as the "TBVC states". The fifth independent state in South Africa became known as the Republic of South Africa (RSA) (Bunting, 2006, p. 35). This consolidated segregationist practices, including geospatial differentiation and unequal distribution of resources, in those Bantustans.

Table 1: Apartheid South Africa's five independent states

Name of State	Former Union of South Africa province	Acronym
The Republic of the Transkei	Cape province	TBVC states
The Republic of Bophuthatswana	Transvaal province	
The Republic of Venda	Transvaal province	
The Republic of Ciskei	Cape province	
The Republic of South Africa	Land holdings of old South Africa	RSA

Although the National Party considered these states independent and self-governing, they failed to garner legitimacy and received no international recognition of their "statehood" (Bunting, 2006).

Bunting (2006) shows how citizenship was closely linked to geospatial residence. This had significant implications for access to education for the majority of people. The National Party, for instance, introduced a new constitution for the RSA, the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act No. 110 of 1983. As a result of this, the national parliament was divided into

three chambers: the House of Assembly, the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates for white, coloured and Indian voters respectively. No provision was made for black people, who constituted more than 75% of the population because the homeland governments were seen as taking responsibility for them. Via the new constitutional governance, matters were distinguished between "own affairs" and "general affairs". This had substantial implications for education. The Assembly, Representatives and Delegates administered primary, secondary and higher education for white, coloured and Indian people respectively as a matter of the parliament's "own affairs". Administration of black people's education was relegated to "general affairs", and vested with the Department of Education and Training (DET) or homeland government (Bunting, 2006).

With specific reference to higher education (HE), the Extension of University Education Act No. 5 of 1959 further entrenched apartheid divisions. The Act designated Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) for the exclusive use of either white, coloured, Indian or black students. This meant that so-called "non-white" students were barred from accessing 19 HEIs reserved for white students. A further two were reserved for coloured students, another two for Indian students, and six for black students. An additional seven institutions, located in the so-called independent TBVC states, were designated for black students. This meant that there were a total of 36 institutions of higher education, but these were administered by eight variably resourced government departments (Bunting, 2006).

A second manoeuvre in relation to HEIs was the distinction between Universities and Technikons. The purpose of the former type of institution was prescribed for the study and production of knowledge - what was termed "science". The latter was prescribed for the application of knowledge - what was termed "technology", which occupied a more inferior status to universities. The geospatial demarcations and designations of education institutions entrenched the power and privilege of the ruling white minority. Bunting (2006, p. 52) provides a useful description of these tensions, and summarises the historical context as follows:

> By 1994, the landscape of 36 higher education institutions included ten historically disadvantaged universities and seven historically disadvantaged technikons designated for the use of black (African, coloured and Indian) South Africans, while ten historically advantaged universities and seven historically advantaged technikons were designated for

the exclusive development of white South Africans. Two distance institutions catered for all races.

As with the structure of South African schooling, HEIs were thus dichotomised through the colonial and apartheid structure. This was intended to subjugate institutions intended for the country's majority and elevate those designated for the minority white population. Importantly, the historically disadvantaged Universities and Technikons faced both deep material discrimination (a lack of resources), as well as being ideologically compromised, for example through the employment of staff who were supportive of the apartheid regime.

1.3.3. The democratic era

In the present era, the African National Congress (ANC), elected to represent people that were historically oppressed and disenfranchised, now governs the country. However, racial categories promulgated during the apartheid era remain naturalised and deeply entrenched into social life in democratic South Africa (Lefko-Everett, 2012). Although there are arguments for class as having become more of a distinguishing mode of differentiation in the country (Vally, 2020), race continues to shape the lived experiences of many (Bundy, 2014), including the structure of the education system. A keystone policy in the democratic era of the country was the installation of the South African Schools Act No. 84 of 1996, which intended "to provide for a uniform system for the organisation, governance and funding of schools; to amend and repeal certain laws relating to schools; and to provide for matters connected therewith" (Department of Basic Education [DBE], 2024). A chief concern of this Act was the redress of past (racial) injustices.

The segregationist structures established by the National Party were dismantled at the dawn of democracy and all education institutions came under the administration of the single Department of Education (DoE). Later, the move towards decentralising the system to better enable local decision-making, the deregulation of state schooling and community participation (Naidoo, 2004) resulted in the DoE becoming two departments. Since 2009, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) has been governing school education and the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) has been responsible for higher education (DBE, 2021), as detailed in the overview of the structure of South African education in the democratic era below.

1.4. An overview of the current structure of education in South Africa

Across South Africa, education is organised into five phases: Early Childhood Development (ECD), Foundation Phase (FP), Intermediate Phase (IP) Senior Phase (SP) and Further Education and Training Phase (FETP). FP, IP and SP schooling are compulsory in South Africa. Table 3 below presents a synopsis of the governance structure of South African education.

Table 2: Structure of the South African education system

Governing department	Level of study	Phase of study
Department of Basic Education (DBE)	**before GET band**	
	Grade 000	
	Grade 00	
	GET band	
	Grade R	Foundation Phase
	Grade 1	
	Grade 2	
	Grade 3	
	Grade 4	Intermediate Phase
	Grade 5	
	Grade 6	
	Grade 7	Senior Phase
	Grade 8	
	Grade 9	
Department of Higher Education (DHET)	**FET band**	
	Grade 10	Further Education Training Phase
	Grade 11	
	Grade 12	
	HET band	
	Higher Education Qualifications	

The country's National Qualifications Framework (NQF) categorises education into three "bands", the General Education Training (GET) band, Further Education and Training (FET) band, and Higher Education and Training (HET) band. The DBE administers the before-GET

and GET bands, while the DHET administers the FET and HET bands. These departments and constituent subsystems are further described, with reference to Table 2 above.

1.4.1. The Department of Basic Education

The Department of Basic Education (DBE) governs what is termed basic education in South Africa. This includes early childhood development (ECD), which covers education for children from birth to 9 years of age. This age range includes learners who are pre-Grade R (i.e. from birth to Grade 00) and in the Foundation Phase (i.e. Grades R to 3). Basic education in South Africa also denotes primary and secondary schooling. In terms of administrative structure, primary schooling constitutes grades R to 7, and secondary schooling refers to grades 8 to 12. This is typically how schooling establishments are structured, and locals speak of primary schools (grades R to 7) and secondary schools (grades 7 to 12). There are also combined schools, which are generally a combination of primary and secondary schools.

In terms of administrative structure, most South African schools are either "primary schools" (grade R to 7) and/or "high / secondary schools" (grades 8 to 12). Post-1994, the education system was de-centralised into three levels: the national, provincial and district levels. At the national level, the DBE is responsible for the administration of primary (known elsewhere as elementary), and high (also known as secondary) schooling. At the provincial level, the DBE's provincial offices operate in each of the country's nine provinces, via Provincial Education Departments (PEDs). At a district level, 86 district offices are the link to PEDs and play a pivotal role in the implementation of policy to ensure access to education for all, as well as quality of education for all. The district offices lend support to their circuit offices. Education circuit offices link schools with their district offices and PEDs (South African Government, 2022).

The South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 (Republic of South Africa [RSA], 1996) made schooling compulsory from age seven years (Grade 1) to age 15 (Grade 9). Thus, compulsory schooling in South Africa is nine years long, beginning in grade R and ending in grade 9. What is termed primary education is six years long and split into three phases: foundation phase, intermediate phase, and senior phase (as captured in Table 2 above).

Various standardised local and international tests are conducted with learners across the phases to track educational achievement (Spaull, 2019). These include the Progress in International

Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), Southern African Consortium for Monitoring and Educational Quality (SACMEQ), and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMMS), for example. Most notably for the purposes of this study, the National Senior Certificate (NSC) is a South African qualification awarded to learners who pass the grade 12 exit-level (colloquially known as "matric") examinations. It is commonly referred to as the "matric" certificate. The announcement of the NSC results has become an annual event of major public significance. It signifies the culmination of twelve years of formal schooling and is positioned as the barometer of the health of the country's public education system. The first national examination, under the newly elected democratic government was administered in November 1996 (DBE, 2021).

Public schools in South Africa are designed to be more inclusive, whilst private (also known as independent) schools mostly demand high school fees and in this way bar some youths from access due to their socio-economic status. It is generally understood that there are in effect two public schooling systems in the country, and further distinctions are drawn between so-called "fee paying" and "non-fee paying" schools (Spaull, 2019). Fee-paying, or partially state subsidised, schools cater for about a quarter of South Africa's learners. This sub-system within public schooling is smaller and achieves better educational outcomes. The second sub-system, the no-fee paying schools, is larger in size and caters for the socio-economically poorer majority of learners (Spaull, 2013).

Educationalists describe the South African education system as starkly differentiated between private and public schooling. A new and growing phenomenon is receiving increasing attention in the independent school sub-system: private schools for the poor. These are also known as low-fee paying schools and intend to offer an alternative to public schooling (Hofmeyr et al., 2013), and high-fee private schooling. Whilst there is growing attention to the differentiations in private schooling (Hofmeyr et al., 2013), the differentiations in public schooling have been more widely acknowledged. While most schools in South Africa receive funding from the state, as a matter of redress, the funds received vary. Despite visions for a unitary education system post-apartheid, the divisions in the system now operate according to the distinctions outlined on Table 3 below.

Table 3: The South African school education sub-systems

Educational System 1		Educational System 2	
Proportionately larger Public Schooling Sub-systems		*Proportionately smaller Private Schooling Sub-systems*	
Fee paying schools	Non-fee paying schools	Low-fee paying schools	High-fee paying schools

Most public schools in South Africa form part of the first, above specified, public schooling sub-system and serve learners from impoverished home backgrounds. These schools are categorised as quintiles 1, 2 and 3 schools on the national quintile system, and thus charge no school fees.

1.4.1.1. The National Quintile System for Public Schools

The national quintile system for most public schools in South Africa is traced back to the formation of the unification of the education system, governed by the National Department of Education (NDE) in 1996. This is a metric by which the state allocates resourcing funds to various schooling communities for the purposes of redress. To establish this metric, the NDE conducted survey questionnaires to establish the socio-economic status of school communities. Questionnaire items included questions about household income, value of property and number of vehicles, for example (Isaacs, 2020). This household information, together with infrastructural factors, helped to determine which of the five quintiles schools would be placed into, and thus the amount of financial resourcing to be provided from the state. On an annual basis, the Minister of Education determines the national quintiles for public schools. State funding for schools is allocated based on these quintiles, with Quintile 1 schools receiving the highest allocation per learner and Quintile 5 receiving the lowest.

Table 4: Categories of the national quintile system for public schools

School quintile	School fees
Quintile 1	Non-fee paying schools
Quintile 2	
Quintile 3	
Quintile 4	Fee-paying schools
Quintile 5	

The South African Schools Act (RSA, 1996) stipulates that all public schools must supplement state funding with school fees and other forms of fundraising. A school's quintile ranking is important as it determines the amount of funding that it receives each year and whether or not the school can charge fees. Each quintile comprises 20% of schools according to the household income of learners' guardians. The allocated state resources are typically used to finance various school items and payments such as municipal services, stationery and learning support materials, school equipment as well as maintenance and repairs (Grant, 2013). Quintile 4 and 5 fee-paying schools charge school fees for additional resources not provided by the state, whilst quintiles 1 to 3 schools are declared non-fee paying schools. The three lowest quintiles (so 60% of all schools) are not allowed to charge school fees. Notably, the Eastern Cape has the highest percentage of schools in quintiles one to three (Ncanywa, 2015). The resourcing implications place an even greater burden on a constrained provincial budget (Sayed & Motala, 2012). This contributes to its status as a poor province, with 34.8% of learners falling in the poorest quintile (quintile 1).

In accordance with the South African Schools Act (RSA, 1996), public schools can be further categorised as "Section 20" or "Section 21" schools. This refers to the section in the Schools Act that allows for the establishment of the School's Governing Body. Section 20 (also known as non-fee paying) schools receive less direct state funding, but receive services and textbooks, for example, provided by the provincial department. Section 21 (also known as fee-paying) schools manage their own finances and purchases, and typically charge school fees to supplement the state funding received.

In general, the phrase "an ongoing crisis in South African education" (Spaull, 2013, p. 3) is used to describe schooling. Crumbling school infrastructure (Amnesty International, 2020), poverty and inequality (Spreen & Vally, 2006), poor educational outcomes (Spaull, 2013), lack of teacher knowledge, low access to technology (Spaull, 2019), and high dropout rates (Branson et al., 2019), amongst others, are evidenced to note the broken and unequal state of school education (Amnesty International, 2020). Spaull (2013, p.3) offers this anecdote to capture the effects of the challenges in South Africa's education sector: "of 100 pupils that start school, only 50 will make it to Grade 12, 40 will pass, and only 12 will qualify for university" and, "only 6 will get an undergraduate degree in 6 years" (Spaull, 2019, p. 3). Such poor progress has deleterious effects on the employability of those unable to access some of the forms of post-school education outlined below.

1.4.2. The Department of Higher Education and Training

The Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) governs FET colleges, recently known as Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) colleges, Adult Basic Training (ABET) centres and HEIs. The period of compulsory schooling is followed by non-compulsory further education and training (FET). This is the third band in South African education, depicted in Table 2 above.

The DHET is responsible for the administration of post-secondary schooling. Notably, in 1994, via mergers and incorporations, the state restructured universities and Technikons to produce 22 new institutions by 2005 (South African Government, 2022), across the 9 newly created provinces of South Africa, as depicted below.
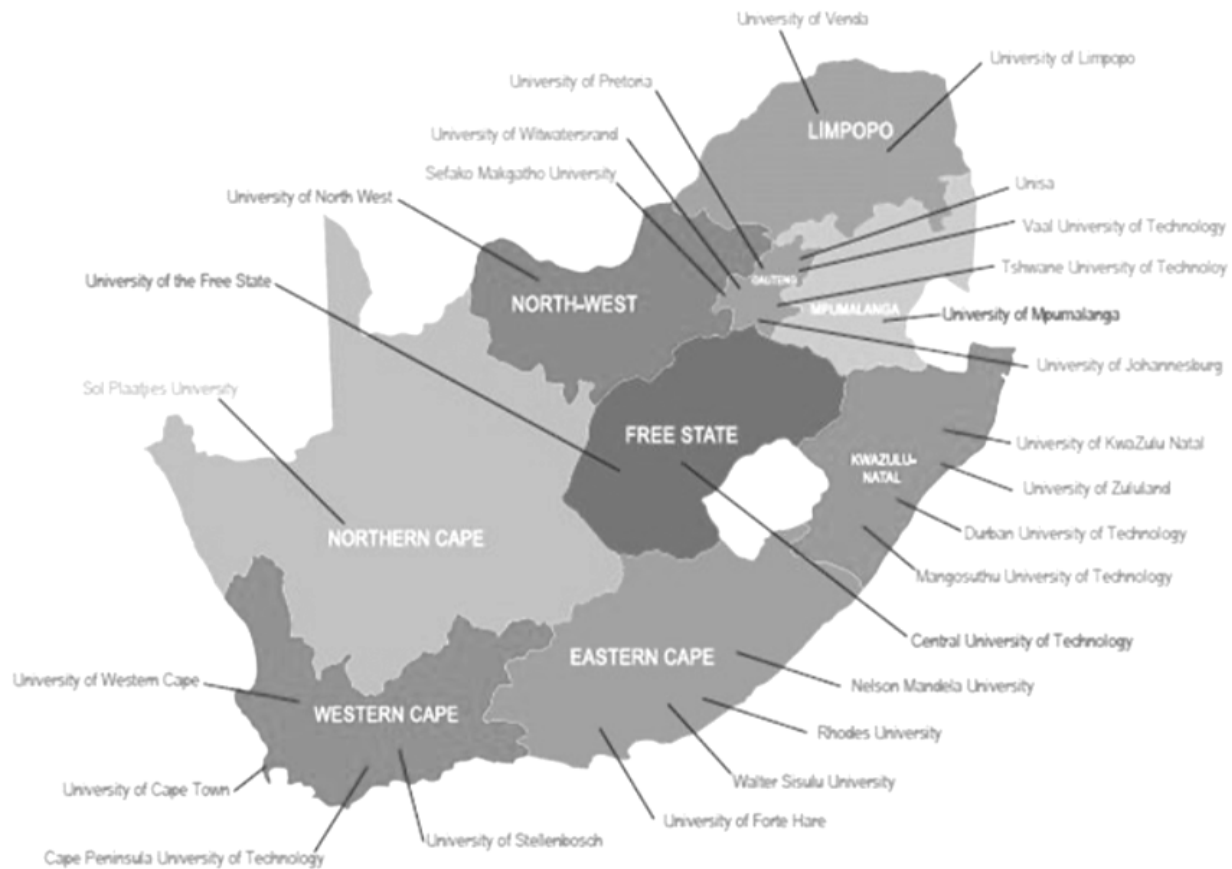
Figure 2: Location of HEIs across nine provinces of South Africa

Source: Ramoutar-Prieschl & Hachigontap, 2020, p.14.

Higher education is administered by these institutions, as well as private institutions. The public universities produced by the restructuring in the democratic era include three types of HEIs: Traditional Universities, Universities of Technology and Comprehensive Universities. Traditional universities offer theoretically-oriented university degrees. Traditional universities have a long-standing history in South Africa and have been reported to be in existence since 1829. They offer a broad range of undergraduate and postgraduate programmes. Universities of Technology offer vocational-oriented diplomas and degrees. They provide programmes in applied-fields such as business, health sciences, design, performing arts, engineering, technology and others. Finally, comprehensive universities offer a combination of both types of theoretically- and vocationally-oriented qualifications. These were produced by the merger of Technikons and Universities of Technology and provide courses in the fields of traditional arts

and sciences as well as those courses provided by Technikons and Universities of Technology (World Education Network, 2022). HEIs provide Bachelor, Honours, Masters, and Doctorate Degrees, as well as Undergraduate and Postgraduate Diplomas and Certificates (Department of Basic Education, 2021). Although universities are autonomous, reporting to their councils rather than the state, the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) regulates higher education in a standardised manner (South African Government, 2022).

The NSC (as mentioned earlier) is a school-leaving certificate in South Africa; it is a high school diploma. It is colloquially referred to as the "matric certificate". The minimum duration of the NSC qualification is three years, completed through meeting the requirements for Grades 10, 11 and 12 separately. To obtain a NSC, at the end of the Grade 12 year, learners must achieve at least 40% in three subjects (one of which is an official language at Home Language level) and 30% in three other subjects" (DBE, 2016). Obtaining a NSC permits entry for further study at a higher education insitution. Further study enables one to achieve a Higher Certificate, Diploma or Bachelor's Degree, and thereafter a postgraduate degree where desired.

1.4.3. Meaningful participation in education

Across various parts of the globe, higher educational attainment is often associated with better employment prospects (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2022). Here I return to the education-development nexus highlighted by South Africa's National Planning Commission in 2010: unemployment and the poor quality of education for Black people are the top two key challenges in democratic South Africa. Education is thus a central priority in achieving the country's democratic goals of eliminating poverty and reducing inequality (NPC, 2011).

What is considered to be meaningful participation, the product of successfully transitioning through schooling and then accessing higher or further education, centres around employment opportunities in the national development discourse. Questions regarding the employment and employability of youths occupy a central position in the education-development nexus of the country. However, Branson et al. (2019, p. 1) summarise the prominent challenge facing South African education currently:

In South Africa, young people who have not completed their matric year, or the equivalent thereof, are more likely to struggle to find work, and remain unemployed for longer periods of time, or, if they do find work, are less likely to access stable, higher income jobs…

A high "drop-out rate" is regularly reported in South Africa (Statistics South Africa [StatsSA], 2022). This refers to children who leave school between the end of the compulsory stage of the GET band referred to in Table 1 above (i.e. grades 1 to 9). This also refers to the youths that leave before completing the upper secondary education years, i.e. grade 12 or a matriculation equivalent (Branson et al., 2019).The latest Quarterly Labour Force Survey (South African Government, 2024) indicates that about 18.3 million people of working age (15 - 64 years) are not in education, employment or training. This needs to be seen in relation to South Africa's total population of about 61 million people. South African females are most affected by the unemployment rate, representing 55.9% of those unemployed youths (South African Government, 2024). This has adverse implications for subjectivities and social wellbeing (De Witte et al., 2012; Gedikli et al., 2023), as well as for national development (Altbeker & Bernstein, 2017).

1.5. Chapter summary

In this introductory section, I traced the history of South African education through pre-colonial, colonial, apartheid and democratic socio-political periods. The techno-political overview of education indicates that the system remains differentiated. In the present day, rather than a unitary system for all, there are in fact multiple sub-systems of education - most notably, the further differentiations between public non-fee paying and fee-paying schools.

In the next chapter, I consider the history and role of NGOs in the country, and more specifically within the education sector. I also describe the provincial and local context of this case study.

CHAPTER 2: THE EDUCATION-DEVELOPMENT NEXUS

Following the techno-political description of the evolutions in the structure of education in the previous chapter, I now turn my attention to one of the technologies of development in our region: non-governmental organisations (NGOs). I consider the role of NGOs in Africa, and in our country. I then turn my attention to the provincial location of the case: the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, and more specifically consider the role of NGOs in Makhanda. I conclude the chapter by clarifying key terms used in the thesis in relation to development and education.

Education and development are constructed as inextricably linked in South African national discourse (NPC, 2011), as a central focus of the health and progress of the country post-apartheid. The education-development nexus was most notably consolidated by the National Planning Commission in 2010. Deployed by the President of South Africa, the NPC was to lead the country's strategic planning, towards the National Development Plan 2030 (South African Government, 2023). In their diagnostic report outlining the issues constraining the long-term development of post-apartheid South Africa, the Commission identified unemployment and the poor quality of education for Black people as the top two key challenges 16 years into our democracy (NPC, 2011). As noted in the previous chapter, this positioned education as an important site for the liberation and well-being of our country's majority. This nexus is similar to that produced in other nations' development discourses in the sub-Saharan African region (Lemon, 2004).

The health and progress of the region have not always hinged on the education-development nexus. In contrast, "before the advent of colonialism and western education, the home and community were important catalysts for social development among African communities" (Seroto, 2011, p. 58). Below, I consider the emergence of NGOs in South Africa. The prominence of NGOs in the South African landscape began with the emergence of anti-apartheid NGOs funded by external, so-called traditional international donors. At the dawn of the democratic transition of the country, the adversarial relationship between NGOs and the state transformed and took on a collaborative formation - collaborating to reconstruct the country in service of the disenfranchised and oppressed majority. This partnership, distorted by neoliberal

capitalist interests, has left both the arguably unreformed state and NGOs vulnerable to criticism regarding their technocratic approaches, and practices of trusteeship.

2.1. An overview of the history of NGOs in Africa

> NGOs, however progressive they may be, cannot be vehicles for human emancipation (Neocosmos, 2017, p. 36).

During the pre-colonial and colonial periods of Southern Africa's history, the presence of NGOs was scarce as social life was governed by chiefs, tribunal opinion, colonial authorities and missionaries (Khunou, 2006). The genealogy of the expansion of NGOs in South Africa is traced to the period of liberalisation in the 1980s during the apartheid era (Habib & Taylor, 1999). This period of liberalisation enabled greater effectiveness in petitioning for political reformation, greater freedom of expression and international support for the anti-apartheid movement. The dispersion of the human rights and good governance discourse also led to greater protections for individual rights against discriminatory practices, as well as greater public awareness of the need for social change and a more equitable society. This liberalised political environment enabled the expansion of anti-apartheid NGOs, who received an influx of funding aid. The aid was received mostly from foreign governments, philanthropic organisations and international organisations such as Scandinavian countries, United Statesian foundations and the European Union respectively. However, these organisations, whose efforts were directed at advocacy and providing social services to the oppressed majority, were regularly harassed by the apartheid regime and subjected to both administrative, legal, and political surveillance. For example, anti-apartheid NGOs were subjected to tax laws via the Fund-Raising Act of 1978, which was hostile to external sources. These anti-apartheid NGOs were also regularly exposed to confrontation by the state authorities. This produced an antagonistic and adversarial dynamic between anti-apartheid NGOs, who were estimated to a number around 5 000 by 1990, and the apartheid government (Habib & Taylor, 1999).

At the dawn of democracy, a transformation in the relationship between NGO and the state occurred - what Habib and Taylor (1999) call "a shift from the politics of resistance to a politics of reconstruction" (p. 75). An alliance between anti-apartheid NGOs and the democratically elected African National Congress (ANC) formed to work together on strengthening civil

society. They carefully co-constructed programmes and policy that would facilitate the redress of racial injustice. During the years of the country's transition to democracy, some immediate focus areas for the NGO-state partnership were the national Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) providing redress to the majority of the population who had been relegated to the geospatial outskirts of life. The formation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which sought to facilitate processes of reparative justice, also took priority. Additional collaborative efforts sought to address issues related to land, labour reforms and social services, including the disparities in the provision of education, health, safety and security (Habib & Taylor, 1999).

The growth in the number of NGOs, internationally, has been frequently reported over the last few decades. The number of NGOs on the African continent is difficult to establish but authors regularly refer to the proliferation of the development of NGOs and their explosive growth both on the continent and in the country (Matthews & Nqaba, 2017). Whereas foreign funding was awarded directly to NGOs during apartheid, the transition to democracy meant that donor support was rather channelled to the new democratic government (Rammutle, 2003). A number of NGOs thus ceased to exist due to funding and other constraints.

During the global financial crisis in 2007-2008, increased support from so-called emerging donors and private philanthropy was reported. Countries such as China, India and Brazil filled the gap in support for the provision of state social services (Matthews & Nqaba, 2017). More recently, the prominence of China and India as emerging donors in Africa is receiving attention in both academic and practitioner development communities. Paczyńska (2023) shows that, unlike the traditional donors referred to earlier, nationally-led and nationally-owned development are central to the provision of aid by these emerging donors. Their manner of engagement is intended to promote state capacity and strength, rather than as a way of working with civil society and NGOs. The policy frameworks of so-called traditional donors produced the dependence on NGOs by the people served, through providing goods that should have been provided by the state. The dilemma of the advancement of NGO-led development, as an alternative to state-led development, has thus been the topic of much debate (Matthews & Nqaba, 2017).

In the critical development literature, NGOs are strongly critiqued for their role in the reproduction of neo-colonialist domination in Africa (e.g., Sakue-Collins, 2021). They are accused of being ahistorical and non-political (Shivji, 2006), viewing continued poverty and suffering in Africa through the lens of charity and paternalism, rather than working towards emancipation and justice (Matthews & Nqaba, 2017). In this way, NGOs deploy technocratic approaches to poverty, constructing poverty in technical terms, rather than political terms. They are thus accused of the "depoliticisation of poverty by stabilising and institutionalising power relations and thereby preserving the status quo" (Matthew & Nqaba, p. 8) of a disenfranchised and persistently marginalised majority.

For the above reasons, Neocosmos (2017) argues that as long as NGOs remain NGOs, they cannot contribute to emancipation following centuries of oppression by the hegemonic minority in Africa. Citing Roy (2004) they observe that "the greater the devastation caused by neoliberalism, the greater the outbreak of NGOs" (Neocosmos, 2017, p. 6). A key issue is that NGOs conceptualise power relations in statist terms. They define themselves in terms of their institutional distance from the state (e.g. non-governmental) or their legal distance (e.g. non-profit) from private business. In this way, their existence is contingent on legitimation by the state. This is argued to be incompatible with an emancipatory perspective. Furthermore, Manji (2017) argues that our democratically elected government continues to occupy an unreformed colonial state position and function. They contrast the licensed freedoms achieved by NGOs who define themselves in statist terms, to emancipatory freedoms achieved through collective resistance. They note that the emancipatory activities observed recently have not been the work of NGOs or development aid, but as a result of popular mobilisations (Manji, 2017). This has contributed to a shift in political practice against injustices, away from political practice to juridical petitions to the state, asserting legal claims on entitlements to the neoliberal social contract. NGOs have thus been unable to contribute substantially to emancipation, and instead advance the depoliticisation of civil society (Neocosmos, 2017).

Matthews and Nqaba (2017) argue that although the activities of NGOs have been rightfully challenged, they occupy influential positions on the continent as well as internationally, as advocates of development, economic growth, human rights and other such emancipation and justice related functions. More positively,NGOs have played a key role in siding with the poor,

the excluded, persistently marginalised or oppressed majority (Burton & Kagan, 2005) as well as bringing about social justice (Matthews & Nqaba, 2017), following South Africa's colonial and apartheid histories, and in the current post-democratic dispensation. South Africa's Department of Social Development (DSD, 2023) reports that 270 313 NGOs were registered with the Non-Profit Organisation Directorate, as of February 2023.

The emergence of education-focussed NGOs specifically is traced back to the early 1900s when the Christian missionaries, as well as other civil society organisations, were the primary providers of education to the oppressed and marginalised majority (Nomsenge, 2018a). Education NGOs have advanced a focus on access and equity in the education sector, collaborating with the state to improve educational opportunities for all (Mundy, 2008; UNESCO, 2007) and promoting inclusivity (Pather, 2019). They have played a key role in advocating for policy reformation to advance both access to education and quality in education (Mundy, 2016).

At the centre of the education-development nexus is the so-called unemployment crisis in South Africa (Vally & Motala, 2017). NGOs have advanced skills development and vocational training to prepare youths for participation in the country's economic development (Volmink & van der Elst, 2017). They have also invested in educational technologies, teacher training and professional development in order to advance teaching and learning practices in the sector.

2.2. The Eastern Cape province of South Africa

The historical and socio-economic context of the Eastern Cape is important, to enable better understanding of the cultural-historic environment in which education occurs at the site of the education NGO under study. The Eastern Cape Province of South Africa is one of the nine provinces of the country created post-1994, once the Bantustans were abolished. It was formed from an amalgamation of the former Transkei and Ciskei Bantustans, including a part of the previous Cape area (Evans, 2012). Westaway (2012) argues that segregationism, which produced the nation-state of South Africa in 1910, continues to produce governance practices post-1994 that shape socio-economic trends across the country, and particularly in the Eastern Cape. The use of the term segregation by Westaway (2012, p. 115) denotes a particular relationship between

territory and citizenship; it captures its function as a particular technique of domination. The term is used

> to refer not to racism per se, but rather to the reservation of certain portions of the landholdings of a nation-state for particular racial groupings, and the governing of these reservations in specific ways. To re-state the basic assertion, I concur with the overall thesis of Mahmood Mamdani, who describes 1994 as having institutionalised de-racialisation, but not democratisation (Mamdani, 1996). That is to say, those portions of the country (particularly the Eastern Cape) that were reserved for designated African groups in terms of the 1913 Land Act, are still, after 1994, governed distinctly and differently from the rest of South Africa.

Segregationism, instituted during the colonial and apartheid eras, produced the geospatial and sociocultural divisions of society. Rather than destabilise this apparatus of power in pursuit of a unified South Africa, governance practices of the so-called democratic state post-1994 have continued to produce entrenched rural poverty via, what Westaway (2012) formulates as contemporary segregationism. This geospatial patterning fundamentally influences the socio-economic situation of the province.

Although the Eastern Cape is the second largest province of the country, it is ranked as the second poorest province after Limpopo (Ncanywa, 2015). Per capita GDP rates, low levels of urbanisation, high occurrences of pensions and other social grants, and high unemployment rates characterise the Eastern Cape as a poor province (Lemon, 2004); these trends have persisted over time (Ncanywa, 2015). The majority of residents, particularly those in the former Bantustan areas of the province, have inadequate access to social services and infrastructure, including education; the household income for the majority derives from constrained state welfare programmes; and, ultimately, the majority of those living in the Eastern Cape survive below the poverty line (Westaway, 2012).

2.2.1. Education NGOs in Makhanda

More specifically regarding the site of the education NGO under study, Nomsenge (2018b; 2019) provides incisive analyses of the work of education NGOs in Makhanda in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. Nomsenge (2019) positions NGO intervention within the contentious development discourse (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023) and argues that NGO intervention occurs

within existing structures of inequity and exclusion in the country. Rather than destabilise these structures, the author argues that NGO initiatives in Makhanda reproduce them.

Focussing their analysis on the Joza Youth Hub, wherein a number of NGO activities in the city are housed, Nomsenge (2018b) argues that education NGOs in the city maintain processes of differentiated access to non-state development initiatives for young people. The author hosted focus groups between 2017 and 2018 with Grade 10 and 11 youths, out-of-school youths, parents and community members, to reflect on the education development activities of the Hub. The author's findings revealed the ways in which personal, family, community and institutional factors constrain equal access to non-state educational and development support. The author thus leveraged two overarching critiques of the role of NGOs in Makhanda in regulating youth participation towards development: Firstly, that NGOs fail to reach those at the most peripheral margins, thus reproducing unequal access to development opportunities; and secondly, that by reaching a select few, a local elite is created and serviced by both mainstream and non-state development actors. Nomsenge's (2019) analysis of youth participation in education initiatives in Makhanda-east (see below for a description of Makhanda's geospatial landscape) indicate unequal channels to development initiatives. The material and human capacities of youths constrain their selection onto educational development programmes; household responsibilities mitigate family involvement; and institutional priorities dictate operations.

Furthermore, the above factors converge with neoliberal demands and pressures for legitimacy to constrain access to non-state development opportunities for the marginalised majority. In addition to problematising the role of NGOs in facilitating youth participation, Nomsenge (2018) argues that organisational urgencies have tended to supersede reformation imperatives. Thus, their relation to governmental institutions such as RU, to enable their legitimacy and survival, result in their contributing role in moderating, rather than shifting, the features of inequity in education. Nomsenge (2018b) extends Helliker's analysis of NGOs "dancing around the same spot" (p. 9) to argue for the demonstration of "zero sum philanthropy" (p. 1), and critiques the techniques deployed by NGOs for legitimacy and survival (Neocosmos, 2017). Defining themselves in statist terms thus renders them unable to contribute to emancipation, in their opinion.

More broadly, education has remained a crucial site for the reproduction of colonial power in South Africa. The country's education system continues to be shaped by productions of power that leave the majority of South Africans on the margins of social life. In this next section, I focus on the site of the NGO under study. To better contextualise Nomsenge's (2018b; 2019) critiques above, I provide a description of the provincial landscape in which the NGO operates: the Eastern Cape province of South Africa, characterised as amongst the poorest of the nine provinces (Ncanywa, 2015). I also describe the Makhanda's educational landscape and the shifts in exit-level outcomes across the city's public schooling sector.

2.2.2. The "education hub of the Eastern Cape"

Makhanda, formerly known as Grahamstown, is a relatively small city in the Makana local municipality of the Sarah Baartman District in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. On the map below, its location is shown inland, north-east of and about 130km from Gqeberha (formerly Port Elizabeth).

Figure 3: Location of Makhanda in Eastern Cape province of South Africa
Source: Mutumbi et al., 2021, p. 4.

This city is described as the "the main seat", "heart" and "economic hub" of the municipality (Makana Municipality, 2021, p. 10). Makhanda is known as a cultural, tourist and educational

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centre. For more than four decades, the city has hosted a large globally known festival, the National Arts Festival; it is home to so-called "famous establishments such as Rhodes University" (Makana Municipality, 2013, p. 1), as well as the sixth South African Defence Force Infantry base. It is also the seat of the Eastern Cape High Court (Makana Municipality, 2021), although a recent ruling may see it move to the provincial capital of Bhisho (Majavu, 2023). Makhanda is commonly characterised as "the city of saints" (De Lacy & Shackleton, 2017), capturing its rich cultural-historic and religious features; "the creative city" (Schmidt, 2018), referring to the annual creative and cultural festivities hosted by the city; as well as "the cradle of education in South Africa" and an "education hub" (Westaway, 2012), capturing the dense networks between educational establishments in the city within a geographically compact environment.

Census data estimates the total population of Makhanda to be about 70,000. In the last census a decade ago, only about 15% of the total population had tertiary education, 5.5% were regarded as totally illiterate, while only 24% had a NSC (Ncanywa, 2015). Lemon (2004) starkly illustrates the ways in which positive exit-level educational outcomes in Makhanda closely correspond with spatial areas formerly reserved for so-called white and coloured people in the Eastern Cape. Westaway's (2012) arguments for contemporary forms of segregationism seem apparent in the city's landscape. Makhanda-west is made up of mainly high-income households, while Makhanda-east comprises many low-income households. The Eastern side is generally characterised by low education levels, high unemployment levels, and small homesteads and houses (Mutumbi et al., 2021).

The Eastern Cape is divided into eight district municipalities (Ncanywa, 2015). Makhanda is located within one of these districts, Makana Municipality. The municipality describes itself as "one of South Africa 's premier educational centres with a large number of world-class secondary and tertiary educational institutions" (Makana Municipality, 2013, p. 1). This is a questionable characterisation considering the historically low exit-level educational performance of most of its schools (e.g., Hendricks, 2008), as well as the multiple provincial interventions and various governance, administration and financial failures it has faced, some of which include

water outages, water quality problems, near non-existent road maintenance, failure to collect refuse timeously, the inability to manage waste sites, and illegal dumping have become the norm… municipal infrastructure is ageing and the municipality has huge debts which it is unable to settle (Chamberlain & Masiangoako, 2021, pp. 435 - 436).

These infrastructural and service failures affect all areas of social and community life, including the socio-contextual environment in which education occurs. The small city is commonly described as a microcosm of nationwide differentiations (Hendricks, 2008).

Makhanda has a small number of low-fee private schools located in both the west and east of the city. The high-fee private schools are located in Makhanda-west. However, Makhanda's biggest education sector is public schooling. Fee-paying schools, located in Makhanda-west, have tended to perform relatively well whilst non-fee schools, located in the Makhanda-east, perform poorly (Westaway, 2016). Lemon's (2004) study of 12 public schools and 3 private schools in Makhanda illustrated how the proportionately smaller private schools benefited from a lion's share of the educational resources of the city - they enjoyed a variety of sports facilities, science laboratories, a design and technology centre, and a media centre, equipped with books, newspapers and computers with access to the Internet. The geospatial productions of inequity described by Lemon (2004) persist in the present day.

Untangling the tensions surrounding the education-development nexus, Hoefnagels et al. (2023) illustrate the productions of contemporary segregation in Makhanda's geospatial and educational landscape. They use the concept of "urban scenes" to characterise the configuration of the city. They argue that the city is made up of two prominent scenes: the Education Scene and the Tourism Scene, and that the education institutions in the city have a particularly large footprint on the geospatial landscape as well as economic activity of the city, albeit differentiated between Makhanda-west members and Makhanda-east members. They demonstrate how members from fee-paying and high-fee paying schools, "their visiting parents and the highly educated individuals who populate the staff…" (Hoefnagels et al., 2023, p. 9) have the largest footprint, contribute to the seasonal vibrancy of economic activity and enjoy the luxury amenities and resources of the city. Conversely, "non-fee-paying schools located in Makhanda East have virtually no footprint… " (p. 10). The differentiated patterns between Makhanda-west and east schools thus persist.
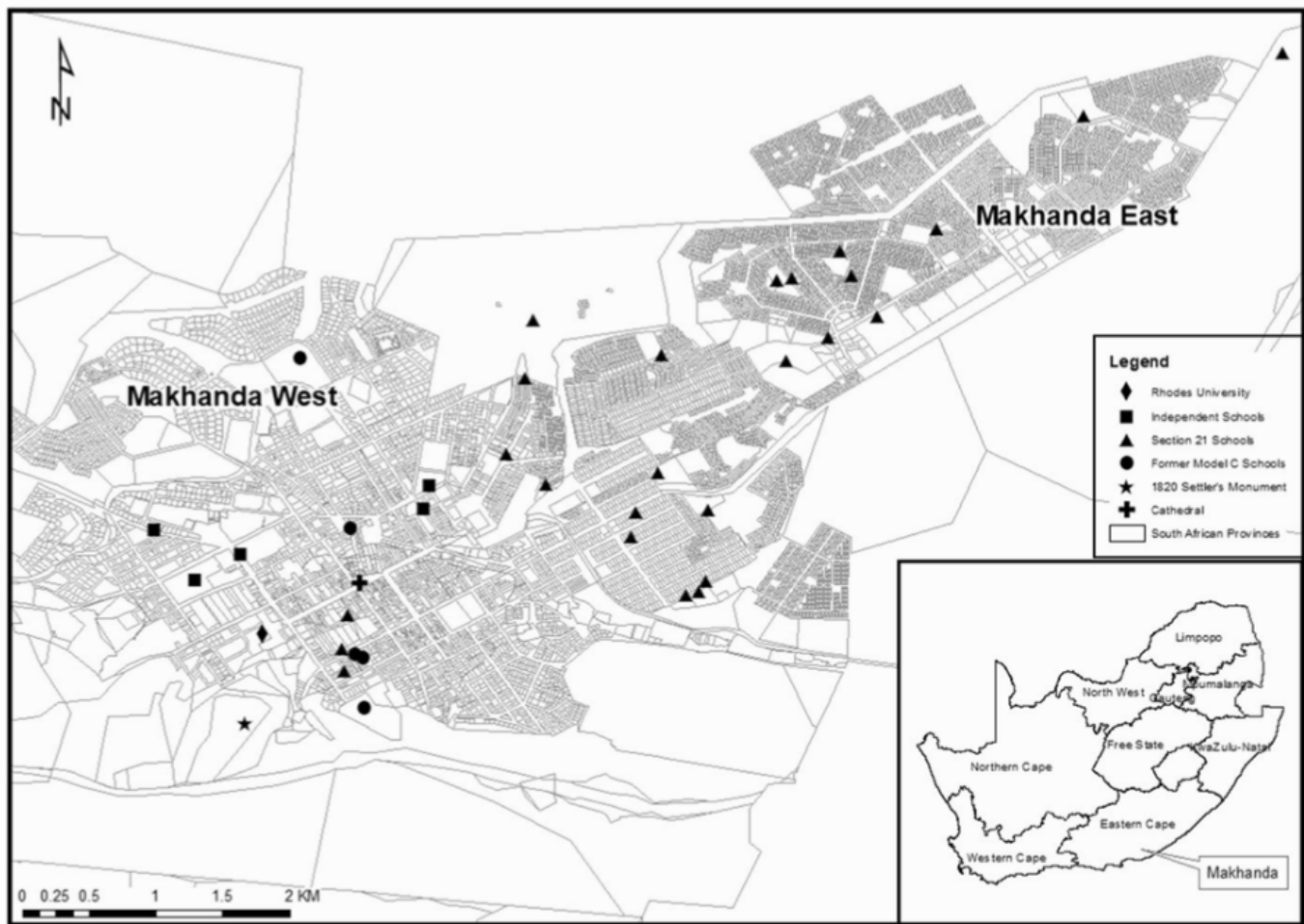
Figure 4: Location of Makhanda and its education institutions
Source: Hoefnagels et al., 2023, p. 273.

Figure 4 above illustrates the location of Rhodes University (RU) which sits on the more affluent west-side of Makhanda. One of the Eastcape Midlands TVET Colleges (Makhanda campus) is also located in Makhanda-west. Figure 1 also illustrates the location of Makhanda's schools. The three private (also known as independent) schools are located in Makhanda-west together with so-called former "model-C"[8] schools. In accordance with the description of the structure of the education system in the preceding chapter, these can be understood as fee-paying schools. These schools compose of the so-called famous schooling establishments, some of which appear amongst the country's top 20 most expensive schools as well as prominent former model-C

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[8] Christie and McKinney (2017) clarify that "technically, all state-aided schools are "public schools" and there is no such thing as "Model C." In public discourse, "Model C" which originated in early educational changes of the 1990s, has come to be used to designate former white schools, admitting students of all races under the guidance of their governing bodies" (p. 170).

schools (Nomsenge, 2018b). These schools are said to contribute to the city's sterling educational reputation. In the present day, it is home to 18 public primary schools and nine public high schools (Westaway, 2022), the latter of which are captured in Table 5 below.

Tables 5: Secondary schools in Makhanda

Secondary schools	School fees	Geospatial location
Public schools		
Khutliso Daniels Senior Secondary School	*Non-fee paying Section 20 schools	Makhanda-east
Mary Waters High School		
Nathaniel Nyaluza Secondary School		
Nombulelo Secondary School		
Ntsika Secondary School		
T. E. M. Mrwetyana Secondary School		
Graeme College	Fee paying Section 21 schools	Makhanda-west
Hoerskool P. J. Olivier		
Victoria Girls' High School		
Private schools		
Assumption Development Centre's (ADC) Second Chance School	Low-fee paying	Makhanda-east
GADRA Matric School (GMS)		
Kingswood College	High-fee paying schools	Makhanda-west
Diocesan School for Girls		
St Andrew's College		

*This is annually revised however these are generally non-fee paying schools.

2.2.2. Exit-level educational outcomes in Makhanda

The NSC school exit-level educational outcomes in South Africa are commonly referred to as "matric results". In 2013 near the beginning of the study period to be further expanded upon, the Eastern Cape achieved a 64.9% matric pass rate. Although the lowest outcome of all the nine provinces, it represented a 3.5% increase from the provincial pass rate achieved in 2012. Analysts found stark differences between exit-level outcomes in non-fee paying and fee-paying schools in the province (Grocott's Mail, 2014). Whilst non-fee paying schools in the province achieved an average pass rate of 56%, quintile 4 and 5 fee-paying schools achieved a 70.8% pass rate in 2013. Eleven percent of secondary schools in the province were responsible for 70% of matric passes, and 80% of schools appeared effectively dysfunctional.

The provincial pattern was replicated in Makhanda at that time, with non-fee paying secondary schools achieving a 53.8% pass rate in 2012, whilst fee-paying schools enjoyed a 97% pass rate. This meant that non-fee paying schools performed 23% below the national average, whilst fee-paying schools performed 20% above the national average (Grocott's Mail, 2014). The gap between the subsystems within public schooling in Makhanda cannot be overstated. The stark fissures in Makhanda's educational landscape which render RU inaccessible to its local youths has been a central focus of Professor Sizwe Mabizela's tenure as the seventh Vice Chancellor (VC) of RU. In their inaugural address in 2014, Mabizela underscored the need to reposition the University to be of and for Makhanda, rather than being merely in Makhanda, and inaccessible for its local youth. It was thus the VC's intention to improve the quality of teaching and learning in the city, making Makhanda a centre of academic excellence. Basic education was identified as one of the key sites for this change and thus the Vice Chancellor's Initiative (VCI) to revive public schooling in Makhanda was established in 2015. GADRA Education was appointed to play a leading management role in the VCI.

GADRA Education's manager, Dr Ashley Westaway, has been providing annual analyses of matric educational outcomes in Makhanda. These are regularly published in the city's local newspaper, *Grocott's Mail*. In the analysis of the 2022 matric educational outcomes, Westaway (2023) demonstrates the overall positive performance of Makhanda's Class of 2022, as captured in Table 6 below.

Table 6: 2022 overall performance indicators

	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Cohort Size	558	540	540	663	785
Retention Rate	47%	45%	45%	55%	65%
% Pass Rate	78%	76%	80%	83%	85%
Number of Bachelors	238	187	230	313	305
% Bachelor Pass Rate	43%	35%	43%	47%	39%

Source: Westaway, 2023, p. 1.

Table 8 above demonstrates a steadily increasing cohort size reflecting the number of learners supported by the system from enrolment in grade 1 to matriculation in grade 12. Notably, the drop-out rate improved from 55% in 2020 to 35% in 2022. This means that the learner retention rate improved from 45% in 2020 to 65% in 2022. Westaway (2023) notes that an increase in cohort size, albeit desirable, can mean a decline in the number of learners who achieve Bachelor-level passes "because a fixed number of teachers is required to support a much larger number of learners" (p. 1). However, with the largest cohort of learners who wrote the matric examinations, the Class of 2022 achieved the highest pass rate in the last decade: 85%. Between 2021 and 2022, the drop-out rate improved by 20%, and the number of learners who sat their matric exams in 2018 compared to those that sat their exams in 2022 climbed from 558 to 785 (Westaway, 2023).

