

**Governmentality and disciplinary power: Exploring constitutional values and
democratic citizenship education in post-1994 South Africa**

by

Juliet Paulse

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation, submitted in fulfilment of the degree

MAGISTER EDUCATIONIS (M.Ed.)

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Bloemfontein

January 2019

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I would first like to thank my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ for sustaining me in every way throughout the process of this study. Isaiah 43:2-3, (NIV) “2 When you pass through the waters, I will be with you; and when you pass through the rivers, they will not sweep over you. When you walk through the fire, you will not be burned; the flames will not set you ablaze. 3 For I am the Lord your God, the Holy One of Israel, your Savior; I give Egypt for your ransom, Cush[a] and Seba in your stead.” By Your grace, I have overcome.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to gain critical insights into how the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) (DoE, 2001) contribute toward constructing the envisioned citizen in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (DBE, 2012) Life Orientation Further Education and Training phase.

In this study I construct a conceptual framework based on the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power. In this regard, the concepts of discourse and power/knowledge are also considered. Since discourse informs the power/knowledge addressed and expressed in policy regarding constitutional values, a consideration of this concept assists to make sense of the type of governmentality present in policy. Following this, disciplinary power will show how these concepts work together to exercise power over citizens within state-sponsored schooling. I employ the conceptual framework in conjunction with critical policy analysis (CPA) as an analytical tool to analyse the *White Paper on Education and Training* (RSA, 1995), the *Manifesto of values in education and democracy* (DoE, 2001), and the *National Development Plan: The vision 2030* (NPC, 2011). This analysis provides background for consideration on how the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) (DoE, 2001) are expressed in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (DBE, 2012) Life Orientation FET phase.

The study is exploratory in nature and aims to consider how the constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen in the way in which these values are expressed and addressed in the policies, documents and curriculum policy statement considered. I argue that the participatory duty of a critical citizenry in a democratic dispensation could be pacified through state-sponsored schooling. For this reason, it is vital that citizens in state-sponsored schooling be equipped to critically engage with government's articulation of constitutional values in policy and curriculum policy statements. For the healthy functioning of democracy, the citizen must be allowed to participate fully and critically. For example, creating a space in the curriculum for dialoguing and sharing stories of lived experiences could allow citizens to explore their roles and duties in a democratic dispensation that may go as far as establishing some sense of ownership for the individual and the collective. Foucault's concepts provide critical considerations for how discourse, power/knowledge, governmentality and disciplinary

power have the potential to create a more docile and compliant citizen which conflicts with the foundation values of democracy.

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CHAPTER 1: ORIENTATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The preamble of the South African Constitution (RSA, 1996:Preamble) stipulates that the adoption of the Constitution as the supreme law of the Republic is to:

“Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights;”

This indicates that this new society is to conduct itself on the premise of democratic values. These values are what underpin the constitutional democracy of South Africa. The South African Constitution (RSA, 1996) is the supreme law by which all citizens in the country are governed, and as such it should inform all subsequent policies and legislation. Van Heerden (1996:35) states that “[w]hen the new constitutional order came into existence in 1994, the concept of a supreme constitution was introduced and brought an end to the notion of parliamentary supremacy.” It was envisioned that, through the Constitution, abuse of parliamentary power and authority would be restricted. This would furthermore ensure that the brutality of the Apartheid regime would not be repeated.

Prior to 1994 South Africa was a country saturated by oppressive legislation under the apartheid regime. Laws were created for segregating people based on their race. As a result, the racial categorisation by the government lead to unequal treatment of the citizens of South Africa. Inequalities of the past therefore necessitated the need for establishing the goal of common citizenship in the new democratic dispensation.

Within the democratic dispensation, citizenship is defined in the South African Constitution (1996: Section 3) as:

a common South African citizenship.