More specifically, Table 7 below presents a breakdown of the exit-level outcomes of Makhanda's nine public high schools over the past 5 years. Makhanda's pass rate in public secondary schools was 85%, against the provincial average of 77% and national pass rate of 80.1%. The table below indicates gradual shifts across the public schooling sector over the five years. In 2022 (and in contrast to the 2013 figures presented earlier), Makhanda was the best performing city in the Eastern Cape for the third successive year. The city was 5% above the national average and 8% above the provincial average. Contrast this to 2016 when Makhanda was one of four worst performing districts in the country. Most notably, with reference to the above-described

differential outcomes between non-fee paying and fee-paying schools, two non-fee paying schools achieved some of the highest performance results. Victoria Girls' High School, a fee-paying school in Makhanda-west achieved a 100% pass rate in 2022. Khutliso Daniels Senior Secondary School, a non-fee paying school in Makhanda-east, achieved an 88.9% pass rate. Nombulelo Secondary School, also a non-fee paying school located in Makhanda-east, achieved the third best pass rate in Makhanda of 87.4%. Thus, two of Makhanda's non-fee paying schools appeared in the city's top three achieving schools.

Table 7: 2022 school-by-school matric results - cohort size and pass rate

	Wrote 2018	Passed 2018	Wrote 2019	Passed 2019	Wrote 2020	Passed 2020	Wrote 2021	Passed 2021	Wrote 2022	Passed 2022
Graeme College	64	62 (97%)	49	46 (94%)	60	58 (97%)	59	57 (97%)	63	54 (86%)
Khutliso Daniels	31	18 (58%)	22	11 (50%)	36	28 (78%)	49	41 (84%)	36	32 (89%)
Mary Waters	62	51 (82%)	116	84 (72%)	61	47 (77%)	119	93 (78%)	160	130 (81%)
Nathaniel Nyaluza	56	14 (25%)	57	20 (35%)	40	25 (63%)	66	42 (64%)	52	39 (75%)
Nombulelo	127	101 (80%)	100	79 (79%)	89	62 (70%)	85	73 (86%)	182	159 (87%)
Ntsika	93	79 (85%)	87	67 (77%)	104	88 (85%)	136	108 (79%)	145	120 (83%)
PJ Olivier	30	25 (83%)	20	20 (100%)	29	28 (97%)	41	35 (85%)	27	21 (79%)
TEM Mrwetyana	14	5 (36%)	13	9 (69%)	38	13 (34%)	26	19 (73%)	43	32 (74%)
Victoria Girls	81	81 (100%)	76	74 (97%)	83	83 (100%)	82	82 (100%)	77	77 (100%)
City Total	558	436	540	410	540	432	663	550	785	664
City % pass rate		78% (2018)		76% (2019)		80% (2020)		83% (2021)		85% (2022)

Source: Westaway, 2023, p. 1.

A Bachelor-level[9] pass enables a learner to apply for Bachelor's degree study at an institution for higher education. This level of pass is considered to indicate a quality pass. Although the 2021

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[9] Bachelor-level requirements include 1) at least 40% for a learner's Home Language; 2) 50% for four other high credit subjects (excluding Life Orientation); 3) at least 30% for two other subjects; and 4) passing 6 out of 7 subjects.

cohort achieved the highest number of Bachelor passes, the 2022 cohort achieved 305 so-called quality passes.

Table 8: 2022 matric results - school-by-school Bachelor performance

	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Graeme College	46 (72%)	25 (51%)	41 (68%)	37 (61%)	26 (41%)
Khutliso Daniels	5 (16%)	1 (5%)	10 (28%)	25 (51%)	15 (42%)
Mary Waters	19 (31%)	23 (20%)	23 (38%)	38 (32%)	32 (20%)
Nathaniel Nyaluza	8 (14%)	6 (11%)	3 (8%)	12 (18%)	13 (25%)
Nombulelo	34 (27%)	28 (28%)	23 (26%)	43 (51%)	80 (44%)
Ntsika	36 (39%)	28 (32%)	46 (44%)	61 (45%)	59 (41%)
PJ Olivier	16 (53%)	13 (65%)	14 (48%)	18 (44%)	6 (22%)
TEM Mrwetyana	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3 (8%)	4 (15%)	3 (7%)
Victoria Girls	74 (91%)	63 (83%)	67 (81%)	75 (91%)	71 (92%)
Total	**238 (43%)**	**187 (35%)**	**230 (43%)**	**313 (47%)**	**305 (39%)**

Source: Westaway, 2023, p. 1.

Again, the shifts in differentiated outcomes between non-fee paying and fee-paying schools become apparent when comparing where the Bachelor passes came from in 2022 with where they came from in 2018 (Westaway, 2023). In 2018, 57% of the Bachelor passes came from fee paying schools with the non-fee paying schools contributing 43%. In 2022, the contribution of non-fee paying schools climbed to 66%. In this way, one-third of the Bachelor passes in Makhanda came from non-fee paying schools. For the first time in the history of Makhanda, a non-fee paying school, Nombulelo Secondary School, attained the highest number of Bachelor passes in all public schools in Makhanda, achieving 80 Bachelor-level passes (Westaway, 2023).

Westaway's (2023) analyses of exit-level outcomes indicate a level of regeneration in the city's matriculation results across Makhanda's public schooling sector. In addition to these performance outcomes, relationships amongst actors in education have strengthened (McCann et al., 2021). Collaborative partnerships between NGOs, as non-state actors, and state actors have

been heralded for their role in contributing to educational and social change (Tushnet, 1993; Fongwa et al., 2022). Given the contexts of complex socio-contextual challenges and poor educational outcomes, collaborative have educational partnerships enabled work that would not otherwise be possible. This study seeks to explore the contributions by GADRA, an education-focused NGO, to the discursive educational landscape in Makhanda.

2.3. Key terms

Before completing the introductory sections of the thesis, in the section below I clarify key terms in the study. In the social sciences, such terms as NGO, education, schooling, educator, teacher, learner, pupil, student and Black can have multiple nuances, deployed either within a formalist or structuralist paradigm. Below, I clarify the stances I take in relation to these terms in this study.

2.3.1. Non-governmental organisations

NGOs have been described as concerned with people-centred development, socio-economic upliftment, and service delivery in any given society (Habib & Taylor, 1999). NGOs in South Africa have spanned the voluntary sector to include concerns such as rural development, health, education on several levels, children, welfare, human rights, politics, women and several other social issues (Heinrich, 2001). As described earlier, during the apartheid era most NGOs were categorised as anti-apartheid NGOs and treated with antagonism by the state. During this democratic era, NGOs are conceived of by the state as partners in advancing reconstruction and development goals for the majority.

In South Africa, NGOs are registered in terms of the Non-Profit Organisations Act No.71 of 1998 (Department of Social Development [DSD], 2023). The umbrella term NGO is used to describe Non-Profit Organisations (NPO), Civil Society Organisations (CSO), Community-Based Organisations (CBO), and the like. For the purposes of this project, the term NGOs is used to denote value-based organisations that are independent from the government and are occupied with developmental activities such as service delivery, capacity building and policy influencing (Matthews & Nqaba, 2017).

2.3.2. Educators and learners

The terms educator and teacher, as well as learner, student and pupil are often used interchangeably in South African education. It is important to clarify the ways these subject positions are deployed in this study, as their use signals particular epistemological stances.

The term educator can be used to refer to those academics at higher education institutions who prepare student-teachers during their vocational training (Robinson & McMillan, 2006), whilst the term teacher can be used to denote those professionals in schools who are responsible for processes of teaching and learning in the classroom (Obanya, 2015). On the other side of the teaching and learning continuum are learners. The term student can be used to describe those who have been admitted into higher education institutions who are furthering their education. The terms learner and pupil tend to be used interchangeably to denote children in school, receiving their basic education (i.e. the GET and FET bands referenced in the previous chapter).

Foundationally, the ways I deploy the terms educator and student are based on Dewey's (1916) philosophy of education and Freirian (1972) pedagogical principles. These foundations espouse the interrelations between education and society, as well as the co-construction of knowledge and duality in learning processes respectively. These closely align with the focus on knowledge-power relations and the emancipatory values espoused in this study.

I use the term educator to denote all professionally qualified people working in either basic or higher education. For example, in the findings and discussion chapters ahead, I use the term educator to describe primary and secondary school teachers, as well as GADRA Education's teachers involved in primary, secondary and post-school processes of learning and teaching. I thus embrace a broad conceptualisation of this term. A broad definition of both the terms educator and learner which align closely with Learner-Centred Education (LCE). LCE conceives of processes of learning as interactive, responsive and situated within broad cultural norms, within a community and individual context; it espouses the rights of learners in education, and focuses on the enhancement of their learning experiences as well as on capabilities that learners and societies value (Schweisfurth, 2015). Because of the inclusion criteria of participation in this study, I mostly reference students. This refers to learners at GADRA's post-school programme as well as learners enrolled in one of Makhanda's higher education institutions, RU.

2.3.3. Education and schooling

Education and schooling are also used interchangeably. For the purposes of this study, a broad definition of education is used. This definition closely aligns with Dewey's (1916) and Freire's (1972) notions on education. The processes of education are not restricted to educational institutions. For example, during the pre-colonial era in Southern African history, education happened throughout community living.

Schooling is used in a narrower sense and refers to the processes of learning and teaching within formalised schooling establishments. As the previous chapter indicates, schooling has tended to have a disciplinary function in society rather than being a mechanism for emancipation.

2.3.4. Black

As a production of the discourse of race, the racialised term "black" has deep socio-political significance in our country. During South Africa's colonial, apartheid and even during this democratic era, the term black has been used to denote "the native", "Bantu", "African" and/or "indigenous peoples". This term advances the colonial project to categorise and hierarchise people, naturalising the view of colonists as superior whilst relegating other so-called races to inferior positions. Here, however, I assert that there is only one race - the human race.

However, although there is consensus about the lack of a biological basis to racial classification weaponised in various parts of the globe, I do acknowledge that the social construct of race is still experienced by many of us in South Africa, and elsewhere, as a lived reality (Bundy 2014; Lefko- Everett, 2012). In Msomi (2021, p. 460), I assert that:

> I am of the persuasion of Steve Biko's (1979) Black Consciousness conception of the term Black and use it to denote the persistently marginalised Black community, which includes people designated as "non-white" during Apartheid in South Africa, including so-called Black, Coloured and Indian people. To be clear, despite their porous nature and suggestion of essential, biological realities, I reference these socially constructed racial categories to acknowledge the sustained extent to which race infiltrates many aspects of our lives, constrains socio-cultural practices and shapes ways of knowing…

In the previous chapter, I reproduced the formulations of race produced by the colonial project, as advanced by the Population Registration Act. However, from here onwards I deploy the Black Consciousness (Biko, 1979) conception of the term. Additionally, from here on I capitalise the term to signal a politically produced cultural grouping of persistently marginalised majority peoples in South Africa that require denotation as a proper noun as an act of resistance.

2.3.5. Makhanda

There is deeply significant discursive power for identity and nation-building in the (re)naming of a city's landscape (Forrest, 2018), particularly the commemorative (re)naming of place (Azaryahu, 1996). In South Africa, the first democratically elected government established a national Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). Although it was a contested role, they were tasked with investigating gross human rights violations committed during the apartheid era and working towards the reconciliation of segregated peoples (De le Rey, 2001). One of the areas of its mandate and work was reparations. In addition to recommending an individual reparation grant, the TRC also recommended community-level reparations in the form of community rehabilitation programmes, institutional reforms, and symbolic reparations. The latter included recommendations to establish monuments and memorials and rename roads and public spaces as a form of symbolic reparation (Constitutional Rights Foundation, 2020).

Makhanda was formerly known as Grahamstown, a remnant of the country's colonial history. John Graham (the political figure the city was formerly named after) was a Lieutenant in the Frontier Wars during the colonial era in Southern Africa. Graham is reported to have played a key role in the colonial disenfranchisement and oppression of the Xhosa nation and their removal from land which was their home during the Frontier Wars (de Villiers, 2003). "Graham's name [was] perpetuated in the naming of Grahamstown" (de Villiers, 2003, p. 29). This persisted for more than two decades following the democratisation of the country.

However, as an act of resistance against persistent remnants of the country's colonial and apartheid histories, the city's name-change was officially gazetted in 2018 (Kubheka, 2018). It was renamed after the late Makhanda ka Nxele. Makhanda ka Nxele was an amaXhosa philosopher, warrior and prophet. He fought against colonialism during the Frontier Wars and led

an attack against the British garrison in 1819. Makhanda was imprisoned on Robben Island and is remembered as one of the honourable fighters early in the struggle for liberation (Kubheka, 2018). The city's name-change to Makhanda is reported to represent the fulfilment of the prophecy of *Ukubuya kuka Nxele* (the return of Nxele). Following the gazette, South Africa's Minister of Sports, Arts and Culture, Nathi Mthethwa, noted that "the renaming of this town will ensure that Makhanda ka Nxele's memory is immortalised, and rightfully so" (IOL, 2018, p. 1).

Renaming across the country continues to be done as a way of enacting the recommendation of the TRC to rename geographic features as a form of symbolic reparation following South Africa's colonial and apartheid history. In post-colonial and post-apartheid South Africa, scholars have analysed the socio-political operation of commemorative renaming (see for example Ndletyana, 2012; Forrest, 2018; Kabinde-Machate et al., 2022). Renaming, as a mechanism of power, has the capacity to produce "a radical restructuring of power relations in society… and it indicates a profound reconstruction of social and political institutions" (Azarhayu, 1996, p. 318). The renaming of the city under investigation here occurred during a period when the discourse of transformation was prominent (Hlatswayo & Fomunyam, 2019). Although there remain slippages in the texts referenced and analysed in this study, where scholars and members of the city refer to it as Grahamstown, I choose to cite its official name for political reasons - I do this in an effort to contribute to (re)constructing our imagined transformed society as we move towards a Makhanda for us and by us, as a persistently marginalised majority peoples.

2.4. Chapter summary

The first chapter provided an overview of the South African education system during the country's pre-colonial, colonial, apartheid and democratic eras. Focusing on the latter aspect of the education-development nexus, this chapter provided an overview of the history of NGOs in the country. A noticeable form of NGOs in the country began during the apartheid era with the emergence of anti-apartheid NGOs who existed to fill the gaps in social services for the marginalised and oppressed majority. These NGOs played a key role in advocating for liberation and during the years of transition, under the leadership of the democratically elected ANC, partnered with the state to construct and operationalise unified governance. However, the effects of neoliberalism have interpellated NGOs into contentious roles in which they are critiqued for reproducing unequal power relations, rather than dismantling them (Neocosmos, 2017).

The NGO under study is located in Makhanda, in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. To provide the context of the case, an overview of the historical and socio-economic features of the Eastern Cape have been discussed. These provide insight into its characterisation as a poor province. More specifically, the prominent features of Makhanda's educational landscape were described. Education NGOs in Makhanda are critiqued for their role in maintaining educational inequity. However, the exit-level educational outcomes of the city over the past decade indicate a gradual positive shift in recent years. One way in which stakeholders in the Makhanda's educational landscape are making sense of these shifts is in the context of partnership between state and non-state entities. Finally, I concluded the introductory section of the dissertation by clarifying key terms used in the study.

In the next chapter, I focus on frameworks for understanding power relations in education and development. I identify and discuss key Foucauldian concepts, coupled with an African-centred orientation to community psychology, as theoretical lenses to consider the productions in Makhanda's educational landscape as well as the role of GADRA Education.

CHAPTER 3: FOUCAULT AND COMMUNITY PSYCHOLOGY

It is useful to untangle power relations as a way of making sense of operations of power that continue to constrain the subjectivities for the country's majority. For this purpose, Foucault's (1972) concepts are useful in thinking about the de-centralised, ubiquitous forms of power that operate over time. In this chapter, I explore the emergence of bio-politics, the power-knowledge nexus, discourse, technologies of self and resistance, institutions of pastoral power as well as counter-discourse. This exposition on power dynamics is followed by a community psychology orientation which also focuses on power and how it is exercised in ways that maintain privilege and discrimination against particular groups. Via an African-centred orientation to community psychology, I seek to contribute to dialogues on transformative change in public schooling in South Africa.

3.1. A Foucauldian way of seeing

Foucault's (1972) concepts are useful in thinking about the de-centralised, ubiquitous forms of power evident at present. Although Foucault (1972) was writing about historical transformations in mostly European nations, the insights from this work are relevant to the South African context, given the influences of globalisation and colonisation processes. In addition, Foucault advances a particular mode of analysis, which is both situated and useful across a number of contexts.

Focusing historical analysis on the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe, Foucault (1972) proposed that new forms of power and domination could be detected as a result of a reconfiguration of knowledge. Foucault (1972) traced the emergence of the human sciences and the transformation of knowledge of human beings during the classical age. From this time, new objects of knowledge could be identified. These objects "were not already demarcated, but came into existence only contemporaneous with the discursive formation that made it possible to talk about them" (Rouse, 1994, p.2). The transformation produced new kinds of knowledge of human beings, while simultaneously creating new forms of social control.

Previously, juridical and sovereign conceptions of power dominated philosophical thinking. The ancient juridical form of power was possessed by a sovereign who had the right to grant life and proclaim death. Foucault (1978) observed that "the sovereign exercised his right... he evidenced his power over life only through the death he was capable of requiring" (p. 136). However, during the classical age, Foucault argues that a profound transformation of the mechanisms of power occurred in the European nations. Replacing the right of seizure of ultimately life itself, emerged a generative, life-administering power. The deductive form of power, a right to proclaim death, transformed into a more productive form of power, a means to regulate life. Thus a generative, life-administering power became identifiable (Foucault, 1978).

3.1.1. A new form of governance: bio-politics

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Foucault (1978) identified the ushering in of bio-politics. During this period, the human population in European nations was subjected to a new style of government for ordering social life. This new form centred on the body, the "anatomo-politics of the human body", and the species body, the "bio-politics of the population" (Foucault, 1978, p. 139). Thus, the ancient sovereign form of power over social life was "carefully supplanted by the administration of bodies and the calculated management of life" (Foucault, 1978, p. 140). Here began the era of bio-politics which led to "an explosion of numerous and diverse techniques for achieving the subjugation of bodies and the control of populations" (Foucault, 1978, p. 140). Unlike the right to death, this new form of governance imposed a power over life, which Foucault (1978) termed bio-power. This form of governance exercised political power over all aspects of human life: "the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick" (Foucault, 1982, p. 341). The term "government" is used in the broad sense, denoting "the way in which the conduct of individuals or groups might be directed" (Foucault, 1982, p. 341). Bio-power became ubiquitous at every level of society.

This new style of governance, bio-power, permeated social life and assumed the responsibility of the management of life's processes, and undertook to regulate and modify them. With the decline of the sovereign's right to death, bio-power emerged as a mechanism for the regulation of society. In this way:

Power would no longer be dealing simply with legal subjects... but with living beings, and the mastery it would be able to exercise over them would have to be applied at the level of life itself; it was the taking of life, more than the threat of death, that gave power its access even to the body (Foucault, 1978, p. 142 - 143).

This new form of governance was labelled a "technology of power". It functioned to regulate and correct; "to qualify, measure, appraise and hierarchise" (Foucault, 1978, p. 144) all forms of social life. This was formulated as a productive form of power in its regulation of life at all levels. They argued that one of the consequences of the development of bio-power was the "growing importance of the action of the norm..." (Foucault, 1978, p. 144), having the effect of producing the normalisation of society. Within the context of the operation of bio-power, the maximum social regulation of life is achieved with the minimum expenditure of force (Foucault, 1975).

3.1.2. The power-knowledge nexus, and the production of the subject

Further, Foucault (1972) made a case for the inextricable link between knowledge and power. Foucault argued for a dynamic relationship between knowledge and power that produced, and continues to maintain, the normalisation of society. Foucault conceived of power dynamically (Rouse, 1994). Foucualt (1972) termed this dynamic the power-knowledge nexus and illustrated its implications for how human beings become regulated through investigating constructs such as madness, illness, death, crime, and sexuality, for example. Foucault's primary interest was the ways in which, over time, human beings were transformed into subjects and the means by which they became regulated. Foucault formulated the dynamic relationship between knowledge and power as central to this. Foucault suggested that power is decentralised and ubiquitous. Power has no location. Power is not possessed. Instead, power is dispersed throughout social networks of actions, contemporaneously induced by particular configurations of knowledge. Foucault (1975) debunked the supposed neutrality of knowledge and revealed its implications for power relations:

I have been trying to make visible the constant articulation I think there is of power on knowledge and of knowledge on power... the exercise of power creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge and accumulates new bodies of information... the

exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power (Foucault, 1975, p. 296).

Foucault (1982) was explicit about the goal of their work. They noted that the objective of their work was not to develop a methodology of the analysis of power, rather it was "to create a history of different modes by which, in our culture, human beings are made subjects" (Foucault, 1982, p. 326). The term "subject" denotes two contemporaneous meanings: firstly "subject to someone else by control and dependence" and simultaneously "tied to his own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge" (Foucault, 1982, p. 331). This scientific knowledge of the person, the human "subject", a knowing and knowable being, is a relatively new construction (Gordon, 2000). Throughout history, it has not always been that human beings are constructed as knowable beings. Foucault provides the framework to illuminate the ways in which human beings have been transformed into subjects, particularly within the disciplines of the "dubious human sciences": psychology, psychiatry, sociology, psychoanalysis, criminology and some aspects of medicine (Foucault, 1972). Foucault (1972) illustrated the ways in which such modes of inquiry gave themselves the status of science, and established themselves as disciplines. These fields of knowledge thus legitimised the transformation of human beings into subjects. Importantly, Foucault demonstrated "how these forms of knowledge were enmeshed in the problems and practices of power, the social government and management of individuals" (Gordon, 2000, p. xvi), contributing an elucidation of the political ways of seeing, which made the "apparent neutrality and political invisibility of techniques of power" (p. xv) that objectivise the subject visible.

Foucault's historical analysis of transformations in the classical age, produced a particular political perspective and displayed the dynamic relationship between ways of knowing and forms of domination that, over time, have produced the subject. This conceptualisation of the "subject" is useful to this study, as applied to youth in Makhanda to explore the ways in which they have become interlocked in a subjectifying power relationship that excludes them from meaningful participation in Makhanda's educational landscape.

3.1.3. Technologies of power and technologies of the self

Foucault (1982) reflected on technologies of power, which produce subjects, defining these technologies as those techniques "which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivising of the subject" (p. 225). Thus, in simple terms, technologies of power are the mechanisms by which this new form of power, a power over life, transforms human beings into subjects - knowable and (self) regulated objects. Furthermore, Foucault (1982) rejected conceptualisations of "truth". Instead, they pointed to the dynamic relationship between knowledge and power that produces "truth games", those historically situated forms of knowledge that exist within an "epistemic context within which certain knowledges become intelligible and authoritative" (Gordon, 2000, p. 1). Rouse (1994) further explains that "it might be that what counts as a serious and important claim at one time will not (perhaps cannot) even be entertained as a candidate for truth at another" (p. 2).

And so, human beings draw on particular configurations of knowledge available to them in their cultural-historic environment and use them to understand themselves and others. Foucault (1982) labelled this specific technique of knowledge of self as a technology of self. Thus, technologies of the self are those techniques

> which permit individuals to effect by their own means, or with the help of others, a certain number of operations on their bodies, souls, thoughts, conduct and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality (Foucault, 1982, p. 225).

In this study, I am interested in those modes of intervention experienced by Makhanda youths in education, which encourage them to effect particular strategies in order to attain predetermined educational outcomes, deemed successful. Similar to Foucault (1982), "I am more and more interested in the interaction between oneself and others, and in the technologies of individual domination..." (p. 225). One of the modes of intervention of the case under study is mentorship. In Phase Two of this study, where I pay particular attention to the technologies of self that are evident in the narratives of members, I am interested in the forms of self-knowledge produced in the context of mentorship. Through mentorship, the Organisation attempts to enact educational transformation in Makhanda's landscape, as well as the individual lives of their members. These technologies of power are some of the many forms and modes of application of the exercise of

bio-power, wherein "knowledge-power is an agent of transformation of human life" (Foucault, 1978, p. 143).

3.1.4. Discourse

Discourse is a key vehicle by which to untangle the various ways in which knowledge has been configured, and its productions on knowledge of self, knowledge of others, as well as social practices and regulations. It is a key site for Foucauldian thinkers and refers to the ways of constituting knowledge and the accompanying "practices that systemically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). It is the embodiment of the dynamics of power-knowledge. It is also the primary means by which power reproduces itself, and the site of power relations (Foucault, 1978).

Discourse will be analysed as a central methodology in this study, to be further explored in a later chapter. I deploy this conception of discourse to identify the various ways in which South African education is constituted, and the ways in which organisational practice is constituted at GADRA. Discourse also shapes subjectivity and experience (Willig, 2013). It is strongly implicated in the exercise of power over life (Foucault, 1972). I thus seek to highlight the relations and reproductions of power as they apply to Makhanda youths in education.

3.1.5. Institutions of pastoral power

Institutions are also implicated in power-knowledge relations, as important sites of discursive power. Foucault (1978) conceived of a diverse range of institutions, including "the family and the army, schools and the police, individual medicine and the administration of collective bodies" (p. 141), as instruments of the state. Institutions were described as sites of power, utilising techniques of regulation at every level of the social body, to maintain the (re)production of particular configurations of social relations (Foucault, 1978).

For example, to advance the colonial agenda in Southern Africa, regulation of every aspect of social life had to be achieved. Schools were strategic sites for this. In the 1800s, the discourse of civilisation provided the rationalisation for the opening of schools by the colonial settlers in Southern Africa. Formalised schooling functioned as a disciplinary technology for so-called

natives; it became a primary mechanism by which missionaries could evangelise and achieve the salvation of such people (Lewis & Lemmer, 2004).

During the apartheid era, schools were similarly strategic sites for heightened discipline, regulation and surveillance of the majority. Bantu education became a powerful means to advance "*die apartheid-gedagte* (the apartheid idea)", which regulated every aspect of human life, wherein "boundaries were to be reasserted and spaces reorganised, the movements of people systematised and contained, races rescued from 'impurity', the notion of family rehabilitated and 'the savage discipline of tribal life' restored" (Posel, 2001, p. 58). In post-apartheid South Africa, schools remain positioned as strategic sites for achieving governance. Overarching governance goals are now labelled as democratic goals, and they are constructed as having liberatory effects for the majority (NPC, 2011).

In the techno-political overview of the history and structure of the South African education system, we see that (educational) institutions are shaped by discourse and contemporaneously create, impose and reproduce discourse. They exercise power that "foster[s] particular kinds of identities to suit their own purposes" and that they have the "capacity to produce and disseminate discourses with institutional values, meanings and positions" (Mayr, 2008, p. 1). Thus in the present-day, critical attention to the role of schools in shaping subject positions made available for South African youth is important. For the purposes of this study, I am also attentive to the available subject positions made available by discourse at GADRA. Youths cannot escape the effects of bio-power on their educational futures; however, the insertion of counter-discourses in education can shift the subject positions availed for them. This strategy has the potential to cultivate the conditions for emancipation. I explore the concepts of counter-discourse and technologies of resistance further below, and apply them to this study in the chapters that follow. Ultimately, educational institutions are important sites for the reproduction of certain configurations of knowledge, and are thus important sites for emancipatory change. In this study, I investigate the features of counter-discourse at GADRA, as well as the extent to which it has contributed to counter-constructions of educational selves in Makhanda's landscape.

Foucault (cited in Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982), argued that pastoral power is exercised in institutions that exist to care for and support the body populace. The concept of pastoral power mirrors that of the pastorate: it evokes the image of a shepherd tending to a flock. Previously, the

church exercised pastoral care; it was responsible for the salvation and redemption of the individual and society. This role gradually shifted to other state and non-state institutions. NGOs can be read as extensions of the disciplinary power, filling the service delivery gaps of the state (Habib & Taylor, 1999). As described in the previous chapter, they have come into existence to provide support and care services, advocacy and capacity development (Matthews & Nqaba, 2017). They are also a strategic site for the exercising of pastoral power over the body populace in areas such as rural development, health, education, welfare, human rights, and several other "social issues" (Heinrich, 2001). In this way, the range of pastoral functions is spread throughout the social body. In the history of South African education specifically, the segregationist practices of Bantu education during the apartheid era, as well as the decentralisation of education in South Africa's current democracy, we witnessed the exercise of pastoral power extending to NGOs who contributed to the schooling of the body populace in the education sector. This can be read as an extension of disciplinary power to the management and education of South African youths.

Unlike sovereign power, which dominates and has power over, pastoral power is a productive power that produces and regulates subjects. Interestingly, effecting surveillance induces self-discipline. Central to the exercise of pastoral power is the involvement of members of these institutions in the private lives of individuals through various confessional practices, and other such mechanisms of surveillance, regulation and management. In this study, I explore this concept in relation to GADRA's educational mentoring practices. In addition, reading South Africa's annual preoccupation with school exit-level outcomes, and involvement in various local and international assessments of educational achievement (as described in the first chapter), as expressions of pastoral power provides insights into the problematics of the discourse of "crisis in education" (to be expanded upon further in Chapter Four). I explore this further in the review of discourses in South African school education in the following chapters.

3.1.6. Counter-discourse and technologies of resistance

Foucault's (1982) formulation of power-knowledge dynamics provides insights into particular ways in which knowledge is configured, and the implications for the management of the body populace. This, however, is not the only consequence of their formulations. Foucault (1982) notes the "series of oppositions that have developed over the last few years: oppositions to the

power of men over women, of parents over children, of administration over the ways people live" (p.329). The opposition to dominant discourse that they identified signal a more general principle regarding the changes that are possible in discursive fields. These highlight the scope of resistance that the nature of discourse avails. Because knowledge or truth exists within networks of power relations, these can be shifted. The constitution of knowledge configurations also encompass the possibility that critical knowledges would form, that would "speak the truth to power, exposing domination for what it is, and thereby enabling or encouraging effective resistance to it" (Rouse, 1994, p. 6). Thus, a shift in knowledge configurations, a shift in discourse, could result in shifted power relations.

What Foucault's (1982) formulation of discourse avails for us is "another way to go further toward a new economy of power relations... It consists of taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point" (p. 329). In this way, Foucauldian ways of seeing provide tools and perspectives for resistance. I use these tools to review the "crisis in education" discourse in our nation, and to identify pockets of counter-knowledge about the state of and possibilities within South African education (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023). Further, I seek to use this way of seeing to identify practices of resistance in education, and begin to identify the conditions that potentially cultivate educational and social change.

Discourse and practice are also used by people to make sense of the world and themselves. I use the work of a Foucauldian scholar, Tamboukou (1999), to consider how members at GADRA construct narratives about their experiences with the Organisation. Narratives are revealing sources of the ways in which persons constitute themselves, and the ways these are interwoven with power-knowledge relations that are shaped by fluctuations in historical, social, cultural, political and economic factors (Tamboukou, 2008). I am curious about the cultural practices that members used to constitute themselves as educational subjects, whilst the features in the educational landscape shifted. In searching organisational members' narratives, I seek to identify the kinds of practices at GADRA that link to the kinds of external conditions in Makhanda's educational landscape, to determine the discursive production of narratives under investigation (Tamboukou, 2008).

The self is described as a discursive formation, a result of the ways in which power produces knowledge about the human as a knowing and knowable being. Similar to the ways Foucault

(1982) constitutes discourse, so Tamboukou (2008) constitutes narratives as discursive regimes, which create the conditions of the possibility for counter-discourses to arise. Tamboukou (2008) notes that these carry out

> a twofold functioning: first, as technologies of power, 'which determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination, an objectivizing of the subject' according to Foucault (1988: 18) and second as technologies of the self, active practices of self-formation (p. 6).

Tamboukou became increasingly interested in the subjective capacities of women in education in resisting the effects of power in prescribing their positions. The author traced the ways in which women constructed new forms of subjectivity. Much of the author's work thus focuses on questions of power and resistance in the constitution of the self (Tamboukou, 2003). I use their conception of technologies of resistance to explore counter-discourse in Makhanda and its influence on changing educational selves.

A community psychology orientation to research and practice compliments and further advances the study's focus on power-knowledge dynamics and their implications for subjectivities and social practice. Below, I land within my disciplinary home and offer a description of the subfield and its characterising features.

3.2. A community psychology orientation

Community psychology is a subfield within the discipline of psychology. Foucault (1972) lists psychology, and its associated disciplines psychiatry, sociology, psychoanalysis, criminology and the like, as a modern power, a discipline, which transforms human beings into subjects. Foucault categorises these as the "dubious human sciences", modes of inquiry that give themselves the status of science, and advance the idea of a scientific knowledge of a person, constructed as a knowing and knowable being. Psychology is described as the systematic study of how people think, act and feel within a cultural-historical context (Mio et al., 2012).

3.2.1. The legitimation of the discipline of Psychology in South Africa

Laher & Cockcroft (2014) describe the contentious history of the emergence of the discipline of Psychology in South Africa. They trace the ways in which the formalisation, and thus

legitimisation, of the discipline was closely aligned with the apartheid regime. The expansion of the cornerstone practice of Psychological Assessment within Psychology provided one of the rationalisations for separate development.

The practice of Psychological Assessment can be read as a mechanism of bio-power, a representation of the ways in which "the human body was entering a machinery of power that explores it, breaks it down, and rearranges it…" (Foucault, 1978, p.182). This specialism sought "to qualify, measure, appraise and hierarchise" (Foucault, 1978, p. 144) the human psyche and was used to justify the inferiority of Black people, and the superiority of white people (Onwuzurike, 1987). During the mid-to-late 1900s in South Africa psychological tests were developed and expanded. During this time, "assessment was used predominantly to support the government's racist agenda" (Laher & Cockcroft, 2014, p. 305). Although normed against the white minority, the tests were sometimes used to understand psychological aspects of Black people, with the intention of justifying further regulation, marginalisation and disenfranchisement.

In 1974, the Health Professions Act recognised Psychology as a profession, to regulate the earlier establishment (in 1948) of the South African Psychological Association (SAPA) (Suffla et al., 2001). With the establishment of the discipline of Psychology, what was accepted as "truth" about racial differences advanced the colonial agenda via the discourse of race, its accompanying practices and institutions. After the dawn of democracy in 1994, a national non-racial regulatory body, the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA) was formed as a statutory body, with which even I am currently registered.

3.2.2. A counter-discourse: community psychology

Unlike the individualistic approaches that dominate most of the discipline of Psychology, community psychology offers an alternative paradigm (Maseko et al., 2017). It represents a counter-discourse of resistance in the field of psychology, and emerged from the inadequacies of dominant psychological discourse to address the psychosocial urgencies of peoples in their socio-political contexts. Visser et al. (2022) note that "Community Psychology most often develops in reaction to the sociopolitical context in which it is implemented, therefore the character of Community Psychology differs from region to region" (p. 7).

In apartheid South Africa, the practice of psychology catered for the white minority and had an individual and remedial focus. Visser et al. (2022) note that it was in the 1980s, at the height of the country's apartheid regime, that a group of psychologists called for attention to the atrocities produced by the apartheid system. Organisations such as the Organisation for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSSA) and the Psychology and Africa Group (PAG) formed as a response to highlight the psychosocial conditions of the oppressed majority (Yen, 2007). These organisations continued to influence psychology through the apartheid and democratic eras in South Africa. In terms of the academic discipline, the first textbook, *Community psychology: Theory, method and practice* (Seedat et al., 2001) was published in 2001, and several others have followed (Visser et al., 2022). Operating as modes of resistance, professional organisations have evolved in post-apartheid South Africa, and organisations such as the Psychological Society of South Africa (PsySSA) continue to drive efforts towards decoloniality and epistemic justice (Stevens & Sonn, 2021) in this sub-field.

Community psychology can thus be understood as both a worldview and approach to action and research (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010). This includes theory-making, empirical research, university teaching, socio-political activism, and therapy. Community psychology views individual behaviour, health and well-being within a broader socio-political context (Naidoo et al., 2003). In particular, it focuses on where power lies and exposes mechanisms of discrimination against particular groups (Fisher et al., 2007). As captured by Nelson and Prilleltensky (2010), community psychology is work in pursuit of liberation and well-being for all. It is concerned with human resource development, political activity and scientific inquiry. Kagan et al. (2020) describe it as focused on principled social change that addresses the most pressing issues of our time; hence my focus on education in Makhanda. It emphasises value-based, participatory work as well as forging alliances. It offers an opportunity to rethink and reconstruct systems of knowledge and practice from the perspective of the marginalised majority (Burton & Kagan, 2005) and thus to move towards our imagined transformed societies (Kagan et al., 2022).

3.2.3. Features of community psychology

In South Africa, psychology has been criticised for being complicit in large-scale social engineering associated with apartheid and failing to acknowledge and respond to the effects of the system on the well-being of people (Visser, 2012), even post-apartheid (De la Rey & Ipser, 2004; Macleod, 2004). The identification of its problematic productions offers the opportunity to respond to and advocate for the needs of the persistently marginalised majority. For the purpose of this study, the values and principles of community psychology are very pertinent, as synthesised below.

3.2.3.1. Multi-level, systems approach

A distinguishing feature of this mode of psychological practice is its rejection of traditional individualistic approaches. Conversely, it focuses analyses and intervention at the level other than the individual. Instead, it foregrounds the broader social context of the individual, acknowledging the role of multiple social systems on subjectivity (Willig, 2013). It thus embraces a multi-layered focus by analysing and intervening across a number of systems: micro-systems encompass the individual and their immediate environment, which may include family and other close social networks; meso-systems are the links between micro-systems, such as a youth's home, school and peer-group interactions with one another; exo-systems are the social structures and major institutions of society - this includes mass media and social welfare services, for example; macro-systems are those cultural-historical social norms, economic systems and policies which influence subjectivities; finally, chrono-systems are those changes both in individual and the environment over time (Visser, 2022).

Additionally, the practice of community psychology is deeply situated. In practice, there is great awareness of the socio-contextual characteristics of these particular communities, as well as the astute awareness of the matrices of culture, history, socio-economics and the politics within the community (Seedat & Lazarus, 2011).

3.2.3.2. Social Justice

Because community psychologies tend to emerge out of resistance, they are characterised by a commitment to the use of the skills and knowledges of practitioners and community partners, in relevant and socially responsible ways, to find ways to disrupt problematic social structures that

maintain inequalities (Bantjies et al., 2016). Thus, practice seeks to approximate justice by taking seriously "people's rights to self-determination; to a fair allocation of resources; to live in peace, with freedom from constraints; and to be treated freely and equitably" (Kagan et al., 2015).

The issue of social justice is particularly important within the socio-political history of South Africa. Individual subjectivities continue to be strained by structural injustices, shaped by racial and socio-cultural prejudices. There persists the need to advocate for disempowered and marginalised people, necessitating the work of social advocacy as an integral part of community interventions. This orientation thus not only acknowledges, but foregrounds, a

> critical awareness of the role that political factors play within the domain of the psychological. An understanding of both how politics impacts upon the psychological and how personal psychology may be the level at which politics is internalised and individually entrenched (Hook, 2004, p. 85)

Practice that seeks to untangle the psychological implications of these dynamics is founded on a deep respect for human diversity and dignity (Seedat & Lazarus, 2011). Members are committed to cultivate the conditions in which human diversity is enabled, and the dignity of people recognised and respected. Variances that reflect humanity, variances in age, gender, ethnicity, ability and disability, socio-economic standing, religious identification, and the like, are respected, catered for, celebrated and embraced (Kagan et al., 2020). Ways in which historical processes have undermined these variances are also actively resisted.

3.2.3.3. Health, well-being and sense of belonging

The practice of community psychology is preventative (Maseko et al., 2017), promoting the holistic health and well-being of individuals, communities and whole societies. Rather than a sole focus on amelioration, it has a strength-based focus and seeks to prevent physical and mental health problems (Shinn, 2015). Interventions are aimed at reducing the public health consequences of social problems and psychopathology (Levine et al., 2005). It values and promotes peer and social support, as well as cultivating and reinforcing emotional connections and feelings of belonging (Visser et al., 2022). When members perceive similarities between themselves and others, they are said to experience a sense of belonging. This contributes to mutual commitment, a feeling of togetherness and being able to rely on and contribute to a larger dependable structure.

In addition, the concepts of bonding and bridging capital have conceptual utility for analysing the social interactions and feelings of togetherness, within community participation in development initiatives. These concepts have their theoretical homes in social capital theory in the field of economic sociology (Granovetter, 1973) and educational sociology (Bourdieu, 1985). Woolcock (2001) extended these by arguing for linking capital as a type of bridging capital that acknowledges the inherent power relations in vertical associations. These concepts are also used in the fields of community development and community psychology (Perkins et al., 2002).

Popularised by Putnam (2000), the concept of social capital has been used to argue for the strengthening of networks of solidarity to catalyse civic action and thus social change. Applied to education, scholars have used Bourdieu's (1985) formulations of social capital to explore the relationship between social capital and educational achievement in divergent socio-economic contexts (Menahem, 2011), diverse school contexts (Plagens, 2011), and its interactions in higher education (Jansen & Jetten, 2015). More locally, related to education NGOs and university-school partnerships, McCann et al. (2021) used the associated concepts of bonding, bridging and linking the capital to illustrate the social capital leveraged by civil society and community organisations to contribute to social change. The authors, who also constituted members of the university-school partnership, reflect on the *Nine-Tenths Mentoring Programme* (to be described in the case study chapter) as a "model as a means of leveraging community resources in pursuit of educational change" (McCann et al., 2021, p. 46). They too argue for the bonds and bridges between community-based organisations and the education sector to contribute further to community and educational regeneration and social change.

For the purposes of this case, bonding capital is formulated as the connections within the public education community in Makhanda, where members share relatively similar statuses (e.g. head teachers and principals of schools) and have available to them similar types of information and socio-economic resources. Claridge (2018) describes these connections as inward-looking and protective, with members interacting frequently. A dense network of strong relationships is described where members feel a sense of belonging. This is sometimes geographically circumscribed. It helps members to build their social relationships and may then facilitate collaborative action (Adler & Kwon, 2002). Threats to these types of relations are that they may become rigid and exclusive, breeding discrimination towards outsiders. Chief critiques of this

form of social capital are that it may be exclusive and have little effect on economic outcomes (Claridge, 2018).

Bridging capital draws people together from across social divisions (Putnam, 2000) and may be formulated as relations between different organisations, in this case, education stakeholders in Makhanda. Claridge (2018) describes this type of social capital as those connections of exchange between members with shared interests but contrasting social identities or statuses. This networking occurs outside members' typical social groupings. It enables an exchange of information, ideas, and innovation and may build consensus amongst members representing diverse interests. Members can access information and power for better placement within the networks or it affords members the opportunity to recognise opportunities. It functions as a social lubricant and members can build social leverage to "get ahead". It is inclusive yet dynamic (changing networks) as well as voluntary, including membership in associations that are representative of the larger society. Between the groups, there may be so-called "weak" ties or "thin" trust, but these could be strengths of this type of capital (Granovetter, 1973), being more outward-looking (Putnam, 2000). Bridging capital can improve economic development, growth and employment (Claridge, 2018).

Linking capital considers the power dynamics of social relations. Woolcock (2001) describes it as a subset of bridging social capital. Claridge (2018) highlights that it can be both vertical and horizontal. Relations here exist within a hierarchy where power, social status and wealth are accessed differentially. Differences between partners are a conscious part of the relationship. There are inherent dynamics of power (e.g. the NGO builds a relationship with the HEI and the HEI has relative power over them). However, there is an expected level of reciprocity. NGOs may be described as brokers of social capital (Claridge, 2018).

3.2.3.4. Self-determination, collaboration and empowerment

In addition, community psychology's principles of self-determination, collaboration and empowerment challenge power that is taken for granted. Members are considered to be their own agents of change. Practice from this orientation seeks to "foster inclusive practices... and to challenge marginalisation" by "recognising that many people have invaluable expertise through their lived experiences" (Williams & Zlotowitz, 2013, p. 25). Practices are founded on a

commitment to collaboration, partnership and active participation (Levine et al., 2005). Additionally, asset-based approaches are employed to identify and build on strengths and further develop bonds, bridges and links between persons and communities, as well as between various institutions (Donaldson & Daughtery, 2011; Perkins et al., 2002).

Participatory forms of practice, rather than so-called "expert-led" endeavours, seek to address the criticisms of traditional psychology as socially irrelevant. They seek to promote agency, ownership, and democratic participation in civic life (Cornish et al., 2018). This way of working seeks to build capacity, solidarity and team support, to enable more effective advocacy and the conditions in which emancipation can occur. Practitioners seek out opportunities for reciprocal engagement and solidarity with partners in the pursuit of liberation and well-being for all. Rather than the monolithic, single and centralised solutions of developing "helping" structures (which are often perceived as scarce and lacking in systematically disadvantaged environments), community psychology is interested in civic empowerment. This involves "both individual determination over one's own life and democratic participation in the life of one's community", as well as "a psychological sense of personal control and influence AND actual social influence, political power & legal rights" (Rappaport, 1987, p.121).

3.2.3.5. Multidisciplinarity

Community settings are intrinsically multidisciplinary (Malpert etal., 2017). A community psychology orientation to practice embraces partnership and collaboration with various stakeholders, positioned across multi-level systems and holding different forms of knowledge, to work together to address community-identified challenges. In these settings lived experience, diversity, multiculturalism and social justice are highly valued, and psychological theory provides guiding principles and frameworks for understanding phenomena. The convergence of values and common goals between various members have the potential to enhance the success of the interventions. Members with different expertise come together to address complex socio-contextual challenges, developing solutions that could not be achieved otherwise (Proctor & Vu, 2019).

3.2.4. An African-centred orientation to community psychology

In addition to embracing the features described above, I situate myself firmly within what national scholars (e.g., Ratele, 2019) are constituting as an African-centred community psychology. Through enactment of this research, I seek to move towards a reimagined, even reclaimed, community psychology via an Africa(n)-centredness to practice. I situate myself "here", what Ratele (2019) incisively captures as "a situated practice... [that] articulates and enacts your position in the world. It is an act that reads, the world looks like this from here. Here, to be clear, is not just a place" (p. 8).

> Here, Africa(n)-centred is not about geographical location, but about epistemological situatedness - capturing the experiential, phenomenological and material fields that are of and from Africa, but speaking constantly to adjacent fields outside of Africa (Ratele, et al., 2021, p. 48)

Together with others, I strongly support the assertion that "...effective political change in colonial contexts requires action on both subjective (i.e. psychological) and objective (i.e. social, material, economic) levels" (Hook, 2004, p. 102). I embrace work that has a clear focus on promoting the wellbeing of all who have been deeply affected by the legacies of historic oppression and discrimination, and support the overarching political goals to advance psychosocial justice (Ratele et al., 2022). This mode of practice acknowledges and foregrounds the psychological implications of the colonial encounter, and asserts that emancipatory work has both subjective and social-material implications (Hook, 2004). Such a form of community psychology locates causation of mental distress firmly in the systemic influences that lead to unequal and sub-optimal environmental conditions, which shape communities' and individuals' lives (Jimenez et al., 2019) and limit access to resources, material and symbolic.

In order to tackle these challenges, it is necessary to confront the exercising of power, both manifest and subtle; and to employ action and research that are interventionist and participatory (Ratele et al., 2022), to disrupt the status quo. Through identifying how power enables discrimination against particular groups, and privilege for others (Fisher et al., 2007), value-based and participatory work that is founded upon forging alliances is recommended. Such collaborative work builds upon the expertise and knowledges of all involved, providing opportunities to rethink and reconstruct systems of knowledge and practice, from the perspective

of the marginalised majority and thus move towards transformed relationships and collective action (Kagan et al., 2020).

In the evidence provided in this study, I aim to show how the operationalisation of the principles of critical African-centred community psychology (Ratele et al., 2022) specifically can make important contributions at the nexus of theory and practice, towards community regeneration via education and, ultimately, towards social change. The African-centred orientation to community psychology situates us "here" (Ratele, 2019) to theorise about community-based organisations and their interactions in the South African educational landscape. I hope to offer insights that could contribute to the dialogues on transformative change in public schooling in South Africa.

3.3. Chapter summary

Hook (2004) makes a case for why critical psychologies may be a useful site to think about justice and social change and how their applications can be deployed as a means of consolidating resistance to power. I propose that psychology is a useful site from which to think about transformational educational change in South African school education. I deploy a Foucauldian way of seeing, as well as operationalise the principles of an Africa(n)-centred community psychology, both with a focus on power relations, to do so. At the interface of the country's socio-political histories and the contentious histories of the discipline of psychology in South Africa (e.g. Laher & Cockcroft, 2014), I place psychological concepts within a political register (Hook, 2004).

In the next chapter, I identify and discuss the discourses circulating in South African school education, from the perspective of community psychology.

CHAPTER 4: DISCOURSE IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

One of the primary objectives of this study is to situate GADRA within South Africa's socio-political context, particularly within the country's education sector. My first task in reaching this objective was to provide a techno-political description of the structure of the country's education system. In compiling the overview of the education system, what became immediately identifiable was the place of education NGOs at the interface of the country's education-development nexus - education had been contemporaneously constructed with development in South Africa's national discourse. I consider discourse to be a site of power relations, a means by which power reproduces itself (Foucault, 1978). In order to deepen the understanding of the position of the GADRA Education, an important prefatory task was to review the discourses in South African school education to better formulate the power relations, and their productions, in the sector. What I present in this chapter is the review of discourses in post-apartheid school education. The findings from my review were published in the *Journal of Education* (see Msomi & Akhurst, 2023, in Appendix 6).

In examining education in transition in South Africa, it is useful to analyse the role of discourse in shaping the educational landscape. In this chapter, I seek to highlight relations and reproductions of power in South African education and the positions produced for citizenry, particularly for youth. I use a Foucauldian lens to identify the various ways in which South African education is constructed in the literature reviewed. I consider the various ways in which knowledge about education in South Africa is constituted and the accompanying "practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). Below, I identify and discuss the prominent discourses circulating in the country's education sector: discourses of human rights, democracy, and good governance; rights; development; scarce skills; crisis; and privatisation.

Despite the centrality of education in the national development discourse, the state of education is generally described as marked by stark and persistent inequalities (Spaull, 2019). To untangle this contradiction and reveal the techniques of power that produce a persistently marginalised majority, I reviewed selected post-apartheid South African school education literature. I took a critical community psychology perspective (Stevens & Sonn, 2021), which foregrounds the

politics of power, to enable us to consider the challenges facing school education in South Africa today. From a psychological perspective, I attempted to understand people in, and surrounding, school education within their social, historical, political, cultural and socio-economic context. In this chapter, I provide an analysis of the role of discourse in shaping South African school education, and in wider social processes of legitimation and power in education. I consider the subjective implications for youth and surrounding stakeholders in thinking about the challenges facing school education, and the opportunities that lie ahead. This perspective offers an opportunity to rethink and reconstruct systems of knowledge and practice from the perspective of the marginalised majority (Kagan et al., 2020), and thus moving towards our imagined transformed educational landscape.

4.1. Prominent discourses in South African school education

From a Foucauldian perspective, a meta-synthesis of selected post-apartheid education literature is conducted to identify prominent discourses circulating around the country's basic education sector. The review presented here is part of a larger single-case study of an education non-governmental organisation (NGO). We take a critical community psychological perspective, which foregrounds the politics of power, to enable us to consider the challenges facing school education in South Africa today. The discourses of democracy, human rights and good governance; development; rights; scarce skills; the crisis in education; and privatisation; are identified and discussed. In light of these, we argue for the role of counter-discourses and a collective emancipatory perspective to advance transformational educational change, and embrace the opportunities in the future.

4.1.1. The global discourse of human rights, democracy, and good governance

Scholars reviewing the post-apartheid landscape of South Africa signal a globally hegemonic circulation of the discourse of human rights, democracy and good governance in South Africa during the years of transition from an apartheid state (Neocosmos, 2017). They highlight the effects of the spread of neoliberalism across the globe, particularly its effects in Africa. Underpinned by a Eurocentric ideology, this discourse purports liberal formulations of power and governance, which assume that democracy and human rights are universal values that should

be imposed on all societies. Neocosmos (2017) argues that this discourse represents a new form of imperialism in the ways that it undermines African governments' (a) decisions about their economies, and (b) national sovereignties via imperial intervention, to enforce Western conceptions of good governance. It ignores the historical and cultural specificities of different societies, and the ways in which power operates differently in different contexts. In Foucauldian terms, it can be seen as a form of governmentality (Foucault, 1982), which is a form of power that operates through the rationalisation and management of populations. This discourse, as a form of governing colonial power, constructs subjectivities, regulates behaviours, and ultimately shapes the management of populations.

In the 1970s, from the perspective of the European gaze on Africa, and via this discourse of human rights, democracy and good governance, Africans were transformed from agents of political change during the struggles for liberation, to victims of famine, war and disease. More specifically, in South Africa, the proliferation of empowerment programmes in the 1990s, reified this passivity of citizenry. Neocosmos (2017) highlights the irony of these productions of power following the liberation of the country by its own people.

The discourse of human rights, democracy, and good governance can thus be seen as a form of power that operates through the production and regulation of knowledge and the construction of subjects. Foucault's (1982b) concept of power is not limited to the exercise of authority by those in positions of formal power, but rather a pervasive force that permeates all aspects of social life, including knowledge production, social institutions, and individual subjectivity. The right-to-education discourse, discussed below, is traceable as a production of this globally hegemonic human rights, democracy and good governance discourse (Westaway, 2009).

4.1.2. The rights discourse

Reporting on a situational analysis of the state of education in South Africa, Westaway (2012) describes a predominating rights-based discourse produced by an emphasis on constitutional rights in the country during the initial years of transition, in the early 1990s. Embedded in the right-to-education discourse are legal and juridical claims to entitlements based on constitutionalism. This reflects neoliberal logic which prioritises individual choice and market-based solutions (Hall & Pulsford, 2019). Under this logic, the role of legal frameworks

and market-oriented policies are emphasised in the promotion of education for all. With the democratisation of the country, education for all was designated to the domain of politics regulated by the state, and thus the right-to-education positioned as the duty of the state (Smith & Ngoma-Maema, 2003). Circulations of the logic of this discourse appear in education policy post-apartheid. For example, the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 which makes schooling compulsory from age seven (grade 1) to age 15 (grade 9).

More than two decades into democracy, the rights discourse continues to circulate prominently in school education discourse in South Africa. Despite the rhetoric of access to education, the promotion of quality and democratic governance in the schooling system (South African Schools Act of 1996), the context of persistent socio-economic exclusion of the majority of South Africans renders quality education inaccessible. Spreen and Vally (2006) situate the right-to-education within a broader international human rights framework, closely aligned to neo-liberal policies (for example, treaties signed by nation states). They show the ways in which discourse shapes subjectivity and experience (Willig, 2013) by underscoring so-called socio-economic barriers to access to education, which include school fees, and other related schooling costs (such as uniform, transport costs, etc.). Others call to attention high dropout rates, disproportionate cohort sizes in exit-level schooling, lack of adequate learning and teaching material, insufficient time spent in school, and other barriers (Bloch, 2009; Fleisch 2008). However, within the context of the sustained circulation of the rights discourse, the rhetoric of access to quality education for all is emphasised whilst inadvertently masking barriers to education and downplaying systemic and structural inequalities that affect access to education.

In resistance to this dominant discourse in education, Spreen and Vally (2006) offer "another way to go further toward a new economy of power relations... It consists of taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point" (Foucault, 1982, p. 329). They differentiate between the *right-to-education* (denoting access) and advocate for *rights-in-education* (denoting quality of education and educational opportunities). They argue for a reconceptualisation of human rights in education; one that is extended to include quality of education and educational opportunities. Noting deepening poverty and inequality in the country, and its effects on the quality of education for all, the authors argue instead for *rights-in-education* focussing on a conception of rights within a collective human rights

framework. Neocosmos (2017) might refer to such conceptions as encompassing collective subjectivity that is valid for all, and not just for certain sections of society. This collective conception of human rights acknowledges the intersections between economic, political and social conditions which enable or disable educational and thus civic and democratic participation in society.

The discourse of human rights, democracy and good governance remained dominant in South Africa during the years of transition and the early years of democracy. However, in the context of the global financial crisis in 2008, a shift toward a discourse of development in Africa circulated more prominently (Neocosmos, 2017).

4.1.3. The development discourse

The genealogy (Foucault, 1978) of the development discourse is closely tied to the colonial agenda. During the colonial era, the rhetoric of modernisation masked this agenda and constructed Africans as uncivilised, and thus needing development. However, during the years of independence, in the 1950s and 1960s, the rhetoric of modernisation was pronounced and coupled with economic growth imperatives in Africa. More locally, the proliferation of empowerment programmes in the 1990s in South Africa operated as apparatuses of this discourse. This was similar to other such apparatuses in operation on the continent, such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank's Structural Adjustment Programmes. These apparatuses of power were used to exert control over the economies of African countries, and thus functioned as a mechanism of neoliberal economic governance (Lesay, 2012).

In response to the negative socio-economic consequences of these apparatuses of development, counter-discourses of development emerged which emphasised poverty reduction, human development and the value of social institutions (Clark, 2005). This shift in discourse about development in Africa intersected with shifts in national development discourse in South Africa to enable productions on South African school education. Constructions of development here then centred around the need to address historical inequalities and promote social and economic development through education (NPC, 2011).

More recently in the school education literature, within a more socio-contextually responsive framework of development, emerges the conception of African Renaissance. This aimed to promote African-led development and reduce dependency on foreign aid (Zeleza, 2009). It circulates very closely with conceptions of *rights-in-education* (Spreen & Vally, 2006) and has been extended to highlight the issue of epistemological access (Morrow, 2007). These counter-discourse have together triggered debates about the epistemological muddle that Morrow (2007) exposes. These ongoing debates have fuelled the growth of the subfield of indigenous knowledge systems (Seehawer, et al., 2021), for instance, and critical knowledges about the transformation (Napier, 2003) and decolonisation (Mahabeer, 2021) of South African school education.

The macro-interactional discourses produce the simultaneous passivisation and responsibilisation of South African citizens. We explore the micro-interactional productions on learners, and surrounding stakeholders, in South African schooling below.

4.1.4. The scarce skills discourse

The "scarce skills" discourse features prominently within the South African national development discourse in education. The "scarce skills" construct is heard regularly in mass media, television talk shows and radio programmes wherein it is pervasively used to describe the education-economy relationship in South Africa (Balwanz & Ngcwangu, 2016; Vally, 2020). This discourse purports that "education is not teaching what the economy needs". Another version of this discourse is the "mismatch" discourse which claims that "people don't have the right skills, that's why they are unemployed". Herein "skills shortages" are constructed as the reasons for persistence of poverty, inequality, and employment, while "skills development" is constructed as the solution. Through these constructions, skills development is positioned as a means to attain national development goals.

Critical scholars reveal the ways in which this discourse constrains responses to structural unemployment. Vally and Motala (2014) incisively underscore that, in fact, many factors, unrelated to education and skills, contribute to the nation's pervasive unemployment challenge. The number of South Africans living below the poverty line, the unemployment rate and the

weak economic growth since the 2008 global financial crisis are prominent developmental challenges identified.

This discourse, particularly when echoed by mass media and in the context of mass unemployment and inequality, is seductive and plays on the anxieties of both parents and youth (Vally, 2020). While parents wish to see their children succeed, youth are led to believe that education should provide them with a competitive advantage. This socialises youth to expect to realise their potential via the market: by marketing themselves and meeting their needs via the market (Vally, 2020). These processes, and accompanying practices, promote a misguided conception of education, wherein meeting the needs of the economy is constructed as the purpose of education. Within this discourse, "skills" are made to be synonymous with "occupations". This promotes a reductive understanding of education that advances prescriptive learning and a focus on qualifications and occupational-preparedness (Balwanz and Ngcwangu, 2016). This produces skewed education reform priorities post-democracy (Balwanz and Ngcwangu, 2016) and simplifies the multi-faceted purpose of education (Vally, 2020).

However, counter-discourse is emerging. Critical scholars trouble the narrow conceptualisations purported by this discourse. They disrupt the basic assumption of the linear relationship between education, the economy and skills by asserting that unemployment is a structural problem of capitalism, not related to worker-skills supply (Vally, 2020). Balwanz and Ngcwangu (2016) reveal the ways in which this scarce skills discourse has shaped national development priorities, and accompanying practices which are institutionalised and normalised. Focussing their analysis on the Sector of Education and Training Authorities (SETA)'s Sector Skills Plans (SSPs), the authors argue that the 'skills shortages' diagnosis has had far reaching implications, and demonstrate its influence on South African legislation, government policy, the establishment of new departments, authorities and councils, as well as on the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET)'s research initiatives and funding. Moreover, they critique the methodologies used to identify "scarce skills / occupations"; they demonstrate the highly contested and inconsistent implementation of these constructs amongst the various education policy documents analysed. The scarce skills discourse does not offer the conceptual tools to grapple with the trends in the South African economy and does not address the most critical issues facing our nation's education sector (Balwanz & Ngcwangu, 2016).

The scarce skills discourse emerges from human capital theory, a contested theory that is argued to ignore non-skill factors influencing the economy (Vally, 2020). Within this ideology, constitutive constructions promote a particular regime of truth: one that reflects the perspectives, values and interests of neo-liberal capitalism and productionist theories. Additionally, these constructions promote a particular regime of truth, a certain version of reality that reflects the interests of capital. Within this version of reality, people are considered to be resources. These formulations have enabled the marketisation of education, discussed below, and obscured some of the values of education around social justice and democratic citizenship, as well as conceptions of education as having an intrinsic value rather than reduced to the needs for economic growth.

4.1.5. "The crisis in education" discourse

Similar to the ways in which the scarce skills discourse masks unemployment as a structural problem of capitalism, so too do discourses of crisis under neoliberal capitalism. Discourses of crisis function to obscure the "structural macro-economic problems to a lack of educational productivity… and thereby shift the responsibility for negative aspects of economic restructuring onto teachers, schools and, ultimately, students and communities" (Ramírez & Hyslop-Margison, 2015, p. 168). Specifically as it refers to the "ongoing crisis in South African education" (Spaull, 2013, p. 3), the trend has been the shifting of responsibility and accountability for educational outcomes from the state or education system to individuals, particularly parents, teachers, and learners themselves. Whilst learners are encouraged to take responsibility for their own learning, and to actively participate in the learning process, teachers are expected to take greater responsibility for the success of their students (Peters, 2017), and parents are expected to be more involved in their children's education (Munje & Mncube, 2018). The longstanding discourse of crisis in South African education obscures the context in which schooling happens in the country, and the broader systemic issues within the education system.

South African youth are oftentimes interpellated into responsibilised positions, and their poor educational outcomes referenced as evidence for the ongoing crisis in education. Literacy and numeracy results from the Annual National Assessments (ANAs), Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS), and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study

(TIMSS), as well as outcomes from the Southern African Consortium for Monitoring and Educational Quality (SACMEQ) are closely analysed and cited by education research experts to demonstrate the ongoing levels of crisis. The National Senior Certificate (NSC), the grade 12 exit-level examinations, occupy a particularly glorified position in discourse about South African education and are used as a barometer of the health of the country's public education system (DBE, 2021). Anecdotes about the small proportion of learners who make it through the education system successfully (as described in Chapter One) are presented by experts in the field (e.g. Spaull, 2019). This kind of evidence is reproduced and sensationalised in mass media. What is then reproduced by these entrenched constructions of broad non-achievement is reification of the human capital constructions of the relationship between education and the economy – and thus 'scarce skills' and 'mismatch' discourses. Summoning the discourse of crisis to construct the broken and unequal state of education (Amnesty International, 2020), references to lack of teacher knowledge and low access to technology (Spaull, 2019) lack of teaching resources (Lebeloane, 2017), poverty and inequality (Spreen & Vally, 2006), high dropout rates (Branson et al., 2014), crumbling school infrastructure (Amnesty International, 2020), amongst others, are made.

4.1.6. The privatisation discourse

The discourses which circulate in South African school education enable what is constructed as "low-fee schools for the poor" (Languille, 2016). "A solution" to the "crisis in education" is said to be privatised low-fee paying schools. In this way, market logic is used to generate market solutions through the marketisation and privatisation of education. We thus see the emergence of Spark and Curro Meridian Schools, positioned in the educational landscape as so-called "low-cost" or "low-fee private schools for the poor" (cited in Languille, 2016), and said to be the 'poor's best chance' at quality education (cited in Srivastava, 2016). Embedded in this occurrence is the rhetoric of choice: guardians have the choice to send their children to low-fee schools. Again, market logic, on which this discourse is founded, operates to mask the socio-economic challenges of the majority of South African households accessing public schooling.

Srivastava (2016) describes a "first" and "second wave" of the analysis of low-fee private schooling – a growing phenomenon in parts of Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. The former is what was considered to be a mushrooming of low-cost private schools in specific contexts, experiencing poor educational outcomes with little state support. The 'second wave' constitutes corporate-backed chains of low-fee private schools, supported by multinational companies, equity funds, domestic corporations and private investors (Languille, 2016).

In addition to reproducing the persistent marginalisation of the majority, this technique of capitalist interest, has implications for teachers, succinctly captured by Languille (2016) below:

> "reducing the number of teachers, who are partially replaced by technology and low-paid academic assistants; deprofessionalising teachers through close supervision of teaching by curriculum specialists; and equating quality with digital schooling. These chains profit from South Africa's labour market conditions: a high level of unemployment that allows them to employ academic assistants on a stipend and to deprive teachers of social benefits that are granted in the public sector, such as medical aid, housing allowance or pension plans" (p. 1).

Critical scholars working in this emergent low-fee private sector in education critique these techniques and call for quality public education for all. This quality education for all should be provided by the state rather than usurped by private business which purports to be doing so in response to so-called crisis and for so-called public good.

4.2. Traces of counter-discourse

Foucault (1982) objects to ideas of knowledge, truth and what we know about education, being viewed from outside of the networks of power. Discourse is the site of power relations; it is the means by which power reproduces itself (Foucault, 1978). What this means is that being aware of these prominent discourses avails us the possibilities for critical knowledge, to enable us to speak truth to power, exposing domination for the ways that it functions and therefore hoping to enable effective resistance through alternative discourse.

In relation to educational literature and practice, considering these identified discourses, we also need to ask where the silences or absences might be? In addition, might there be hidden discourses or counter-discourses that are circulating; and what forms do these take? When we

consider working towards emancipation in the sphere of education and considering the potential for collaborative partnerships, what sorts of lenses might enable us to construct alternative discourses? And how can we develop what Neocosmos (2017) calls, an excessive politics, excess beyond the domain of politics regulated by the state? How can we begin to better influence the state? Confronting and untangling that which troubles us becomes important, establishing what might be valid for all and not only for certain sections of society (Neocosmos, 2017). This opens up new possibilities for resistance; counter-knowledges for emancipatory purposes.

In education, it was the people who overthrew the apartheid state but then in the agreed settlement, we began to look to the state. In the evolution of the Outcomes-Based Education curricula, then the move to Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements, what may be argued is that such ideas continue to be insidiously colonial (Subreenduth, 2013). This argument is based upon the origins of these ideas, because they were strongly influenced by practices from the Global North. More than 25 years since these changes in education, we see that the majority are still disadvantaged in the system. However, there may be promise for example in investigating indigenous knowledge systems and ways that these could be foregrounded and better integrated into education (Seehawer, et al., 2021). The latter authors call for comprehensive educational transformation, grounding teaching in the local context and epistemologies. This is founded on excessive collective subjectivity that is valid for all and not just certain sections of society. Further possibilities might evolve from adopting approaches like Friere's (1972) humanising pedagogy of education, which promotes engagement between the learner and the educator. This is firmly based on understanding that learners are not objects who just sit there, to be bombarded and fed with knowledge, but that they come as contributors and knowers within the corridors of education.

In the broader education literature, there also seems to be a silence around the developments after the Fallist Movements within the Higher Education sector (Hlatshwayo & Shawa, 2020), in trying to transform education, especially teaching and learning. We could ask whether there has been any conscientisation of educators around the calls for decolonisation? Might there be pockets of eagerness from educators to pursue such ideas, or do we still have resistance and conflicts that have been emanating from years and years of debates about transforming education? From the perspectives of psychology, we are now talking about African psychology,

what is African psychology and what is it the psychology of (Nwoye, 2015; 2017)? Perhaps similar questions can be asked of education and whether basic education is heeding decolonisation imperatives, working to dismantle oppressive structures.

In the next section, I turn my attention to the technical aspects of the research process. I provide a detailed discussion of the ethical considerations made in the conception of this study as well as the resultant research strategy - the case study methodology.

CHAPTER 5: ETHICS & THE CASE STUDY STRATEGY

This case study is aligned with community psychology's principles of sharing various forms of knowledges, whilst not wedded to a particular orthodoxy of method; focusing on power relations and their productions; and moving towards social justice (Riemer et al., 2020). It is based on an embedded single-case design (Rowley, 2002) and deploys a Foucauldian lens (Willig, 2013) to analyse two data sources over two phases of the research. The first phase of the study entailed an analysis of archival annual reports, and the second an analysis of narrative interviews with members of the Organisation. Using a social constructionist paradigm (Bryman, 2016) and qualitative case study approach (Rowley, 2002), I seek to develop both practical and emancipatory knowledges (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010) of the Organisation. The case study design was appropriate for the in-depth exploration of GADRA's practice in Makhanda (Rowley, 2002).

There are two methodological chapters in this thesis. In this chapter, I provide a rationale for the research strategy, outline its prominent critiques and demonstrate the ways I have responded to them. I begin the chapter by describing the ethical considerations and the procedures that I followed during the course of the study.

5.1. Ethical considerations and procedures

Here I note the processes and procedures that I followed to ensure scientific integrity. I describe the ways in which I obtained ethical permissions prior to the study; the ethical problems I encountered, as well as the considerations during the planning phases of the study. I present an overview of the research design and the principles of voluntary participation, informed consent, anonymity, potential for harm, and plans for disseminating the work of GADRA in light of their goals for replicability of practice in other educational settings.

Institutional approvals

To begin this process, the appropriate consultation with relevant stakeholders of the Organisation was sought prior to this study's conception. Because of my involvement in Makhanda's educational landscape, both at the school and higher education levels, and as a previous

employee of the Organisation, I had a working knowledge of GADRA's practice in Makhanda. This enabled access to organisational members, as well as the curiosity to develop research tracking the development of their practice over time. I reflect on my researcher insider-outsider positionalities in the next chapter.

In order to advance the development of the project, and before the commencement of the research project, the necessary ethical procedures for conducting research were observed (Head, 2020). Ethical approval by the relevant institutional committees at Rhodes University was sought. In the first instance, I sought peer-review of the research proposal from a small subcommittee of the Psychology Department's Research Proposal and Ethics Review Committee (RPERC). Thereafter, the proposal received provisional ethical approval from Rhodes University's Human Ethics Committee (RU-HEC) which enabled me to obtain Gatekeeper Permission from the Organisation's manager (see Appendix 1). As a matter of process, a research project can only receive provisional clearance initially from the institution. This clearance then enables one to approach gatekeepers for documented consent to engage their constituents. Once the details of the project are shared with gatekeepers, and the "formal" consent documented, one can then submit these permissions to the institution for final clearance. This research project thus subsequently received ethical approval, approval number 2021-4863-5961, from RU-HEC (see Appendix 2). A research progress report was submitted for each year of registration (2021 to 2023) for review by the Dean of Humanities before the ethical approval could be renewed annually.

Naming the Organisation

A key consideration during the development of the research proposal, and in the process of negotiating consent with the Organisation, was whether GADRA Education would be anonymised or named in this study.

GADRA Education's expressed goal is to function as a "trailblazing agent of transformation in education" (GADRA, 2012). Through this project, and aligned with the Organisation's goals of developing replicable and scalable practices (Westaway, 2012), I sought to develop both "practical" and "emancipatory" knowledges (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010) surrounding the Organisation. In agreement with the Organisation, I thus chose to name the Organisation in

acknowledgement of their contributions to community organisation and intervention in Makhanda's educational landscape. I also did this to visibilise the socio-cultural-specific-context of the study location (Akuffo, 2023), and specific features of GADRA Education - which I discuss in Chapter 7. The objectives of the study were four-fold: 1) to situate GADRA in the South African education socio-historical landscape; 2) to articulate its values and principles, and explore their link to those of an Africa(n)-situated community psychology; 3) to explore and articulate its community-engaged praxis which aims to contribute to processes of educational change; and 4) trace the ways in which the Organisation's various programmes have emerged over time and the various partnerships surrounding them. These objectives are inextricably linked to place - "the contextual, historical and geographical information that has potential value for the exploration of the subject under study" (Akuffo, 2023, p. 569). And so, the Organisation's name is explicitly used throughout the project, including in the title and publications submitted for review.

However, in order to manage and mitigate the ethical concerns surrounding this naming, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was established between the Organisation under study and myself as the researcher (Alam, et al., 2022). The MoU was agreed during the process of obtaining Gatekeeper Permission, described above. This MoU guided the various phases of the research; helped to establish expectations between the Organisation and the researcher throughout the research process; and reflected the agreement regarding the dissemination of the findings. The MoU also reflected the agreement about the use of the name of the Organisation in order to mitigate the potential risk of reputational harm for GADRA Education and to manage the anonymity of its members. Close attention was paid to the ways in which participants' identifying information were to be anonymised.

Description of the research

Whilst an initial brief description of the research is presented in this section in order to provide an outline of the study, I provide further rationales for research decisions and details of the research techniques are to be found in subsequent sections.

This exploratory case study research sought to generate an in-depth, multi-faceted understanding of the "place" of GADRA Education, its processes and its activities. Further, I intended to explore and illustrate the ways in which critical psychological theory – specifically, Foucauldian thought (Foucault, 1972) and African-centred community psychology (Ratele et al., 2022), could enable a deeper understanding of prominent factors contributing to impactful community organisation and intervention in the country's education sector.

To achieve this, the research project comprised of two methodological phases:

Phase One: Archival annual reports

GADRA's annual reports, between 2012 to 2021, were analysed in the first phase of the research. Following the analysis of the reports, two board members were engaged regarding the initial findings from the analysis of the reports (i.e. desktop research). The members were engaged and asked to provide further commentary on the discursive constructions and discourses identified by the researcher in the initial analysis of the reports. This constituted part of the member verification process (Bryman, 2016). The findings of this phase of the research process are detailed in Chapter Eight.

Phase Two: Individual narrative interviews

The selection of participants for phase two of the study was guided by the emergent discursive subjects from phase one. Individual interviews were conducted with seven stakeholders, three alumni, an additional board member and two donors of the Organisation. This was done to enable a diversity of voices to be heard, regarding their experiences at GADRA. A total of 13 interviews were conducted as part of the second phase of the research. A sample-size of 13 was adequate for this qualitative case study research, to ensure that data saturation (Bryman, 2016) was reached. An in-depth and detailed analysis of members' experiences with, and stories of, the Organisation was developed. This is detailed in Chapter Nine.

These narrative interviews lasted between 30 to 60 minutes. Each participant was interviewed by the researcher using the Single Question Inducing Narrative method (Wengraf, 2004), which I detail further in the research techniques section. All the interviews were audio-recorded. From a

language perspective, the interviews featured code-switching between IsiXhosa, IsiZulu and English and were transcribed by a translator-transcriber.

Recruitment of organisational members

A broad definition was employed to describe GADRA members. Stakeholders refer to school principals, educators, parents, current students and GADRA staff; alumni refer to students who were participants of GADRA programmes as well as former bursary holders; board members refer to those responsible for management at GADRA; and donors refer to members of funding organisations that have funded programmes at GADRA.

Purposive sampling (Bryman, 2016) was used in consultation with staff members at GADRA to identify potential participants who met the inclusion criteria for the research. All participants were 18 years and older, and had the capacity for consent. All participants were also members of and were associated with GADRA Education.

For the first phase of the research, the inclusion criterion was GADRA board members, preferably those who had authored the annual reports. This was successfully achieved. The two board members were recruited via a request on email. They both agreed and I hosted the member verification engagement sessions at RU's Psychology Clinic, where my offices were at the time. Both members affirmed the resonance of the initial results with their perceptions; and encouraged me as the researcher to pursue the second phase of the research, gathering insights from member narratives.

For the second phase, the inclusion criteria were to recruit GADRA stakeholders, or alumni or donors, as defined above. The researcher consulted with GADRA staff to identify members who met the inclusion criteria for each phase of the data gathering processes outlined above. GADRA staff had a working knowledge of their members via their involvement in educational programmes. They were thus best-placed to suggest potential participants. The potential participants were individually contacted via email or telephone to notify them about the research. Members who indicated interest were then sent the relevant information and consent documents via email or physical delivery. Further, it was stressed to participants that, although GADRA staff had recommended them for participation in the study, they were not obliged to agree to participate. The intention of the interviews was to gain an understanding of their experiences

with, and stories of, GADRA. The individual interviews commenced after signed informed consent was obtained to indicate voluntary participation, free from coercion.

All information regarding the study was disclosed to participants (see Appendices 3 and 4). The purpose and nature of the research, and what their participation would entail, was explained to the participants ahead of the interviews. The voluntary nature of participation; anonymity, privacy and confidentiality; data management, storage and use; as well as the potential risks and benefits of the research were explained to participants at the recruitment stage. These considerations were reiterated with participants at the start of each of the individual interviews, and are detailed below.

Privacy, anonymity and confidentiality of research data

In all cases, contributions from participants were anonymised. The identity of participants, and associated identifying information, were anonymised via the use of pseudonyms. Any comments that may lead to the participants, or the people they refer to, being identified have not been used verbatim. Place names, names of organisational members and certain identifying information (such as subject taught, name of school, name of University residence, name of mentee, were omitted or anonymised in the reporting of findings). The identity of the members is known by the researcher and translator-transcriber only. The transcriber was required to sign a confidentiality agreement (see Appendix 5). All linking data was saved on a password-protected device and/or the password-protected internet cloud.

However, in cases where manuscripts developed from this project were prepared for dissemination, the use of the Organisation's name was closely negotiated with the Organisation, in line with the provisions detailed in the MoU, such as a right of reply. One of these publications were developed from the review of literature for this study (see Msomi & Akhurst, 2023 in Appendix 6). Another of these manuscripts is under review with an academic journal, and another in development, together with a member of the Organisation and my research supervisor. The manuscript under review was sent to members of the Organisation (both senior members and members that contributed to phase two of the study) for reply, before it was submitted for review to the journal. Members had complimentary input to share, as well as contributions recommending the extension of the study period. For the manuscript under development, a senior

GADRA member is a co-author and intricately involved in the co-construction of the findings, some of which emerge from this study.

Data management, storage and use

All data from the study remain securely stored on the researcher's password-protected PC and cloud for 5 years, as required by RU-HEC. The anonymised data may be used by the researcher for further complementary studies for possible publication in future.

Risks and benefits of the research

The anticipated risks of the study were explained to participants. It was noted with them that reading about their work and experiences may be embarrassing. Participants may have also been concerned for the Organisation's reputation if any "negative" comments emerged. For the Organisation, any critiques related to their practice may have been concerning due to the potential for reputational harm. To mitigate these risks, data were carefully anonymised from the start. All identifying data were neutralised as described above. Although members familiar with the Organisation, and the educational context in which it functions, may be able to identify the educational programmes referred to, and the members involved, the descriptions focussed on the features of the landscape and emerging discursive constructs, as well as the structure and impact of the programmes, to reduce any risks of personal harm. In addition, as previously stated, the use of the Organisation's name was guided by the MoU and continually negotiated throughout the research process.

Regarding the benefits of the study for the common good, the dissemination of the findings of this research are anticipated to contribute to some of the goals of the Organisation for developing replicable and scalable practices, particular techniques in the education sector, that might influence the public schooling at a local level and beyond, as well as potentially influencing policy via the advocacy potential of research (Cherland & Harper, 2007).

In the sections below, I detail the research paradigm and strategy and explicate the particular research techniques used to address the research questions for both phases one and two of the study. Whilst the preceding section focussed on the overview of the research study, with a particular focus on ethics, the sections below provide rationales for the choices in the research design

5.2. Research strategy

> Research from a social constructionist perspective is concerned with identifying the various ways of constructing social reality that are available in a culture, to explore the conditions of their use and to trace their implications for human experience and social practice (Willig, 2013, p. 49).

Therefore, positioned within this social constructionist paradigm, this case study sought to situate the local education NGO, GADRA Education, within South Africa's socio-political context. An embedded single-case design (Rowley, 2002) was deployed to understand the place of the Organisation and its productions. This design is to be expanded upon in the following section. In this project, the object of study is GADRA Education. The units of analysis are the Organisation's annual reports and the narrative interviews with its members. The diagram below summarises the design of the project.

GADRA Education
n = 1 NGO

Annual Reports
n = 10

Interviews
n = 13
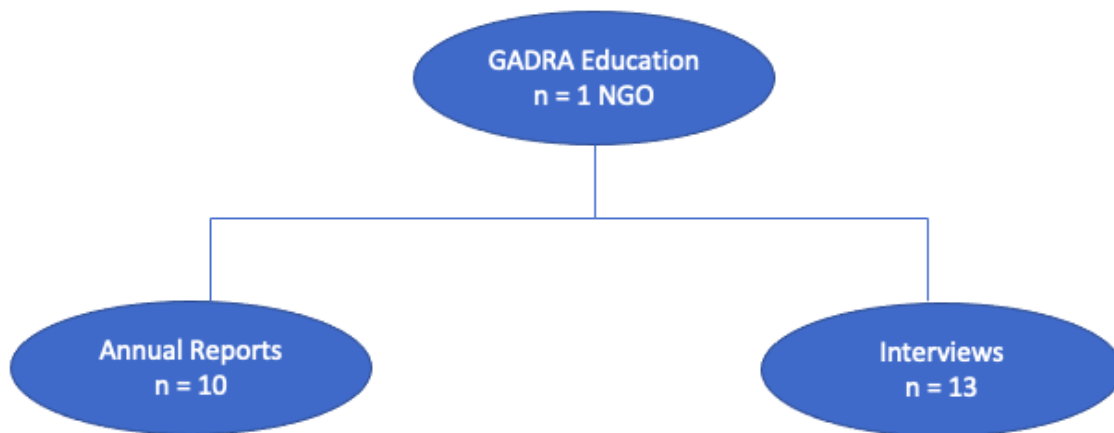
Figure 5: Embedded single-case study design

From a community psychology perspective (Kagan et al., 2020), I developed this design to articulate the "emancipatory knowledges" (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010) surrounding the Organisation. That is, to gain a deeper understanding of those institutional and environmental forces that affect members of the Organisation's lives; and aspects that increase or constrain their agency and capacity to shape the factors that affect their wellbeing (including hidden and invisible forms of power). Because discourse has implications for subjectivity, there is scope for

developing "practical knowledges" around the Organisation. That is, capturing the meaning-making processes of its members in their particular cultural-historic and socio-political context.

This systemic understanding of the position and activities of the members of the Organisation at the interface of the intersections between the so-called education crisis, Makhanda landscape and our broader socio-political context may be valuable in contributing to dialogues about the construction of transformative change in public schooling, and contribute to advancing GADRA's advocacy efforts. My intentions were to capture various stakeholders' experiences of happenings in the Organisation and the surrounding public schooling sector. For this type of particularistic case study (Merriam, 1998), I intended to identify and articulate the values and principles of the Organisation and hoped to explore the ways in which GADRA deployed community-engaged praxis within Makhanda's educational landscape.

The following research questions guided the exploration and articulation of GADRA Education's praxis in Makhanda's educational landscape:

1. What discourses are used to construct organisational practice at GADRA?
2. What discourses are used to construct members' narratives of their experiences at GADRA?
3. What subject positions are made available by discourses circulating at GADRA?
4. What are the implications of the discourse at GADRA for members' subjectivities, and the possibilities for educational transformation?

Below I discuss the "place" of the case study research strategy in the field of qualitative research methodology; its key critiques; as well as my reflections and responses which shaped and advanced this investigation.

5.3. The case study research strategy

Case study methodology is positioned within the field of qualitative research methodology alongside ethnography, grounded theory, phenomenology and others (Brown, 2008). Starman (2013) notes that in the field of qualitative methodology, case studies were one of the first to be used. In the field of psychology, their use is traced back to the 19th century, with the studies by

Piaget, Freud and Foucault, cited as so-called classical works; in social work traced to the 1920s; and growing prominence is reported in the field of education (Rule et al., 2011; Starman, 2013).

Influenced by Foucauldian ways of thinking about education, community psychology and so-called community development initiatives, I was interested in what constitutes the discursive worlds of the Organisation and its members, the accompanying practices, and their implications for possible ways-of-being and constructions of educational and social change (Willig, 2013). I deemed the case study strategy as most appropriate for exploring and characterising the value-based practice of the Organisation. In this section, I discuss the underpinning tenets of this research design choice, and the techniques utilised to ensure the rigour and credibility of the research (Forero et al., 2018). In order to ensure scientific integrity, close attention was paid to the study's design, as well as the methods deployed. The ethical considerations, as well as the details about the ways in which the methods were deployed are also detailed in this chapter. Notably, well-established methods of qualitative inquiry were used, as described below.

There are various strategies for case study research, and three approaches seem to predominate within the field of qualitative research methodology. The three three key orientations to the case study methodology seem to be: Yin's (1994) approach, Merriam's (1998) approach, and Stake's (2000) approach. Brown (2008) usefully conceives of these approaches to case study use in qualitative research as being on a continuum. In this section, I discuss the ways in which I drew from this continuum in the design of this study. Whilst Merriam's (1998) category of particularistic case studies captures the research design of this study, I drew from Stake (2000) to construct the research questions and guide the methods of analysis. Yin's (1994) techniques contributed to the rigour that I strived to achieve in my data gathering processes.

Yin (1994) is described as a methodologist, and their approach is characterised as methodological and logical. Stake's (2000) work is positioned at the opposite end of the continuum and described as interpretive. It focuses analysis on meaning-making and acknowledges the influence of the researcher's subjectivity. Merriam's (1998) approach is placed somewhere at the centre of the continuum and described as a balanced pragmatic approach to case study research strategy. Whilst I do not firmly position the approach to this case study within a particular orthodoxy of method, but focus the research on power relations and their

productions, I do embrace important features of the above orientations, contributing to rigour and validity.

Yin (1994) adopts a positivist and deductive approach to the case study strategy, proposes that theoretical questions lead to the case study design and that this methodology is well-suited to "why?" and "how?" research questions. However, I was interested in "what?" kinds of questions. Influenced by Foucauldian thinking, I was interested in "what characterises the discursive worlds people inhabit and what are their implications for possible ways-of-being?" (Willig, 2013, p. 409), for example. I applied this way of thinking to GADRA Education and its members' constructions. In this way, I took more of an inductive approach, leaning more towards Stake's (2000) orientation in my formulation of research questions and methods of analysis.

Stake (2000) calls our attention to constructivist ways of representing the activities at GADRA - not as they are, but in the ways they are constructed to be. I thus refrained from, for example Yin's (1994) structured methodology, and instead provided thick descriptions of activities and members' experiences, made linkages, and looked for sequencing and coherence to allow for illuminations (Brown, 2008) about transformative change in education in my approach to this case study. In this way, the case study is "down-to-earth and attention holding" and hopes to resonate with members' lived experiences and their relations with the Organisation (Stake, 2000, p. 19). Well-established methods in the qualitative research field, particularly for practice-oriented disciplines, were deployed. For example, Willig's (2013) stages of a Foucauldian Discourse Analysis (FDA), Wengraf's (2004) Biographic Narrative Interview Method (BNIM) and Tamboukou's (2008) guidance on a Foucauldian approach to narratives were used. In the reflexivity section that ends the chapter, I acknowledge my role as the interpreter in the research process and the consequent interactions with what is produced, and simultaneously how that which emerged affected my thinking. Similarly, Yin (2003) underscores the importance of the skills of the researcher and their prior so-called expert knowledge. I reflect on my lived experience with the Organisation in Makhanda's educational landscape in the reflexivity section, and argue for its value.

For the purposes of this study, the most valuable features of Merriam's (1998) formulations of this strategy are making explicit the defining characteristic of this methodology: delimiting the object of the study (i.e. clearly specifying its units of analysis), and thus specifying what is and is

not under study. Merriam (1998) categorises three types of case study methodology. Firstly, particularistic case studies - those that focus our attention to a particular aspect of the case and allow guidance for similar aspects elsewhere. Secondly, heuristic case studies - those that illuminate the context of a given phenomenon and lead to further insights, new meanings or confirmations of what is understood. And finally, descriptive case studies - those that give thick descriptions and illustrations of a case. Merriam's (1998) category of a particularistic case study seems to capture the research design of this study.

Leaning more towards Yin's (2003) orientation to guide my data gathering processes, I embraced some of the features of their case study methodology. Features such as triangulation, a case study database, and a chain of evidence (Rowley, 2002) were methods that I deployed during data gathering processes. For example, I gathered multiple forms of evidence (annual reports and narratives) to make sense of the emerging constructs and their implications. I used spreadsheets and presented emerging constructions and discourse on tables, as evidenced in both the methodology and findings chapters, to collate the database and explore the findings. These were presented to members for verification before the commencement of phase two. I used FDA to engage with the raw data. Within this method, Yin's (2003) analytical strategies are evident: pattern-matching, time-series analysis and logic models (i.e. the logic embedded in the discourses deployed - see Appendix 7). In positioning this as a scientific methodology, with particular defined steps, Brown (2008) argues that Yin (1994, 2003) desired to maintain the validity and rigour of data presentation and in this way desired to strengthen research credibility and trustworthiness.

Both Yin (2003) and Merriam (1998) underscore the importance of the systematic organisation of the data and analysis in the case study research strategy. All three of the predominant approaches to this methodology (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2000; Yin, 2003) acknowledge the influence of the researcher on the knowledge produced. Merriam (1998) categorises the various researcher orientations and the degree to which the researcher participates in and influences the research. They describe researchers as peripheral or involved observer-participants. I dedicate the researcher reflexivity section below to critically discuss this involvement.

5.3.1. Critiques of case study research

As noted above, case study is a prominent approach in the social sciences, particularly in practice-orientated fields such as education (Rule et al., 2011), social work (Fook, 2022) and psychology (Oltmanns, 2011). Despite its prominence as a research strategy in qualitative research, scholars note a number of misconceptions about this methodology (Gerring, 2004). Flyvbjerg (2006) usefully formulates the key critiques of this methodology by identifying and debunking five misunderstandings relating to theory, reliability and validity. Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 3 - 4) articulates these, noting that the value of case study research is often undermined due to the following misconceptions:

1. General, theoretical (context-independent) knowledge is more valuable than concrete, practical (context-dependent) knowledge.
2. It is impossible to generalise on the basis of an individual case; therefore, the case study cannot contribute to scientific development.
3. The case study is most useful for generating hypotheses (that is, in the first stage of a total research process), whereas other methods are more suitable for hypothesis testing and theory building.
4. Case studies contain a bias toward verification; that is, a tendency to confirm the researcher's preconceived notions.
5. It is often difficult to summarise and develop general propositions and theories on the basis of specific case studies.

However, within the paradigm of social constructionism, it is well-established that the findings of, what can be considered to be rigorous, in-depth case study research are in fact steeped within the case's socio-cultural, political and historical context and the positionalities of the researcher are consistently acknowledged (Simandan, 2019), as an indication of ethical research practice (Johnson et al., 2020). Because of these deeply situated features, critics of this research strategy contend that it is only useful for preliminary, pilot studies. This is captured by misunderstanding numbers one, three and five above. Critics believe that the findings from this strategy cannot be generalised - as captured by misunderstanding 2 above. And that the strategy is too vulnerable to the researcher's subjectivities (Gomm et al., 2000), as per misunderstanding number 4 above. In

the following paragraphs below, I engage these critiques with reference to this particular case study.

Flyvbjerg (2006) uses the processes of human learning (Kolb, 2015) to debunk the myth of "universal" forms of knowledge gained via controlled learning processes. This highlights more integrated processes of learning based on the analyses of concrete, cumulative experiences. Furthermore, within a social constructionist paradigm, knowledge processes are situated and produced within a particular discursive landscape; they have an action orientation and construct particular versions of reality and "truth" (Willig, 2013). Flyvbjerg (2006) thus supports the value of context-dependent knowledges in the study of human affairs, and Willig (2013) highlights the researcher's role likening it to that of an archaeologist, viewing the case with curiosity about the ways it has been constituted, and uncovering the mechanisms of its constitution. Of course, as with all forms of knowledge and inquiry, the knower affects that which is known. Or, as Flyvbjerg (2006) captures it, "the question of subjectivism and bias toward verification applies to all methods" (p. 19), it is "a fundamental human characteristic" (p. 18).

Moreover, feminist epistemologies have advanced the elucidation of the politics of knowledge within scientific development. They have been invaluable in explicating a research culture asserting the positionality, partiality, reflexivity, intersectionality, and the dynamics of power, which constitute (situated) knowledge (Simandan, 2019) within the field of qualitative research methodologies. Thus, within this epistemological standpoint, knowledges are indeed situated, i.e. inextricably linked with context. This confirms both the appropriateness of this research strategy within the field of qualitative research, as well as aligning with the Foucauldian and community psychological approaches taken in this study.

In addition, the knowledges derived from case study research have been strongly illegitimated because of their purported lack of generalisability (Gomm et al., 2000). However, case study researchers show that hegemonic scientific generalisability is not the only goal of scientific inquiry (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Other objectives include investigations with the intention of facilitating learning (Stake, 1994; Flyvbjerg, 2006), and uncovering techniques of power (Tamboukou, 2008).

Essentially, what these misunderstandings reveal are dynamics of power regarding the status of knowledge - what can be considered "scientific knowledge" and the functions ascribed to particular knowledges. What the key critiques of this methodology reveal are knowledge -power dynamics in the social sciences – that is what can be accepted as "truth" in the social sciences and the forms of control that are considered to produce it (Foucault, 1975). "It might be that what counts as a serious and important claim at one time will not (perhaps cannot) even be entertained as a candidate for truth at another" (Rouse, 1994, p. 2). What this case study seeks to illuminate is "a historical awareness of our present circumstance" (Foucault, 1982, p. 778) in public education in Makhanda and the role of the oldest education-focussed NGO in persistent colonial and imperialist productions within the educational landscape. It seeks to produce a particular situated form of knowledge which reveals techniques that may have applicability elsewhere. Due to its status in Makhanda, the features of Makhanda as a microcosmic representation of those persistent inequities present at a national level (both in education, and social life more broadly), as well as the values and principles that guide organisational practice, GADRA Education is considered to be a critical case (Flyvbjerg, 2006). From a community psychology perspective, education in Makhanda is considered to be a paradigmatic (Flyvbjerg, 2006) site for thinking about social and educational change and youth well-being for South Africans. That is, the context of the case highlights more general characteristics of the cultural-historic features of South African education. Thus, the choice of this single-case is considered to be strategic (Flyvbjerg, 2006).