(2) All citizens are -

(a) equally entitled to the rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship; and

(b) equally subject to the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

Within the South African constitutional democracy, the term ‘citizenship’ therefore “reflects two distinct formulations: citizenship as a legal status (to be a citizen) and citizenship as a practice (to act as a citizen)” (Vilakazi and Mathebula, 2016:198). Given this definition of citizenship within the South African constitutional democracy, the question arises: Who then is responsible for educating citizens in terms of this legal status and in ‘performing’ their constitutionally expected duties? Waghid (2009:104) argues that democratic citizenship entails educating people about their civil, political and social rights. Citizen education should therefore be employed by the state to ensure that citizens understand their legal status and to critically engage with how to practice their duties. Based on this it can be argued that preparing citizens to live in society through formal state-sponsored schooling, is one of the most effective tools governments can use to ensure that certain values are taught to young citizens.

The Constitution stipulates the values that are deemed essential for all citizens. Kader Asmal (DoE, 2001), a former South African minister of education, stated that the *Manifesto of values in education and democracy* (DoE, 2001) (hereafter the *Manifesto*) identifies ten democratic values that stem from the Constitution: democracy, social justice and equity, equality, non-racism and non-sexism, Ubuntu (human dignity), an open society, accountability (responsibility), rule of law, respect and reconciliation. This *Manifesto* serves the purpose of strategically addressing constitutional values within state schooling so that redressing the injustices of the past might be a concerted endeavour. These values, Asmal (DoE, 2001) said, should be continually assessed and discussed, as values cannot be legislated.

Values are fundamental in how human beings choose to conduct themselves in society. It is therefore pivotal to understand the constitutional values that underpin the establishment of a common citizenship in South Africa. It can further be argued that legislation, policy, bills, curricula etc. are imbued with certain values. Doherty (2007:195) states that

“the discourses embedded in policy texts operate to constitute, position, make productive, regulate, moralise and govern the citizen. Such texts are also indelibly marked by hidden conceptions of government, the task of governing, and its associated technologies.”

Doherty entreats the need for critical awareness of how policies can overlook problematic conceptions and implications in its discourse about citizens. The potential danger of state-sponsored schooling taking on the task of citizenship education is that citizens can be indoctrinated. Kallaway

(2010) elaborates on the civic education of whites¹ and non-whites² during Apartheid. He states that through education whites were encouraged to hold an attitude of superiority, which gave validity to their perceived divine right to lead. Since Apartheid laws were created to validate this sense of superiority this was to be accepted. Kallaway (2010:26) further argues that non-whites were meant to be taught, through education, that their duty was being subservient to whites³.

The establishment and implementation of policies that are laden with governmental goals and agendas can potentially have catastrophic effects on a country's citizens. For example, during the apartheid era in South Africa, education consisted of 17 different education systems (Smit and Oosthuizen, 2011). Each education system was "based on race, culture, ethnicity and region" (Smit and Oosthuizen, 2011:34) to account for its main goal of supporting and promoting the segregation policies of the Apartheid regime. Each of these systems were aimed at producing citizens that would comply with the Apartheid laws.

Sutrop (2015:192) points out that teachers, schools, curriculum statements, etc. are value laden. She further states that even the selection of subjects chosen to teach to learners are based on a set of value judgements. Considering this, together with the need for democratic values to be taught or transferred to citizens through citizenship education, it is important to consider what the implications are for how constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen within state-sponsored schooling in South Africa. In this regard it is worthwhile to consider how the constitutional values find expression in selected policy documents such as the *White Paper on Education and Training* (RSA, 1995) (hereafter White paper 1), the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) the National Development Plan: Vision for 2030 (NPC, 2012) (hereafter NDP 2030) and the Curriculum and Policy Statement for Life Orientation Further Education and Training phase (DBE, 2012) (hereafter CAPS LO FET) and the citizen that is envisioned therein.

¹The term White was used to describe races of Afrikaner or European descent who were considered as superior during Apartheid. I employ these terms as they were used in apartheid legislation.

² The term Non-whites was used to describe various races in South Africa during Apartheid not of Afrikaner or European descent. I am aware that this term is problematic as it perpetuates the notion that being white is the norm.

³ "There is no place for the Bantu in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. Until now he has been subjected to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him green pastures of European society in which he was not allowed to graze" (Verwoerd 1954:24).