It is important to note that I locate this justification for the research design on discourse as a site of power relations (Foucault, 1978). I formulate the features of GADRA Education as a technology of power, as described in Chapter Three. I argue that Makhanda provides a snapshot of the productions of power that maintain exclusionary practices at a local level. Secondly, rather than arguing for the transferability of the Organisation's programmes, I argue for the value of their techniques of resistance. In their annual report, the Organisation asserts that "in the view of GADRA, it is not development projects and programmes that should necessarily be replicated, but rather insightful analysis, rigorous design, effective networks and dense relationships of trust" (GADRA, 2017, p. 1). This aligns with a focus on techniques, rather than the particularities of specific programmes of intervention.

Thus, unlike scholars who critique the value of this research method for generating working hypotheses, seemingly unconvinced of the transferability of its findings (Gomm et al., 2000), I insist on a focus on discourse (Foucault, 1978) and the utility of what this focus reveals about NGO practice at the nexus of the development-education sector. Rather than essentialised forms of knowledge, and claims of "naturalistic generalisability" (Gomm et al., 2000), I argue for the usefulness of an analysis of power dynamics within a particular landscape in revealing techniques of power, which reproduce particular social configurations. Similar to Flyvbjerg (2006) I contend that so-called scientific generalisability (borne from realist epistemologies) is "overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas 'the force of example' is underestimated" (p. 12). In addition, rather than attempting to summarise this case and offering general propositions and theories, I seek only to crystallise the Organisation's techniques of resistance in Makhanda's educational landscape. Aligned with a social constructionist orientation, indeed all knowledges are context-dependent and steeped within a particular cultural-historic condition. This study must thus be read as a narrative (Flyvbjerg, 2006), as one telling of the relations of power surrounding a NGO in a rural city in South Africa. Through this investigation, I sought to add to our knowledges about effective resistance to persistent colonial and imperial productions in education at the nexus of the development-education sector.

Flyvbjerg's (2006) formulation of the five misunderstandings about case study research thus enables us to demystify the status of particular knowledge generation strategies. We see then that context-dependent knowledges are valuable, and in fact social constructionists would argue that knowledge is inextricably linked to its context (Willig, 2013). We also see that so-called scientific generalisation is overvalued and its positioning as the primary means to scientific development is simply an act of power, rather than representative of "truth" (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Case study research enables the generation of working hypotheses as well as being a strategic and useful choice for inquiry about human affairs more broadly. In addition, the subjectivities of the knower are always implicated in processes of knowing; and, that reporting the findings from this method represents a particular telling of a situated form of reality - rather than any claims of generalisable "truths" (Foucault, 1982).

5.4. Chapter summary

I provided the rationale for the strategy, and have outlined how I have responded to some of its critiques. In the design of the study, I deployed features of Stake's (2000) orientation to formulate the research questions and methods of analysis. I also deployed features consistent with Yin's (2003) orientation to guide my data gathering processes. And some of Merriam's (1998) insights about the utility of particularistic case studies that focus our attention to specific units of analysis and thus enable us to consider wider applicability of the identified features.

In the next chapter, I detail the methods of data gathering and analysis for phases one and two of the study. I identify and discuss my researcher positionalities and the aspects surrounding them, as well as discuss the indicators of qualitative rigour in the study.

CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

In this final methodological chapter, I describe the research techniques that I deployed in the study. I detail both the methods of data gathering and analysis for phases one and two of the project. Numerous decisions and choices were made throughout the research process. Reflecting on these choices, I conclude the chapter by reflecting on the influences of the epistemological stance taken, my subjectivity and my community of practice on the research process.

6.1. Research techniques

Having outlined the ethical considerations I made, as well as the overall research strategy, I turn the reader's attention to the details of the methodological techniques used in both phases of the research in the sections below.

6.1.1. Phase One: Archival annual reports

A FDA (Willig, 2013) of the annual reports was conducted to identify the discourses used to construct GADRA's practice. Willig (2013) notes four features of FDA: they describe it as concerned with (a) language and its role in the constitution of the social and psychological life; (b) the role of discourse in wider social processes of legitimation and power; (c) historicity (i.e. how discourses have changed over time); and (d) the relationship between discourse and institutions (i.e. the ways in which they are bound up together). Willig's (2013) six stages of FDA were used to make sense of the annual reports of the Organisation within the chosen study period (2012 - 2021), further discussed below. I traced the discursive constructions that I identified and thus particular versions of reality that I perceived to be promulgated by the Organisation over time. I was interested in the availability of discourses within the Organisation, as reflected by the reports, and the implications of their circulation at personal, relational, local and potentially national levels.

6.1.1.1. Methods of data gathering

As outlined above, purposive sampling (Bryman, 2016) of GADRA's annual reports was used as data for phase one of the research. Transitioning on from so-called "charity work" towards "advocacy", GADRA came under new management in 2010. Since then, they have worked to

re-position themselves as a community-engaged organisation as well as an advocate for the transformation of the public schooling sector in Makhanda. Annual reports between 2012 – 2019, during which two strategic plans were initiated, were initially chosen as archival data for this phase of the study. This form of secondary data (i.e. data collected and formulated for other purposes by GADRA, mostly reporting to funders) was useful in revealing the Organisation's discursive constructions of the Makhanda educational landscape as an object of intervention. The study period for this first phase was later extended to 2012 - 2021 because of delays in the Organisation's strategic planning for the next period, due to the impacts of COVID-19.

6.1.1.2. Methods of data analysis

FDA was used to consider the role of discourse in wider social processes of legitimation and power surrounding the Organisation and the public schooling sector in Makhanda; the transformations of the circulating discourses over time; and the ways in which this discourse legitimated and reinforced the existence of GADRA, and simultaneously the ways in which GADRA supported and validated this discourse (Willig, 2013).

Stage one of the analysis involved a grounded reading (Charmaz, 2008) and sifting the data for the prominent discursive constructions of the Organisation's activities. I began with an iterative process of reading and re-reading the annual reports from the first quarter since the repositioning of the NGO, 2012 - 2016. Via this iterative grounded reading process, the prominent discursive objects and subjects below were identified.

Table 9: Discursive constructions produced during GADRA's repositioning phase

Discursive constructions Repositioning phase (2012 - 2015)	
Discursive objects	**Discursive subjects**
Transformation	Students
Public education	Parents
Grahamstown	Local people
GADRA Education	Principals
Rhodes University	
Modes of intervention	

Through further iterations, I then sifted through the reports, capturing instances where these discursive constructions were referenced, both implicitly and explicitly. Influenced by Yin's (1994) categorisation and chain of evidence techniques, these constructions were tabulated on an Excel spreadsheet: each year was captured on a column, and specific instances of reference to each discursive object and subject were captured on the corresponding row. This enabled me to track the evolutions of the discursive constructions and transformations over time.

In the period of repositioning (2016 - 2021), particular discursive evolutions sustained particular constructs and I also identified other discursive constructs tabulated below.

Table 10: Discursive constructions produced during GADRA's regeneration phase

Discursive constructions Regeneration Phase (2016 - 2021)	
Discursive objects	**Discursive subjects**
Community-university partnership	Students
GADRA Education	Organisation's supporters / donors
Rhodes University	Teachers
Modes of support	Principals
Organisational sustainability	RU Vice Chancellor
Local and national governance	

I discuss the constitution of these discursive objects and subjects in the following chapter.

Stage two focussed on placing the emergent discursive constructions within wider discourses and noting which discourses were drawn upon to make meaning of the discursive objects and subjects of investigation. Here, I worked with the categorised and tabulated data and matched instances of reference to the discursive object to a particular discourse. The prominent discourses circulating in GADRA's annual reports are tabulated below.

Table 11: Circulating discourses during GADRA's repositioning phase

Circulating Discourses Repositioning phase (2012 - 2015)
Discourse of crisis
Discourse of transformation
Discourse of access and participation
Discourse of development
Collaborative partnerships discourse
Principles and values of community psychology

I characterised the initial period (2012 to 2015) as the "re-positioning phase". In this initial re-positioning phase, it became increasingly apparent that GADRA summoned discourses outside of those prominently circulating in education at this socio-political moment (see Chapter 3 for the discussion on prominent discourse), and instead summoned counter-discourses, which I perceived as echoing the principles and values of community psychology, further explicated in the findings and discussion chapters. In the subsequent period (2016 to 2021), which I characterise as the "regeneration phase", GADRA summoned the discourses summarised in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Circulating discourses during GADRA's regeneration phase

Circulating Discourses Regeneration phase (2016 - 2021)
Discourse of crisis
Discourse of transformation
Discourse of participation
Collaborative partnerships discourse
Discourse of development
Situated praxis

The ways in which the discourses are summoned to produce the discursive constructions is discussed in the next chapter.

Stage three considered the action orientation of the reports, that is the discursive context in which different discourses were deployed and what seemed to be achieved by the resultant constructions. Appendix 7 maps out this context and the constructs that seem to emerge over time. A discussion of the discursive context appears in the findings chapters. What began to emerge at this stage is what I refer to as "GADRA's techniques of resistance".

Stage four involved identifying the subject positions which were made available for GADRA members. Subject positions are the locations from which subjects act and have direct implications for subjectivity. Below, I summarise the positions, these are discursive locations from which to speak and act, made available for members of the Makhanda public schooling community – these positions are further explicated in the chapters ahead.

Table 13: Subject positions contained in GADRA's annual reports

Discursive subjects	Subject positioning	
	Repositioning phase (2012 - 2015)	*Regeneration phase (2016 - 2021)*
Students	"Deserving student" and potential change-makers	"Beneficiaries": Achieving students and Deficient learners
Parents	Responsibilised (silence re GMS and RU-related programmes)	
Local people	"Key constituencies", "Goodwill of local people"	"GADRA generations"
Organisation's supporters / donors		Loyal
Principals	Key members of schooling community	Leaders of "variable quality"
RU Vice Chancellor		"Community-minded and progressive" leader
Teachers		Dedicated GADRA staff; pressured by bureaucratic demands

Stage five focused on the relationship between discourse and practice, considering how the objects and subject positions contained in the reports opened up or closed down opportunities for social action and educational regeneration. At this stage of the analysis, it became clear that GADRA's techniques of resistance enabled particular readings of, that is, particular versions of what can be considered to be, educational change (whilst, perhaps, constraining others).

Finally, **stage six** considered the relationship between discourse and subjectivity. Foucault (1982) asserts that the objective of his work has always centred on the subject: the modes by which, within a particular socio-cultural and political context, humans are made subjects. In other words, what is centred by the analysis are the modes that transform human beings into subjects, and the implications thereof. Therefore, although the initial stages of the analysis sought to identify discourses and their productions, the explicit focus of this stage of analysis was the implications of what circulates on subjectivity. In the discussion chapters, I trace the

consequences for organisational members of taking up the above tabulated positions; further, I discuss possible implications of what can be thought, felt and experienced from those subject positions.

Following the initial analysis of the reports within the study period (i.e. 2012 - 2021), two board members, specifically the chairperson and manager who authored the reports, were invited to individual interviews. This was an important point for the triangulation of the findings, and initial analysis and contributed to the credibility and thus rigour of this phase (Morse, 2015). During these individual interviews, a presentation of the initial findings were presented to the board members. The meeting began with a presentation of the overview of the study; of phase one's methodology; and an overview of the initial meanings made. The audio-recorded interviews then followed on from this overview.

Table 14: Phase one participating organisational members

	Pseudonym	Categorisation	Language-use	Duration (minutes)
1.	Thobani	Board member	English	60:19
2.	Mlamuli	Board member	English	60:23

During the presentations, I tabulated the presentation of the discursive constructions and circulating discourses during 2012 - 2015 (see Tables 9 and 11). I invited the members to comment on the categorisation of the constructions and discourses presented, as well as their perceptions of transformations during the 2016 - 2021 period (see Tables 10 and 12). This was important for some level of participation in the research, as well as for member validation processes (Johnson, 2020). Categorising the 2012 - 2015 period as "the re-positioning phase" was more obvious, because this was a time of expressed strategic change in the Organisation. I invited the board members to collaborate with me in categorising the second phase (i.e. 2016 - 2021). After reviewing the constructions and discourses presented, we agreed on categorising it as "the regeneration phase". I discuss the categorisation of these phases in detail in the next chapter.

6.1.2. Phase Two: Individual narrative interviews

Following the participant validation from the board members at the end of phase one, phase two's narrative interviewing (Wengraf, 2004) commenced. Because discourse shapes subjectivity and experience, it is strongly implicated in the exercise of power (Foucault, 1972). I thus sought to understand organisational members' experiences with, and stories of, GADRA Education. I maintained a Foucauldian approach to the organisational members' narratives (Tamboukou, 2008; Willig, 2013). In particular, I sought to capture the meaning-making processes of members in their particular cultural-historic, familial-communal and socio-political context; I also sought to uncover the ways in which organisational practice at GADRA affected members' experiences in Makhanda's educational landscape.

6.1.2.1. Methods of data gathering

A total of thirteen individual interviews, guided by Wengraf's (2001) Biographic-Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM), were conducted with GADRA stakeholders, alumni and donors. I used this method to guide the biographic narrative interviews with organisational members. Although I did not make use of Wengraf's (2004) methods of analysing biographic narrative interview data, this method of data gathering was useful in capturing the cultural-historic features of the organisational members' narrations of their experiences with GADRA Education. I chose this method as a preference, so as not to unduly influence the direction of participants' accounts through the sorts of questions that might otherwise guide the responses towards my perceptions or interests. The methods involved in this style of narrative interviewing acknowledges the "particularity of individual experience in unique historical and societal locations and processes" (Wengraf, 2004, p. 2). The primary tenet of narrative psychology is that humans make sense of their world and self through narrative (Popp-Baier, 2013), and organise their experiences of the world through narratives (Moen, 2006). Narratives have importance in cultural and social processes that organise and structure human behaviour (Hiles et al., 2017). The stories that people tell reflect the world of the narrator and their interactions with the social world (Josselson, 2011). The stories told are not isolated or independent of context. Individuals are connected to their society and all that comes with it (Moen, 2006). Thus, the narratives that members tell about their experiences with GADRA would likely illuminate socio-cultural processes, identities and positionings availed through discourse.

The non-directive principles of Wengraf's (2004) narrative interviewing of openness, active listening and the interviewee's freedom to develop and close the narrative guide the BNIM interviewing practice. This involves three subsessions:

The single-question initial subsession

This subsession forms part of what Wengraf (2004) categorises as the main interview. The interview is initiated by the Single Question Inducing Narrative (SQUIN) question, which I carefully designed to elicit the participants' life stories with GADRA. At the start of each of the interviews, once the matters of informed consent had been managed, I explained to the participants that my style of interviewing would be non-directive and they were free to begin their narration of their experiences with GADRA where they wanted to, and then finish off where they felt most comfortable. I let them know that I would try not to disrupt them, and that I would use the second subsession of the interview to engage further with them about what they had narrated and ask clarifying questions.

During the first subsession, the SQUIN that initiated the interview talk was:

> Please describe your experiences with GADRA Education in Makhanda. You may include as many stories and examples as you would like.

Some of the members seemed to be intimidated by this style. This possibly highlights the socio-cultural differences between the social context in which this style of interview method was developed and our context. The members invited me to ask clarifying questions during the first subsession, in order to assist them to keep the conversation going. An example of the latter was Sindiswa saying "... I think also in between just like uhm asking questions so that I can feed from those questions, obviously I do ask questions so that it also, I don't know, it sparks my thinking". Other members seemed to respond more comfortably to this style; and others seemed to have come already prepared with a general overview of their experiences with the Organisation, which seemed chronologically ordered.

Wengraf (2004) encourages interviewers to ask no new questions during this subsession, but to offer supportive non-lexical conversational sounds (such as non-verbal vocalisations) as participants engage with the question and share their narratives. During this subsession, I took

brief notes of aspects of the narrative, making specific note of what I identified as keywords as they chose to articulate them (Wengraf, 2004).

The narrative follow-up subsession

The second subsession also forms part of the main interview. Here, I had the opportunity to engage the participants in further details of the narratives they had shared with me. I asked narrative-pointed questions, which Wengraf (2004) describes as specific questions directed at particular aspects raised by the participants. Importantly, I engaged them by using the words and phrases that they had used, and followed the order in which they had raised these aspects of their narratives (Wengraf, 2004).

At the end of the main interview, once the participants and I had departed from one another, but shortly after the interview (i.e. in my office once the participant had stepped out, and at other times in the car park on my way back to the office), I took brief notes of my experience of conducting the interview in my research journal. Some interesting excerpts from what Wengraf (2004) calls "experiential instant debriefing notes" (p. 4) from my research journal are:

> Excerpt 1: … Anele seemed to enjoy the interview style and was eager to take ownership of the direction of the interview [reflection on interview method]. Insights included thinking about "fixer / rescuer" concepts in a psychological register [reflection on interview content]. This differs from the sociological / "political" readings of the "saviour mentality" and critiques of the trusteeship of NGO staff that dominantly circulates. Secondly, Anele's conceptions of expanding learners' / so-called beneficiaries' life worlds as "the work" intrigued me.

> Excerpt 2: … There were tears from the participant and myself during this interview. We both realised and reflected on how "this work" was deeply personal and spiritual - unfortunately the reflections on the latter happened after the recording was stopped. Sindiswa was a little startled regarding the interview style (they crossed their arms and invited me to ask questions in order to spark her thinking). They took to this well, though, and eased in quickly. They noted that they had never reflected like that before, not even in her personal life with regards to family. They noted the desire to express gratitude to the manager for their belief, support and mentoring - which they had not done before. Closing remarks were about the spirituality of the work - there was a sense of divineness in the room… I feel incredibly grateful to be able to document these powerful stories. They are helping me to further develop this community-based / situated praxis concept as

well as wrestle to language what a "GADRA person" might be - i.e. what characterises their approach.

Excerpt 3: Prof came well-prepared and I was struck at the 'embeddedness' of their involvement that spans from 1996. They were involved via cricket, their children were student assistants and volunteers and they then set up a trust to administer the charitable donations (GADRA / Trust involvement to transform charity to advocacy?).

Excerpt 4: Pleasant interview highlighting the supportive presence of GADRA staff, and "GADRA generations" (i.e. GMS alumni, contact with Nzuza to replace his teaching position at GADRA). No reference to improved family circumstances and did not want to impose this narrative on them.

The extracts from my research journal above demonstrate some of the participants' responses to the interview method, and the value of the opportunities to reflect. Most importantly, the excerpts above also demonstrate the ways in which the members were, to some extent, co-constructors of the meaning-making and knowledge creation processes, together with me as the researcher. Some of the aspects they brought up during the interview phase of the research propelled me to engage further with certain literature and helped to advance my thinking - as exemplified above, "they are helping me to further develop this community-based /situated praxis concept as well as wrestle to language what a "GADRA person" might be - i.e. what characterises their approach".

The aim of this second phase of the study was to extend the exploratory investigation to include the organisational members' experiences of the work of GADRA Education. As described in the section above, purposive sampling (Bryman, 2016) was used to recruit participants. Table 15 below presents the participating organisational members' details.

Table 15: Phase two participating organisational members

	Pseudonym	Categorisation	GADRA Role	Language-use	Duration (minutes)
1.	Anele	Stakeholder	GADRA staff	English	51:26
2.	Fundiswa	Stakeholder	Post-school parent	IsiXhosa, IsiZulu & English	37:11
3.	Gcobani	Alumni	Nine-Tenths mentee	IsiXhosa, IsiZulu & English	41:58
4.	Khanyisa	Stakeholder	Primary school principal	IsiXhosa, IsiZulu & English	13:47
5.	Nandipha	Alumni	GMS student	IsiXhosa, IsiZulu & English	37:11
6.	Nkosinathi	Donor	Donor (local)	English	30:42
7.	Nomsa	Stakeholder	Post-school educator	English	45:00
8.	Nwabisa	Stakeholder	Primary school educator	English	15:31
9.	Simnikiwe	Board member	Board member	English	47:14
10.	Sindiswa	Stakeholder	GADRA staff	IsiXhosa, IsiZulu & English	58:15
11.	Sisipho	Stakeholder	Primary school parent	IsiXhosa, IsiZulu & English	31:57
12.	Sonwabile	Alumni	GMS student	IsiXhosa, IsiZulu & English	28:04
13.	Thoko	Donor	Donor (international)	English	60:07

The selection of participants was guided by the emergent discursive subjects from phase one of the study. Those interviews with school principals, educators, and parents were placed in the GADRA stakeholders' category. The (formal, recorded) interview with Nwabisa, one of the primary school principals in Makhanda, lasted over 15 minutes. The remaining part of our interaction was unrecorded and involved Nwabisa showing me around the school grounds, specifically around the parts of the school that had been recently renovated or undergoing renovation as a result of NGOs' donations to the school. Those interviews with students and

bursary holders were placed in the GADRA alumni category; and those with funding organisations that have funded programmes at GADRA in the GADRA donors' category. This enabled a diversity of voices to be heard regarding members' experiences at GADRA Education. Because there is less of a sense of how NGOs are experienced by those who supposedly benefit from them (Matthews, 2017), I sought a greater contribution from stakeholders (n = 7) and alumni (n = 3), than from board members (n = 1) and donors (n = 2). A total of 13 individual interviews, with an average interview length of fifty minutes each, guided by Wengraf's (2004) narrative interview method, were facilitated by myself as the researcher.

The first languages of the interviewer, the translator-transcriber and some of the participants were part of the Nguni language family. Seven of the interviews were characterised by much code-switching, between isiZulu, isiXhosa and English. The audio recordings of the interviews were later transcribed and translated by a contracted translator-transcriber. They transcribed the interview talk verbatim (Poland, 1995). They included the translated text in italics to indicate a switch from English. I reviewed the transcriptions by listening to all the recordings and concurrently reading the transcripts, making minor changes and clarifications, where necessary. As an Nguni speaker and the interviewer present during the interviews, I did the concurrent listening and reading several times to ensure the interactions during the interviews were well captured. This also formed part of the grounded reading process, where the transcribed data were read a number of times.

The second interview subsession (optional)

This is an optional second interview subsession, which is recommended where further questions arise following the initial data analysis processes of the transcribed interview talk. As a trained and practising counselling psychologist, I have refined my skills of active listening and holding a non-directive, contained reflective space for people. I used these skills effectively during the main interview (subsessions one and two) and some participants expressed gratitude for the opportunity to reflect in this way. Some participants noted that they had not had the chance to reflect in this way until the interview. Thus, because the main interview elicited rich data, and effective follow-up questions were posed in the second subsession, there was no need for this second interview (i.e. the third subsession). This third subsession typically takes place in a number of days or weeks after the date of the main interview, following the transcription of the

above sessions. It is an opportunity for researchers to pose questions to further clarify aspects from the above sessions and to fill in blanks, absences and silences in the data. These narrative inducing questions are typically described as relevant to the interests of the researcher, as well as the theories being used as a lens for the study (Wengraf, 2004).

6.1.2.3. Methods of data analysis

The first unit of analysis of this embedded single-case study was the annual reports. The second was individual narrative interviews with GADRA members. For this second unit of analysis, a Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis (Hall, 2001; Walton, 2007; Willig, 2013) was retained. More specifically, I deployed a Foucauldian approach to narratives (Tamboukou, 2008). I used the traces of discourse contained in the interview talk as a site to consider the relationship between organisational practices (i.e. what GADRA does) and its members' subjectivity (i.e. what members think or feel), within the material context in which these experiences occur (Willig, 2013). This enabled situated and contextualised kinds of knowledges, what Foucauldian scholars call historical and cultural specificity (Khan & MacEachen, 2021), that revealed the extent to which GADRA's community-engaged practice has been relevant in addressing challenges of and emancipatory (Mavuso et al., 2019) for its members. I use the term "emancipatory" to capture the extent to which GADRA's modes of support were experienced, as voiced by participants, as emancipatory - and the ways in which these experiences were shaped by social, discursive and material power relations

As with the annual reports, I began the analysis of the transcribed interview data with a grounded reading (Charmaz, 2008) of the transcripts. An iterative reading of the data enabled the prominent discursive constructions to emerge. Guided by Yin's (1994) categorisation and chain of evidence techniques, I tabulated the emergent constructions on an Excel spreadsheet. I captured the emergent constructions on the horizontal axis, and narrative excerpts on the vertical axis. The excerpts included on the spreadsheet from the transcripts were those that made either implicit or explicit reference to the identified constructions (also accounting for which participant had made reference to the construction). Participants made regular reference to what I labelled as "Hope Interventions", "Personal and Academic Development", the "Ethic of Care", "Accompaniment", "GADRA Generations", "GADRA's Credibility" and "Situatedness". Further iteration and analysis revealed the dynamic relations between these constructs and I was able to

collapse "Personal and Academic Development" within the processes of "Hope Interventions"; the "Ethic of Care" as a product of "Accompaniment" via "Hope Interventions"; and "Situatedness" as a defining feature of "GADRA's Credibility" as well as the "GADRA Generations". I discuss these relational dynamics between constructs in Chapter 9. The prominent discursive constructions produced by organisational members are tabulated below.

Table 16: Discursive constructions produced by organisational members

Discursive constructions Organisational members' experiences with GADRA
GADRA's credibility
Accompaniment
Hope interventions
GADRA generations

In this phase of the analysis, I centred the subjective implications of NGO practice on its members. I focussed on the relationship between discourse and practice, considering the impacts of practice on enabling or constraining opportunities for action and educational transformation. I did this by elucidating the prominent discursive constructs from member narratives. Additionally, Foucault's concept of the "dispositif" (Tamboukou, 1999) was used as a lens to identify the socially shared "problem" that GADRA responds to; to trace its historical dimension as well as its current practices; and to formulate the relations of power and their implications for subjectivity and social conditions (Tamboukou, 1999), as captured in the Chapters Eight and Nine.

The analyses of both phases one and two enabled the relational dynamics between the discursive constructions of experiences of organisational practice, as contained in annual reports and organisational members, to emerge. The macro-interactional features of Organisation's praxis became elucidated in phase one's analysis, whilst the micro-interactional features of Organisation's praxis became apparent in phase two.

6.2. Researcher Reflexivity

In this section, I explicitly acknowledge the deliberative moments in the research process. I discuss my considerations regarding my researcher positionalities and the choices that I made along-the-way, which affected and shaped the findings of research. The process and findings simultaneously affected and shaped me in the research process and outputs (Reid et al., 2018). Below, I discuss the influence of the epistemological stance taken, my subjectivity and my community of practice during the research process.

6.2.1. Insider-outsider positionalities

I was previously an employee of GADRA Education (for a period of a year, in 2019). It was during this period that I, as a researcher, recognised the potential and value of investigating, and thereby making explicit, the ways of doing at the Organisation. This prior experience with the Organisation positioned me as an insider at the start of the research process. This positioning offered me insights about which aspects might be valuable to explore further, as well as enabled access to me of the workings of and people associated with the Organisation. Furthermore, as a member of Makhanda's educational community for more than a decade, my experiential and tacit knowledges of the Makhanda educational landscape also positioned me as an insider. I have been involved, to varying degrees, in early childhood development as well as primary, secondary and higher education in Makhanda since 2011. I trained and worked as a teacher in Makhanda; I worked as a lecturer in one of the city's higher education institutions; and remained involved in various projects, programmes and initiatives within the city's NGO community. These community experiences and roles positioned me "in". However, my short stay as an employee of the Organisation, and my ethnicity as amaZulu in the predominantly amaXhosa Eastern Cape landscape, positioned me "out".

So too my socio-demographics as a young, Black, female community member positioned me as an insider. Sometimes my linguistic and cultural background positioned me as an insider; and at other times, fumbling with my isiXhosa, an outsider. The socio-political significance of my youth and race at times positioned me "in", and at other times my youth positioned me "out". Because of these positionalities, and simultaneously in spite of them, I have tried to maintain a reflexive disposition throughout the research process, with the goal of emancipation in mind.

The scepticism of the insider position of researchers that is oftentimes viewed with concern about the researcher's ability to remain "objective" is increasingly being challenged (Keikelame, 2018). Through continuous, documented (via keeping a research journal) and collegial-supported reflexivity, I endeavoured to remain accountable in the methods by which I captured and made meaning of the GADRA's organisational practice. Through the processes of engagement with the Organisation, described above, during the commencement of the research, the processes of negotiating consent, member verification processes, the atmosphere created during the biographic narrative interviews, as well as supervision during and co-authorship in the dissemination of findings, I sought to diffuse power relations and negotiate my "outsider" positionalities as a researcher associated with the academy.

6.2.2. The choice of theoretical lens

I have maintained a focus on power-knowledge relations throughout my postgraduate studies, first as they related to young Black women in the maternal health sector of the Eastern Cape (see Msomi, 2019), and now as they related to Black youths in the education sector. I have also maintained an analytical focus on NGOs as a technology of power, and the (re)productions of NGO intervention on Blackness in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. For me, this has not been only an academic exercise in refining my skills in research and gaining a licence to do independent research in the academy (Yazdani, & Shokooh, 2018), but a process of deep significance for me as a Black South African woman, a Black researcher tracing the effects of the power-knowledge nexus on Blackness. See, "… for us it is not only a theoretical question but part of our experience" (Foucault, 1982, p. 328). Historically, and in the present day, members from the marginalised majority are subjects of research; we endure the objectivising effects of "knowledge production" (Msomi, 2019). It is of great significance that members from this group, members such as me, become the researchers and negotiate counter-discourses as acts of resistance towards promoting educational change, and more specifically emancipatory practices at the centre of the education-development nexus. This has the long-term potential of contributing to social change and our imagined transformed societies.

The more I have continued to grapple with Foucauldian thought, the purported scientific nature and neutrality of social governance practices and accompanying research trends, have to me

become increasingly de-legitimate and problematic. The Foucauldian framework, and works by critical scholars in the literature, provided to me the tools to identify, understand and articulate problematic constructions surrounding the "crisis in education" discourse in our nation. This way of seeing, and untangling aspects that trouble me, availed the tools for resistance. With time, I have learned to recognise techniques of power, and to search for apparatuses of resistance. I have come to learn to identify practices of resistance, and developed an eagerness to understand the techniques and conditions that enable and cultivate it. I respect those factions of society that embrace and enact them. This is what I recognised at GADRA.

6.2.3. A value-based (research) practice

Counselling psychology is described as a value-based profession that emphasises people's strengths, values diversity, and embraces multiculturalism (Bantjes, et al., 2016). Registered to practice as a counselling psychologist, I believe the profession is best-poised to enact the values and principles of community psychology in our South African wellbeing landscape. These values and enactment of principles can be loosely summarised as an emancipatory agenda for all. These are also enacted in research; in fact, psychologists interchange their roles as clinicians and activists, depending on the nature of the situation (Visser & Moleko, 2012). My value-based professional identity as a counselling psychologist too shaped the processes of this research.

As I noted in my previous postgraduate study (Msomi, 2019), the ethical principle of beneficence is espoused in my work as a counselling psychologist. This principle requires practitioners to (a) prevent harm, (b) provide benefits and (c) balance the benefits against the risks and costs of practice (Beauchamp, 2007), the implementation of which I discuss in the introductory sections of this chapter. Beauchamp (2007) underscores the "importance of beneficence as a principle beyond the scope of non-maleficence... In healthcare ethics beneficence commonly refers to an action done to benefit others…" (p. 5). Beneficence is a less stringent principle than non-maleficence, but is important in the field of psychology, a field often centred on promoting the welfare of persons (Allan, 2011). In terms of research practice, it is paramount for me that the research is to some extent beneficial to participants; that it is aligned with my strength-based and holistic wellbeing focussed professional values; that it retains a focus on how (colonial) histories

continue to have implications for the persistently marginalised; and that it demonstrates a commitment to social justice (Young, 2013).

Scholars often reference the point that the act of interviewing participants is useful in allowing participants to process their experiences, and places them in valued subject positions by soliciting their opinions and experiences. I am oftentimes sceptical of this framing but, as the nature of reflections that emerged in the interview talk suggest, and in the ways in which participants reflected upon and processed their own experiences, the act of interviewing the participating organisational members seemed to be valuable to them and at the least psychologically beneficial, as demonstrated below.

> We don't all get to tell our story because we move from one thing to the other, then the next thing, there is no stopping to reflect. *Nwabisa, 2023*

In the closing reflection above, Nwabisa notes the value of being afforded the opportunity to pause and reflect on one's experiences. The unstructured, informal, anti-authoritative and non-hierarchical atmosphere (Kendall & Halliday, 2014) created during the biographic narrative interview seemed to be conducive to the sharing of their experiences, as reflected below.

> Gcobani: (Laughs) ja (yes), thanks.
> Nqobile: Why is that funny?
> Gcobani: No, I'm saying thanks. I'm just grateful. It's just…
> Nqobile: And then, oh did I stop you, it's just…
> Gcobani: No, it's just, you touched a good point there, I'm really touched by your words.
> Nqobile: Good, I'm glad. I'm touched by your story.
> Gcobani: … No, thank you for having me, thank you. It's been a while since I've had that opportunity to reflect and uhm ja just think about everything and reflect about how the progress has been and if there is or there has been any progress, you know, things like that. So ja (yes), thank you for your time. *Gcobani, 2023*

Kendall and Halliday (2014) also note that research interviews may "... offer a therapeutic opportunity to participants where they can revisit and reorder past experiences" (p. 306). The excerpt from Nomsa's closing reflection below suggests that the act of engaging in an interview about their experiences at GADRA Education enabled them to reframe a period where things were perceived to not be working out.

> Now that I've reflected, I think, I can say, GADRA is literally the best thing that has ever happened to me. I think that's what I'm getting from this interview, that sometimes things

not working out your way are actually working out your way. They are working for you.
Nomsa, 2023

Closing reflections like those captured above propelled me to reconsider my position about the psychological value of research interviews for participants. I began to wonder about the potency of the research interview as intervention, because of its potential to facilitate reflection for members who might not otherwise engage in reflection about particular lived experiences. Although there may remain a degree of socially desirable responses (Bryman, 2016), the closing responses and the participants centring their own experiences (rather than on evaluation of the Organisation) indicate that participants benefited from the opportunity to reflect on their experiences. I use Cherrington's (2018) work on research as hope-intervention to further explore the idea of the beneficence of research practice, in reference to this study, in Chapter Ten. This is a prime example of the ways in which the research process and findings, the contributions by the Organisation's members, affected and advanced my thinking and interpretations of the findings. These altered my perceptions of the value of some research practices.

6.2.4. Psychologist contributing to dialogues about transformational education

Finally, as an "outsider" to both the education and development academic communities, my community of practice (Wenger, 1998) was invaluable to the advancement of the research processes and negotiating key ethical and argumentative considerations. Throughout the research process, multiple opportunities were provided to present research emergent ideas and findings, and thus strengthen the overall trustworthiness of the study.

Near the end of my first year of doctoral study, I joined the University Staff Doctoral Programme (USDP) in Social Work and Education. This interdisciplinary Doctoral Fellowship sought to address socio-educational challenges in the Eastern Cape, supported by the country's Department of Higher Education Training, amongst others. The programme was a collaborative project between Rhodes University, the University of Fort Hare and Queen's University Belfast. It aimed to enhance cross-institutional research cultures and long-term relationships and international collaborations to support challenge-led research, which would ensure that the research process and findings are impactful. I received regular support and constructive feedback via work-in-progress, writing retreats, colloquia presentations from project leads and colleagues in

education, social work, sociology and psychology disciplines, all working to address socio-educational challenges of our time. This, together with regular input from my research supervisor with decades of experience in impactful community psychology intervention and research, was invaluable to the rigour of the study.

This collegial-supported reflexivity assisted me in remaining accountable for various aspects of the research, and overall research findings. Through these opportunities to engage various members about the research, I recognised the value of, and enacted, research as advocacy. There are obvious benefits for the researcher in academia. It was thus important for me that I could collaborate with the Organisation in the dissemination of the techniques of their organisational practice, and provide constructive feedback. This was an expressed area of development for the Organisation. The goal to disseminate the results of various aspects of this research via publication in peer-reviewed journals, colloquia presentations and relevant conferences was achieved during the research process and will continue post-PhD.

A particularly notable research conference that I attended was the 9th International Conference of Community Psychology (9ICCP). At this conference, I presented findings from phase one of the study amongst fellow community practitioners and psychologists from around the globe. The cross-cutting themes of the presentations, including panel discussions and keynotes, centred on how community-based organisations, such as GADRA and others, were already doing "community psychology". It validated for me the ways in which a community psychology lens can reveal insights and advance efforts - and, of course, how community psychologists can learn from community-based practitioners.

6.3. Indicators of qualitative rigour

I discuss the four-dimension criteria for qualitative rigour (credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability) to reflect on the methods enacted during this research process (adapted from Guba & Lincoln, 1982). Aligned with Morse's (2015) critiques of the misalignment of traditional indicators of rigour as applied in qualitative research, I argue that my prolonged engagement with the Organisation; member checking; triangulation; the thick descriptions of the process I offer in the methodological chapters; the privileging of the

organisational members' narrative contributions in subsequent chapters; researcher reflexivity; as well as my community of practice contributed to the trustworthiness of this research process.

The credibility of this research was enhanced by my prolonged and varied engagements with various members of the Organisation in various settings (Morse, 2015). My long-standing relations as a member of Makhanda's educational community, as well as a member of the Organisation for a period of time, as detailed in the reflexivity section above. This meant a certain level of familiarity with the landscape, members and various programmes which enhanced my ability to give context informed interpretations. This also enabled access to the Organisation and its members, as well as familiarity with its ways of doing. In the reflexivity section I also note that my biographic interviewing skills (Wengraf, 2004) were enhanced by my training as a counselling psychologist. This meant that I had both the knowledge and skills to facilitate the biographic narrative interviews with members. The member checking engagement hosted with GADRA members following phase one's analysis of the annual reports also contributed to the credibility of the findings, and meaning-making processes.

It helped to deepen the understanding of the techniques deployed by GADRA, and its various features. In the methodological chapters, I provide detailed descriptions of the overall research strategies, as well as the specific research techniques used in phases one and two of the study. Phase Two was useful in triangulating (Flick, 2018) the identified discursive constructions, as well as the discourses surrounding the Organisation. I also provided various tabulated results of the constructions and discourses identified. The appendices have examples of the chain of evidence from the study (Yin, 2003). Rather than my interpretations, my findings chapters privilege the voice of participants (Andrews et al., 2013). This is evidenced by the number of excerpts I provide from the annual reports, as well as the long excerpts from the narrative data from participants' verbatim contributions. This was done to enhance the dependability of the research. Throughout the research process, regular processes of collegial-supported researcher reflexivity enhanced the confirmability of the research findings (Morse, 2015).

6.4. Chapter summary

To summarise, this study aimed to identify the discourses used to GADRA's organisational practice, both as circulated via GADRA's annual reports as well as by organisational members.

Deploying the case study research strategy, the design constitutes two units of analysis: a Foucauldian reading of 1) the Organisation's annual reports and 2) narrative interviews with organisational members. Willig's (2013) and Tamboukou's (2008) guidelines guided the analyses of the annual reports and narrative interviews respectively. I concluded this methodological section by reflecting on deliberative aspects and moments in the research process.

In the next chapter, I identify and discuss the discourses circulating in GADRA's annual reports. Discourse is an important site of power relations. Phase one of the research revealed that discourse circulating around and constituting the Organisation enabled GADRA Education to emerge as a credible actor in the Makhanda educational landscape. As a credible actor, they developed particular modes of intervention that over time functioned as apparatuses of resistance. These contributed to the destabilisation of productions that leave the majority of Makhanda youths "out" (of participation in higher education and on the margins of social life). This is evidenced and further elaborated on next.

CHAPTER 7: GADRA EDUCATION

7.1. Overview of the NGO

Previously known as the *Grahamstown Area Distress Relief Association* (GADRA), the Organisation under study was established in 1958 in the city formerly known as Grahamstown (now Makhanda), South Africa. It was established to fill the gaps in service-delivery by the then Department of Education and Training (one of 19 departments of education at the time, specifically with jurisdiction over urban education for Black learners). GADRA's main goals were to assist the marginalised and oppressed to educate their children; and advocate for institutional and political change, as well as education for all under one ministry during the apartheid era (Westaway, 2017).

Margie Keeton, the present-day treasurer of the Organisation and daughter of Thelma Henderson, one of the recognised stalwarts of GADRA, traces the history of the Organisation. Speaking at GADRA's 60th birthday celebration in 2018 during the period that I have recognised as the Organisation's regeneration phase (see the chapter to follow), Keeton (2018) illustrated how GADRA's inception and responses to prominent social challenges were oftentimes initiated by incisive situational analyses. In the late 1950s, the Organisation formed as guided by Professor James Irving's work in Makhanda. Keeton (2018) narrated that Irving, a Professor of Sociology at Rhodes University, researched the conditions in which people lived in what was formerly known as Grahamstown. They found that 95% of those categorised as African were surviving below levels of adequate nutrition and 85% lived seriously below these levels. This initiated one of GADRA's first initiatives, the GADRA Feeding Division, which provided meals to learners in local schools. Over time, the GADRA Relief and Development Division, GADRA's Advice Division, as well as GADRA's Education Division were developed. Keeton (2018) noted that the findings "also set a pattern for what would follow in GADRA – namely work to understand the real-life problems of people as they lived their lives, and then finding practical ways of making a difference" (p. 1). In subsequent years, GADRA would develop a commercial centre, continue with initiatives to provide welfare relief, as well as provide

educational support via its Bursary Programme, the Matric School and the Primary Education Support and Development Programme (Msindo, 2014; Nqaba, 2015).

A search revealed that two research studies, utilising GADRA as a case study, have been completed in recent years: a study by Msindo (2014) in the field of sociology, as well as by Nqaba (2015) in the field of politics and international studies. Both studies occurred during what I have identified as the Organisation's repositioning phase (see chapter to follow) and offered alternative perspectives to the widespread criticisms of NGO practice, which is argued to depoliticise development (as outlined in Chapter Two). Msindo's (2014) study focussed on the education rights of the majority. They categorised GADRA as a *de facto* critical institution of the state's education system, due to its emergence in response to deficiencies in the public schooling system. Msindo (2014) positioned GADRA's non-confrontational approach to the state, but rather the focus on an *Ubuntu*-inspired provision of education to the persistently marginalised, as a model for other state and non-state actors in education who wish to advance educational rights to disenfranchised communities.

Nqaba (2015) also explored GADRA's resistance to common productions in Makhanda's educational landscape. They argued that NGOs have the potential to shift power relations that otherwise leave the majority persistently excluded in social and educational life. A key site for this resistance is in education. Nqaba (2015) engaged the leadership at GADRA about their practices in Makhanda. Although the leadership acknowledged their contentious positioning within the development discourse (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023), the strong circulation of the rights in education discourse (Spreen & Vally, 2006) within the Organisation produced a positioning between the state and the public. This enabled them to advocate effectively for quality education. During the repositioning years, they hoped that the strong circulation of counter-discourse in education, over time, would produce shifted power relations in Makhanda's educational landscape. Thus, both studies identified GADRA's acts of resistance. The study to follow, being conducted during the Organisation's regeneration phase, advances the former insights into impactful community organisation that lead to educational and, ultimately (and hopefully) social, change. This study seeks to identify the mechanisms by which GADRA advanced progressively through shifting power relations over time, and to illustrate its implications for youth subjectivity in Makhanda.

Since 2010, GADRA came under new management and worked to re-position itself as a community-engaged organisation, as well as an advocate for the transformation of the public schooling sector in Makhanda. This repositioning was influenced by the situational analysis conducted by the present-day manager, Dr Ashley Westaway (Westaway, 2012). As part of this repositioning, the Organisation rebranded themselves as GADRA Education, moving away from the deficit formulations of its initial naming to better reflect its purpose as a service delivery and advocacy institution in Makhanda's educational landscape.

The Organisation has therefore played a long-standing and key role in the educational landscape of the city. In addition to the earlier activities described above, and since 2014, they were trusted to lead a consortium of service organisations, as well as appointed to lead the Vice Chancellor's Revitalisation Initiative (VCI) to revitalise schooling in Makhanda (Annual Report [AR], 2013, 2014; Rhodes News, 2022). Acknowledging their contributions, GADRA was named the Community Partner of the year in 2014, 2018 and 2020 by the RU Community Engagement (RUCE) office. Since 2015, the GADRA Matric School has emerged as RU's largest feeder school. The Organisation has also played a leading role in the *Nine-tenths Mentoring Programme*, a key initiative in the VCI, that caters for learners attending the city's non-fee paying schools (Westaway, 2016). In 2021, this mentoring programme won the prestigious McJannet Award for Global Citizenship. This Award recognises exemplary university student civic engagement programmes, committed to developing global student leaders who actively engage with society (McJannet Foundation, 2023). GADRA, the city's oldest NGO, thus works at the interface of service delivery and advocacy for educational transformation, within the context of persistent educational injustice and stark contrasts within education in Makhanda.

I draw on aspects of the FDA of the Organisation's Annual Reports (AR) over both the repositioning phase (2012 - 2015) and the regeneration phase (2016 - 2021) to describe the NGO's activities below. During the repositioning phase of the Organisation (2012 - 2015), GADRA developed and continued to advance a number of intervention strategies across the education system. By the time of the shift into the regeneration phase, three distinct modes of supporting success in education became identifiable. I discuss these below.

7.2. Multi-tiered interventions

GADRA's multi-tiered interventions functioned as social capital for bonding and bridging purposes (Claridge, 2018) within the public schooling community in Makhanda during the repositioning phase. During the early years of the repositioning phase, the Organisation worked to enable the repositioning GMS from a "finishing school" to a "bridging college" (AR, 2013). Here the Organisation sought for this intervention to act as a bridge between school and higher education for youth in Makhanda. The Bursary Programme was said to more accurately resemble "an internship initiative" (AR, 2013) and also acted as a supportive bridge into higher education for disenfranchised youth, who would not otherwise have financial resources to access or sustain their participation in higher education.

Quintessentially, the Organisation came to an emancipatory realisation during this phase: "learners themselves are potentially important change makers" (AR, 2014). This recognised the agency and capabilities of the learners. They thus facilitated various learner engagement and training workshops, as well as tutoring, mentoring and volunteering initiatives structured to support mutual exchange, via mutual learning and support, between learners.

Bonds were constructed not only between youth in Makhanda, but also between educators and educational practitioners in public schooling. GADRA established the Primary Education Programme (PEP) in 2008. They report that it was initially established to support home language literacy through generalised supportive workshops, and then follow-up classroom support for educators. Over time this programme became RU-accredited and educators could participate in what became a Teacher Professional Development (TPD) short course (AR, 2018). The organisation reports that the TPD short course "proved popular with city's teachers and it undoubtedly played a significant role in building a stronger community of primary teaching practice" (AR, 2018). The Organisation in this way facilitated connections of mutual exchange, co-learning and development between members educational stakeholders in Makhanda.

Further, they convened the High School Principals' Forums in 2012, and the Primary School Principals' Forums in 2014. These forums helped to build consensus amongst school leaders representing diverse interests and enabled an exchange of information, ideas and innovation. These developments enhanced forms of bridging and bonding capital (Claridge, 2018) within

Makhanda's educational landscape. These forums have evolved, taking various shapes over the years and have then culminated into what is known in the present-day as the Circle of Unity, Education cluster, a multi-stakeholder civil society coalition formed to advance change for the common good in Makhanda.

In 2019, it was reported that "GADRA sustained a physical presence in 9 public school foundation phase classrooms in 2019" (AR, 2019) and that PEP expanded and "successfully piloted an internship programme" intended to provide "HR support" to ten foundation phase classrooms. As part of the development of an "internship model", nine GMS alumni were "providing intern support to teachers". The organisation boldly notes that "based on considerable data, we can conclusively assert that GADRA made a massive contribution to the literacy advancement of over 500 children in 2019" (AR, 2019). GADRA thus provides evidence of and reports leveraging forms of bridging and bonding capital between education stakeholders in Makhanda, with resultant impacts that affect educational outcomes at both primary and high school levels.

In the above ways, their multi-pronged interventions in public schooling were identifiable in the analysis of the Organisation's annual reports within the study period, 2012 – 2021 (to be further expanded in the next chapter). By the time that the Organisation shifted into the regeneration phase, the three distinct modes of support became consolidated and readily identifiable, as discussed below.

7.3. Modes of support

During the regeneration phase, three modes of support operating across the education system became identifiable. I formulate these as apparatuses of resistance (Tamboukou, 2008) in the chapters to follow, and provide a description of their operation directly below.

7.3.1. The Whistle Stop School - "as effective in isiXhosa as in English"

This mode of support operates in primary schooling in Makhanda in response to the need for more intervention, due to shortfalls in literacy competencies of learners. It is characterised as "an early years literacy acceleration school" (AR, 2021), and works with learners in the foundation

and intermediate phases because at these ages, learners are more likely to be able to develop literacy skills (Cummins, 2013). It is described as "GADRA's innovative literacy remediation and acceleration intervention" (AR, 2018) programme.

"GADRA delivers the aforementioned educational services through its two schools" (AR, 2021): the Whistle Stop School (WSS) and the GADRA Matric School (the latter is described below). "WSS works primarily with foundation phase children whereas GMS assists post-school youth" (AR, 2021). The WSS programme was initiated in 2017 in partnership with one of the non-fee paying schools in Makhanda-east. The WSS is housed in the partner school. Focussing on literacy development, by its third year, GADRA reported that WSS "had built up an impressive data set for the Y^{10} site, which indicated that the literacy intervention doubles the rate of normal development in English" (AR, 2019). In 2018, WSS launched a second site at a further Primary School[11], also a non-fee paying primary school in Makhanda. Whilst the first site was where learners were predominantly Afrikaans-speaking, the second is attended by learners who were predominantly IsiXhosa-speaking. At its second site, GADRA reported a new literacy challenge for them, which was to build foundational isiXhosa literacy in Grades 1 and 2, in order to enable a switch to English as mode of instruction in Grades 3 and 4 (AR, 2018). And so, as this mode of support developed and transformed through GADRA's cycles of praxis, which I detail in subsequent chapters, we see the Organisation's practice guided by theories of bilingualism - in particular the additive approach to second language development (Lemmer, 2002). Regarding second language acquisition, a prominent feature of South African primary education, GADRA reported that the "challenges are deeper and more complex in schools where the language of teaching and learning is isiXhosa" (AR, 2018). However, by the end of its third year of the programme, the Organisation dubbed WSS "as effective in isiXhosa as in English" (AR, 2019).

In the above ways, GADRA developed a mode of support in primary schooling that sought to destabilise what has been identified as "the crisis in education" (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023), wherein levels of literacy of learners was recorded as very low (Böhmer & Wills, 2023; Spaull, 2019).

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[10] Anonymised
[11] Anonymised

7.3.2. The GADRA Matric School - "from registration to graduation"

This mode of support operates in secondary and post-schooling in Makhanda. The Organisation constructed the GADRA Matric School (GMS) as a well-known and effective sub-unit of GADRA Education. It is the Organisation's longest standing programme and offers a second chance to learners who need to improve their NSC results, or who want to repeat and improve some of their subjects in order to qualify for a specific higher education certificate - commonly, one that requires a Bachelor-level pass (enabling university entry). Tracing the emergence of its credibility, GADRA reported that in 2013, the Board of GADRA challenged GMS to reposition itself from an "all-purpose Second Chance School to becoming a top-end Bridging School" (AR, 2021). During the repositioning phase, the credibility of GMS was consolidated, illustrated by being dubbed the "flagship service delivery" programme of the Organisation (AR, 2016). Whereas GMS was RU's twentieth biggest feeder school in 2013, it "... climbed up twenty places in only two years, to emerge as Rhodes University's largest feeder school in 2015" (AR, 2021). In 2017, the Organisation introduced the Bridging Programme as a central element of GMS.

7.3.2.1. Bridging Programme

Aligned with the RU Vice Chancellor's intentions to revive education in Makhanda (Rhodes News, 2022), Dr Sizwe Mabizela invited GADRA to conceptualise a programme to better enable local youths access to RU (AR, 2018). The Bridging Programme was conceptualised and piloted in 2017. Ten GMS students were enrolled for first year Psychology modules at RU. These students concurrently upgraded some of their NSC subjects at GMS, whilst being permitted to enrol as an Occasional Student at RU, taking Psychology 1 as a university subject. The Bridging Programme for GMS students thus operates as a pathway to RU (AR, 2017). The Organisation described how it operates as a bridge to enable local students to access "meaningful post-school pathways, especially to RU" (AR, 2018). It is reported to be a "new form of extended studies" that is "effective and cheap" (AR, 2017). From 2018 onwards following the success of the 2017 pilot year, 40 GMS students enrolled for courses across four university faculties: Humanities, Education, Science and Commerce (AR, 2018). GADRA asserted that "importantly, the programme is most certainly meeting its objective of facilitating the access of deserving local students to Rhodes University" (AR, 2018).

During the Organisation's repositioning phase, educational outcomes were cited as evidence of the educational crisis in the city; however, during the regeneration phase, educational outcomes were used to evidence youths' access to and participation in the higher educational environment. The number of NSC passes and RU acceptances, including Bachelor-level pass rates, were cited across the annual reports to evidence this regeneration (of educational outcomes). For example, the Organisation reported 120 Bachelor passes, 59 acceptances of GMS students to RU, as well as a student pass rate of 100% and a Bachelor pass rate of 75% (AR, 2016). In 2017, they reported 100 Bachelor passes and that more than 50 students were accepted for study at RU (AR, 2017). In 2018, they reported that 100 GMS students achieved Bachelor level passes, and that GMS maintained "100% pass rate for 3rd consecutive year" (AR, 2018). In the same year, ten GADRA alumni graduated from Rhodes in a single year (AR, 2018), and at least 30 candidates who obtained Bachelor passes but were not accepted to university, "...register[ed] at Rhodes as Occasional Students and simultaneously upgrade[d] two school subjects at the GADRA Matric School to increase their university admission points" (AR, 2018). What was produced, via summoning these results in the annual reports during this second phase, was an upward trajectory of the educational outcomes of GMS students.

In 2021, at the end of the regeneration phase, the Organisation reported that GMS produced 150 Bachelor passes and 50 GMS alumni graduated from RU during the April graduation ceremonies (AR, 2021). More generally, from 2015 onwards GMS produced 100 Bachelor passes (AR, 2021). Thus, the cited number of Occasional Students enrolled onto the Bridging Programme, in tandem with the GMS pass rates cited annually, acted to strengthen the upward trajectory of GMS students and thus the efficacy and expansion of GMS (and by extension GADRA Education), as a key role player in Makhanda's educational landscape. Key to the construction of GMS as a bridge is the collaborative partnership with the "prestigious" RU.

Most significantly, the construct and metaphorical use of the bridge analogy (initially produced by the discourse of access in the first phase) transformed to connote meaningful participation in the higher education environment during the second phase. The Organisation noted that it "is pleased to report that the vast majority of these [GMS] students are being retained within the university system (only a minute minority dropping out)" (AR, 2018); moreover that it "is GADRA's strength on registration day and during Orientation Week [and this is] being matched

by strong representation during the graduation weekend" too (AR, 2018). The organisation thus asserted that this mode of support "serves as a perfect bridge connecting local no-fee schools with Rhodes" (AR, 2018), and further enables a trajectory from "registration to graduation" (AR, 2018).

In this way, GMS coupled with the "innovation" of the Bridging Programme were key features of GADRA's techniques of resistance used to enable local Makhanda youths to access the local institution of higher education. GADRA reported a steady increase in both number of Bachelor-passes and GMS students enrolling at RU. To underscore the type of meaningful participation in higher education that GADRA's bridging has enabled, the reports cited the number of GMS alumni who become RU graduates. The organisation reported that "GMS is effective both in enabling its students to access Rhodes and in preparing them for the disciplines, rigors and demands of the prestigious university" (AR, 2018). The "main feeder school" construct persisted during the second phase, and developed from access to RU to graduation from RU. The Organisation further inferred a correlation between GMS and graduation, and extended this as having an impact on students' livelihoods: "therefore very soon GADRA will be in a position to claim - perfectly accurately - that every year GMS is enabling more than 30 local poor families to change their class status by breaking into the middle class" (AR, 2018). These techniques are argued to impact the livelihoods of Makhanda youths and their families. GMS was thus termed a "top-end bridging school" (AR, 2019). However, the construction of this bridge for "top-end" students summoned concerns about productions of the "cream of the crop" and "local elites", the critiques of development initiatives of local education NGOs in Makhanda (Nomsenge, 2019). Slippages from rights in education to the human capital discourse (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023) were apparent via the constructs of "local deserving students" (AR, 2018) being enabled access to higher education via an "effective and cheap" programme (AR, 2017).

Noting shifts more broadly within Makhanda's education landscape, the Organisation reported that "2018 was a breakthrough year for the no-fee sector in Grahamstown, especially at the top-end of learner performance" (AR, 2018) in the early years of the regeneration phase. By 2021, they reported that "the city produced its best-ever Matric results" (AR, 2021). GADRA reported that "it should be noted that the 2021 results are by no means a 'flash in the pan'" (AR, 2021) and that "there is no doubt whatsoever that one of the most significant underlying reasons

for the improvement in top-end performance is the mentoring programme. It explicitly and deliberately focused on attempting to increase the number and percentage of Bachelor passes" in the small city more broadly (AR, 2021). Herein began what was constructed as a "meteoric rise" (AR, 2021) during a period of regeneration in the city's educational landscape. Most notably, this rise was noted as not merely produced by GMS students, as in the repositioning phase, but occurring across secondary schooling in Makhanda. The achievements of students across non-fee and fee-paying schools were contributing to this "meteoric rise" (AR, 2021).

7.3.3. The Nine-Tenths Mentoring Programme - "9/10ths of education is encouragement - Anatole France"

Much like GMS, this third mode of support operates between secondary and higher education. However, rather than operating as a bridge, it operates as a form of linking social capital (Claridge, 2018), supporting both vertical and horizontal bridging. "The tried and tested 9/10ths mentoring programme" is a "volunteer-based education programme" (AR, 2016), which pairs Makhanda school-going learners with RU students in a structured mentoring relationship. The programme enables a level of reciprocity within the mentee-mentor relationship, thus bolstering bonds between members (Claridge, 2018). Via this mode of support initiated at the beginning of the regeneration phase, (interpersonal) bonds expanded and "thickened" between youth in Makhanda: learners in public schooling connected through a mentoring relationship with RU students, and via volunteer programmes at various schools. Some of the success of the programme was attributed to these bonds having promoted learner achievements, supporting the assertion that "nine-tenths of education is encouragement - Anatole France" (AR, 2016). The process also encouraged civic participation amongst youth in Makhanda, as well as enabling the sharing of skills to access higher education. Further on in Chapter Nine, the mentees reflect on these interpersonal bonds and skills acquired via this programme.

During the regeneration phase, GADRA continued to leverage forms of social capital (Claridge, 2018) to create new pathways into RU (AR, 2016). In the context of a decline in matric results in the city's public schools, *Nine-Tenths* was reported to have "delivered the impressive quantum of 79 Bachelor passes in 2019" (AR, 2019). The Organisation noted that "what it demonstrates is that the structured mentoring programme that GADRA has tried, tested and improved over the

past five years is a rubric for stimulating top-end matric success" (AR, 2019). "It recognises that education and learning are cumulative... Performance in Grade 12 depends on the skills, competencies and characteristics that one has developed over the full duration of one's life and schooling experience" (AR, 2019). By 2021, GADRA reported that the *Nine-Tenths* programme had "played a key role in enabling Makahanda's public schools to achieve record matric results in 2021" (AR, 2021). As noted earlier, the programme also won the McJannet Award for Global Citizenship (AR, 2021), raising its profile nationally and internationally. This mentoring programme thus formed part of GADRA's repertoire of techniques of resistance, in an effort to bring about educational transformation in the city.

GADRA has thus recorded the presence of its programmes across the education continuum (AR, 2017). In addition to the structured mentoring programme, they noted that other volunteering programmes include homework clubs at a further (primary) School, and weekly English enrichment sessions for grade 8 learners at another Senior Secondary School and the High School that hosts the WSS. Discourses of access, participation and community development circulated in the Organisation's reports to construct bridges to higher education (via the GMS and the Bridging Programme, for example), and bonds between youth in public schooling in Makhanda (via the *Nine-Tenths* and volunteering programmes, for example). I discuss the ways in which these discourses are deployed in the accounts in the next chapters. In the context of persistent inequalities in education, these forms of building social capital functioned to destabilise, to a certain extent, prominent productions that have consistently reproduced differentiation in the educational landscape.

7.4. Chapter summary

In this chapter, I provided a description of the NGO under study, GADRA Education. Initially known as GADRA, the Organisation rebranded itself as a non-state actor in Makhanda's educational landscape. From 2012, they became known as GADRA Education. I provided a description of their multi-tiered interventions across the education system. Particularly during the regeneration phase, GADRA's modes of resistance became identifiable.

Since its inception, GADRA has initiated a number of interventions responsive to the local socio-contextual challenges of the small city. In its former years, it worked across welfare,

commerce and educational settings. In more recent years, the Organisation repositioned itself as an apparatus of resistance specifically in education (working to destabilise productions that bar the majority from participation in one of the city's prominent HE institutions). It rebranded itself as GADRA Education. During the regeneration phase in particular, the Organisation's modes of resistance became identifiable. These modes not only bolstered various forms of social capital in the educational landscape, but also contributed to shifting educational outcomes across the city. WSS operates in primary schooling to improve literacy development as a necessary bridge into secondary schooling. GMS and *Nine-Tenths* operate in secondary schooling and act as a bridge and link to higher education. These modes of support seem to contribute to the narrowing differentiation between educational outcomes between non-fee and fee-paying schools, as well as contributing to forming and strengthening bonds between educational stakeholders in Makhanda.

The next chapter reports on findings from the first phase of the study, the repositioning phase and provides insights into the ways in which these modes of support developed within the Organisation.

CHAPTER 8: PHASE ONE FINDINGS

8.1. Foucauldian Discourse Analysis of Archival Annual Reports

Willig's (2013) stages of a Foucauldian discourse analysis (FDA) were used to analyse the data contained in the annual reports. During the various stages of analysis, I was interested in the multiple ways that the discursive objects were constructed and what this enabled over time. The analysis of GADRA's annual reports revealed two phases during the study period, as well as prominent discourses circulating in the organisation.

During the *repositioning phase (2012 - 2015)*, the crisis and transformation discourses circulated to construct the educational landscape. Discourses of participation and collaboration co-constructed a Makhanda-GADRA-Rhodes-University partnership. I identified techniques reminiscent of community psychology's principles and values which were used to construct GADRA's credibility. During this first phase of the study, I began to develop the concept of *situated praxis* for educational change, an emerging apparatus from the repositioning phase.

During the *regeneration phase (2016 - 2021)*, the discourse of collaborative partnerships consolidated the Makhanda-GADRA-Rhodes-University construct, and the discourse of participation produced bonds between stakeholders and bridges into the city's higher education institution. The discourse of community-based research strengthened the concept of situated forms of praxis. Knowledge-power relations regarding transformation and development produced the notion of GADRA's sustainability moving forward. Discourses of crisis and national development were used to highlight conditions of local and national governance, which were constructed as failing.

In this chapter, I present findings from Phase One of the study. In the next chapter, I argue that the emergent techniques of resistance have wider applicability for reform in the public schooling landscape. In the presentation of the findings, I make reference to the specific Annual Report by noting it as AR with its corresponding year - for example, I reference the Annual Report from 2012 as "AR, 2012".

8.2. The Two Phases of Organisational Practice

Via the iterative grounded reading of the annual reports, as described in the methodology chapter, two things became apparent:

Firstly, it appeared as if there were two distinct phases in the lifespan of the organisation during the study period (2012 - 2021). These shaped GADRA's organisational practice during those periods. I categorise these two phases as (a) the *repositioning phase* (2012 - 2015), during which GADRA came under new management and worked to reposition themselves into a community-based organisation; and (b) the *regeneration phase* (2016 - 2022) during which shifts in Makhanda's educational landscape occurred to enable greater youth participation in the city's higher education institution and greater collaboration between education stakeholders, as reported.

Secondly, particular discursive constructions were produced during the repositioning phase and, although some of these constructions persisted, particular transformations occurred during the regeneration phase. What emerged over the course of the study period were GADRA's techniques of resistance (Tamboukou, 2008), that is, counter-discourse with destabilising effects, and the workings of what I formulate as an apparatus in the Makhanda educational landscape, their *situated praxis*.

8.2.1. The repositioning phase (2012 - 2015)

As noted above, the quintessential feature of this period of the Organisation's lifespan was re-positioning itself into a community-based Organisation. This involved a transformation away from a charity orientation towards an advocacy and service delivery focus.

8.2.1.1. Constructing the educational landscape

GADRA historically functioned as a charity-based Organisation. From 2012 onwards, there was a distinct shift towards what they termed advocacy. It was during this time that the Organisation came under new management and there were multiple references to "the need for transformation" across the annual reports (2012 - 2015). Discourses of transformation and crisis were used to construct the educational landscape of Makhanda. In the reports, recurring

references were made to the construct of "public education transformation" and its positioning as "the goal of the Organisation" (AR, 2015). The object of this transformation was constructed as the "Grahamstown educational landscape" (AR, 2012). In the initial phases of repositioning, both "transformation" and "public education" emerged as prominent discursive constructs, and thus key areas of focus for the Organisation.

During this period, the Organisation repeatedly asserted its commitment to "educational transformation" and noted the "urgent need for public sector advocacy in Grahamstown" (AR, 2013). It constructed leaders of public schools, i.e. principals, as "key constituencies" (AR, 2012) and "activist graduates" (AR, 2013), i.e. students, as contributors to transformation in public education.

Deploying the crisis discourse, the reports describe the city's education system as "weakening" (AR, 2013). This is within what is described as "ongoing decline" (AR, 2014) of educational outcomes in the Eastern Cape more generally. The reports contrast no-fee paying schools to fee-paying schools, describing the achievements of the former as being at "unacceptable literacy and numeracy levels" (AR, 2014). Consistent with the discourse of the crisis in South African education, the Annual National Assessments (ANAs) and National Senior Certificate (NSC) results are referenced as evidence for the "downward trajectory" of education (AR, 2014).

The Organisation described the primary schooling results as consistent with the exit-level results. The "poor matric results" were described as persistent "in local public schools despite the advocacy efforts" of the Organisation (AR, 2015). The discourse of crisis and transformation were thus simultaneously summoned to make a case that the "public sector needs transformation advocacy over the long-term" (AR, 2015). In deploying these discourses of transformation and crisis steadily over time (AR, 2012 - 2015), what is produced is the Organisation's position as knowledgeable of the "complexity of the problem besetting" (AR, 2015) education in Makhanda, and an influential actor in this city's education milieu. By 2014, the Organisation asserts that it is in a "better position" to "lead and influence" education in Grahamstown (AR, 2014).

As an influential actor who responds to the need for transformation, GADRA summoned the human capital discourse to construct their transformation strategy, which involved the selection of particular no-fee paying schools as targeted intervention sites (AR, 2015). What became

identifiable by the tail end of the repositioning phase is a "coherent strategy" towards the public sector (AR, 2015). Thus, as an actor constructed as knowledgeable and influential, the Organisation was interpellated into the Makhanda educational landscape constructed as in need of transformation, weakening and stratified.

Using market logic consistent with the human capital discourse, the Organisation constructed idealised schools to be prioritised as objects of developmental intervention: these are described as "under-resourced schools" that "demonstrably offer a return on those investments" (AR, 2015). Further characteristics of these idealised schools include those that are "soundly led", "reasonably united", have "committed teachers", and show "improving educational outcomes" (AR, 2015). Using the human capital (more precisely, the scarce skills) discourse and crisis in education discourse simultaneously, stratified "under-resourced schools" are produced in the Makhanda landscape. The 2015 matric results achieved by the schools are argued to "vindicate" this selection targeting strategy.

8.2.1.2. Co-constructing public education and GADRA

Discourses of collaboration and (community) development also circulated in GADRA's annual reports. For example, they asserted that the "life and success of the organisation [is] now interwoven with those of the public schooling system" (AR, 2013). In this way, the public schooling system in Makhanda and the Organisation are co-constructed. This co-construction contrasts their historical "add-on" approach to supplementary provision of educational resources informed by a charity-orientation. Combined with its sentiments (captured above) on its commitment to Grahamstown and its said knowledge on the trends in Makhanda's educational landscape, this focus on "place" (Ratele, et al., 2022) produced GADRA's situatedness and embeddedness within Makhanda. In this way, the Organisation demonstrated socio-contextual awareness.

The Organisation constructed itself as "based in the Grahamstown community", holding the "interest of the community", "espouse[ing] relationships", "provid[ing] quality education" and "focus[ing] on quality". It reported being recognised by the Impumelelo Social Innovation Centre, where it received a Gold Award (AR, 2012). These constructions further reified GADRA's situatedness. GADRA Education was thus positioned as a prominent actor in the

Makhanda educational landscape. It reported being "poised to play a leading role" in the education sector and "unmatched by other education organisations in the country" (AR, 2012).

Reflecting on the history of the Organisation, GADRA was described as having faced difficulties which it reported overcoming. This reportedly enabled them to expand their ambitious endeavours. "Runs successful programmes and pilots", having a "growth mindset", "offers a variety of programmes", "innovative", "recognises strategic opportunities" by awarding bursaries and the "spirit of volunteerism and activism at the heart of the organisation" were described as key characteristics of GADRA. These positioned GADRA as an effective trustee of education-focused community development (AR, 2012).

8.2.1.3. Constructing bonds and bridges

The GADRA Matric School (GMS) is GADRA's longest standing programme; it was constructed as well-known and "award winning" (AR, 2012). It offers learners an opportunity to rewrite and upgrade their NSC result to enable access into tertiary education (GADRA, 2022). In the reports, GMS was initially constructed as RU's "most significant feeder school" with an expressed intention of "repositioning GMS from a 'finishing school" to a "bridging college"" (AR, 2013). GADRA reports setting this "challenge for GMS" (AR, 2013) and reported that GMS reached the challenge by 2014 (AR, 2014). Following "major innovations introduced", "raising the academic bar" and developing systems to identify "the most deserving candidates" for GMS (AR, 2013), the Organisation reported producing 52 Bachelor passes and decreased failure rate in 2013 (AR, 2013). These improvements grew to an "unprecedented achievement" of 70 Bachelor passes in 2014 (AR, 2014). In this way, GMS was constructed as a well-known and effective sub-unit of GADRA Education, a credible trustee of education-focused community development.

One of the local secondary public schools was named "a main feeder school of GMS" (AR, 2013), and "GMS, a feeder school to Rhodes University" (AR, 2013). Using the discourse of access, a hierarchical logic was introduced to further reify constructions of credibility and efficacy. GADRA further reported an expansion of their work with principals at a primary school level (AR, 2014). In 2012, the NGO co-ordinated the formation of the "High School's Principals' Forum" and in 2014 the "Primary School's Principals' Forum" (AR, 2014), an expansion of their

work with principals at a primary school level. The activities and partnerships surrounding the Organisation's modes of intervention were constructed as collaborative and multi-tiered; they include "advocacy", "parent engagement", "learner engagement" "mentoring" and "tutoring" (AR, 2012). The "organisation's support work" includes work with youths, schools, parents and principals (AR, 2013).

What was reflected within this discursive context is the bonding capital (Claridge, 2018) being built between educators as both state actors (e.g. Mary Waters) and non-state actors (e.g. GMS programme) in public secondary schooling, as well as bridging capital (Claridge, 2018) from a non-state development programme (e.g. GMS) to an institution of higher learning (e.g. RU). This was positioned as producing meaningful access to education as GMS alumni are reported to be admitted to RU and to graduate within expected timeframes for their degrees. Thus, these partnerships enable both access and educational success.

Since 2012, the Organisation reported seeking a formal agreement with RU and in late 2013 entered into an agreement with RU's Faculty of Education (AR, 2014). It was also named the Community Partner of the Year in 2014 by RU's Community Engagement directorate. In addition, it reported growing engagement at a primary school level, and being invited to lead a consortium of service organisations, as approved in December 2014 (AR, 2014). We thus see GADRA deploying the discourses of access and development to leverage bonding capital between public school actors at a basic education level, as well as building bridging capital with tertiary education.

In summary, the discourses of crisis are deployed to construct the educational landscape of Makhanda, and the discourse of transformation used to construct the Organisation's response strategy. Discourses of access, partnerships and development circulate prominently during the repositioning phase and produce bonds and bridges in the landscape. As first presented in Chapter Six, the summary of these prominently circulating discourses are are captured on Table 11 below.

Table 11: Circulating discourses during GADRA's repositioning phase

Circulating Discourses Repositioning phase (2012 - 2015)
Discourse of crisis
Discourse of transformation
Discourse of access and participation
Discourse of development
Collaborative partnerships discourse
Principles and values of community psychology

What is most significant in the summoning of these discourses is the formation of a particular discursive context, "green shoots in public schooling" (AR, 2016), and what it enabled during this phase. What began to emerge, following a time of organisational instability and change, as well as in the context of persisting inequity in the so-called "education hub of the Eastern Cape" (Nomsenge, 2018), is the Organisation's credibility, and conditions of possibilities in which Makhanda's youths could increasingly access RU via GMS.

Focussing on the action orientation (Willig, 2013) aspect of the reports, I use this next section of the analysis to present the variations and transformations of the discursive constructions, and the possibilities that emerged. I characterise this next phase of the lifespan of the organisation as the regeneration phase.

8.2.2. The regeneration phase (2016 - 2021)

The relations and productions of the repositioning phase are an important period of the constitution of the organisation's evolving discursive context. The shift in the discursive context enabled the emergence of an apparatus deployed to enable regeneration in Makhanda's educational landscape. The techniques which enabled regeneration are important to note. These techniques are formed via prominently circulating discourses, captured in summary on Table 12 and discussed below.

Table 12: Circulating discourses during GADRA's regeneration phase

Circulating Discourses Regeneration phase (2016 - 2021)
Discourse of crisis
Discourse of transformation
Discourse of participation
Collaborative partnerships discourse
Discourse of development
Situated praxis

Table 10 below presents a summary of the emergent discursive constructions during this phase of regeneration. The ways in which these constructions are formed is thereafter discussed.

Table 10: Discursive constructions produced during GADRA's regeneration phase

Discursive constructions Regeneration Phase (2016 - 2021)	
Discursive objects	**Discursive subjects**
Community-university partnership	Students
GADRA Education	Organisation's supporters / donors
Rhodes University	Teachers
Modes of support	Principals
Organisational sustainability	RU Vice Chancellor
Local and national governance	

8.2.2.1. Consolidating the Makhanda-GADRA-RU construction

GADRA's strategic plan for the period 2016 - 2020 named Rhodes University as an organisational partner. In their reporting during this second phase, GADRA constructed Rhodes University (RU) as "premier university of the Eastern Cape" (AR, 2016) and "the province's leading university" (AR, 2019). They reported that the agreement between the institution and the Organisation, established in 2015, would be implemented by 2017; they anticipated that there would be "numerous beneficiaries of [the] institutional partnership": public school principals,

teachers and learners across the schooling system (AR, 2016). By 2016, it reported an "enhanced relationship with RU" (AR, 2016). They reported that "the 2014 appointment of Dr Mabizela as the 6th Vice Chancellor of Rhodes University ushered in a new era of bilateral relations between the university and GADRA Education" (AR, 2021). It is at this juncture, that the Makhanda-GADRA-RU construction was consolidated.

During this period, Rhodes University's sizable capacity was then constructed. GADRA noted that the "student body… allows for large scale implementation" (AR, 2017). For example, their *Nine-Tenths Mentoring Programme* "requires approximately 100 trained university student volunteer mentors" (AR, 2017). This mentoring programme is the cornerstone of the overall Vice Chancellor's Initiative (VCI) to revive public education in Makhanda (Rhodes News, 2022). In the early stages of the regeneration phase, the organisation aptly noted that the "GADRA-managed VC's initiative [is] birthed at a pertinent [socio-political] time" (AR, 2016), thus demonstrating their socio-contextual awareness.

The human capital discourse seemed to continue to circulate during the regeneration phase. GADRA noted that, although they had initially piloted the mentoring programme with senior Organisational staff and mentors, "the pilot was a success, but GADRA recognised that a major constraint to upscaling and even sustaining the intervention was human resource capacity. The organisation realised that the VCI offered a solution to this problem, in the form of untapped student power" (AR, 2021). GADRA noted that the establishment of the VCI, and the organisation's role in managing the initiative, "nodded towards the appealing prospect that the organisation might be able to harness student agency and tap into the considerable intellectual capacities of the university's academic community" (AR, 2021). They reported on the outcomes of this mode of intervention, constructing its widespread success by noting that the Nine-Tenths programme "played a key role in enabling Makahanda's public schools to achieve record matric results in 2021" (AR, 2021). Thus, what can initially be read as circulations of the human capital discourse revealed itself, through its productions, as the discourse of participation.

Within Makhanda's educational landscape more broadly, the Organisation continued to construct its credibility. It noted its presence "across the education system" (AR, 2017). For example, its Whistle Stop School at the foundation phase and the Bridging Programme at the opposite end of the schooling continuum, at an post-school level. To reify its credibility, GADRA noted its

successes as a prominent actor in the landscape via: its management of the Vestas fund and the consortium's educational strategy, support programmes for both in-school (e.g. libraries) and out-of-school (e.g. aftercare sites) youths were initiated (AR, 2017).

Moreover, by 2021 GADRA reported that "Rhodes won first prize in the MacJannet Awards for Global Citizenship, for the 9/10ths mentoring programme (which GADRA conceptualised in 2015 and no co-manages with the University). "The MacJanet Prize for Global Citizenship recognises exemplary university student civic engagement programs around the world" (AR, 2021). They asserted that "the GADRA-Rhodes partnership continues to produce expressions of innovation and ingenuity": for example, the *Masilungise* (let us solve) project which is a collaboration between GADRA and the Mathematics Department in the Faculty of Education and the Science Faculty at RU; and the pilot of "first ever isiXhosa Spelling Bee Competition by the Department of Education" (AR, 2021). In this way, GADRA continued to expand its educational programmes across the education system in Makhanda.

The circulation of the collaborative partnerships discourse in this way strengthened constructions of GADRA's credibility and RU's capacity, and reified the GADRA-RU construct. This collaborative partnership had impacts across the educational landscape and thus consolidated the Makhanda-GADRA-RU construct as a key role player in the regeneration of education in the small city. GADRA termed this technique of counter-resistance as a "multi-stakeholder approach", which was reported to have enabled impact across groups (AR, 2017). In this way, collaborative partnerships were positioned as having catalysed regeneration across public schooling in Makhanda.

8.2.2.2. Strengthening bonds and bridges

GADRA reported producing bonds between public school actors at a basic education level (e.g. the "feeder relationship" between Mary Waters and GMS), and bridges with tertiary education (e.g. the "feeder relationship" between GMS and RU). During the regeneration phase, the prominence of the collaborative partnerships discourse within the annual reports consolidated the Makhanda-GADRA-RU construct, and the discourse of participation established bonds and bridges within the educational landscape to produce "unprecedented academic achievements" (AR, 2016). During this time, the Organisation reported that "Grahamstown public high schools

on the rise!" (AR, 2018), and of a "meteoric rise" in educational outcomes" (AR, 2021), produce the construction of regeneration across public schooling in Makhanda.

An important development during this phase of regeneration was that GADRA specified its modes of intervention. The organisation concretised its modes of support which were leveraged to destabilise differentiation between groups and enable participation: the Whistle Stop School (WSS) and GADRA Matric School (GMS), the Nine-Tenths Mentoring Programme (9/10ths) and other multi-pronged support programmes.

WSS is GADRA's mode of support in primary schooling that seeks to destabilise "the crisis in education" - wherein levels of literacy of learners was recorded as very low. By the end of its third year of piloting the programme, the Organisation dubbed WSS "as effective in isiXhosa as in English" (AR, 2019). The GADRA Matric School (GMS) was constructed as a well-known and effective sub-unit of GADRA Education in the repositioning phase, it was dubbed the "flagship service delivery" programme of the Organisation (AR, 2016) in the regeneration phase. During the repositioning phase, educational outcomes were cited as evidence of crisis; however, during the regeneration phase, educational outcomes were used to evidence participation in the post-schooling educational environment. The number of passes and RU acceptances, as well as Bachelor pass rates, are cited across the annual reports during this phase to evidence this regeneration (of educational outcomes).

What was produced, via summoning these results in the annual reports during this second phase, was an upward trajectory of the educational outcomes of GMS students. Whereas the prominence of the discourse of access constructed the Organisation's efficacy and credibility during the repositioning phase, this construction was reified by the prominence of the participation discourse during the regeneration phase. The latter discourse produced a bridge to enable local students to access "meaningful post-school pathways, especially to RU" (AR, 2018). The Bridging Programme for GMS learners was reported to act as a pathway to RU (AR, 2017).

Thus, GMS coupled with the "innovation" of the Bridging Programme were key features of GADRA's techniques of counter-resistance used to enable local Makhanda youths to access the local institution of higher education. To underscore the type of meaningful participation in higher education that GADRA's bridge enabled, the reports cited the number of GMS alumni who

become RU graduates. The organisation reported that "GMS is effective both in enabling its students to access Rhodes and in preparing them for the disciplines, rigors and demands of the prestigious university" (AR, 2018). The "main feeder school" construct persisted during the second phase, and developed from access to RU *to* graduation *from* RU. In the second phase then, GMS is dubbed a "top-end bridging school" (AR, 2019).

In addition, the Organisation summoned this discourse, in particular forms of bonding capital, to construct connections within the public education community in Makhanda. Via this mode of support during the regeneration phase, (interpersonal) bonds expanded and "thickened" between youth in Makhanda: learners in public schooling connected through a mentoring relationship with RU students, and via volunteer programmes at various schools. These bonds encouraged civic participation amongst youth in Makhanda.

Thus, discourses of access and participation circulated in the Organisation's reports to construct bridges to higher education (via the GMS and the Bridging Programme, for example), and bonds between youth in public schooling in Makhanda (via the Nine-Tenths and volunteering programmes, for example). In the context of persistent inequalities in education, these forms of social capital functioned to destabilise, to a certain extent, prominent production that reproduce differentiation in the educational landscape

8.2.2.3. Reifying GADRA's credibility

A key feature of GADRA's practice appears to be an operationalisation of community psychology's principles and values. These were also evident during the regeneration phase, and enabled partnerships to be consolidated over time. After more than sixty years of practice in Makhanda, including a period of repositioning the Organisation as community-based, the Organisation appeared to engage meaningfully in cycles of praxis in the phase of regeneration - as will be evidenced in this section.

During this second phase, GADRA reported that Dr Sizwe Mabizela was inaugurated as the Vice Chancellor (VC) of Rhodes University in 2015. During the inauguration, Mabizela "declared that he would re-position the institution such that it would be of Grahamstown and for Grahamstown, rather than merely being in Grahamstown" (AR, 2016). As appointed by the VC, GADRA

reasserted its commitment to develop "local solutions for local problems" and worked to launch initiatives that have local and national significance (AR, 2017).

A seminal piece of reporting is found in their 2017 annual report:

> The Holy Grail for much of the development community is replicable, scalable solutions to widespread socio-economic problems… however, a major draw-back of this approach is that it has very little resonance or fit with actual reality. Conditions differ from one locality to another... and thus one-size-fits-all approaches are seldom suitable. An alternative is to apply one's mind to the specificity and to the detail of the problem that one confronts in one's locality and to respond accordingly. Of course, this is best achieved if one properly understands the bigger picture and overarching trends and issues. To elaborate, neither problems nor solutions should be abstracted out of context in which they occur because this results in misdiagnosis of problems and/or poor formulation of solutions. (AR, 2017).

A powerful critique is presented in the excerpt above regarding the "top-down" and manualised approaches to community development intervention. An argument is made for situatedness of development work; a deep understanding of the socio-contextual characteristics of particular communities, and the matrices of culture, history, socio-economics and the politics within them. In this way, GADRA advocated for analysis and design in the context of thick relationships (Granovetter, 1973).

During the repositioning phase, GADRA's situatedness is pronounced. During the regeneration phase of reporting, GADRA focused on articulating, and documenting, its praxis cycles. These were reminiscent of Lewin's cycle of learning steps: observe – plan – act – reflect cycles (Tran, 2009), which I discuss further in the proceeding chapter as well. The reports noted that the "GADRA-managed VC's initiative [was] birthed at a pertinent (sociopolitical) time" (AR, 2016) which enabled "Green shoots in public schooling. New insights. New interventions" (AR, 2018). During the repositioning phase, GADRA's observations of the literacy and numeracy challenges facing school education in the country led them to develop the Primary Education Programme (PEP). However, after a number of years of implementation they noted that there was no evidence base for PEP as the drop-out rate only worsened. In reflecting about this mode of support, they concluded that the support for teachers was not helping (AR, 2018). "Alarmed by this reality, in late 2017 GADRA revised its approach to literacy support" (AR, 2018). In reflecting on the various iterations of PEP, GADRA asserts its "... determination to innovate and

adapt existing programmes where this was required" (AR, 2020), and that "GADRA prides itself on being a data-driven organisation" (AR, 2018), thus underscoring its commitment to evidence-based practice.

GADRA reported "a general organisational preference for carefully targeted interventions" (AR, 2018) in the regeneration phase. During this phase, its responses to situational analyses were exemplified in a number of different ways. Firstly, a grade 8 mid-year analysis of educational outcomes led the organisation to a "reconsideration of interventions into primary schooling" (AR, 2016). They conceived of the grade 8 year as an important site - because it is the entry level to secondary schooling. They thus directed "significant resources" into grade 8 education and the analysis of June results gave GADRA insight into the extent of the deficit in primary schooling. The Whistle Stop School was then conceived: "GADRA opened WSS in 2017 in direct response to the national crisis of pervasive functional illiteracy" (AR, 2018). They highlighted their praxis cycles by noting that the "assessment of learner literacy development integral to programme design" and that "WSS follows best practice international "catch-up" literacy interventions in a parallel setting" (AR, 2018). The WSS mode of support was birthed from a longstanding partnership with one of the local public primary schools. Ongoing observe – plan – act – reflect cycles (Tran, 2009) within the Organisation led to the development of a second isiXhosa-focussed WSS site at a second local public primary school. GADRA reported that WSS "affords the organisation the opportunity to innovate, to trial and to derive lessons and policy recommendations" (AR, 2018). Boldly, they reported that "based on considerable data, we can conclusively assert that GADRA made a massive contribution to the literacy advancement of over 500 children in 2019" (AR, 2019). In this way, the Organisation underscored the social impact of its programme designed by deploying ongoing reflection cycles in primary schooling to prepare learners to enter and participate in secondary schooling.

The Organisation reports that "the GADRA-Rhodes partnership continues to produce expressions of innovation and ingenuity" (AR, 2021): the *Masilungise* (meaning, 'let us solve') programme which constituted a collaboration between the Mathematics Department and Science Faculty at RU, together with GADRA. An additional initiative was the piloting of "first ever isiXhosa Spelling Bee Competition by the Department of Education" in collaboration with

GADRA (AR, 2021). Respectively, these programmes sought to enhance literacy and numeracy development in primary schooling in Makhanda.

The Bridging Programme is yet another example of the organisation's praxis cycles. It was piloted in 2017, and "institutionalised and expanded" in 2018. As a product of the application of the learning cycles (Tran, 2009) in the development of this programme, which is devised as a bridge to meaningful participation in higher education.

Up to 40 GMS students were offered 4 options of university subjects at RU; they were offered the choice between Psychology 1 (in the Humanities Faculty), isiXhosa Mother Tongue 1 (in the Education Faculty), Introduction of Scientific Concepts and Methods (in the Science Faculty) and Theory of Finance (in the Commerce Faculty) (AR, 2018). The reports articulated and captured the Organisation's strategy in high schooling in Makhanda:

> GADRA's three-pronged approach to the final phase of school:
> 1. "Accessing Rhodes via GMS" - what they term "mechanism GMS";
> 2. "Direct Access to Rhodes" - what they term "mechanism 9/10ths"; and
> 3. "Bridge to Rhodes" what they term "mechanism Bridging programme (e.g. Psychology 1)" (AR, 2018).

What began to form more concretely in the regeneration phase is the Organisation's modes of support in primary and secondary schooling. These converged to form GADRA's apparatus of resistance in Makhanda's educational landscape, *situated praxis*. In 2020, this was further exemplified under crisis via the Organisation's response to lockdown conditions during COVID-19 and the impacts on schooling. Their situatedness, thick relationships in the city, as well as their adaptability enabled them to develop responses at each phase of schooling. At the foundation and intermediate phases, GADRA produced printed work-packs with a range of grade-appropriate educational resources that they distributed to over 500 learners and parents from May to July in 2020**.** At the senior phase, GADRA redesigned mathematics support programmes for grade 8s and 9s. At the FET phase, GADRA and RU redesigned 9/10ths so mentors could provide support virtually (AR, 2020). In addition, the Organisation described 2020 as a "breakthrough year" in terms of their contributions to knowledge: the Organisation contributed to three academic publications authored or co-authored by GADRA staff (AR, 2021).

In this way, they used their situated practice to contribute to knowledge-building and policy recommendations.

Thus, what began as the formation of GADRA's credibility with parents, learners, principals and local people in the repositioning phase, transformed to become *situated praxis* - a counter-discourse to prominent productions of exclusion in Makhanda's educational landscape. This counter-discourse produced GADRA's modes of support in primary and secondary schooling. The Organisation notes the wider utility of these techniques of resistance: "In the view of GADRA, it is not development projects and programmes that should necessarily be replicated, but rather insightful analysis, rigorous design, effective networks and dense relationships of trust" (AR, 2017). Thus, rather than replicating GADRA's programmes, the recommendation was learning from their techniques of resistance which include deploying situated praxis as a mechanism to destabilise differentiation in education. Features of this apparatus include a community-university collaborative partnership, bonding and bridging capital, a situatedness and cycles of praxis, as discussed further in the next chapters.

8.2.2.4. Constructing organisational sustainability

The discourse of transformation continued to circulate during the regeneration phase. During the initial phase, the Organisation constructed the educational landscape of Makhanda as the object of transformation. During the final year of the second phase, the Organisation reported that "what the past few years have reminded us is that broad-based transformation is both conceivable and achievable" (AR, 2021). GADRA noted the "evidence of local public sector transformation: [was] Makhanda's meteroic matric rise" (AR, 2021), referring to the improved school exit-level educational outcomes across the nine public high schools in Makhanda. The final annual report of this phase stated that "GADRA delivers" (AR, 2021) - a sentiment expressed by the external evaluation conducted on the Organisation. The circulation of the transformation discourse at this phase produced the notion of "the work" of GADRA as complete and successful. In other words, Makhanda's educational landscape was constructed as transformed and featuring bonds between various educational stakeholders, and bridges from primary to secondary schooling, and then to higher education.

The circulation of the discourse of transformation not only produced a more integrated and regenerated landscape but also transformed GADRA as an object of transformation. The Organisation reported that "GADRA has undergone profound institutional transformation" (AR, 2016). They reference "GADRA now - GADRA then" alongside an image showing gender, race, and age markers that had shifted within the Organisation (AR, 2016). At the beginning of the regeneration phase, GADRA constructed themselves as objects of transformation and reported that "GADRA is now more diverse and youthful" (AR, 2016). These displayed the Organisation's astute socio-cultural awareness to the calls for the transformation of social institutions, as well as their situatedness and commitment to the rural city.

GADRA seemed to further strive to consolidate their credibility, which extended to their donors. In the reports, they acknowledged the financial assistance offered by donors during the past financial year: private, corporate, individual and philanthropic (AR, 2016). They stated that the "organisation values and safeguards every donation, ensuring that it is spent wisely, effectively and accountably" (AR, 2016). By making regular reference to the Organisation's balance sheet over the years, such as the "balance sheet grew stronger" (AR, 2016) and "another year of robust financial performance and good improvement across all sustainability indicators" (AR, 2018), the Organisation constructed themselves as worthy trustees that deliver.

The Organisation identified the "drivers of [the] transformation" of crisis as the bursary programme which was used to "identify and promote committed members" (AR, 2016); GMS which is "one of organisation's strongest programmes"; and the burgeoning WSS. Their reported sustainability plan included building classrooms to accommodate "expansion of student numbers" and improve teaching facilities (AR, 2017). WSS expanded to 6 teachers at 2 sites: St Mary's and Tantyi Primary (AR, 2018). They assert that "sustainability [is] our commitment" and contrasted its current position to its position in 2011, as the Organisation came under new management, and faced "a sustainability crisis". They reported that in 2017, it was able to self-fund the pilot WSS from its self-generated income, as well as 4 new teaching and learning venues at Thompson Street. (AR, 2017).

Using the discourse of transformation, they constructed transformed (a) school exit-level outcomes, (b) a socio-demographically transformed organisational staff and (c) a transformed Organisational budget spreadsheet. Regular reference was made to the Organisation's balance

sheet across the years to underscore organisational sustainability, despite challenges. They noted that "the funding environment is becoming increasingly challenging… less favourable in recent years" (AR, 2019) and "Covid compounded the funding-raising challenges... since some donors diverted their resources to the state Covid relief fund and/ or food support" (AR, 2020). Nonetheless, they noted that "under the circumstances [i.e. funding curbed by COVID relief efforts], GADRA should be applauded for concluding the year in a sound financial position, but even greater uncertainty lies ahead" (2020). Because of these uncertainties, "organisational sustainability is never accomplished: rather it is an orientation and commitment that must be consistently renewed and reimagined in order for it to realise successes" (AR, 2017). GADRA in these sentiments summoned constructions of themselves as credible and innovative, and this produced their efficacy and thus sustainability.

Whilst an upward trajectory of GMS students was constructed during the repositioning phase, in the regeneration phase this circulated in tandem with constructions of the upward trajectory of matric results across the city; the upward trajectory of the Organisation; and, more specifically, the upward trajectory of the Organisation's financial balance sheet. To this effect, the Organisation reported on "Makhanda's meteoric matric rise" (AR, 2021), that "GADRA [was] on the rise" (AR, 2016), and that "institutional sustainability strengthened" (AR, 2016). GADRA's 60th anniversary celebration on 08 August 2018 (AR, 2018) was reported as a celebration of organisational sustainability and efficacy. They reported that "the cricketer that is GADRA has battled very well, in difficult conditions, to reach '60 Years Not Out'!" (AR, 2018). Ultimately, as they extended the construction of their credibility to the donor community, they sought to build confidence in this community by underscoring that "the organisation looks very well set to march on to reach a glorious century" (AR, 2018). In this way, consolidating their commitment to and embeddedness in Makhanda.

During the repositioning phase, the discourse of crisis was summoned to construct dysfunction in South African education, as well as a weak and stratified educational landscape in Makhanda. Deploying the discourse of transformation during the regeneration phase, this object was transformed as "on the rise", across the landscape. This upward trajectory is contrasted with failures in local and national governance. The Organisation reported that "in a context of government failure, it is a relief that organisations such as GADRA Education provide

outstanding service to communities and individuals who cannot afford to engage the private sector" (AR, 2019). What began to emerge here are sentiments regarding GADRA's contributions to national development: "GADRA has long prided itself on its positive contributions to people of the Eastern Cape over several generations" (AR, 2018). The Organisation underscored its "longstanding commitment to community upliftment and development" (AR, 2018). Here emerged a construct of GADRA Education as a technology of resistance against state service delivery failures. Albeit contested, this starkly contrasts critiques of NGOs as technologies of (post-colonial) power.

During the regeneration phase, the discourse of transformation circulated prominently and produced transformed school exit-level outcomes across the educational landscape in Makhanda; transformed organisational staff and; a transformed organisational financial balance sheet. The discourses of (national) development and crisis were used to underscore the dire development trajectory of the country. However, the GADRA reported improved organisational (and financial) sustainability, and thus able to fill in the gaps of educational service delivery by the government.

8.2.2.5. Local and national governance

Traces of the discourse of crisis continued to circulate during the regeneration reporting phase of the Organisation. GADRA noted that "these are trying times": they describe the national fiscus as "in bad shape"; they note "numerous failing state enterprises" such as Eskom; and, more locally, the protracted period of drought in the Eastern Cape province of South Africa as well as that the "woes of Makana Municipality worsen day-by-day" (AR, 2019). In this way, a contrasting national perspective began to emerge in the reports, beyond Makhanda, characterised by dysfunction. Specifically, they commented on both public school education and higher education by noting that "the country battles with deepening public education problems" (AR, 2017) and that this is a "time of disconcerting turmoil in the higher education sector" (AR, 2016). They summarised their description of the sector as such:

> The prevailing public sector education sector is characterised by curriculum dominance, bureaucratic compliance and union domination. These characteristics derive from and are sustained by the current political configurations of the country. Until there is a shift in power relations at a national level, the only improvements that can possibly be made in

the public sector are those of a technical nature, which are necessarily both limited and temporary (AR, 2021).

The discourse of crisis is thus summoned to construct dysfunction. This predicated the insertion and legitimisation of their function, constructed to be "a mirror to the public education system" (AR, 2021) as captured below:

> For as long as the current realities of general dysfunction and widening inequalities prevail, GADRA will endeavour to hold up a mirror to the public education system. The sensational results produced by WSS and GMS in recent years show what is possible when schools put learners first, embrace progressive values and uphold the highest standard of professionalism (AR, 2021).

The Organisation further acknowledged that the dynamics at a national level have local implications as well. They noted that "turning attention to education in Grahamstown, GADRA's understanding is that public school underperformance certainly does relate to provincial and national dynamics, but it is also clear that there is massive performance differentiation in Grahamstown in the no-fee sector" (AR, 2017). Contrary to the upward trajectory of exit level results reported elsewhere during the regeneration phase, GADRA noted disruptions in this construction by reporting that "2019 was not a good year for matric results in Grahamstown" (AR, 2019). The organisation reported a dip during the 2019 - 2020 period of the regeneration phase: "2019 was a bad year for public school matric results in Grahamstown. The number of successful candidates declined from 2018, the overall city-wide pass rate dropped and there were considerably fewer matriculants who secured a cherished Bachelor pass" (AR, 2019). Unlike the broad spanning rise reported elsewhere during this period, the Organisation noted overall decline in educational outcomes across the sectors: "across the board, in fee-paying and no-fee paying schools alike, the local results declined" (AR, 2019).

Consistent with sentiments by educationalists, the Organisation noted that "a key measure of the health of an education system is the retention rate. The South African education system is characterised by the notorious drop-out rate… functional illiteracy lies at the heart of the drop-out crisis" (AR, 2019). More locally, GADRA reported that "high school drop-out rates in Grahamstown increased over the period 2013 - 2017 to well over 50%" (AR, 2018). Thus, although the matric pass rate steadily improved in Makhanda between 2018 - 2022, the retention rate, cohort size and the number of Bachelor level passes dipped in the 2019 - 2020 period

(Westaway, 2023). Then further, "2020 was unprecedented in global history. The world has previously faced devastating pandemics... but never before has "lockdown" been the most prevalent and pervasive governance response" (AR, 2020). Importantly, they noted that "one of the most unfortunate and controversial dimensions of lockdown was the closure of schools" (AR, 2020). Much like others in the education community, the Organisation projected that "the educational devastation wrought by the protracted closure of and disruption of public schools in 2020 will be experienced and demonstrated for the next decade at least" (AR, 2020).

This backdrop made the "meteoric rise in matric results" reported in 2021 even more noteworthy as the city witnessed improved outcomes across indicators - cohort size, retention rate, pass rate as well as number and percentage of Bachelor passes, as detailed by the manager of the organisation in the local *Grocott's Mail* newspaper (see Westaway, 2023). Whereas the Organisation deployed discourses of access and participation to construct the upward trajectory of GMS students, with backdrop of local and national dysfunction, what begins to emerge in the later years of the regeneration period is that transformation across the landscape is both "conceivable and achievable" (AR, 2021). The Organisation asserted that "it should be noted that the 2021 results are by no means a "flash in the pan"" (AR, 2021) as they have been tracking the trends over time and designing and strengthening their programmes in response to these.

Despite the local and national context of state failure, GADRA reports that

> Makhanda is well on its way to establishing itself as a centre of educational excellence. There is certainly no doubt that it is the leading educational city in the Eastern Cape. The challenge ahead is to benchmark itself against the best education sites in the country. What the past few years have reminded us is that broad-based transformation is both conceivable and achievable (AR, 2021).

Thus, against the backdrop of national socio-contextual challenges, GADRA constructs the upward trajectory of the educational situation in the small city of Makhanda.

8.3. Chapter summary

As evidenced in the findings, GADRA deployed the discourse of crisis to construct the educational landscape in Makhanda, as well as the failures of local and national governance. They then deployed the discourse of transformation to construct the need for NGO intervention.

This discourse of transformation also produced constructs of upward trajectories due to their involvement. GADRA was thus positioned as a technology of resistance at a local level. Discourses of access, participation, collaborative partnerships and community development circulated to construct bridges into higher education, and bonds between youth in public schooling in Makhanda. Notably, what began to emerge was the Organisation's situated praxis - an apparatus of resistance to productions of exclusion in Makhanda's educational landscape. This apparatus produced GADRA's modes of support in both primary and secondary schooling, and contributed to the regeneration of educational outcomes and social capital in the landscape. As argued by the Organisation, it is not the programmes *per se* that could be replicated in other educational landscapes, but the ways of doing that have potential to contribute to community and educational regeneration and, ultimately, social change.

In the next chapter, I turn my attention to members' subjectivities, and consider the ways in which organisational members experienced practice at GADRA. I identify and discuss the discourses used to construct members' narratives, as well as the subject positions made available by discourses circulating at the Organisation.

9.1. A Foucauldian Approach to Member Narratives

A Foucauldian discourse analysis (Willig, 2013) guided the analyses of the discursive constructions contained in GADRA's annual reports as well as the narrative interview data. This second phase of the study explored which kinds of organisational practices, linked to which kinds of external conditions determine the discursive productions of member narratives. This current chapter extends the analysis, presented in preceding chapters, to include the organisational members' experiences of the work of GADRA Education. Tamboukou's (2008) strategies for a Foucauldian approach to narratives guided Phase Two's analysis.

Here I centre the discursive constructions of GADRA's organisational practice as constructed by its members and surrounding stakeholders. I focus on the relationship between discourse and practice, considering the impacts of organisational practice on enabling or constraining opportunities for action and educational transformation. I do this by elucidating the discursive constructs from member narratives, from individual interviews with school principals, primary and high school educators, parents, students, bursary holders, and organisations that have funded programmes at GADRA.

The narrative interview data was transcribed by the transcriber-translator. In some of the interviews, code-switching between IsiXhosa, IsiZulu and English occurred in the interview talk between the members and myself as the interviewer. Some of the text in the extracts presented below are italicised to indicate a switch from English. Although the oftentimes inadequacy of English translations of Nguni concepts and meanings is well-established (Coetzee, 2013), an English translation accompanies the terms, concepts and extracts discussed throughout the chapter. This is done for the readers' benefit as an attempt to capture the meanings conveyed. I made use of pseudonyms throughout the chapter and omitted or anonymised identifying information.

Tamboukou (2008, p. 104) reminds us that, with a Foucauldian approach to an analysis of narratives, "what is at stake here is the way power intervenes in creating conditions of possibility

for specific narratives to emerge as dominant and for others to be marginalised". In this chapter, it becomes apparent that the conditions of possibility for educational attainment and development are reconfigured via GADRA's apparatus of resistance. Through members' narrations of their involvement with the Organisation's modes of support, the micro-interactional features of GADRA's situated praxis become evident. Importantly, the organisational members' narratives reveal that this way of doing, this form of organisational practice, has implications for subjectivity. These implications are articulated through the ways in which participation at GADRA inspires hope; the ways in which members are accompanied along their trajectories of development; the ways in which feelings of belonging and agency were encoded in practice in material ways; and the ways in which GADRA's practice in the landscape encouraged confidence and credibility amongst stakeholders. Below I identify and discuss the prominent discursive constructions from the interview data.

9.1.1. GADRA's credibility

GADRA adopted techniques that appear to resonate with community psychology's principles and values to construct their credibility. As evidenced in the previous chapter, GADRA's credibility was cultivated over time amongst parents, students, principals, local people and RU - this then enabled credibility amongst the donors, interested in participatory and sustainable practice. The strong circulation of the discourse of access and participation produced the construct of credibility amongst parents, alumni and educators. Discourses of transformation and educational leadership and management sustained and reified this credibility amongst senior GADRA staff, board members, as well as international and local donors.

9.1.1. GADRA Matric School (GMS)

Within the interview data, productions of the counter-discourse of access, amidst the prevailing discourse of crisis, were considered to be considerable for local people, as captured by the analysis of excerpts from member narratives below.

> Okay, my experience on GADRA Education is, I think everyone in Makhanda knows about the GADRA Matric School. That is all I thought they were - knowing how big a deal that was. *Khanyisa, 2023; primary school principal*

Khanyisa, one of Makhanda's primary school principals, underscored how well-known GADRA is in Makhanda for one of their modes of support, GMS. This characterised most of their experience and knowledge of the Organisation, and they thought that GMS was GADRA's sole educational programme. They suggest that this is also the case for "everyone in Makhanda". Below, Fundiswa, a local Makhanda parent, reflected on the significance of the work of the Organisation both for their own child, as well as children of Makhanda more broadly.

> *Yamkhulisa ese-[RU residence], in fact i-GADRA i-groome abantana balapha eGrahamstown kuba uNandipha waba ngumntana wokuqala ukungena nabanye abantwana apha eRhodes, begroonywa yi-GADRA. Ngenye ke endikhuthazayo kulonto, ngokuqaphela abantwana abazimiseleyo besokola... Abonakale ukuba indlela lomntana azimisele ngayo, kulapho asuka khona. Fundiswa, 2023; umzali womntu ogqibezelayo*

> They contributed to her growth and that was evident when she was at [*RU residence*]. In fact, GADRA has groomed a lot of children here in Grahamstown because Nandipha was one of the first people to be admitted at Rhodes amongst others that were groomed by GADRA. So, that's one of the things that encourages me, that they are so attentive to children who are self-determined but are financially poor… They just see the determination of the individual and realise that their background must have contributed. *Fundiswa, 2023; post school parent*

Fundiswa works as a Housekeeper and regularly attended parent workshops hosted by GADRA when Nandipha, their daughter whose developmental trajectory is depicted in the sections below, attended GMS. Fundiswa reflected on the impacts of GADRA's organisational practice at a community-level, i.e. "GADRA groomed a lot of children here in Grahamstown". This suggests that the Organisation is well-known for their work with Makhanda youths. In the excerpt above, Fundiswa commended the work of GADRA and its contributions to her daughter's, and others', development and ability to cope once they had accessed Rhodes University. Additionally, Fundiswa reflected on their own interactions with GADRA - Fundiswa received their charitable donation of shoes and food as a child.

> Nqobile: *Uyayikhumbula nawe?*

> Do you remember it too?

> Fundiswa: *Sasithengelwa izihlangu Nqobile. Sasinikwa iration; sasiselwa even iration eskolweni nguMrs X noMrs Y. So, ndisayirecommenda nangoku i-GADRA because ekugqibeleni indihlangule. Fundiswa, 2023; umzali womntu ogqibezelayo*

> They used to buy us shoes, Nqobile. They would give us a ration. They would bring the ration to us at school; Mrs X and Mrs Y would bring it. So, I highly recommend GADRA even now because it rescued me. *Fundiswa, 2023; post school parent*

Fundiswa, in the excerpt above, makes note GADRA's longstanding practices that contribute to graded changes in local members' lives constitute the Organisation as a credible actor in Makhanda's educational landscape. They highlight GADRA's earlier charitable functions, as a distress relief association, providing donations such as food and clothing. They became recognisable for these "rescuing" acts, and remain "highly recommend[ed]" benefitted from the donations. Over time, transformed by their focus on advocacy, their legitimacy in the landscape was produced by one of its educational programmes, GMS. GMS was reported to be RU's "most significant feeder school" (AR, 2013), as captured below.

> … I'm just here to relay my experiences and just tell everybody how good of a school they are and how helpful they are to the community because I think they are the biggest feeder school to Rhodes. So ja, I think they are doing great work. *Sonwabile, 2023; GMS alumnus*

This "feeder school" construct related to GMS evolved into the "bridging school" construct by 2018 (AR, 2021). GMS evolved from operating as a "second chance" or "finishing school" to a mode of support in the landscape enabling access to HEIs that local youths were previously barred from. The "bridging" construct was produced by the strong circulation of the discourse of access (to higher education) contained in both the annual reports and the interview data.

In the excerpt below, Sonwabile, a GMS alumnus, reinforced the construct of GADRA as "the biggest feeder school to Rhodes", further reifying the Organisation's credibility amongst community members and deploying the discourse of access to highlight their access to an area of social life that was previously rendered inaccessible to the majority of Makhanda youths from the city's non-fee paying public schooling community.

> Nqobile: What does that mean, *ukuthi* (that) they are the biggest feeder school? And what does that mean for the community?
> Sonwabile: I think it means that, because Makhanda is very unequal as you can see the side of the *lokshin* (township) and this side here. So, and there are a lot of local schools you know, I think before my time like, no one dreamed to come to Rhodes… but through GADRA like, many students have been admitted. *Sonwabile, 2023*

The circulation of the discourse of access produced the Organisation's credibility during the regeneration phase. Both parents and students in the landscape endorsed GADRA's efforts, via GMS, to bridge the gap that excluded the majority of Makhanda's youth from participation in the city's institutions of higher education. Their modes of destabilisation became increasingly more specified during the regeneration phase. During this latter period, the Organisation concretised its modes of support which were leveraged to destabilise differentiation between groups and enable access and participation. Through these efforts dreams to go to RU, as Makhanda youths, could be realised.

9.1.2. Whistle Stop School (WSS)

GADRA delivers educational services through its two schools: the aforementioned GADRA Matric School (GMS) as well as Whistle Stop School (WSS). WSS operates as a mode of intervention that seeks to destabilise "the crisis in [primary] education" - wherein levels of literacy of learners are recorded as very low (Gustafsson & Taylor, 2022). Khanyisa has been a stakeholder in Makhanda's educational landscape over a number of years and reported that "I've taught in schools for 30 years and private schools, ex-model C schools and now this school". As a longstanding educator, and since 2019 a principal of one of the local primary schools, they reflected on GADRA's activities in the city's primary schooling sector. Their narration of GADRA's entry into a second site for the pilot of the WSS programme reveals important insights into the micro-interactional features of GADRA's situated praxis, as captured in the longer excerpt below.

> So, that was very exciting for me to arrive here in my new job in 2019 to find that GADRA are involved in young grade 1, 2, 3, 4 and that was my first exposure to the idea, to that project. Although they had already been doing it before, I mean I don't know when they started with Whistlestop school… At that time, it still being new, there were still some, not concerns really from staff, but just wondering about the fact that children are taken out of curriculum time and put back in. And then this kind of, is this detrimental to that or is it whatever? Those questions were still in the teachers' minds about how this works and as a teacher, I know that is not that great, to have one third of your class not there for any length of time. Because you can't keep… so when they were to be asking those questions, I would certainly take it seriously. But, but. So, that was in 2019, the end of 2019 into 2020 there was a clear, clear vocalisation from the staff, from the teaching staff, "wow, this is amazing!

These children can cope better with the curriculum because of Whistlestop." … And uhm I think that, that acknowledgement also comes partly because of the Whistlestop teachers' engagement with the teachers with such respect. There is always this respect for what is going on in the school uhm and if a teacher needs to do an assessment and they can't go to Whistlestop, there is an understanding that, they don't have to go to the Whistlestop, there is something else that needs to be done. And I think now being here for as long as they have, they also know, Whistlestop teachers know more about the time frames of what happens in terms of assessments and at what time of the term do the assessments happen. So, there's a very easy working relationship between Whistlestop teachers and our school teachers and full respect on all sides, is quite clear… I think I have witnessed that shift from, "is this a good idea" to "wow, this is great"... *Khanyisa, 2023; primary school principal*

In the excerpt above, Khanyisa captures a number of key characterising aspects of GADRA's situated praxis; these features continuously and progressively reify the Organisation's credibility amongst various stakeholders in the landscape. GADRA demonstrates innovation and socio-cultural responsiveness by extending their modes of support to include the foundation phase and early intermediate phase grades. Khanyisa reflects on the manner in which the GADRA staff negotiated entry into the new schooling system - they did so with much respect and understanding. Khanyisa notes that the "Whistle Stop teachers' engagement with the teachers [was marked] with such respect". In addition, they displayed a commitment to the education system and the school by "being here for as long as they have". GADRA teaching staff thus developed an understanding of the school's termly cycles. Khanyisa reported witnessing the value given by the Organisation to peer support through the cultivation of strong working relationships. Khanyisa identified innovation and responsiveness; the values of participation, collaboration and respect; mutuality, also known as *ukubambisana*; and commitment as key features of their GADRA's organisational practice. Their forms of collaborative partnership, marked by mutual respect and reflexivity, amplified the Organisation's credibility and thus support of their pilot programme. Khanyisa reported "a clear vocalisation from the staff" and "witness[ing] that shift from "is this a good idea?" to "wow, this is great!" in a period of circa 12 months after their arrival as the new school principal.

Demonstrated by the "different kind of approach from Whistle Stop", another key feature of organisational practice that contributes to GADRA's construction as credible is a commitment to analysis - what I call situated praxis.

9.1.3. Situated Praxis

The community-based positioning of organisational practice at GADRA is a further feature of GADRA's credibility that was identified by members during the interviews. Members described GADRA as a "dynamic organisation"; as "strategic", "sharp", "purpose driven", and "ambitious" yet "humble enough to try something… and be able to say sorry…" and re-strategise if it does not work.

Simnikiwe, a board member at the Organisation, has been involved in a number of senior management functions including the treasury, strategy and governance. Their family has been involved at GADRA at various moments in the Organisation's lifespan since its inception over 60 years ago. During the interview, they reflected on the Organisation's processes of engaging, applying, exercising and realising their Organisational values and missions at the most recent Strategy Planning workshops. They note that

> … it kept coming back that we must stay here, we are of Grahamstown, of Makhanda for Makhanda. We belong to Makhanda and the future of Makhanda is critical to all of us. And then you know, we started having these strategic discussions… *Simnikiwe, 2023; board member*

This highlighted GADRA's situatedness in Makhanda's socio-cultural environment, and demonstrated their commitment to the Makhanda educational landscape. The endorsement and high regard from local members also enabled credibility amongst the donors - one of whom notes the range of GADRA's programmes across the education system below.

> So, we knew this project [Nine-Tenths]; we knew that this project had the involvement of the University. We knew that it also involved some leadership development for the schools and now there's now this Circle of Unity for the head teachers, where they can provide mutual support. And we knew about that. GADRA was also targeting certain schools, so they were not trying to do everything all at one go. But I think 3 primary schools and 3 secondary schools. And I think the trustees are and were on board with that; sympathetic to that larger project, trying to transform the whole place even though it's obviously ambitious. Also, at the same time, we've also always been interested in the matric school and we didn't miss that out, right from the beginning. *Thoko, 2023; GADRA international donor*

During the online interview, Thoko referenced the longstanding GMS programme at GADRA, and noted knowledge of its outcomes over time in Makhanda. They noted knowledge of

Nine-Tenths and its association with RU. This collaborative partnership with Rhodes seemed to fortify GADRA's credibility with trustees and donors. They noted knowledge of the bridging and bonding programmes that GADRA spearheads in the educational landscape in Makhanda, including the Circle of Unity, as well as the Organisation's strategy for educational transformation.

Thoko is a member of Friends of Grahamstown and District Development (FOGADD), a charity organisation in the United Kingdom devoted to funding non-governmental initiatives in Makhanda since the early 2000s. As one of the founding members of FOGADD, they reflected on the characteristics of the Organisation that sustains their philanthropic commitments to GADRA. In the excerpt below, Thoko notes GADRA's reflexivity, interventions sustained by research, as well as their innovation.

> It's also that it's a dynamic organisation as we've touched on. So, it's not just doing the same thing over and over again. It's continually reflecting on what it is doing, looking at what works, how it needs to adapt to change. It's researching its interventions and it's coming up with new and imaginative ideas or better ways to do things... So, that is engaging as well, because there is always more. *Thoko, 2023; international donor*

In the excerpt below, Simnikiwe suggests that it is GADRA's situated praxis that sustains GADRA's credibility amongst various stakeholders, including donors. Illustrating the bi-directionality between the construction of credibility and donor support, they noted that "if you haven't got any money, you can't do that" – that is to deploy situated praxis in organisational practice.

> And I've seen organisations with massive amounts of money lose their leadership, lose their sharpness, lose their purpose for being and disappear. You've got to refresh your purpose, you've got to keep doing and then doing something more or doing something less, doing it differently, stopping what doesn't work, you've got to be alive to that. And of course, if you haven't got any money, you can't do that. *Simnikiwe, 2023; GADRA board member*

Simnikiwe underscores the importance of praxis in remaining relevant and responses as an organisation. They speak of "sharpness", "refresh[ing] purpose" and "doing it differently". They acknowledge that this kind of commitment to adaptability requires money. However, they stress

that it is exactly this kind of ongoing reflection that produces credibility and donor support. This credibility enables the flexibility captured by Anele below:

> … also being humble enough to be able to try something and say, you know what, I thought that was a brilliant idea but it's not working, it's not right for this community and it's not, you know. Uhm and I think that, as an organisation, GADRA's always been good at that, at being able to say, "sorry, that was, we thought it was a good idea but we were wrong"" *Anele, 2023; GADRA staff*

The excerpt from Anele's interview signals the reflexive stance of the Organisation, their socio-contextual awareness and commitment to plan, act, reflect and develop a revised plan (Tomakin, 2018). This agility, and willingness to admit "we were wrong", is enabled by the Organisation's long-standing credibility and organisational stability.

However, members also identified a key area of development for the Organisation in terms of their advocacy orientation - enhancing the public knowledge of their various modes of support and the practices and principles that undergird them. Khanyisa, one of the local primary school principals cited above, noted that they had no knowledge of, and it was "their first exposure to", the work of the Organisation in other areas of the education system, including in primary schooling - i.e. the WSS programme. Sisipho, a parent of a primary school child who participated in the WSS programme for 3 years, also noted no knowledge of GADRA's wider projects and the modes of support they offer to high school children, including GMS. This need to publicise their work was also echoed by both the international and local donors, as captured below.

> We are also conscious… of the importance of the kind of work that you're doing, which is that now GADRA has done lots of really good work but which could be replicated in other places. So, it needs to be made known in South Africa, maybe even beyond South Africa but certainly right across South Africa. Because education, from our point of view, is one of the areas where there hasn't been enough transformation. *Thoko, 2023; international donor*

Thoko constructs the knowledges at GADRA as important, good, replicable and able to enact transformation at a national level, at least. Whilst members like Khanyisa and Sisipho constructed the need for Organisational knowledges to be known in Makhanda, Thoko and

Nkosinathi underscored the potential of these knowledges to contribute to transnational knowledge, as captured in the excerpt below.

> So, we want to be locally responsive. Locally responsive meaning that we want to respond to the urge and pressing challenges in our locality, however you conceive it, and generate knowledge of such quality that we can contribute to our accumulated global stock of knowledge. *Nkosinathi, 2023; GADRA local donor*

In the excerpt above, Nkosinathi also underscored the ways in which situatedness, local responsiveness, emphasises credibility and "knowledge of such quality" that enables it to potentially become impactful.

9.1.4. Effective leadership

In addition to the constructed efficacy of GADRA's modes of support in being a bridge for access into RU and the demonstration of innovation and socio-cultural responsiveness, Thoko and Nkosinathi noted constructions of effective leadership as a key component of this credibility for the Organisation. Members constructed effective leadership in the city which is reported to bolster trustees' confidence and support of the "ambitious" "larger project, trying to transform the whole place", as captured below.

> Thobani and Simnikiwe have been two key contacts for us in *Friends of Grahamstown and District Development*. We think that, from our perspective, and this may be or may not be right… leadership is really important. Whether it is leadership in a school or leadership in GADRA. And we kind of think that there have been a number of significant leaders in this small town of Makhanda/Grahamstown, who have really been important for us. *Thoko, 2023; GADRA international donor*

In the excerpt above, Thoko identifies two senior members at GADRA who work in collaboration with a number of leaders in the local schools. Nkosinathi also produced the construct of effective leadership in reference to the study commissioned by South Africa's previous Minister of Education (Dr Naledi Pandor) on the well-functioning schools and "about 4 key aspects which really distinguished well-functioning schools [were identified]. One was school leadership, management and governance, very important" (Nkosinathi, 2023). However, the discourse used to produce this construction, that of educational leadership and management, seems marginal still and Thoko expressed some doubt - "and this may be or may not be right".

This aspect of the construct of credibility was produced by only the donors who were interviewed, and more likely to have such insights.

9.2. Accompaniment

Accompaniment has been described as "stand[ing] alongside others who desire listening, witnessing, advocacy, space to develop critical inquiry and research, and joint imagination and action to address desired and needed changes" (Watkins, 2015, p. 324). Critical scholars in the field of liberation psychology note that the act of accompaniment has both implications for the accompanied and the *accompagnateur*. The construct of accompaniment was produced by both staff and alumni. The Organisational members noted the bi-directional nature of processes of accompaniment at GADRA, and the ways in which these catalyse impetus for social change.

9.2.1. The *Accompagnateur*

Sindiswa, a longstanding *accompagnateur* in the Organisation, reflected on the sense of belonging that emerges for them from GADRA's practices of hope over time. As captured in the extended excerpt below, Sindiswa underscored how deeply they have been affected by the practices of accompaniment at the Organisation; by being accompanied themselves.

> Sindiswa: ... Thobani, he was very supportive in the sense that; he's a doctor and I have no educational background that measures to him. But when he would have these conversations with me, I felt like I was contributing to those conversations. So, that's what made me comfortable, to want to be part of this and did not feel inferior, I just felt empowered and then I wanted to empower these young people. So, uhm that was 2015 and then I get this now from him, that there is going to be this in 2016, that I am going to get a promotion. And I will never forget it, Nqobile. 2015 towards the end of the year, he said to me, "Sindiswa, don't worry, I will be with you every step of the way." Because when I looked at that job description I thought, oh my God, *yoh kuyafiwa apha* (this is hectic), how am I going to do this. Like, what is expected of me to do within this role as, I don't, like, *ndazidela* (I looked down on myself), not because I didn't think I was capable; but just looking at my qualifications, that I could not measure up to this. And so, he said to me, "Don't worry about it; I will be with you every step of the way." I even remember that afternoon.
> Nqobile: *Sobambisana* (we will work hand in hand)
> Sindiswa: And that's how it's been.

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Nqobile: That afternoon, you remember that afternoon?

Sindiswa: *Ja* (yes) it was in his office and I was about to, so whenever it came to knock off time, we would just *nje* just chat, I would go to his office and we would just talk. And it would be these long conversations about, just visions about how to transform education in Makhanda. They were informal (*both laugh*). And this conversation about me, that he would be with me every step of the way came about within those uhm conversations that we were having. *Sindiswa, 2023; GADRA staff*

Sindiswa speaks of a non-judgemental, non-hierarchical space; of the conversations they would have and the ways in which she contributed to visions of educational transformation in Makhanda; of feelings of empowerment; of being challenged to be and do more; of the acknowledgement and validation of worry; and of being consistently supported. They echoed key features of accompaniment such as support, active listening, mutual respect, openness, trust, empowerment, and desires for and action towards social change, unbound by time. This facilitated their processes of healing from dissociation, from narrow concepts of inadequacy and trusteeship. It was in the context of these relational conditions cultivated by their accompagnateur that fostered confidence in them and enabled them to take up a more agentive positioning and begin to enact practices of change.

While it may be expected that practices of accompaniment at the Organisation would be impactful for Makhanda youth, it is surprising that the Organisation's practices of accompaniment simultaneously have significant implications for *accompagnateurs* themselves. The role of accompagnateur has been deeply significant for them, witnessing Makhanda youth developing into abantu (Le Grange, 2011). While they have been the ones to offer support, they found that they were the ones who had experienced gratitude (Watkins, 2015). This propel all those involved towards desires for and action towards social change.

9.2.2. The Accompanied

Nwabisa, a Nine-Tenths and RU alumnus, now educator at one of Makhanda's local public primary schools, reflected on the connectedness between them and their mentor. It was in the context of the mentoring relationship, that Nwabisa noted that their student-mentor modelled a way forward and

… had a big influence in terms of giving me an idea of what to expect, how to plan things, how to make goals that you know that you can achieve, not setting them too high, not too low either, realistic goals. And I actually, I got, I'm still in touch with my mentor from the programme, we kept in touch and it's lovely because we actually, from a one year programme, we've made a connection that's probably gonna last a long time. So, I really, I do owe that to the Nine Tenths programme… I also got into Rhodes so then she finished when I did my first year, it was her last year. *Nwabisa, 2023; primary school educator*

A key feature of accompaniment is that it is unbounded by time, and that it is up to the accompanied to determine when the journey has reached its destination (Farmer, 2013). This is reflected by Nwabisa's excerpt above. They note that they are "actually… still in touch with my mentor" even years after the one-year programme had ended. They note that it was in the context of this mentoring relationship, characterised by practices of accompaniment, that they learned to set goals and navigate the demands of educational attainment with the guidance of someone who was just a little bit further along than they were.

Watkins (2015) notes that key to the process of accompaniment is a clear invitation to be present. Gcobani, a Nine-Tenths mentee and RU alumnus, now Software and Data Engineering Specialist in a different province, recounts their experience of accompaniment, following their request for support from a GADRA staff member. In the excerpt below, Gcobani reflected on the ways in which experiencing accompaniment led to greater self-awareness and self-knowledge, and contributed to their personal development.

So, he [Thobani] also like assisted me to apply for like the Alan Gray Foundation, to be a fellow. So, it was quite something, something I really wanted and I remember reaching out to him and asking him, "hey I would like to be part of this, is there any like, advice, tips?" uhm he even like reviewed my, like it was very thick, it had a lot of content so that's why I needed to ask for his support. And through that, I also got to use or basically got to know myself because through those questions, I explored you know, the extra mural activities that I had been involved in and also like things I could improve about myself. Because I wasn't really a writer or a talker, but over time and being involved in things, maybe university as well, I've gotten out of that shell that I had. Because I was that person who was just interested in Maths and if I've got Maths I'm ok (*laughs*). *Gcobani, 2023; GMS alumnus*

Gcobani underscores the value of mentorship; having a mentor to review a CV, and encouraging them to better articulate their involvement and achievements. In this way, the Organisation's

practices of accompaniment enabled deeper grappling with knowledges of self, as well as greater insights of self. This enabled Gcobani to apply for further development, via the Allan Gray Foundation, whilst scaffolded by the presence and encouragement of an *accompagnateur*.

Sonwabile reflected on the characteristics of GADRA teachers more broadly. They identify them as *accompagnateurs* of their GMS students. Sonwabile matriculated at one of the local public high schools, worked as merchandiser at a local supermarket for two years, and thereafter enrolled at GMS and was part of the first cohort of the Bridging Programme at RU for Psychology 1. They are now in their final year of a Bachelor of Laws (LLB). During the interview, Sonwabile reflected on the sound guidance they received from one of their teachers about the course of their degree, and exclaimed that GADRA teachers "are fantastic. Number 1, you know they're committed to their work. You know, it's not just you, it's you and them, you know". The practices of accompaniment, encoded in organisational practice at GADRA, made them feel as though they were not alone as they negotiated subject choices and the directions their degrees, and careers, would take.

Nomsa, a GMS alumnus, now teacher at GMS, also notes that

> ja I think all they ever do is be present and I think that is the greatest strength about being part of GADRA. Like nothing you do, you get to do by yourself, like you know that they're always there and trying to assist you the best way they know how.

Nomsa underscores the care and commitment that GADRA holds for its members. They note that a key feature of organisational practice is consistent support for its members. In the interview data, there was evidence that the processes of accompaniment at GADRA were marked by care and deep concern for youths' educational attainment and (self) development .

Accompaniment occurs in the socio-cultural and historical context of relations that have barred the majority of Makhanda's youth from participation in the city's higher education institution. It is a form of resistance to the discourse of crisis that responsibilises youth. Instead, the discourse of access and participation circulated prominently at GADRA, and shaped Organisational practice, enabling the accompaniment of members as well as various forms of hope to arise.

9.3. Hope Interventions

The members interviewed shared their experiences of how involvement at GADRA, the experience of being accompanied, sparked hope. There was evidence for various forms of hope across the interview data. Members spoke of GADRA's Hope Interventions that addressed socio-contextual realities; that their programmes enabled alternatives and thus renewed hope in the face of disappointment; and that the conditions fostered in the context of a mentoring relationship catalysed the desire for change. It was also in the context of the mentoring relationship that an ethic of care emerged that propelled actions towards social and educational change.

9.3.1. Personal forms of Hope

Nomsa, a GMS alumnus, noted how their time at GMS enabled personal hope to arise. During the interview, they reflected on the ways in which the disappointment they experienced, "things not working out", following their receipt of their matric results, transformed into hope through involvement at GADRA.

> Now that I've reflected, I think, I can say, GADRA is literally the best thing that has ever happened to me. I think that's what I'm getting from this interview, that sometimes things not working out your way are actually working out your way. They are working for you. *Nomsa, 2023; GMS educator*

Nomsa matriculated with a Diploma pass from one of the local public high schools in Makhanda. In the context of feeling disappointed about not attaining a Bachelor pass, and the implications for future prospects, they enrolled at GMS and following successful improvements in their school leaving results, went on to study a Bachelor of Commerce at RU. They are presently a GMS teacher.

In their interview, Gcobani acknowledged the enduring mentoring they received from a senior GADRA staff member, reported in 8.2.2.; they also narrated experiencing accompaniment asa student through the mentorship relationship with an RU student, as part of the Nine-Tenths programme. The desire to contribute to others in one's professional life, as cultivated during the years of involvement at GADRA, is echoed in Gcobani's narrative excerpt below.

I remember having discussions with *imentor yam* (my mentor) Siphosethu. Uhm *ja* so there was, I would like discuss very small things such as my report. Like exposing maybe weaknesses that I had, weaknesses such as not being able to understand or grasp certain subjects because they tend to lean a bit more content, they were not like, calculations driven. Because of I'm more of a person who likes to calculate, when it comes to Geography for instance, I would be like, okay, can I quickly jump to the maths class (*both laugh*), I was that person. So, GADRA and the Nine Tenths programme gave me that platform to be able to understand that, okay if I wanna tackle this, I can do it in small chunks and the summary uhm gun for me was something that I used in my grade 12 as well as in university as well, I used it. I still use it now when I prepare for my online certificates, for my career basically. I'm currently a Data Engineering Specialist now, Software and Data Engineering Specialist. *Gcobani, 2023; Nine-Tenths alumnus*

Through Gcobani's participation in the Nine-Tenths programme, personal forms of hope were cultivated through the mentoring relationship. Within the context of a non-judgemental space to "discuss very small things", we see resilience and mastery growing in the ways the mentee, Gcobani, thinks of their educational efforts. This sense of mastery, using the "summary gun" in grade 12, university as well as in their career; the art of reflection, identifying strengths and areas of development to pursue; and chunking, breaking up tasks into component parts, persisted into the member's professional life as a Software and Data Engineering Specialist.

9.3.2. An Ethic of Care and Relational forms of Hope

With regards to the Nine-Tenths mode of support, and in the context of regular forms of bonding between an RU and local school going youth pair, there was evidence for an ethic of care (Foucault, 1997) that emerged in the data. The narratives demonstrated that this ethic has implications for the individual themselves, as well as for their relation to others and society. Thus, the mentoring relationship becomes a site for "doing hope with others" (Cherrington, 2018a, p. 8), and thus relational forms of hope were cultivated.

The excerpt from Nandipha's narrative below points to the altruistic characteristic that can emerge from the relational programme aimed at supporting educational development. Nandipha matriculated from a local public high school in Makhanda with a Diploma pass. They enrolled at GMS, were admitted into RU's Extended Studies Programme, participated in the Tertiary Bursary Programme and graduated with a Bachelor of Arts (BA) and Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE). They are now a GADRA staff member. Through Nandipha's experience of

the practices of hope encoded in GADRA's mentoring programme(s), produced by prominent circulations of the discourse of access and participation, the disappointment felt after being rendered unable to gain entrance into RU transformed notions of "a waste of time" to "purpose", as captured below. Nomsa echoed similar sentiments, as captured in the sections above.

> *Ja* (yes), I think also, it was grounded from, coming from an area where you can literally count who furthered their studies. Not necessarily went to university, but did something, didn't drop out after or drop out in high school or whatsoever. So, I think that is one of the reasons why, that I took the whole mentorship serious. Because I was like, not necessarily I wanna be known and all that, but I'm not just doing it for myself, I'm doing it for the little ones who are still growing to see that, you can do something, it is possible even if they fell pregnant, they can still continue, they can be something out of themselves. So, I think that's the reason why I was like, with the whole mentorship programme, I'm sticking with that with all the support that I got from the student, that's where I was like yay. Because she literally supported me, she shared the resources, she'd take me to Rhodes University where she showed me the ropes, showed me the library and all the labs. So, I was encouraged from that to say, okay actually it wasn't really a waste of time. There was a purpose for me to divert and not go from high school to university. *Nandipha, 2023; GMS alumnus*

Nandipha has had extensive involvement with the Organisation over the years. They have been regularly exposed to, and experienced, the Organisation's practices of hope. In the excerpt above, they note the socio-contextual conditions of her upbringing in which very few Makhanda youths "furthered their studies" and went on to "[do] something". Having experienced accompaniment and practices of hope in their various roles as mentor, bursary holder, student volunteer, leader and ambassador, as well as board member, they reported taking "the whole mentorship serious[ly]" as a form of doing hope with others and role-modelling.

9.3.3. Collective forms of Hope

Nandipha's narrative also signals the collective forms of hope encoded in GADRA programmes. Nandipha reflects on the ways in which their success at university, as well as securing employment, "put [their] family name on the map". Their graduation and engaged participation in community life also modelled hope "for the little ones who are still growing". They reported that their commitment to this ethic of care, developing mastery in one's own life and supporting others in their development, was modelled by another student who "supported [them]", "shared

resources" and "showed [them] the ropes". Nandipha asserted their commitment to collective forms of wellbeing; they asserted their commitment to collective forms of hope.

Reflecting on the ways they witnessed GADRA mentors "doing hope with others" (Cherrington, 2018a, p. 8), Sindiswa reflected on the ways in which the practices of hope encoded in GADRA's mentoring programmes produce an ethic of care that is both personally rewarding, as well as contributes to engaged citizenship, and thus social change.

> *Bayakhula babengabantu* (they grow up to be human beings) and when you see that, that's their reward, that's the reward. Because through them, multiples, like many people, many people's lives are changed. Ja, that's their reward. *Sindiswa, 2023; GADRA staff*

Sindiswa has worked in youth development for over two decades. They began their involvement at GADRA as an administrator and now form a key part of GADRA's management team. In the interview about their experiences with GADRA, they noted that in the Organisation

> I feel like I belong, I feel like I belong here, I'm supported you know. As young as I am, I'm not made to feel ignorant, not experienced but I'm just embraced. *Sindiswa, 2023; GADRA staff*

Significantly, this reveals that the strong circulation of the discourse of participation at GADRA shapes practices of hope that have transformative implications for *all* members, across various positionings within the Organisation. The forms of Contextual, Personal, Relational and Collective Hope (Cherrington, 2018b) produce a keen socio-contextual awareness, a sense of belonging, an ethic of care and diffused power inequities. This in turn produces an impetus to actively contribute to social change. The mentoring relationships that members spoke of were characterised by practices of hope (Cherrington, 2018b) and the above-described features of accompaniment (Watkins, 2015). This counter-discourse to the "crisis in education" has contributed to regeneration in areas of social life that were previously rendered inaccessible to the majority of Makhanda youths from the city's public schooling community.

9.4. GADRA generations

During the study period, reference to the discursive construct "GADRA generations" was first noted on the Organisation's Annual Reports in 2013. References to this construct recurred across the subsequent reports. In 2016, the Organisation reported that "three former [bursary] recipients

[holders] are now employed by GADRA" (GADRA, 2016, p. 1), as administrative and teaching staff. They reported that organisational practice was "changing life trajectories of thousands of young people" (GADRA, 2016, p. 1). To provide evidence supporting these statements, I discuss aspects of the developmental trajectories of seven members below.

9.4.1. Nandipha's trajectory

In the excerpt below, Nandipha recounts their involvement with GADRA "since since", noting that they have been "through and through with GADRA".

> Then thereafter I decided to be a mentor here at GADRA, mentoring other students. So, that's when I started the whole uhm student volunteer under RUCE, volunteering here at GADRA and I've been with GADRA since since uhm because thereafter, I also, what other thing did I do, I was also a student leader at some point for GADRA. I also did some other things in between, more like an ambassador where like, days when they releasing out results for grade 12, like what's going to be happening tomorrow. Uhm we'll be going outside approaching the matriculants and everything, assessing their results and encouraging them if they want to go to university to come and improve here at GADRA, so I did that as well. I also joined in the board; I was also in the GADRA board as a board member whilst I was still at Rhodes University. So, I'd sit in the board with other executive members, that too and ja so that's about it, those are the stories that I have about GADRA… oh now I'm an administrator for GADRA. *Nandipha, 2023; GMS alumnus*

In the excerpt above, Nandipha recounted the various roles and positions that they have occupied at GADRA over a number of years. They have occupied the position of the one who is accompanied (as an alumnus and bursary holder), the *accompagnateur* (as a mentor, volunteer, student leader and ambassador), as well as one who contributes to shaping organisational practice from within the Organisation (as a board member and administrator). Figure 6 below, depicts the developmental trajectory of Nandipha, marked at various points, by GADRA's modes of support. The depiction captures the implications of GADRA's organisational practice over time. This suggests that, in fact, the efforts of various educational stakeholders in Makhanda, operating in the context of collaborative partnerships (between RUCE and GADRA, for example), have progressively, over time, had implications for members at a personal, relational and collective level. Nandipha noted in the section above that their entrance into one of the city's institutions of higher education, their multiple RU graduations within the expected timeframes, and subsequent employment at GADRA have "put [their] family's name on the map".
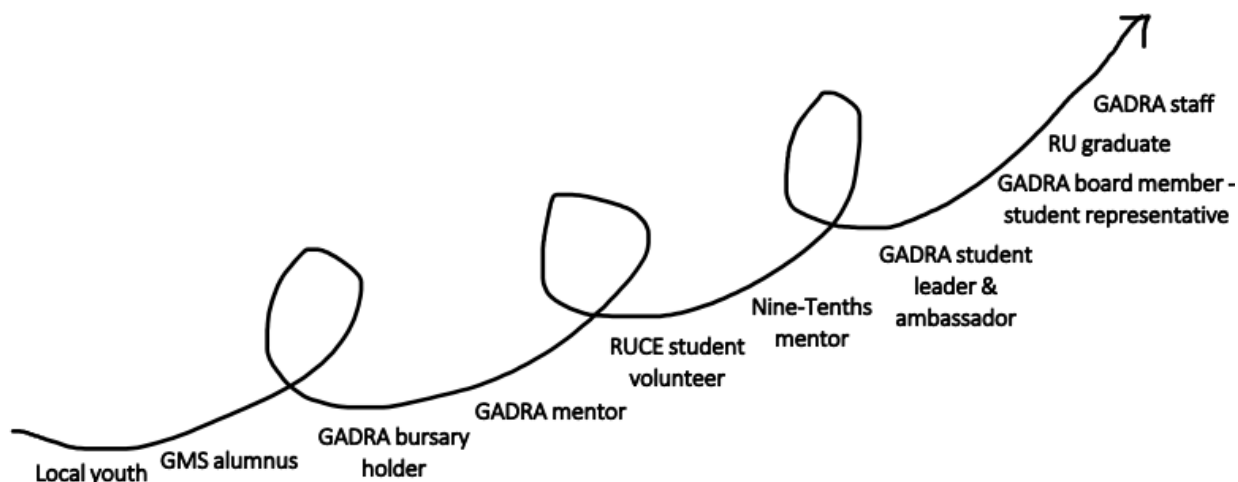
Figure 6: Nandipha's trajectory in Makhanda's education landscape

The organisational practice that enabled this, an apparatus of resistance to productions of exclusion in the Makhanda educational landscape, what I formulate as a situated praxis, had implications for Nandipha and others' livelihoods, as depicted in further figures below.

9.4.2. Sindiswa's trajectory

Sindiswa, whose contributions are also captured in the sections above, is a resident of one of the local surrounding towns. After matric, they volunteered for a computer literacy programme run by a local private higher education institution, and then joined the internship programme at RU. As captured in the excerpt below, Sindiswa recounted their experiences of joining the Organisation, and "doing hope" together with Thobani, a senior GADRA staff member, in the conceptualisation of what came to be known as the Nine-Tenths Mentoring Programme.

> Sindiswa: So, in 2014 when I started, I was involved with the mentoring and tutoring. In 2015, we then, or let me say Thobani piloted or thought of this mentoring programme that would then be rolled out to uhm in later years to come to all grade 12. We used to have conversations about this in the office and I thought, interesting, I want to be involved. So, uhm he would then identify the learners, he would get the results from the schools and then we would discuss how we would engage with the learners, the sort of assistance that would be given to the learners, and the parents as well, how we would

upskill them and all of those things. So, it was, I wouldn't even say Nqobile that it was formal conversations, it was like *andiyazi* (I don't know)

Nqobile: Brainstorming

Sindiswa: Yes, I think that's what made me to be comfortable to get involved because it wasn't scary because it wasn't formalised. So, I wasn't scared, I just got involved not knowing that it was going to be big (laughs).

Interviewer: Very big, international award big (laughs). *Sindiswa, 2023; GADRA staff*

The excerpt above recounts the history of the development of Nine-Tenths. Sindiswa explains that before the programme involved RU students paired with various high school learners, the programme was piloted at a smaller scale by the Organisation. They reference GADRA's situated praxis cycles in piloting their mentoring and tutoring practices into a programme that evolved to be known as Nine-Tenths and winner of the McJanet Award for Global Citizenship in 2021. Sindiswa joined GADRA Education in 2014 and noted the accompaniment practices and their "comfort to get involved", without fear. Through this involvement, and "doing hope together", they became a key member in delivering the Organisation's earlier versions of mentoring programmes to youths in Makhanda, and surrounding towns. In 2015, Sindiswa and a senior GADRA staff member began doing relational and collective forms of hope together by piloting what evolved to be known as the Nine-Tenths Mentoring Programme. By 2016, Sindiswa had received a promotion in the Organisation as GADRA Education's Programme Manager and they have continued to manage a number of the Organisation's collaborative programmes, including *Masilungise* (a mathematics development programme) and the Nine-Tenths Programme.
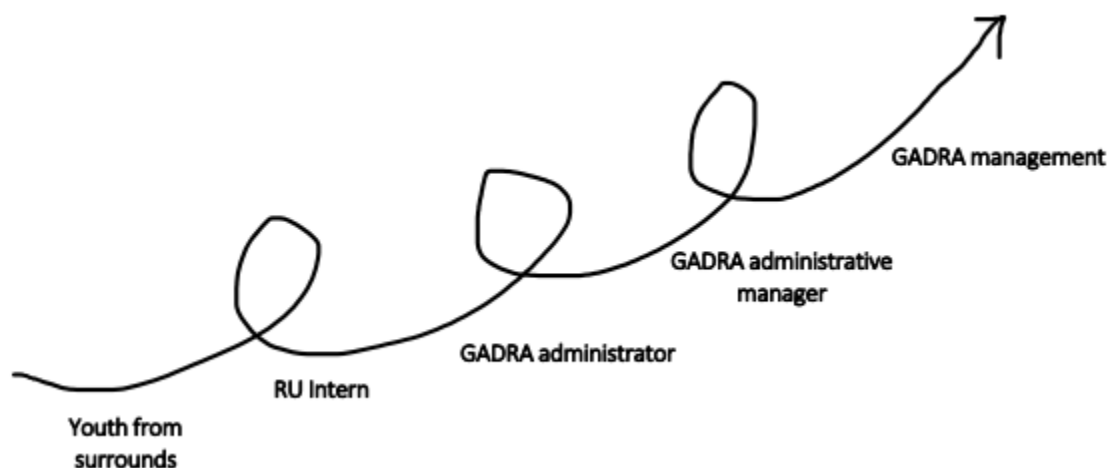

Figure 7: Sindiswa's trajectory in Makhanda's education landscape

In the excerpt below, Sindiswa underscores how "scary" the promotions were but the ways in which their experience of being accompanied by Thobani enabled personal forms of hope to emerge. Sindiswa notes that their *accompagnateur*, Thobani, was very supportive of them, despite their educational background. It was through the experience of being accompanied by a non-directive, non-judgement leader who showed them what seemed to be unconditional positive regard and mutual respect that relational forms of hope emerged. Sindiswa reflected that "that's what made me comfortable, to want to be part of this and did not feel inferior". It was in the context of this relationship that fuelled collective forms of hope and Sindiswa reported that "I just felt empowered and then I wanted to empower these young people". Importantly, a firm sense of belonging characterised Sindiswa's experiences of working in the Organisation, as captured below:

> *Ja, ja, ja* (yes, yes, yes) (sigh) *yoh* it has been a journey and a half like in the sense that, in terms of growth and confidence as well. So, I think there are things that have been highlighted to me through my experience. So, even though I didn't have the, let's say the traditional uhm learning experience or educational background, but that's not the only way that a person can be educated. That is not, *ja* (yes) and I saw that through me, like I'm the *ndizothini* (what can I say?) (*laughs*).. *Ja* (yes), that there are different ways of educating yourself uhm like, different sources where one can get education from *uyabo, ja* (you see, yes). So, I've definitely grown and in terms of confidence as well, so confidence is definitely uhm, but not confidence in an arrogant way; because I still feel like I know nothing. I know nothing and because I have that mentality, I'm then able to sponge from whichever experience that I am part of. I'll make an example; so in 2016 when Nine Tenths started, I was part of the group obviously that trained Rhodes students. So, this was a mix of students; postgrads, uhm and like uhm students that were in their junior degrees and I was with Thobani and I was with Prof X and Y… So, these are professors, these are doctors and I'm in the mix and I'm designing a training programme that is accredited (*laughs*) like (*makes a sound*). If someone from my hometown… would see me like, among these big people… oProf and we are busy engaging and debating and I'm there saying, 'no no let's not do it that way, let's do it this way.' Like, my input actually matters. It grounds me, it grounds me that *akekho umntu ongcono* (no one is better)... and something that other people can learn from. So, that is why, even though I have got this big role and so many people uhm take me seriously, listen to me; I can never have a big head. And seeing the boss like that as well, because he doesn't take himself, let's say too seriously. So, it's beautiful to be led by someone who is of that *ja*. It makes me want to grow. *Sindiswa, 2023; GADRA staff*

The manner of accompaniment described by Sindiswa is one that encourages "growth and confidence" and acknowledges multiple knowledges and education. Here one acknowledges the contingent ("I still feel like I know nothing") and dynamic ("engaging and debating") nature of knowledge. Sindiswa asserted that "traditional uhm learning experiences… [are] not the only way that a person can be educated." And so practices of accompaniment and "doing hope together" (Cherrington, 2018a, p. 8) restores one, "it grounds me" noted Sindiswa, and one moves to a place wherein multiple knowledges are held and "*akekho umntu ongcono*" (no one is better than another).

In the context of relational accompaniment, an ethic of care emerges has implications, simultaneously, for attitudes towards self and others, as well as an orientation then to the world. We see that members who form part of the "GADRA generations" act as powerful agents of educational regeneration in Makhanda. This is true for both staff (as in the case of Sindiswa, and Mlamuli below) and students (as in the case of Nandipha, as well as Nomsa and Nwabisa below).

9.4.3. Nomsa's trajectory

Both Nomsa and Nwabisa are present-day educators in the Makhanda educational landscape. They both experienced a form of GADRA's modes of support: Nomsa is a GMS alumnus and Nwabisa a previous Nine-Tenths mentee. As a local youth, Nomsa matriculated with a Diploma pass at one of the non-fee paying public high schools in Makhanda. They noted that

> Going to GADRA was never, like, part of the plan. I hardly think that anyone plans to do grade 12 twice you know (*laughs*)... It's almost like a setback; like you're doing the same thing twice; you're wasting time, you know, and delaying. But I think uhm the staff and how everyone is so keen on being part of your educational plan, being hands on, helping you out right through the thingy; it really makes it, I don t know, worth it. It makes it like, you're not really lost, you're not so off the track, this is not the end basically kind of vibe. *Nomsa, 2023; GMS educator*

Nomsa noted that although they initially thought of enrolling at GMS as a "setback", "do[ing] grade 12 twice", a "delay" and "waste of time", they went on to reflect that experiencing the Organisation's practices of accompaniment and hope "really makes it… worth it". Figure xx below depicts Nomsa's development trajectory, scaffolded by GADRA's modes of support. GMS acted as a bridge into RU for Nomsa. Following graduation, within the expected timeframes,

they remained in Makhanda's educational landscape as an assistant educator at a local high school before re-entering the Organisation, this time, as a GMS educator. In this way, a GMS alumnus returned to the Organisation to serve as a teacher.
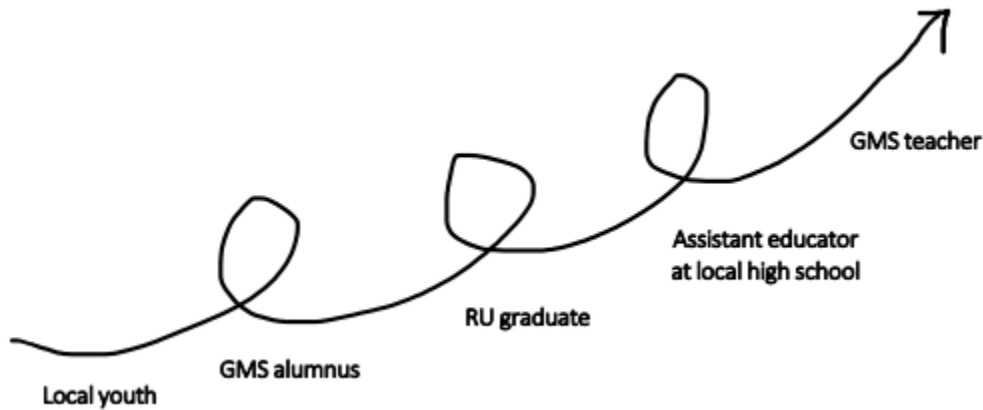
Figure 8: Nomsa's trajectory in Makhanda's education landscape

Reflecting on their experience as a GMS student, after noting the initial feelings of disappointment due to the perceived delay, Nomsa concluded that "GADRA was a great experience. I don't want to lie. We built great relationships with our teachers, simply because of them being hands on you know". Not only did Nomsa benefit from GADRA's practices of hope as a student, they noted their experiences of accompaniment that inspired hope in their journey to becoming a professional teacher below:

> And I have also seen this in my transition as being a teacher, like even though everyone has their work, and everyone has their set of responsibilities; but everyone is so keen on stopping and checking how you're coping with your load of work. Like, how are you doing with your classes. And I happen to have a lot of classes... So, everyone has been concerned, everyone has been offering help and everyone has been trying to make it like, the easiest journey ever. And that really helps, it really makes you put your all in what you're doing because you know that there are people who are supportive. And *ja* man, I think the biggest thing I can say, is them being present in each and everyone's journey. Because if you can listen to my story and the next person's story, I think the common thing that you can take out is that they were present. They helped you, they helped everyone and so I think that's one thing that I appreciate the most about GADRA. *Nomsa, 2023; GMS educator*

Nomsa noted that "the biggest thing… is them being present", underscoring the support, care and concern they experienced, and their sense of belonging to a caring and engaged team. Nomsa noted the Organisation's commitment to practices of hope, of care and concern, as a way of doing at GADRA. Nomsa underscored that this way of doing has implications not only for the story of their life, but also "the next person's story", emphasising the Organisation's contributions to multiple lives.

9.4.4. Nwabisa's trajectory

Nwabisa matriculated from one of the local public high schools and did not attend GMS, a form of bridging college. However, they did experience GADRA's Nine-Tenths programme as a mode of support as a learner. Nwabisa was a Nine-Tenths mentee during their matric year, and reflected on their experience of being "given a chance" and being "chosen to be part of that programme", as captured below.

> So for me, I don't know, maybe I'm just an emotional person, I don't know. But I feel like I was given a chance once, that Nine-Tenths programme. I've got a very big son - he's 9 years old now - and I was pregnant in high school. So my life didn't really - I wasn't on the straight and narrow. So, when GADRA, when I was chosen to be part of that programme, it almost felt like you know what, you're given a chance, so I always say that, because I got through that, passed with a Bachelor, it was amazing for me. I never dreamt of that, for me humble beginnings again, coming from a place where it's either you worked to put food on the table now you've got a child also and here I was given a chance. *Nwabisa, 2023; Makhanda primary school teacher*

Nwabisa narrated the experience of being involved in GADRA's mode of support as sparking personal forms of hope that enabled her to dream again. This was deeply impactful for them as expressed by being "an emotional person". Nwabisa noted that "after getting that opportunity, after being allowed to, you know, experience a world where you don't have to dream here, you can dream further than just putting food on the table" sparked relational forms of hope. They then thought "why not show people that you know what, even for me, if I can do it, you can do it too".

The selection strategy of education NGOs in Makhanda has been criticised. Nomsenge (2019) problematised youth participation in the development programmes of local education NGOs. However, Nwabisa's narration of their experience in the landscape shows that, rather than

conceiving of themselves as the "cream of the crop" (Nomsenge, 2019), they self-identified as not being "on the straight and narrow". Nwabisa also spoke of a friend who "didn't do so well in her matric and went to GADRA". Nwabisa positioned this friend as not "on the straight and narrow" also but concluded "and now, last year, [they] actually graduated and [they are] now a radiographer at Settlers Hospital". This suggested that, in the context of disillusionment with education and future prospects, involvement in GADRA's modes of support enabled personal forms of hope to arise. The analysis of the exit-level outcomes in Makhanda over the last decade, these "GADRA generations", as well as self-identifications by members like Nwabisa suggest that, in fact, in the context of collaborative partnerships with a number of stakeholders in education, there have been shifts to the techniques that have left the majority of Makhanda youths "out".

Figure 9 below depicts Nwabisa's trajectory in Makhanda's educational landscape:
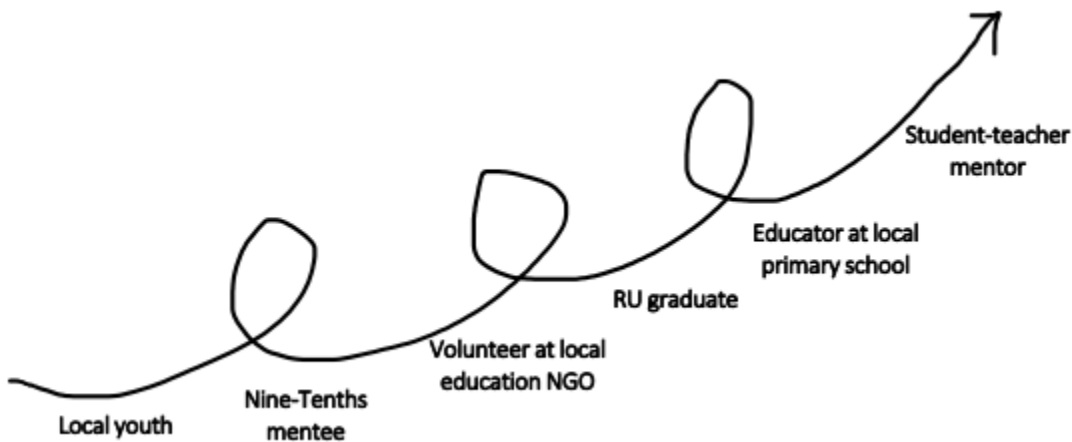
Figure 9: Nwabisa's trajectory in Makhanda's education landscape

Following matric, Nwabisa volunteered at a local education NGO and remained in touch with their Nine-Tenths mentor. They then went on to graduate at RU within the expected timeframes and remained an education stakeholder in Makhanda, gaining employment at a local primary school. Nwabisa's experience of being accompanied by their Nine-Tenths mentor fundamentally impacted their orientation towards themselves, as well as their commitment to "doing hope with others" (Cherrington, 2018a, p.8).

During the interview, Nwabisa reflected that

> I love my job, I love what I do, I love seeing new ways of teaching, especially when people come in and say, I've got a student teacher also if you've noticed… I'm giving him also ideas because the other day… I sat here, skipped my break, showed him and he just looked at me like okay, they didn't show us. I'm like, it's fine just ask, I've been there, I was there not so long ago.

In this way, the practices of hope that Nwabisa experienced as a mentee now inform and shape their practice as a student-teacher mentor; it shapes Nwabisa's practice in the mentoring of emerging teachers that will serve our city and nation, more broadly, in future.

9.4.5. Mlamuli's trajectory

One of the quintessential examples of "GADRA generations" is the story of the Organisation's chairperson. Mlamuli reported that they were "... a beneficiary of GADRA's bursary programme in my youth, over 40 years ago…" (GADRA, 2019). The impacts of GADRA's efforts at cultivating contextual forms of hope in the Makhanda educational landscape, even under the apartheid's Bantu Education system. Mlamuli, whose developmental trajectory is (inadequately) summarised in Figure 10 below, is also a graduate and now Professor at Rhodes University. GADRA's situated praxis, a technique of resistance, and the strong circulation of the discourse of participation in the Organisation transformed a programme participant on the margins of social life to the Organisation's chairperson, active at the forefront of Organisational practice that contributes to regeneration in Makhanda's educational landscape.
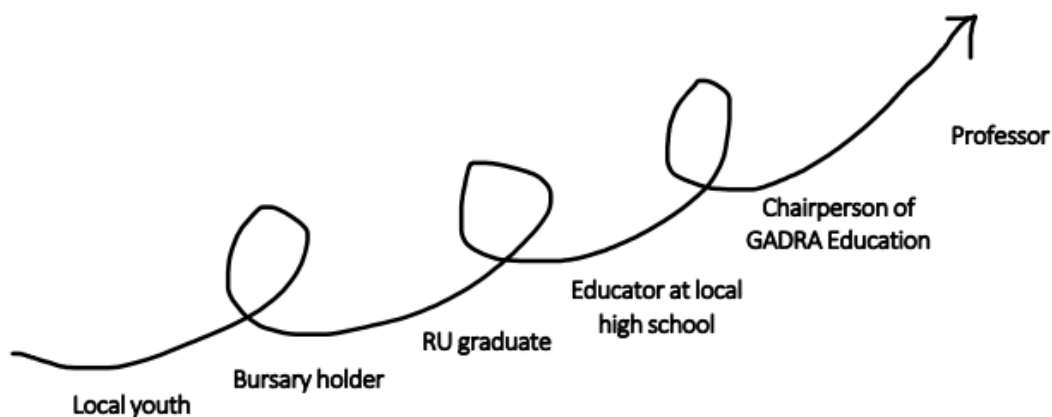
Figure 10: Mlamuli's trajectory in Makhanda's education landscape

It is important to note that the above-described figures are not intended to be reductionist; rather they are intended to capture the iterative nature of educational development and depict the modes of support offered by the Organisation as resistant and catalysing scaffolds along local youths' lives. In the context of the politics of representation and the trusteeship of power regarding the work of NGOs, the "GADRA generations" depictions suggest that, within Makhanda's discursive educational landscape, the conditions required for participation in the landscape have been cultivated. What is evidenced through the narratives of Organisational members are conditions that enable local youth to participate meaningfully in the education landscape of the city and contribute to education activities as mentors, volunteers, ambassadors and graduates. Importantly, local members shape educational practice as board members, educators, administrators, mentors and chairpersons of the Organisation. This is important for participatory practices that foster belonging and enable the processes necessary for the presentation of local youths as engaged citizens in the rural city (rather than rendered to the margins of "the crisis in education" and social life).

A second, more cyclical, pattern is also evident in the members' narratives. GADRA Education was sometimes described as a "family" by the members interviewed, as reflected below.

> Simnikiwe: It's amazing, it's amazing, it's a family!
> Nqobile: You know Simnikiwe, you start our conversation today, and you reference family.
> Simnikiwe: *Ja* (yes)
> Nqobile: You're not the first person to do that and you heard me say, it's okay, centre yourself, and that can be read differently. But for me, it makes the point this work is deeply personal!
> Simnikiwe: Deeply personal! *Simnikiwe, 2023; GADRA board*

Two biological family generational cycles are particularly noteworthy - these are discussed below.

9.4.6. Simnikiwe's family cycle

Simnikiwe noted that their mother was one of the founding members of the Organisation as we know it. They narrated some aspects of the history of the Organisation, from its earlier years and

the ways in which programmes and organisational practice evolved with time. During the interview Simnikiwe noted that they "... can track either my own involvement or my family's involvement in this Organisation, which gives me a perspective that nobody else has". Simnikiwe narrates the story of their family's involvement in Makhanda "back to 1975".

> you see and my parents started being activists, you know liberal activists, in Joburg… Come back 1975, now my mother doesn't know what she's gonna do, because she's left Joburg where both were based at a university. She ran one of the residences and developed various other things there… She got the sense of Grahamstown there was this half and then you looked across and as a white person, a privileged white person, you didn't really want to engage. And she just started getting involved in different things and she took over GADRA Education, which was in a bit of doldrums at the time. *Simnikiwe, 2023; GADRA board member*

In the excerpt above, Simnikiwe noted the history of their family's orientation to social justice in the country's socio-political landscape, as well as their involvement in higher education in the country. Simnikiwe's mother was in a student-facing role before moving to Makhanda "and getting involved in different things" in order to be socially responsive to the times. Simnikiwe's recent family lineage in Makhanda involves a RU leader, as well as the involvement, in various forms over the years, of their mother, sister and themselves. A depiction of this family involvement is captured below.

Figure 11: Simnikiwe's family cycle of involvement at GADRA

Reflecting on family cycles beyond their own biological family, Simnikwe noted the following about the Organisation, and its organisational practice:

Simnikiwe: This is, you know this, this is family. We're all family.
Nqobile: Precisely, precisely.
Simnikiwe: And the family keeps growing, that's the beautiful part, and becoming richer and more connected; and not just inward, it's an outward looking family and has always been.
Nqobile: I love that.
Simnikiwe: And it's not a selfish family, it doesn't just look after its own interest, it's incredibly generous family this. It doesn't say, "I'm tired, I've done enough!" It says, "what more can I do?"
Simnikiwe, 2023; GADRA board member

Importantly, the extract above demonstrates a key feature of GADRA's generational cycles. Using their family history to reify the "GADRA generations" construct, Simnikiwe suggested that rather than a closed system, these cycles are "not just inward… looking" but "outward looking", open, iterative, cumulative and engaged.

A predominant critique of NGO practice are UK-Africa Partnerships and the contentious socio-economic relations between them (Dean et al., 2015). Although FOGADD is a registered "charity organisation" in the UK, and the Board of Trustees are positioned in the UK, Thoko's narrative indicated an embeddedness in community life at GADRA and Makhanda of its founding members, and their family members, as discussed below.

9.4.7. Thoko's family cycle

Thoko began the story of their involvement at GADRA in 1996, when they arrived as a Fellow in the Philosophy Department at Rhodes University. They arrived with their family: their daughter who was 3 years old and their partner who was pregnant, at the time.

> So, my wife was pregnant when we arrived and she was born here. I got involved in Philosophy which obviously which is my subject. And my wife, once she particularly once found other people who are having babies, got kind of involved in the community and I also got involved a bit in cricket. That we'll come back, that's worth saying, so, I played a little bit of cricket for a side called Y[12], which is on the X[13] if I remember

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[12] Anonymised
[13] Anonymised

correctly. It doesn't exist anymore. And I did coaching in town for teams called Z[14] and W[15]. And, so we got to know different parts of the community a bit. A little bit in the township side, east, I forgot which side was it, west or east (*laughs*). And uhm a little bit meeting the farming community through the cricket as well and enjoyed meeting people involved in various ways at the university and schools in town through mothers that she met… And then in 1999 we did a development cricket tour which was people coming from the UK and some players from Z and W. And Z mainly a Coloured team and W was mainly a Xhosa team. And with help from people in the cricket community… we did a development cricket tour to the UK back in the other way in 2000. And then we came back again on a cricket tour in 2001. So, the point is we, through that period, we kind of kept in touch with Grahamstown and with people in it… Yes, so these things mean that there's drive in the city, but there's a lot on the other side. When we arrived in 1996 was the middle of the AIDS pandemic and that hit Makhanda really hard. A lot of people dying… The last time we were there for a year was 2017/18 and within that time some medical students that I taught here at [Y University], I'm not a doctor, a medic, but I teach them medical ethics. They came to Settlers Hospital and they found 180 beds, all of the patients HIV positive… So, there's a lot of things to overcome to enable education to help the young find a way forward from this. *Thoko, 2023; GADRA international donor*

In the extended excerpt above, Thoko narrates the story of their child being born in Makhanda; the ways in which they got involved in community life through academia, motherhood, cricket and medical ethics development tours and/or programmes. Through their involvement, they developed socio-cultural awareness of "the township", "the farming community", "AIDS pandemic", as well as political identities and associated geospatial trends of "Coloured" and "Xhosa" peoples. They demonstrated an engaged knowledge regarding the cultural-historic landscape of Makhanda whilst "being 6000 miles away" most of the time. Even in the present day, they noted that "we are keeping in touch with GADRA and also the wider context of how things are going in Grahamstown. What's happening in the municipality, the struggles with electricity and water." As an international donor at GADRA, involved in various other aspects of community life as well, they displayed deep knowledge of the landscape and "a lot of things to overcome to enable education to help the young find a way forward from this."

This embeddedness and connectedness to the city, and the Organisation within it, extended to include Thoko's biological family as captured in Figure 12 below.

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[14] Anonymised
[15] Anonymised

Figure 12: Thoko's family cycle of involvement at GADRA

Thoko narrated the various ways their partner was involved in Makhanda: the Mobile Science Laboratory, at another local NGO as well as with basic skills training at GADRA Education. Thoko's three children were positioned in Makhanda's educational landscape at various points in history too, as students at the local private schools and/or student assistants at these schools. During the children's time in Makhanda, Thoko narrated the ways they got involved in GADRA's mentoring and other volunteer programmes. There is thus evidence for socio-contextual astuteness, and connectedness between members of the Makhanda educational landscape and FOGADD, a longstanding international donor at GADRA.

Thus, in summary, and as evidenced by these findings, GADRA used techniques that appeared to resonate with community psychology's principles and values to construct their credibility. Though organisational credibility is oftentimes produced via mechanisms associated with trusteeship (Nomsenge, 2018), we see that GADRA's credibility was cultivated over time in partnership with people - amongst parents, learners, principals, local people and RU - enabling credibility amongst the donors, interested in participatory and sustainable practice. During this period, organisational practice was marked by features such as socio-cultural awareness, social and peer support, collaboration and partnership (Nelson, et al., 2014), and organisational values such as social justice, participation, respect for diversity and human development (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010) were evidenced. Through its various modes of support, what emerges from organisational practice at GADRA is a situated praxis. As captured in the analysis of the first

phase, I formulate situated praxis as the operationalisation of the principles and values of African-centred community psychologies for transformative purposes.

In this second phase, there is evidence for the Organisation's socio-contextual awareness as expressed through their situated forms of praxis.

Members also reported that GADRA applied its modes of support to the most prominent challenges facing education in Makhanda, across primary, secondary and higher education sectors. Importantly, the Organisational members' narratives revealed that this way of doing has implications for subjectivity. These implications are articulated through the ways in which members are accompanied along their trajectories of development; the ways in which participation at GADRA inspired hope; and the ways in which feelings of belonging and conditions for youth's presentation are encoded in practice in material ways. The narratives of organisational members illustrate the ways in which practice at GADRA is also characterised by hope and a sense of belonging that produces empowerment; and ethic of care that affects both the individual and those around them, and produces desires for and action towards social change; peer support, collaboration, mutual respect and solidarity; as well as commitment, reflexivity, innovation and socio-contextual awareness and responsiveness.

In the next chapter, I summarise GADRA's counter-discourse, as evidenced across the repositioning and regeneration phases of this study. I consider the subject positions made available by discourses circulating at GADRA. Importantly, I formulate GADRA's situated praxis, the apparatus used to destabilise differentiated outcomes in Makhanda's educational landscape.

CHAPTER 10: COUNTER-DISCOURSE AT GADRA

In this chapter, I review the discourses used to construct educational practice at GADRA Education, as well as the subject positionings made available by these. The Foucauldian conception of discourse highlights the opportunity for resistance. It suggests "another way to go further toward a new economy of power relations... It consists of taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point" (Foucault, 1982, p. 329). Applying this way of thinking about education in Makhanda provides tools and perspectives for resistance. I use these tools to distil the prominent discourses circulating at GADRA during both the repositioning and regeneration phases. I discuss prominent features of the ways these discourses are deployed and review the discursive constructs produced. In particular, I identify the discursive subjects produced and consider which subject positions are availed by discourses circulating at GADRA. In the review, I observe the ways in which these positions enable or constrain opportunities for participation in Makhanda's educational landscape and the process of community and educational regeneration.

I conclude the chapter by formulating GADRA's techniques of resistance over time within the rural city's educational landscape. Specifically, this study revealed what I formulate as the Organisation's *situated praxis*, an apparatus (Tamboukou, 1999) used to destabilise prominent productions in the city's educational landscape. I identify and discuss the prominent discursive features of this apparatus.

10.1. Discourse at GADRA Education

Counter-discourse at GADRA features five discursive configurations. As evidenced in the preceding chapter, discourses of crisis, transformation, access and participation, partnership and development are used to construct organisational practice at GADRA Education. I discuss these below, and consider the relationships between discourse and practice. In this chapter, I consider how the subject positions contained in the reports opened up or closed down opportunities for social action and educational regeneration.

10.1.1. Discourse of crisis

The discourse of crisis is regularly summoned to construct the state of education in present-day South Africa (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023). As in GADRA's annual reports, the NSC results reflecting the matric annual performance (i.e. at exit-level educational outcomes of school going youth) are cited as evidence for "an ongoing crisis in South African education" (Spaull, 2013, p. 3). The "ongoing decline" (AR, 2014) in the local and national context were provided as further evidence to construct the broken and unequal state of education (Amnesty International, 2020) in Makhanda, and South Africa more broadly.

Similar to the ways educationalists describe the South African education system (e.g., Spaull, 2013; 2019), GADRA described the Makhanda educational landscape as starkly differentiated between private and public schooling. In Makhanda, the geospatial-educational landscape referenced in the annual reports mirrored these country-wide inequalities in the education sector. Thus, rather than being a potentially strategic site of liberation, the fissures in our education system were described as reproducing persistent inequalities and injustice. The description of the Makhanda's educational landscape as "weakening", achieving "poor matric results" and generally on a "downward trajectory" in primary and secondary schooling in Makhanda, premised the work of the NGO. In other words, ways of constituting knowledge about education in Makhanda enabled particular "practices that systemically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). The knowledge configurations constructed in GADRA's annual reports during the repositioning phase produced "the need for transformation" . The Organisation deployed the discourse of crisis to construct the fissures in public education and thus the need for "educational transformation". This "need" in turn legitimised their existence as a knowledgeable and influential actor in Makhanda's educational landscape.

As argued in Chapter Four, discourses of crisis under neoliberal capitalism obscure the structural problem of capitalism (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023). Rather than a focus on the broader systemic issues within the education system, as well as the socio-political context in which learning happens, to shape developmental intervention, this discourse tends to produce the responsibilisation of individual schools, parents, teachers and learners themselves. In GADRA's reports, it became evident that particular schools and learners were targeted via their selection strategy. Responsibilisation is a term used to describe and analyse the various mechanisms by

which individuals (including single schools) are made to be responsible for outcomes of social and economic activity (Torrance, 2017). Responsibility is assigned at an individual, rather than systemic, level.

In previous research into the Organisation, GADRA's non-confrontational approach towards the state was commended (see Msindo, 2014). This approach, however, shifts the responsibility and accountability for educational outcomes from the state to schools, teachers, parents and learners. In GADRA's annual reports, the annual school exit-level outcomes were heavily monitored, and schools positioned in competition with each other and constructed as achieving first, second and third places, for example. During the repositioning phase, this discourse produced the construct of the "deserving student". These were students who were reported to have achieved a so-called quality pass. RU students were constructed as "potential change-makers" who could contribute positively to the Nine-Tenths Mentoring Programme. This contribution was framed within the human capital discourse, highlighting the substantial student numbers and thus the cost-effective nature of involving them as agents of intervention. During the regeneration phase, students in post-schooling and learners in primary schooling were constructed as "beneficiaries" of the Bursary Programme and the WSS programme respectively. Here, "financial hardship" as well as "learning deficiencies" prompted intervention. Parents and learners were gathered to engagement workshops intended to promote them actively participating in the learning process and taking greater responsibility for their learning respectively. Whereas GADRA staff were constructed as professional and dedicated, teachers in state schools were said to be facing bureaucratic demands from state bodies, and were not described in similar terms.

Nomsenge (2018b; 2019) highlights that this approach, which effectively responsibilises schools, teachers, parents and learners, leads to the threat of depoliticising development. Rather than prescriptions for and advocacy directed to the state (Neocosmos, 2017) and state role-players, intervention efforts are directed at monitoring individuals and schools. However, the discontinuities of this discourse (Foucault, 1972) are witnessed in the annual reports. Whereas this discourse produced the above subject positionings of schools, teachers and learners implicitly, the Organisation primarily deployed the discourse of crisis, using it simultaneously with that of transformation, to co-construct public education and GADRA. In other words, to show its knowledge of the trends in Makhanda's educational landscape and construct its

situatedness and embeddedness within Makhanda. Thus, the primary production of the circulation of this discourse was the credibility of GADRA as an institution that positions itself in non-statist terms (Neocosmos, 2017; Nqaba, 2015) and in solidarity with those persistently marginalised by the system.

10.1.2. Discourse of transformation

Particularly during the repositioning phase, the Organisation summoned the discourses of crisis and transformation simultaneously to make a case that the "public sector needs transformation advocacy over the long-term" (AR, 2015). In addition to legitimising their existence as an apparatus of resistance (Tamboukou, 1999), GADRA positioned itself at the centre of multiple educational institutions, including both schools and higher education. The Organisation deployed the discourse of transformation to position itself as a "feeder" and "bridge" between school and higher education. During this period, the reporting of exit-level educational outcomes was used to evidence transformation, rather than crisis. Especially during the repositioning phase, GMS and Nine-Tenths operated as modes of support, which were constructed as mechanisms of integration in an education system evidenced to be starkly differentiated.

Regarding primary schooling, the Organisation summoned features of language plurality (Heugh, 1999; Lafon, 2008) by focusing on literacy development in isiXhosa. Regarding their reporting about the development of the WSS, they highlighted the importance of epistemological access (Morrow, 2007) via literacy in the learner's home language at the Foundation Phase (AR, 2018). The WSS model was dubbed "as effective in isiXhosa as in English" (AR, 2019). The Organisation positioned WSS as a mode of support in resistance to productions of the "literacy crisis" and engaging in language debates about the language of teaching and learning (LoLT) in school education (Mieklejohn, et al., 2021). The Organisation used this mode of support to advocate for home language literacy as a pathway to enabling meaningful participation and success in intermediary and senior phases. Thus, through the insertion of the WSS mode of support in primary schooling, learners, positioned as deficient and illiterate by productions of the crisis in education discourse, were counter-positioned as competent and achieving great strides in home language literacy. The counter-discourse thus transformed learners' subject positionings, from "deficient" to competent and achieving.

More broadly in South African school education, the discourse of the transformation appeared more dominant in periods surrounding the democratisation of the country. The discourse centred around the transformation of, specifically, Black school education - advocating for a unitary, "non-racial" and national education system for all (Rakometsi, 2008). Imperatives for transformation thus focussed on equity (Motala & Carel, 2019), access to basic and further education (Motala & Dieltiens, 2010; Boughey, 2003), language plurality (Heugh, 1999; Lafon, 2008), and the provincial and local organisation of education (Sayed, 1999).

More recently, the review of discourses in South African school education post-apartheid (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023) revealed a silence around the developments after the Fallist Movements (Hlatshwayo & Shawa, 2020) within education. This silence is echoed in GADRA's annual reporting as well. Within South African HE, there have been strong imperatives to transform and decolonise education (Heleta, 2016). These imperatives seem relatively dormant in the literature and public discourses regarding school education - although there are voices beginning to call for educational transformation via grounding teaching in local contexts and epistemologies (e.g., Seehawer et al., 2021).

10.1.3. Discourse of access and participation

The discourse of transformation and imperatives for reform in South Africa in the wake of the democratisation of the country, centred on the right-to-education (Spreen & Vally, 2006), equity, redress, and the improvement of quality of schooling (Motala & Dieltiens, 2010). Essentially, governance practices in the early democratic dispensation focused on physical access to education as well as the social conditions and democratic processes that enable civic participation for all.

Similar to mass media's focus on exit-level educational outcomes over the past decade, so the Organisation consistently foregrounded the reporting of these in their annual reports. Throughout the reports (2012 - 2021), as well as making reference to GMS's educational outcomes, the annual enrollment numbers of GMS students at RU, and (in the regeneration phase) the number of GMS students who graduated from RU. What was produced, via the consistent and repetitive reference to the results in the annual reports, was an "upward trajectory of the educational outcomes" of GMS students, with an increasing number of their students to be admitted into RU.

In this way, GADRA summoned the discourse of access and participation to position themselves as an effective "bridge" to higher education and thus to improved livelihoods for its members. Whereas learners in public secondary schools were positioned as facing barriers to participation in higher education, GMS as a mode of support seemed to transform this positioning. GMS students were positioned as enrolling, participating and graduating from RU, in the expected timeframes.

The strong circulation of the discourse of participation also produced the construct of GADRA's credibility amongst its members. This was evident over the repositioning and regeneration phases of the annual reports, as well as in the interview data. NGO intervention has been critiqued for its "top-down" approaches and maintenance of neo-colonialist domination in Africa (Sakue-Collins, 2021). In contrast, the interviews indicate GADRA's "community-based" orientation to education-development practice, as will be further discussed below. The Organisation's enactment of the values of participation, collaboration and mutual-respect, embedded with its participatory methods (Holkup et al., 2004), produced credibility amongst parents, students, principals, local people, as well as with RU and donors.

In addition, their modes of support, specifically programmes such as GMS, were said to have contributed to changes in local members' lives thus supporting constructions of the Organisation as a longstanding credible actor in Makhanda's educational landscape. Together with WSS and the Nine-Tenths, these modes of support were said to have contributed to destabilising differentiation between groups in Makhanda and enable access and participation in one of the city's HEIs. GADRA's commitment to reflexivity within a local context maintained this credibility amongst various stakeholders, including donors.

Importantly, the strong circulation of the discourse of participation at GADRA, enacted via accompaniment and participatory methods of practice, enabled "GADRA generations" to form. Members experienced scaffolded growth, a sense of belonging and so-called empowerment through practice in the Organisation. Members engaged across the Makhanda's educational landscape as mentors, volunteers, ambassadors and graduates, as well as were interpellated into positions as board members, educators, administrators, mentors and chairpersons of the Organisation.

Thus, the discourse of participation operated as a powerful counter-discourse to the pervasive crisis in education discourse. It functioned as transformative in the lives of members who were availing more emancipatory positions from which to meaningfully contribute to the landscape. The discourse of participation produced the construct of GADRA as a bridge, enabling local students to access "meaningful post-school pathways, especially to RU" (AR, 2018). Key to the construction of GMS as a bridge was the collaborative partnership with the "prestigious" university.

10.1.4. Collaborative partnerships discourse

Bridges were constructed between both state actors (e.g., selected secondary school sites) and non-state actors (e.g., the GMS programme) in Makhanda's public secondary schooling, as well as between a non-state development programme (GMS) to an institution of higher learning (RU). These links were constructed as producing meaningful access to education. GMS alumni were reported to be admitted to RU, and further to graduate within expected timeframes for their degrees, as noted earlier. The partnerships between state and non-state actors were seen to enable both access and educational success.

Whereas the discourse of participation positioned GADRA as a bridge into higher education at RU, and GMS students as future RU graduates, collaborative partnerships were constructed as further catalysing steadily increasing regeneration more broadly across public schooling in Makhanda. The collaborative partnership discourse consolidated the Makhanda-GADRA-RU construct as key in the regeneration of education in the small city. GADRA termed this technique of resistance a "multi-stakeholder approach", which was reported to have enabled impact across groups. The collaborative partnerships discourse extended the productions of the access and participation discourses, overcoming critiques of the production of a "local elite" and "lucky few" (Nomsenge, 2018). The annual analysis of exit-level outcomes in the city's public schooling, shared via *Grocott's Mail* by GADRA's manager, evidenced this regeneration of outcomes across the city - not just amongst GMS students and those learners from public fee-paying schools. Collaborative partnerships were in this way positioned as enabling greater educational participation and success for all across public schooling.

As a product of this discourse, RU's VC was constructed as "community-minded" and as a

"progressive" leader. This positioning complemented GADRA Education's positioning as knowledgeable and an influential actor in this city's education milieu. Therefore, in the context of complex socio-contextual challenges and poor educational outcomes, the Makhanda-GADRA-RU strategy operated as a technique of resistance (Tamboukou, 1999) in the local educational landscape. These community-university collaborative partnerships have more recently received greater attention from those concerned with sustainable community development (e.g., Fongwa et al., 2022). They form a way in which to move beyond the constraints that exist in both the state and non-state educational landscapes. Such partnerships are predicated upon, first and foremost, a keen socio-cultural awareness, that is a critical understanding of the matrices of culture, history, socio-economics and the politics of a particular locale, what African-centred psychologists call situatedness (Ratele, et al., 2022). Secondly, these partnerships build both interpersonal communication and bonds that then bridge systems that may formerly have existed in silos, leading to exchanges of resources and thus building capacity in modes of resistance.

10.1.5. Discourse of development

GADRA's conception of advocacy is distinctive. Rather than petitioning to the state (Neocosmos, 2017), the Organisation petitions to a variety of influential community members. In previous research on the NGO, Msindo (2014) categorised this as a non-confrontational approach to the DoE, and state. Rather than a focus on opposition to the state, GADRA was reported to embrace an *Ubuntu*-inspired provision of education to those experiencing persistent marginalisation. Although some scholars have argued that this non-confrontational positioning of NGOs in Makhanda presents the threat of depoliticisation (Nomsenge, 2019), Nqaba (2015) evidenced the strong circulation of the rights in education discourse (Spreen & Vally, 2006) at GADRA. Nqaba (2015) thus argued that this enabled them to advocate effectively for quality education.

In Chapter Eight, I illustrated GADRA's situatedness and modes of intervention that operate as capital for bonding and bridging purposes within the public schooling community in Makhanda. I argued that this is the means by which their credibility as an influential actor in Makhanda's educational landscape has been produced. Most importantly, and unlike other NGOs, it is GADRA's credibility amongst community members that seems to have been a key factor. Their

credibility amongst learners, parents, principals, educators and local people is noteworthy. Simultaneously, they have gained credibility with RU and donors as well. This enabled the discursive context for GADRA's credibility to strengthen and build future partnerships.

In the literature, the concept of social capital (Claridge, 2018) has been used to argue for the strengthening of networks of solidarity that catalyse civic action and contribute to social change (Putnam, 2000). More locally in reference to Makhanda, McCann et al. (2021), in reference to education NGOs and university-school partnerships, used the associated concepts of bonding, bridging and linking capital to illustrate the social capital leveraged by civil society and community organisations to contribute to social change. The authors, who also constituted members of the university-school partnership, reflected on the Nine-Tenths mode of support as a "model as a means of leveraging community resources in pursuit of educational change" (McCann et al., 2021, p. 46). They too argued for the bonds and bridges between NGOs and the education sector to contribute further to community and educational regeneration, and thus longer-term possibilities for social change.

Communities with higher levels of all forms of social capital are reportedly more able to mobilise action and experience fewer negative outcomes (Claridge, 2018). In deploying the bridging and bonding functions of social capital for analysis here, I steer away from reductionist understandings of their distinctions and instead conceive of them as existing on a continuum. In so doing, I acknowledge the multi-dimensional nature of social relationships and apply an ecological perspective to analysis. Claridge (2018) stresses that a balance of all forms of social capital are desirable. Perkins et al. (2002) argue that greater emphasis should be given to network bridging (i.e. linking capital) as it increases power, access and learning, while (interpersonal) bonding capital is useful to encourage participation. Such perspectives overcome "the myth of social capital" proposed by De Filippis (2001), wherein formulations of social capital are accused of being divorced from political and economic capital, and thus unable to influence structural community change. We see that the variety of bonding and bridging modes of interventions in interaction at GADRA have contributed to shifts in the public education landscape in Makhanda.

In resistance to the responsibilisation produced by the prominent discourse in South African education (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023), counter-discourse at GADRA interpellated members into

more agentive subject positionings that enabled educational opportunity and success, as well as civic participation. More generally, education stakeholders at GADRA were positioned in agentive roles. Bonds amongst teachers were encouraged and facilitated by discourse informing organisational practice at GADRA. Learners enrolled in the Organisation's mode of support in primary schooling, WSS, were constructed as competent and achieving. Students enrolled at GADRA's modes of support between secondary and higher education were constructed as successful RU registrants, going from registration to graduation. RU students more broadly were constructed as potential changemakers. RU's VC was said to be a community-minded leader in HE. GADRA staff were constructed as situated and knowledgeable non-state actors working collaboratively with state actors in primary, secondary and higher education. Rather than reproducing the dichotomies between state-led versus NGO-led development (Matthews & Nqaba, 2017), GADRA's techniques were leveraged to contribute to collaborative social and educational change. These techniques also inspired hope amongst members, as evident from the analysis of the interview data.

10.1.6. Discourse of hope

The strong circulation of the counter-discourse of hope was identifiable in the interview data. Hope is a multi-faceted concept deployed mostly within the interdisciplinary fields of psychology, philosophy and theology. The Hope Barometer Research Programme is "an annual cross-sectional survey that aimed at investigating the hopes and future expectations of the general population in several countries around the globe" (Krafft et al., 2023, p. v). In their work on the large-scale, cross-cultural empirical research programme of the Hope Barometer between 2017 and 2021, Krafft et al. (2023) identified essential elements of the concept of hope: 1) a wish or desire, 2) the belief that its realisation is possible, and 3) trust in the availability of resources to facilitate its realisation. The ways they formulate the concept of hope is succinctly captured below.

> We understand hope as composed of a wish or desire for a valued outcome or state of affairs together with the belief that its realization is possible (although uncertain and not necessarily likely) and the trust in the (existing or future) availability of some internal or external resources that could facilitate its realization, especially when confronting obstacles and setbacks (Krafft et al., 2023, p. 34)

The interviewed members shared their experiences about how involvement at GADRA had sparked hope in ways that resonate with the above quotation. Further from a South African perspective, Cherrington (2017) argues for the link between hope and education. They argue that education is a strategic site for mobilising hope practices that foster youth wellbeing and contribute to social change (Cherrington, 2017; 2018a).

Cherrington (2018b) presents a Framework for Afrocentric Hope, conceptualising hope on four levels: they describe *Contextual Hope* as the socio-contextual conditions that enable subjective feelings of hope. Whereas contextual hope focuses our attention on the macro-interactional conditions necessary for hope to arise, *Personal Hope* centres around survival and mastery which enable a sense of belonging. This felt sense of belonging occurs when the person's values are validated within the socio-cultural environment. This enables increased resilience, and it is within these conditions that an ethic of care (Foucault, 1997) begins to emerge. This ethic enhances one's own hopeful feelings, thoughts and actions and, moreover, affects one's relations with others and society. Cherrington (2018b) labels this production as *Relational Hope*, the "doing of hope with others" (p. 8). Finally, *Collective Hope* is produced when one pursues collective wellbeing for all wherein values and actions of togetherness, harmony, social justice, and mutual respect are evidenced (Cherrington, 2018b). As reflected by member narratives in the preceding findings chapter, we saw evidence of these practices of hope encoded in GADRA's educational activities across various educational programmes and modes of support.

10.1.6.1. Contextual forms of Hope

In response to the socio-contextual conditions in Makhanda, GADRA initiated the Tertiary Bursary Programme and described it as resembling an internship initiative (AR, 2013). As described in Chapter Six, the Bursary Programme offers young people modest financial assistance during their higher education careers. Although the Organisation first conceptualised the Bursary Programme as a financial support mechanism, the recognition of youth agency, transformed into an initiative wherein mutual benefit was encoded. This programme encouraged bursary holders to contribute to community life, via volunteering, in tandem with their efforts towards their academic pursuits at RU. In 2016, the Organisation reported that three former bursary recipients were employed at GADRA as well as later high success rates, and graduation,

for bursary holders enrolled at RU (AR, 2019). The current chairperson of the Organisation reported being a bursary holder over 40 years ago (AR, 2019). In terms of further material forms of support, GADRA also wrote reference letters for employment opportunities for bursary holders (AR, 2016).

Through their engaged Bursary Programme, GADRA demonstrated a keen socio-cultural awareness - a critical understanding of the matrices of culture, history, socio-economics and the politics of the particular locale. This enabled the conditions for Contextual forms of Hope to arise, and formed part of their modes of support in destabilising exclusionary productions in the Makhanda educational landscape.

10.1.6.2. Personal forms of Hope

Poor educational outcomes are used as evidence for the crisis in education (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023), including formerly in Makhanda. This discourse of crisis in education produces high stakes narratives around school exit-level outcomes for learners. The discourse obscures the social conditions in which schooling happens and the responsibility and accountability for educational outcomes are displaced from the state to individuals, particularly parents, teachers, and learners themselves (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023). However, GADRA's counter-discourse of hope enabled resistant configurations of power-knowledge to inform technologies of self (Foucault, 1982).

GADRA members also deployed technologies of resistance, produced by experience in the Organisation's interventions of hope to underscore their sense of mastery and belonging, as well as their desires to contribute to the lives of other local youth via their efforts as students and professionals. The mentoring relationships in particular were a site for the cultivation of Personal forms of Hope to arise.

10.1.6.3. Relational forms of Hope

In the interview data, the site of the mentoring relationship was characterised by practices of hope (Cherrington, 2018b) and features of accompaniment (Watkins, 2015). Education scholars, Crespi and Lopez (2023), identify "a concrete form of educational accompaniment [as] mentoring" (p. 1). Members narrated their experiences of accompaniment through mentorship by

RU students, as part of the Nine-Tenths programme, as well as the enduring mentoring they received from GADRA staff members. These regular forms of bonding had implications for the individual themselves, as well as for their relations to others. Thus, the mentoring relationship becomes a site for "doing hope with others" (Cherrington, 2018a), cultivating relational forms of hope.

Within the context of the mentoring relationship, members could engage in practices to shape their own subjectivity; they could actively participate in their own formation and transformation (Foucault, 1978). Thus, the technologies of the self, produced from knowledge-power configurations of hope, enabled greater self-awareness and self-knowledge (e.g. knowledge of academic strengths and areas of development), enabled a sense of mastery and overall contributed to GADRA members' personal and educational development.

10.1.6.4. Collective forms of Hope

Analysis of the biographic narrative data also evidenced Collective forms of Hope encoded in GADRA programmes. Members signalled the material realities and challenges from meaningful participation in Makhanda's educational landscape being transformed by modes of support that enabled success at university leading to graduation, as well as securing employment. They noted that this engendered hope for younger people in the Makhanda-east community too. These forms of hope were simultaneously material, as they were subjective. Members spoke of commitment to an ethic of care, developing mastery in one's own life (Foucault, 1997) and supporting others in their development. This ethic of care was said to be both personally rewarding, as well as contributing to engaged citizenship for example through volunteer programmes. These modes of support at GADRA offer "ways of thinking and working in solidarity with others for change – mostly small scale and local, but tapping into wider social movements" (Kagan et al., 2020, p. 375). And so, this personal and relational mode of intervention also had wider societal implications as an apparatus of resistance. It produced an impetus amongst members to actively contribute to social change; it prompted action and shifts in members' consciousness, as illustrated in the previous chapter.

GADRA's practices of hope have transformative implications for members, across various positionings within the Organisation. The forms of contextual, personal, relational and collective

hope illustrated above produce a sense of belonging and an ethic of care. This in turn produces an impetus to actively contribute to social change, often through accompaniment practices. I argue that GADRA's modes of intervention can be formulated as Hope Interventions (Cherrington, 2018b), which spark a wish or desire for educational development; through processes of accompaniment, cultivating the belief that its realisation is attainable through the presence of bonds and bridges in Makhanda's educational landscape; and, due to the Organisation's credibility and growing collaborative partnerships within the landscape, members trust in the availability of resources to facilitate its realisation.

10.3. Formulating Situated Praxis as a Technique of Resistance

This case study acknowledges the contentious position that non-governmental organisations occupy (Matthews & Nqaba, 2017; Nomsenge, 2018; 2019). I discussed this contentious positioning in Chapter 2. What became identifiable during the first phase of this research were GADRA's techniques of resistance over time within the rural city's educational landscape. Specifically, the project revealed what I formulate here as the Organisation's situated praxis, an apparatus (Tamboukou, 1999) used to destabilise prominent productions in the city's educational landscape. In the context of the prominent circulation of the discourse of development (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023), I argue that this could be used as an apparatus at the intersection of non-governmental work and the education sector. I propose that situated praxis, as an apparatus of resistance in the education-development milieu, could bring about reform in the public schooling landscape in South Africa.

To formulate this concept, I draw from fields that have come to be known as Community-Based Development (CBD), Community-Based Participatory Research (CBPR) and Community Psychology (CP) to articulate what situated praxis might be. To do this, I consider the features, values and principles guiding this form of praxis. As I consider these, I situate myself firmly "here" (Ratele, 2019), deploying an Africa(n)-centred community psychology perspective. This perspective necessitates action at both a subjective and material levels in order to move towards educational, and ultimately social, change.

The commonalities between CBD, CBPR and CP are that they are fields of engaged practice that emerged from resistance - resistance to widespread and dominant (re)productions in all the

respective fields: development work, research and traditional psychologies. So too the concept of a situated praxis for NGOs and practitioners emerges in resistance to what is considered to be persistent neo-colonialist and imperialist productions on Africa via NGOs (Neocosmos, 2017) - argued to be a technology of power, as I explicated in Chapter 3. To tease out the meanings and functions of this apparatus of resistance within the education-development nexus, I identify and discuss the synergies between these fields.

10.3.1. Community-Based Development

The contentious development discourse is described in Chapters Two and Four. The practice-oriented field of community-based development emerged in resistance to top-down approaches of development, typically characterised by unequal relations between the Global North and Global South (Kajimbwa, 2006). Thus, unlike former modes in development, community-based development practice is typically guided by the principles of community participation, people-centredness, social justice, cultural sensitivity and empowerment (De Berry,1999). The implementation of development projects in community settings is based upon local decision-making that shapes the design and priorities of projects (Crisp et al., 2016). This approach seeks to drive inclusive and sustainable development (Henfrey et al., 2023).

In response to critiques about the productions of International NGO (INGO) development practice *on* communities, such NGOs began to incorporate participatory methods into their development programmes (Algoso, 2017). INGOs such as the United Nations (UN) have been key to the move towards Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Supported by the decentralisation discourse which has produced governance reforms, there is growing recognition of the importance of local governance and community participation in achieving SDGs (Henfrey et al., 2023). Self-determined practical action for sustainability and social justice are recognised as key to our every-changing social, economic and environmental contexts in the present era.

10.3.2. Community-Based Participatory Research

In response to the dynamic cultural-historic environment of the present times, the role of research in contributing to and planning for social change has been highlighted (Wittmayer et al., 2014). Action Research (AR) is a mode of practice which blends the experimental approaches

deployed by social scientists with community-based programmes that are responsive to community challenges (Holkup et al., 2004). Its development is credited to Kurt Lewin and is guided by the praxis cycles: "observe – plan – act – reflect" (Tomakin, 2008).

The development of GADRA Education's modes of support in Makhanda's educational landscape were based on the above praxis cycles, as represented by typical participatory AR (Akhurst, 2022). As described in the previous chapters, what began as various educational programmes filling the service delivery gaps of the national and local government, developed over time into modes of resistance to productions of persistent inequity of educational outcomes. The praxis cycles transformed educational programmes into apparatuses of power (Tamboukou, 1999), which contributed to destabilisation of differentiation educational outcomes between non-fee and fee-paying schools.

AR tempers action with theory. Community-based action research (CPBR) is a form of AR that constitutes a participatory method of AR. Authors have argued for degrees of community participation in AR (Brown, 2022). For example, AR can be placed on the one end of a continuum, representing researcher-led utilitarian and problem-solving approaches. Participatory AR exists on the other end of the continuum, representing more community-led emancipatory or transformative action (Key et al., 2019). Holkup et al. (2004) note that the various forms of AR have a common ontological paradigm, one of acknowledging the ecological context and embracing participative reality; "they rely on an epistemology of experiential and participative knowing, informed by critical subjectivity and participatory transaction" (p. 2). The authors identify and describe eight features of CPBR, as captured below:

> (a) recognizing the community as a unit of identity, (b) building on the strengths and resources of the community, (c) promoting co-learning among research partners, (d) achieving a balance between research and action that mutually benefits both science and the community, (e) emphasizing the relevance of community-defined problems, (f) employing a cyclical and iterative process to develop and maintain community/research partnerships, (g) disseminating knowledge gained from the CBPR project to and by all involved partners, and (h) requiring long-term commitment on the part of all partners (Holkup et al., 2004, p. 2 -3).

GADRA Education's counter-discourse is characterised by principles of participation, people-centredness, social justice, cultural sensitivity, and empowerment. They deploy a

community-based as well as strength-based approaches to action, displaying long-term commitment to Makhanda and iterative processes to sharpen their educational programmes. As noted in the case study chapter, their actions are often based on careful situational analyses. Then, they place a high premium on partnerships with community members as well as leaders and Faculty members at RU. Although there is some evidence of their action being guided by theory, for example theories of development and bilingualism, there is greater scope for the Organisation to improve their research and knowledge dissemination practices. This informs a key focus of this study: the operationalisation of the principles of community psychology to explore the contributions that can be made at the nexus of theory and practice in working towards social change (Kagan, 2020), as well as the focus on dissemination throughout the research process, to organisational members, at conferences, at colloquia and through publications - as described in Chapter Five.

10.3.4. Community Psychology

I argue that GADRA's organisational practice aligns with an Africa(n)-centred community psychology perspective. Through African-centred practice that is deeply situated over time (Ratele, et al., 2022) what we see emerging is what I formulate as *situated praxis*. Freire (1972) described praxis as "reflection and action upon the world in order to transform it" (p. 52). Situated praxis is a mode of intervention that goes beyond reflections (Hoffman-Kipp et al., 2003). It is theoretical, applied, and political.

Situated praxis is active at the interface of theory and practice. It draws on ideas of situated learning (e.g., Lave & Wenger, 1991), highlighting its social and interactive nature. Praxis derives from experiences that are then guided by informed judgments made in connection with theoretical principles that vary considerably according to the particulars of the situation. GADRA demonstrates that this mode of practice is also deeply committed to collaboration with a variety of members in a particular cultural-historic environment. Because it operates as a mechanism of resistance, it inherently has a social justice orientation. Its application is simultaneously targeted at social, material and economic levels, as well as subjective levels (Hook, 2004; Ratele et al., 2022). An astute socio-contextual awareness of features of a particular landscape is necessary to inform ongoing, reflexive, action. This apparatus of

resistance (Tamboukou, 1999) was operated in Makhanda's educational landscape by GADRA Education. Its function as an apparatus of resistance, beyond a form of practice, became particularly evident during the years of the regeneration phase. Elements of community psychology transformative praxis (Kivell et al., 2023) became identified as various educational stakeholders in the landscape enacted shared values and visions for Makhanda as a centre of educational excellence (Amner, 2024; Krige, 2024).

I thus formulate situated praxis as the operationalisation of the principles and values of community psychology for transformative purposes (Kivell et al., 2022). It is *situated* because there is great awareness of the socio-contextual characteristics of a particular community, as well as the astute awareness of the matrices of culture, history, socio-economics and the politics within that community. It is *praxis* because it is the application of theory through action, tempered by reflexivity to further sharpen social action for transformative change in the community setting.

It appears that GADRA's situatedness and modes of intervention, forming capital for bonding and bridging purposes within the public schooling community in Makhanda, seem to have supported the programmatic success. Most importantly, and possibly unlike other NGOs that may be more distant from their constituencies, it is GADRA's credibility amongst community members: learners, parents, principals, educators and local people that is noteworthy. Simultaneously, they have gained credibility with structures and leaders within RU as well. These have applications for community-based education-development practitioners.

10.4. Chapter summary

In GADRA's annual reports, the discourse of crisis produced the legitimation for their existence, action and embeddedness in Makhanda. The discourse of transformation informed their modes of support across primary, secondary and higher education. The discourse of access and participation constructed GADRA as a bridge and link between phases of education. The discourse of collaborative partnerships enabled solidarity between state and non-state actors towards educational change. Finally, the discourse of development positioned development at a grassroots level. These constellations formed GADRA counter-discourse which produced the Organisation's apparatus of resistance. In this chapter, I formulated this as a situated praxis.

In the closing chapter that follows, I return back to the study's objectives and consider the wider applications of a situated praxis for education-development practitioners concerned with transformative change in their educational locales.

CHAPTER 11: CONCLUSION

In this concluding chapter, I return to the study's objectives as well as the research questions. This case study sought to situate GADRA Education within South Africa's socio-political context; explore the ways the Organisation deploys community-engaged praxis to contribute to educational and social change in Makhanda; articulate its values and principles, and explore the extent of their alignment with those of community psychology; and trace the ways in which the Organisation's various programmes have emerged over time. At the interface of the education-development nexus in South Africa, I articulate closing thoughts about the position of GADRA Education in the small city of Makhanda in the Eastern Cape. Insights from this study are valuable in contributing to dialogues about transformative change in public schooling in the country. The findings also have value for education-development practitioners regarding the techniques and modes by which to operate in solidarity with the persistently marginalised majority in education.

11.1. The place of GADRA Education

What I aimed to do during the course of this study was to understand the position of GADRA Education as a technology of power (Foucault, 1978). Against the backdrop of persistent educational inequity, I sought to gain an understanding of how one of the oldest NGOs in Makhanda operates within a differentiated educational landscape. Chapter One provided a techno-political account of the structure of South Africa's education system, providing "a historical awareness of our present circumstance" (Foucault, 1982, p. 778). The nationwide differentiations between public and private schooling, and further between non-fee and fee-paying public schools was evident in the Makhanda landscape as well. Chapter Two identified a nexus, produced by socio-politically driven evolutions in national discourse in South Africa, wherein education and development are contemporaneously co-constructed. This case study of the education-focussed NGO in the Makhanda educational landscape reveals that GADRA has functioned as a technology of resistance (Tamboukou, 2008) against colonial productions of differentiated educational outcomes. GADRA, as a technology of power, has operated to close those differentiated outcomes and increase access and participation between

phases. Their work has also contributed to broader efforts in the landscape to revive schooling in Makhanda, as per the VCI (Rhodes News, 2022).

Whereas education NGOs in Makhanda have been criticised for producing a "lucky few" and thus maintaining, rather than dismantling, educational inequity between sub-systems in Makhanda (Nomsenge, 2019), Westaway (2023) illustrated the growing numbers in the matric cohort in Makhanda annually. The author also illustrated the improving retention rate and quality of the exit-level outcomes. Importantly, Westaway (2023) argued that where the Bachelor- level passes come from in the system is notably transformative: two of Makhanda's non-fee paying schools appeared in the city's Top Three achieving schools in 2022. More broadly, Westaway's (2023) analysis, discussed in the second chapter, illustrated closing gaps between educational outcomes between sub-systems in the city.

As a long-standing institution in Makhanda, GADRA's activities across the education system, addressing prominent challenges of schooling, reinforced its credibility amongst various stakeholders in the city's educational landscape. This was achieved primarily via their modes of support: WSS, which operates in primary public schooling, and GMS and Nine-Tenths, which operate between secondary public schooling and higher education. Unlike development technologies that reinscribe differentiations, GADRA as a technology has contributed to destabilising outcomes, which had rendered the majority of Makhanda youths barred from participation in the city's institutions of higher education. This has contributed to broader destabilisation of differentiation across the public schooling landscape, wherein both the city's non-fee and non-fee paying schools contribute to so-called quality exit-level outcomes.

Initially, it came into existence as an anti-apartheid NGO (Habib & Taylor, 1999). It was established to fill the gaps in education service delivery to the oppressed majority, as well as advocate for education for all under one ministry (Westaway, 2017). In its present-day positioning, amongst a dense network of education institutions in the small city, the findings from this study show that GADRA has leveraged various forms of social capital (bonding, bridging and, importantly, linking capital) (Claridge, 2018) to contribute to dismantling educational inequity in the city. Rather than usurping the role of the state by advancing NGO-led educational development, GADRA has leveraged techniques produced by the collaborative

partnerships discourse, wherein non-state and state actors contribute to addressing complex socio-educational challenges.

To enact transformations on itself as a development technology, as well as contribute to changes in Makhanda's educational landscape, GADRA Education deployed the counter-discourses summarised below.

11.2. Counter-discourse at GADRA Education

In Chapter Four, I identified the macro-interactional discourses circulating in South African school education, which were argued to produce the simultaneous passivisation and responsibilisation of South African citizens. The productions of micro-interactional discourses (that is, scarce skills, crisis and privatisation) on learners, and surrounding stakeholders, were argued to interpellated them into responsibilised positions. Within these relations, learners, parents, teachers and individualised schools are expected to make choices and have the agency to make these in spite of contextual realities (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023).

However, there appears to be hope. Foucault's (1982) exposition of discourse as a site of power relations opens up the scope for resistance. As captured in Chapter Ten, although the threat of the depoliticisation of development is ever-present (Nomsenge, 2018b), the analysis revealed that GADRA deployed the discourse of crisis to establish its credibility. This credibility was cultivated amongst a variety of stakeholders, and GADRA positioned itself in solidarity with the persistently marginalised by productions. The discourse of transformation was deployed in direct resistance to the "crisis in education" discourse (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023). The strong circulation of this discourse, particularly during the repositioning phase, repositioned the place of both the NGO and students. The discourse legitimised the existence of GADRA (which was facing threats to financial sustainability at the time), as well as the role of students as agents of change via engaged citizenship (Maistry & Thakrar, 2012).

The strong circulation of the collaborative partnerships discourse was evidenced, particularly during the regeneration phase. Aligned with an Africa(n)-centred community psychology orientation, shared values informed multi-level, multidisciplinary and collective action which was harnessed to effect change in solidarity with the local marginalised majority. Finally, the

discourse of hope, circulating in the biographic interview data, made available technologies of resistance for organisational members. It was through these technologies of resistance (Tamboukou, 2003) that the diverse GADRA membership began to fashion new forms of subjectivity. Community psychology's analytical focus on questions of power and resistance in the constitution of the self was particularly useful in this stage of the research, and the micro-interactional features became identifiable, and are summarised below.

11.3. Situated Praxis as a Technique of Resistance

The Organisation's technique of resistance (Tamboukou, 2008) became identifiable in Phase One of the study. In Chapter Ten, I argued that GADRA's situated praxis, what I formulated as an apparatus of resistance, contributed to destabilising prominent productions in the city's educational landscape. Whilst Phase One of the study, an analysis of their annual reports, revealed the macro-interactional features of this apparatus, Phase Two elucidated its micro-interactional features.

11.3.1. Micro-interactional features of Situated Praxis

During Phase Two of this study, I used the traces of discourse contained in the interview talk as a site to consider the relationship between organisational practices (i.e. what GADRA does) and its members' subjectivity (i.e. what members think or feel), within the material context in which these experiences occur (Willig, 2013). This enabled situated and contextualised kinds of knowledges, what Foucauldian scholars call historical and cultural specificity (Khan & MacEachen, 2021), that revealed the extent to which GADRA's community-engaged practice has been relevant in addressing challenges of and emancipatory (Mavuso et al., 2019) for its members. I use the term "emancipatory" to capture the extent to which GADRA's modes of support were experienced, as voiced by participants, as emancipatory - and the ways in which these experiences were shaped by social, discursive and material power relations

Organisational practice at GADRA had implications for new forms of subjectivity. Members utilised technologies of resistance (Tamboukou, 2003) in the constitution of the self in the context of Makhanda. They spoke of a commitment to the Organisation, and the community in which it exists; they spoke of feelings of support and belonging, being cared for, mutual respect

and trust. Through being accompanied (Watkins, 2015) through GADRA's hope interventions (Cherrington, 2018b), an ethic of care and desire for social action began to grow within members (Kivell et al., 2023). This advanced generations of care, civic engagement, social justice, solidarity with the marginalised as well as practices of the accompaniment of others towards educational development and emancipation (Mavuso, et al. 2019). This was particularly evident in the members' narratives of their experiences with GADRA, and their educational trajectories supported by GADRA's various modes of intervention throughout the education system.

This form of "doing hope with others" (Cherrington, 2018a) could contribute to education-development practitioners' learning. Those seeking to intervene in the life of power that leaves the majority of us "out" of social life, and alienated from ourselves due to the struggles of daily living on the margins. This apparatus has utility for those of us who endure imperatives to do more (i.e. study harder) and achieve more to resist these neo-liberal productions, and move towards our imagined transformed (educational) societies.

11.3.2. Macro-interactional features of Situated Praxis

In addition, I drew on the fields of CBD, CBPR and CP to formulate the macro-interactional (i.e. socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic) features of GADRA's apparatus of resistance. The "community-based" orientation of each of these fields emerges out of resistance to the persistence of what could be argued as persistent colonialism and imperialism productions in the education-development milieu. GADRA's practice was evidenced to be deeply embedded in the Makhanda landscape over time. The Organisation co-constructed themselves with Makhanda and enacted principles of participation, fostering belonging, mutual respect, social action and reflexive learning in a local setting. Their practice was characterised by a commitment to collaborative partnerships in the context of complex socio-contextual challenges that bar local youths from accessing quality education.

Their partners, including international donors, demonstrated an embeddedness and commitment to the educational landscape of Makhanda, over time. This contrasts with UK-Africa development relations whose problematics are widely acknowledged (Dean et al., 2015). The Organisation leveraged multiple forms of social capital (Claridge, 2018) to contribute to the

regeneration of exit-level outcomes of local youths across subsystems. They used network bridging (i.e., linking capital) to resist pervasive productions that leave the majority "out", and enabled access and learning; they also used (interpersonal) bonding capital to facilitate participation between various stakeholders in the Makhanda educational landscape, as well as within the Organisation itself. They thus retain a multi-systems focus, whilst their modes of intervention operate at micro- and meso-system levels (Visser, 2022).

Thus, through African-centred practice that was deeply situated over time and the circulation of values such as social justice, participation, respect for diversity and human development (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2010); as well as key features such as ecological and socio-cultural awareness, social and peer support, collaboration and partnership (Nelson, et al., 2014), GADRA contributed to the destabilisation of poor exit-level outcomes in the Makhanda educational landscape.

GADRA's inception as an anti-apartheid NGO, as well as its responses to prominent social challenges were oftentimes initiated by incisive situational analyses. The situational analyses conducted by the new management at the Organisation in 2010, initiated their phase of repositioning. They identified challenges with student retention across the education system in Makhanda, as well as differentiated exit-level outcomes as key challenges. In response, enacting forms of solidarity with those affected, they devised modes of support operating across primary, secondary, and post-schooling, as well as in higher education.

In their review of the current status of community psychologies and their role in addressing the systemic challenges that arise from intersecting crises affecting the lives of people around the world, Kagan et al. (2020) note that "some Critical Community Psychologies are embracing participative ways of identifying priorities and actions, even seeing Community Psychology as a resource to be used by others" (p. 375). This study illustrates GADRA's practice as notably aligned with the values and principles of community psychology - deploying an Africa(n)-centred (Ratele et al., 2022) orientation in particular. Kivell et al. (2020) call us towards enactments of what they term "community psychology transformative praxis" (p. 1). This aligns with my formulations of a situated praxis. This community psychology perspective, with a focus on power relations, has enabled me to make explicit the techniques that, and modes

by which NGOs can, contribute to impactful community organisation and intervention in the country's education sector.

11.4 Contributions and limitations of the study, and recommendations for future research

As noted above, one of the key strengths of this study was its theoretical orientation to thinking about education. A Foucauldian (1982) formulation of discourse, as well as the operationalisation of the principles of community psychology, made available "another way to go further toward a new economy of power relations... It consists of taking the forms of resistance against different forms of power as a starting point" (p. 329). I used these ways of seeing to review the "crisis in education" discourse in our nation, and identified pockets of counter-knowledge about the state of and possibilities within South African education (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023). Further, I used this orientation to identify practices of resistance in education, and begin to identify the conditions that cultivate educational and social change. The exploration of the place of GADRA, its techniques, values and modes of doing revealed counter-discourse in education-development. This exploration also made visible an apparatus (Tamboukou, 2008) that can be used by education-development practitioners to contribute to the dismantling of educational inequity hinged on collaborative partnerships and situated praxis.

In addition, amongst the strong critiques of developmental activities in Africa, and Makhanda (Nomsenge, 2018; 2019), this study demonstrated the means by which NGOs can transform themselves, and contribute to engendering hope by working in solidarity with those experiencing sustained marginalisation. I offer formulations of a situated praxis as a method by which to do so.

A further strength of the study is its contribution to dialogues about transformational education. Specifically, I offer insights about situated educational change in response to the socio-educational challenges of the Eastern Cape. This study contributes to the interdisciplinary Doctoral Fellowship, supported by the DHET in South Africa. Together with other scholars on the collaborative project between Rhodes University, the University of Fort Hare and Queen's University Belfast, by this work I contribute to challenge-led research, which contributes

knowledge about impactful action and research in education in the Eastern Cape. This study contributes to transformative knowledges from "here" (Ratele, 2019).

One of the expressed "needs" of the Organisation is the dissemination of its work for advocacy purposes. Through this explorative case study of its work, I have contributed to their goals of making their techniques and modes of intervention explicit. This will enable other practitioners to consider the applicability of these techniques and modes of support in their locales. It also provides a framework for GADRA to articulate its work, as well as work towards advancing it.

It has been argued that case studies have limited replicability because of the particularities of the cultural-historic environment under investigation (Gomm et al., 2000). Although I advocate for the analytical generalisability (Yin, 2003) of the techniques and modes of intervention identified, I do so with the caveat that these were identified within Makhanda's educational landscape at a particular socio-political moment. Secondly, the two units of analysis were relatively small-scale and also constrain the generalisability of the findings. For future research, I would recommend a broader and larger data set. Further archival data could be utilised as well as a broader sample of members of the Makhanda educational landscape (rather than limited to GADRA members) sharing their experiences of GADRA. There is scope to engage Faculty members who participate in the Bridging Programme; members who formed part of the Principals Forums and Makhanda's Circle of Unity; youths who could not enrol at GMS; and a wider pool of those stakeholders at GADRA.

Most notably, I recommend that the findings of this study are advanced by applying change laboratory methods (Engestrom, 2001) to GADRA's modes of support. For post-doctoral work, I intend to conduct a multi-activity systems analysis (Engestrom, 2001) of GADRA's modes of support. A third sub-unit, as captured in Figure 13 below, is recommended as an extension to the work of this study.
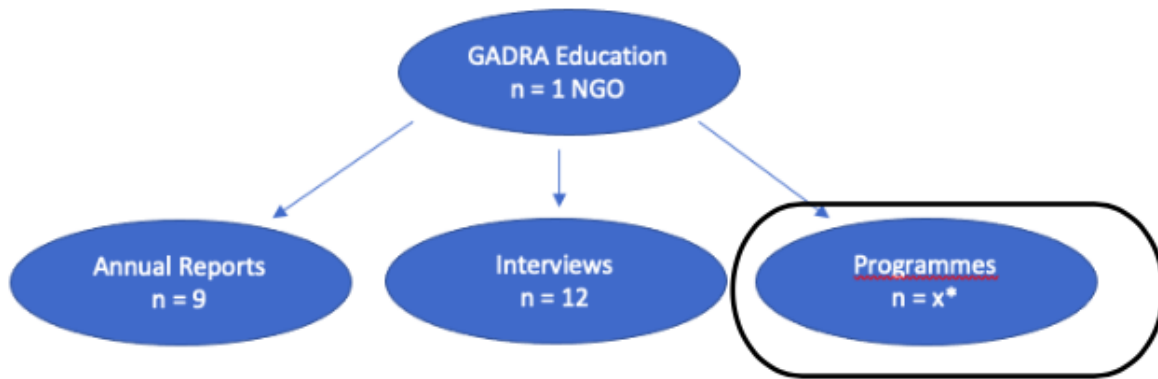
Figure 13: Multi-activity systems analysis of GADRA's modes of support.

I hope that this will enable the identification of developmental opportunities for the Organisation, as well as opportunities for inter-organisational learning (Engestrom, 2001), and contribute to the advancement of the GADRA's advocacy efforts.

By way of concluding, this case study illustrates that psychology can be a useful site from which to think about educational, and ultimately social, change. The operationalisation of the values and principles of Africa(n)-centred orientation to community psychology can make important contributions at the nexus of theory and practice in working towards educational change. This potentially has transnational value, as we demonstrate situated forms of practice and knowledge. There remains scope to better specify these techniques of resistance in this study. This work, moving towards further contributing to shaping our imagined educational futures, remains unfinished.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Gatekeeper permission

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Grahamstown, 6140

gadra EDUCATION

18 February 2021

To whom it may concern at Rhodes University

Confirmation of Interaction with Ms Nqobile Msomi pertaining to her proposed PhD Project on GADRA Education

I hereby confirm that Ms Msomi has been proactive and consistent in engaging with me about her proposed PhD research, which she intends to implement in collaboration with GADRA. As the Manager of the organisation, I have the authority and responsibility to make decisions in relation to GADRA's support for the project. We are most certainly in favor of it proceeding.

Most recently, on 17 February 2021, Ms Msomi raised certain key ethical dimensions of her research. Amongst other things, we reached the following understandings:

i. Ms Msomi and GADRA will compile a MOU at the start of the research process. This agreement will guide the process.

ii. There are some challenges to the anonymity of participants, particularly those that are office bearers at GADRA, but I am satisfied that we will utilise appropriate strategies (namely, member-checking and the non-use of demographic information) to mitigate and manage these challenges.

iii. The specific educational programmes to be analysed in phase 3 of the research will emerge from phases 1 & 2. There will thus be a second round of informed consent specifying the details of phase 3 (noting which of GADRA's programmes will be analysed).

We urge the authorities at Rhodes to grant the necessary approvals so that Ms Msomi's project can commence in all earnest.

Yours sincerely

Ashley Westaway, GADRA Education Manager

Rhodes University
PO Box 94
Makhanda
6140

The Manager
GADRA Education

March 2021

Dear Dr Ashley Westaway,

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH WITH GADRA EDUCATION

As you know, via our preliminary informal discussions, I would like to conduct case-study research of GADRA. I seek to tell the story of GADRA, its impact in Makhanda (and beyond) as well as to demonstrate the multi-activity systems of the organisation.

The proposed topic of the research is: ***A Case Study of GADRA's Community-Engaged Praxis for Educational Transformation.***

The objectives are to:
     i.   Situate GADRA within the South African socio-political landscape;
     ii.   Articulate the values and principles of the organisation, making links to those of community psychology;
     iii.   Demonstrate GADRA's community-engaged praxis which contributes to social change;
     iv.   Trace the development of the organisation's programmes and partnerships; and
     v.   Identifying opportunities for inter-organisational expansive learning.

I am hereby seeking your permission to work with GADRA for case-study research in fulfillment of a PhD in Psychology; specifically, I seek your consent to the following phases of the research:

1. To access and analyses the organisation's annual reports, between 2012 – 2019, and interview board members of the organisation (preferably the manager and chairperson, who author the reports);
2. To conduct a total of 10 individual interviews with identified GADRA members; and
3. To develop illustrations of GADRA's multiple-activity systems. This will require a focus group consultation with relevant members of the organisation involved in the conceptualisation and implementation of identified programmes. The programmes to be analysed at this phase of the research will emerge from the above-outlined phases. A second round of informed consent, specifying the details of this final phase, will follow after the individual interviews.

1

In addition, I request your collaboration in developing a memorandum of understanding (MOU) between the organisation and myself, as the researcher. This MOU is intended to guide the various phases of the research; to establish expected deliverables throughout the research process and an agreement regarding the dissemination of the findings; as well as managing the use of the name of the organisation and participants to mitigate the potential risk of reputational damage and to anonymity respectively. I also humbly request the organisation to disctribute information about the study to its network to enable members to contact me to volunteer to participate.

For the aspects of the project that involve interviews and/or focus group discussions, these sessions will be audio-recorded and the recordings and transcriptions will be securely stored. To protect the privacy of participants, their contributions will be anonymised and no demographic information will be recorded. In addition, data to be published will be sent to participants for member-checking.

To assist you in reaching a decision, I attach to this letter:
* A copy of the provisional ethical clearance certificate issued by RUESC
* A copy of the information letter and letter of consent to be sent to and completed by participants of the study.
* A copy of the single-question inducing narrative (SQUIN) question to be asked during the individual interview phase.
* A copy of the focus group consultation guide.

Should you require any further information, please do not hesitate to contact me. My contact details are as follows: Ms N. Msomi n.msomi@ru.ac.za or 046 603 7417

I am being supervised by Emeritus Professor Jacqui Akhurst. Her contact details are as follows: Prof. J. Akhurst j.akhurst@ru.ac.za or 046 603 8500

You can also contact Rhodes University's Research Ethics Co-ordinator, Mr Siyanda Manqele, on s.manqele@ru.ac.za or 046 603 7727

In addition to the deliverables that will be agreed upon, I undertake to provide you with a copy of the completed dissertation upon the completion of the study.

Your permission to conduct this study will be greatly appreciated, and I look forward to hearing from you by email.

Yours sincerely,

Nqobile Msomi

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Appendix 2: RU-HEC ethical approval

Rhodes University Human Ethics Committee
PO Box 94, Makhanda, 6140, South Africa
t: +27 (0) 46 603 7727
f: +27 (0) 46 603 8822
e: s.manqele@ru.ac.za
NHREC Registration number: RC-241114-045

https://www.ru.ac.za/researchgateway/ethics/

12/03/2021

Ms Nqobile Msomi

Psychology

Email: N.Msomi@ru.ac.za

Review Reference: 2021-4863-5961

Dear Prof. Jacqueline Akhurst

Title: A Case Study of GADRA's Community-Engaged Praxis for Educational Transformation

Principal Investigator: Prof. Jacqueline Akhurst

Collaborators: Ms Nqobile Msomi,

This letter confirms that the above research proposal has been reviewed and **APPROVED** by the Rhodes University Human Ethics Committee (RU-HEC). Your Approval number is: 2021-4863-5961

Approval has been granted for 1 year. An annual progress report will be required in order to renew approval for an additional period. You will receive an email notifying when the annual report is due.

Please ensure that the ethical standards committee is notified should any substantive change(s) be made, for whatever reason, during the research process. This includes changes in investigators. Please also ensure that a brief report is submitted to the ethics committee on the completion of the research. The purpose of this report is to indicate whether the research was conducted successfully, if any aspects could not be completed, or if any problems arose that the ethical standards committee should be aware of. If a thesis or dissertation arising from this research is submitted to the library's electronic theses and dissertations (ETD) repository, please notify the committee of the date of submission and/or any reference or cataloging number allocated.

Sincerely,

Prof Arthur Webb

Chair: Rhodes University Human Ethics Committee, RU-HEC

cc: Mr. Siyanda Manqele - Ethics Coordinator

Appendix 3: Phase One Informed Consent

<div align="center">

INFORMED CONSENT DECLARATION
Individual Interviews with Board Members

</div>

Project Title: ***A Case Study of GADRA's Community-Engaged Praxis for Educational Transformation.***

Ms N. Msomi from the Department of Psychology, Rhodes University has requested my permission to participate in the above-mentioned research project.

The nature and the purpose of the research project and of this informed consent declaration have been explained to me in a language that I understand.

I am aware that:

1. The purpose of the interview is to give me an opportunity to provide further commentary on the initial themes and discursive constructs identified in the analysis of the annual reports, 2012 - 2019.
2. The researcher is conducting the research as part of requirements for a PhD in Psychology at Rhodes University. The researcher may be contacted on +2746 603 7417 (office) or n.msomi@ru.ac.za (email). The research project has been approved by the relevant ethics committee(s), and is under the supervision of Emeritus Prof. Jacqui Akhurst in the Psychology Department at Rhodes University, who may be contacted on 046 603 8500 (office) or j.akhurst@ru.ac.za (email). The University's Research Ethics Co-ordinator may be contacted on s.manqele@ru.ac.za (email) or 046 603 7727 (office).
3. The Rhodes University Ethics Committee has given ethical clearance to this research project (number: 2021-4863-5961) and I may request to see the clearance certificate.
4. By participating in this research project I will be contributing towards benefits to the researcher in compiling a dissertation towards a PhD in Psychology. There may be reputational benefits for the researcher and Rhodes University as well as GADRA Education from the dissemination of findings from this project. There may also be benefits to GADRA Education if people and organisations from other settings might want to make contact with them to explore the work being done.
5. All participants must be 18 years and older at the time of the interview.
6. My participation will involve taking part in one interview session. This interview will be about 30 – 45 minutes during which I will be asked to comment on various aspects identified in the annual reports.
7. The interview I will participate in will be audio-recorded. The interview will take place either face-to-face, telephonically or via an online communication platform, like Microsoft Teams or Zoom. The researcher and I will negotiate an appropriate platform.

8. My participation is entirely voluntary and should I at any stage (up to the submission of the draft chapter) wish to withdraw from participating further, I may do so without any negative consequences.

9. There may be risks associated with my participation in the project. I am aware that:

> i. it might be embarrassing to read about my experiences; or I may be concerned about GADRA's reputation and/or programmes if there are any potentially negative comments.
>
> ii. the following steps have been taken to prevent the risks: your contributions will be anonymised and no demographic information will be recorded. Sections of the data to be published will be forwarded to you to allow you to review your contributions, clarify meaning and further anonymise inputs where necessary. In addition, the writing up of findings will be done in consultation with organisation, according to the memorandum of understanding.

10. Should I be asked to answer questions of a personal nature, I can choose not to answer any questions about aspects of my life which I am not willing to disclose.

11. I am encouraged to raise any concerns I have about my participation in the study with Ms N. Msomi. Should the interview cause me any distress or raise any other consequences as a result of my participation with the researcher, I will voice these to the researcher and have these addressed to my satisfaction. You may also request a debriefing session with Ms N. Msomi who is a registered Counselling Psychologist. Alternatively, counselling services from the Psychology Clinic may be arranged free of charge. The Psychology Clinic may be contacted on 046 603 8502 or psychologyclinic@ru.ac.za.

12. Any further questions that I might have concerning the research or my participation will be answered by Ms N. Msomi via telephone (046 603 7417) or email (n.msomi@ru.ac.za).

13. By signing this informed consent declaration I am not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

14. A copy of this informed consent declaration will be given to me, and the original will be kept on record.

I,...*(insert participant name and surname),* have read the above information and I am aware of this document's contents. I have asked all questions that I wished to ask and these have been answered to my satisfaction. I fully understand what is expected of me during the research.

I have not been pressurised in any way and I voluntarily agree to participate in the above- mentioned project.

....
Participant's signature   Date

Appendix 4: Phase Two Informed Consent

INFORMED CONSENT DECLARATION
Individual Interviews with stakeholders / alumni / donors

Project Title: ***A Case Study of GADRA's Community-Engaged Praxis for Educational Transformation.***

Ms N. Msomi from the Department of Psychology, Rhodes University has requested my permission to participate in the above-mentioned research project.

The nature and the purpose of the research project and of this informed consent declaration have been explained to me in a language that I understand.

I am aware that:

1. The purpose of the interview is to give me an opportunity to describe my experiences with GADRA Education as a stakeholder / alumni / donor (*please circle relevant membership).*

2. The researcher is conducting the research as part of requirements for a PhD in Psychology at Rhodes University. The researcher may be contacted on +2746 603 7417 (office) or n.msomi@ru.ac.za (email). The research project has been approved by the relevant ethics committee(s), and is under the supervision of Emeritus Prof. Jacqui Akhurst in the Psychology Department at Rhodes University, who may be contacted on 046 603 8500 (office) or j.akhurst@ru.ac.za (email). The University's Research Ethics Co-ordinator may be contacted on s.manqele@ru.ac.za (email) or 046 603 7727 (office).

3. The Rhodes University Ethics Committee has given ethical clearance to this research project (number: 2021-4863-5961) and I may request to see the clearance certificate.

4. By participating in this research project I will be contributing towards benefits to the researcher in compiling a dissertation towards a PhD in Psychology. There may be reputational benefits for the researcher and Rhodes University as well as GADRA Education from the dissemination of findings from this project. There may also be benefits to GADRA Education if people and organisations from other settings might want to make contact with them to explore the work being done.

5. All participants must be 18 years and older at the time of the interview.

6. My participation will involve taking part in three interview sessions. The first session will be divided into two sessions, both on the same day. The researcher will meet me a negotiated time for the first session. This first session will be about 30 minutes during which I will be asked to describe my experiences with, and stories of, GADRA. After I have told my story the researcher will temporarily end the interaction. The researcher will spend a few minutes developing follow-up questions to ask me based on the stories I have narrated. After no more than 15 minutes, the researcher will call me again for the second session. Session three will take place after the researcher has transcribed the recordings from sessions one and two and I will be asked further questions relating to my initial contributions. The purpose of the third and final session is to clarify certain aspects, as well as to gather missing information.

7. The interview sessions I will participate in will be audio-recorded. These interviews will take place either face-to-face, telephonically or via an online communication platform, like Microsoft Teams or Zoom. The researcher and I will negotiate an appropriate platform.

8. My participation is entirely voluntary and should I at any stage (up to the submission of the draft chapter) wish to withdraw from participating further, I may do so without any negative consequences.

9. There may be risks associated with my participation in the project. I am aware that:

   i. the following medium-level risks are associated with my participation: that it might be embarrassing to read about my experiences; or I may be concerned about GADRA's reputation and/or programmes if there are any potentially negative comments.

   ii. the following steps have been taken to prevent the risks: your contributions will be anonymised and no demographic information will be recorded. Sections of the data to be published will be forwarded to you to allow you to review your contributions, clarify meaning and further anonymise inputs where necessary. In addition, the writing up of findings will be done in consultation with organisation, according to the memorandum of understanding.

10. Should I be asked to answer questions of a personal nature, I can choose not to answer any questions about aspects of my life which I am not willing to disclose.

11. I am encouraged to raise any concerns I have about my participation in the study with Ms N. Msomi. Should the interview cause me any distress or raise any other consequences as a result of my participation with the researcher, I will voice these to the researcher and have these addressed to my satisfaction. You may also request a debriefing session with Ms N. Msomi who is a registered Counselling Psychologist. Alternatively, counselling services from the Psychology Clinic may be arranged free of charge. The Psychology Clinic may be contacted on 046 603 8502 or psychologyclinic@ru.ac.za.

12. Any further questions that I might have concerning the research or my participation will be answered by Ms N. Msomi via telephone (046 603 7417) or email (n.msomi@ru.ac.za).

13. By signing this informed consent declaration I am not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

14. A copy of this informed consent declaration will be given to me, and the original will be kept on record.

I,...*(insert participant name and surname),* have read the above information and I am aware of this document's contents. I have asked all questions that I wished to ask and these have been answered to my satisfaction. I fully understand what is expected of me during the research.

I have not been pressurised in any way and I voluntarily agree to participate in the above- mentioned project.

....
Participant's signature   Date

Appendix 5: Transcriber-translator confidentiality agreement

CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT:
Transcription Services

I, _____, (name of transcriber) agree to maintain full confidentiality in regards to any and all audio recordings and documentation received from ___Nqobile Msomi___ (name of researcher) related to his/her (circle appropriate) research study on *A Case Study of GADRA's Community-Engaged Praxis for Educational Transformation*.

Furthermore, I agree:

1. To hold in strictest confidence the identification of any individual that may be inadvertently revealed during the transcription of audio-recorded interviews, or in any associated documents;

2. To not make copies of any audio-recordings or computerized files of the transcribed interview texts, unless specifically requested to do so by _Nqobile Msomi_ (name of researcher).

3. To store all study-related audio recordings and materials in a safe, secure location as long as they are in my possession;

4. To return all audio-recordings and study-related documents to _Nqobile Msomi_ (name of researcher) in a complete and timely manner;

5. To delete all electronic files containing study-related documents from my computer hard drive and any backup devices; and

6. To the payment rate of R50.00 per hour (page) for the transcription of the audio-recorded interviews.

I am aware that I can be held legally liable for any breach of this confidentiality agreement, and for any harm incurred by individuals if I disclose identifiable information contained in the audio recordings and/or files to which I will have access.

Transcriber's name (printed) _____

Transcriber's signature _____

Date _____

1

Rhodes University, Research Office, Ethics
Ethics Coordinator: ethics-commitee@ru.ac.za
t: +27 (0) 46 603 7727 f: +27 (0) 86 616 7707
Room 220, Main Admin Building, Drostdy Road, Grahamstown, 6139

Appendix 6: Cover page of published journal article (Msomi & Akhurst, 2023)

Prominent discourses in South African education from the perspective of community psychology: Challenges and opportunities for youth liberation and well-being

Nqobile Nomonde Msomi

Psychology Department, Faculty of Humanities, Rhodes University, Makhanda, South Africa
nqobilemsomi08@gmail.com,
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Jacqueline Akhurst

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Abstract

Community psychology takes an explicitly political stance by identifying where power lies and how it is exercised in ways that maintain privilege and discrimination against particular groups. From this perspective, we consider the challenges facing school education in South Africa today. Education is positioned as an important site for the liberation and well-being of our country's majority. However, the state of education is marked by persistent inequalities. From a Foucauldian perspective, this paper presents a meta-synthesis of school education literature and identifies prominent discourses circulating around the country's basic education sector: the discourses of democracy, human rights, and good governance; rights; development; scarce skills; the crisis in education; and privatisation are discussed. We consider the role of these discourses in the wider social processes of legitimation and power in education, and subjective implications for youth. We note the various ways in which discourses responsibilise youth and surrounding stakeholders, and how others position them as resources for the neoliberal capitalist economy. We argue for the role of counter-discourses and a collective emancipatory perspective to advance transformational educational change and embrace opportunities in the future.

Appendix 7: A Table of the Action Orientation of GADRA's Annual Reports

Annual Reports	Action Orientation GADRA's techniques of counter-resistance				
The repositioning phase (2012 - 2015)					
2012	partnership building		(individualised) social change		volunteerism
2013	co-construction of GHT-GADRA-RU	support and expansion			community psychology principles undergirding actions
2014	GADRA 's credibility & reputation	GADRA's (i) support work and (ii) advocacy work: parents & principals	GADRA's bridging capital (i) academic performance and (ii)community engagement	students' (i) academic life and (ii)community life	community psychology principles
2015	GADRA's credibility	Prioritisation	Advocacy		situated praxis
The positioning phase (2016 - 2021)					
2016	GADRA's credibility and expertise	educational outcomes of GMS & RU students contrast deficit entry-level secondary learners	GADRA as object of transformation	GADRA family / generations	Situated praxis
	RU & VC's prestige	GADRA's (i) bridging capital (ii) service to professionals (iii) enrichment & remediation			volunteerism

2017	GADRA's broad expertise	advocacy and support work	national context	situatedness	longevity / sustainability
	partnership				
2018	expansion of impact	successful educational outcomes	access to HEI, as well as graduation	reflecting on and developing practice / programmes	articulating / specifying practice
2019	expansion of programmes	poor educational landscape: drop-out rate and illiteracy	government failure	growing evidence-based practice	challenging funding environment
2020		poor educational outcomes, compounded by COVID-19	global COVID-19 pandemic	teaching methodologies adapting to COVD-19 environment	challenging funding environment, compounded by COVID-19
2021	partnership	shifting educational outcomes	sustained impacts of COVID-19	reflecting on and developing practice / programmes	
	expansion of impact		access to HEI, as well as graduation	articulating / specifying practice,	