1.2 RATIONALE AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Constitutional values stem from the supreme law that governs South Africa. Abdi (2008:157-159) explains that because liberal democracy is a system that is (fairly) new to most African democracies, citizenship education is essential for enabling citizens to access their participatory power effectively. He further states that in many African countries' democracy has not been properly contextualized, often due to illiberal governments (not excluding the influence of colonialism and neo-colonialism) that do not practice 'true' democracy. Therefore, it could be argued that citizenship education should be a serious endeavour to allow a country's citizens to be critical of not only their legal status as determined by the Constitution but also of how they practice their duties as citizens.

Vilakazi and Mathebula (2016:198) assert that both "ancient and modern conceptions of citizenship (within a democratic society) encourage active participation." I would argue that being a critically engaged citizen should be a prerequisite for active democratic participation. In the general aims of CAPS LO FET (2012:4) it is stipulated that learners are to be prepared for "meaningful participation in society as citizens of a free country." Here it is important to ask what the building blocks are in preparing citizens for meaningful participation. I argue that constitutional values expressed within CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) should remain open for discussion to encourage critical engagement. As previously stated in the introduction to the *Manifesto*, Asmal, (DoE, 2001) posited that values expressed therein should continually be assessed and discussed, as values cannot be legislated. Nieuwenhuis (2007:62) agrees that the *Manifesto* is merely a document to aid in further dialogue and discussion on durable values in education. He further states that these values are not to be imposed on learners, but should rather be a starting point for debate and discussion. Therefore, creating opportunities for critical engagement for citizens will enable learners, educators and other stakeholders at school level to practice active participation as their democratic right.

It is also important to note the impact of policy on citizenship education. Having been operating within a democratic dispensation for only the past twenty-five years there is still much to learn as an emerging democracy. Due to the complexities of transformative processes towards democracy, the previous governmental structure likely holds credence within state-based schooling. This necessitated a radical change in various policies to aid in the establishment of a democratic dispensation. Mettler and Soss (2004: 62) assert that public policy firstly offers a particular framing, often influenced by interest groups, of a specific issue and suggested course of action as a solution. Secondly, it has the potential to affect how these issues are viewed and interpreted by citizens by the way issues are described as emphatic. Thirdly, public policy is expressive and therefore holds

power to influence the way the citizens evaluate the government and its actions. Moreover, Flavin and Griffin (2009:556) state that the decisions governments make concerning policy impacts citizenship participation. The findings presented by Mettler and Soss (2004) as well as Flavin and Griffin (2009) affirm that policy directly impacts and influences the participation of citizens in a political system.

Since the citizen plays such an important role in democracy, it will be beneficial to explore how Foucault's concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power (discussed under the conceptual framework) could help critique the implications for how the constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen within state schooling in South Africa. In this study this was done on a policy and curriculum statement level. Arguably, it is important to gain a better understanding of the role of citizenship education in South Africa, given our history. A better understanding could enable citizens to participate in critique on how constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen to grapple with the implications of this and ultimately how state-sponsored schooling influences the individual citizen and her identity as a South African.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION AND SUB-QUESTIONS

How do the constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen in the CAPS (2012) Life Orientation FET phase?

- 1.3.1 How can the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power be employed as a conceptual framework to critically engage with the expression of constitutional values in school-based citizenship education in post-1994 South Africa?
- 1.3.2 How can the principles of critical policy analysis be employed in conjunction with the conceptual framework to function as an analytical tool in this study?
- 1.3.3 How do the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability find expression in state-sponsored school-based citizenship as expressed in White Paper 1, the *Manifesto* and the NDP 2030?
- 1.3.4 How might the analytical tool developed in questions 1.3.1 and 1.3.2 be used to analyse the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) present in CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012)?
- 1.3.5 What are the implications for how the constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) in light of the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power?

1.4 RESEARCH AIM AND OBJECTIVES

In alignment with my main research question, the aim of this study was to gain critical insights into how the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) construct the envisioned citizen in the CAPS (2012) Life Orientation FET phase in light of the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power.

Based on this, the objectives of the study are:

- 1.4.1 To develop a conceptual framework based on Foucault's concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power to consider the expression of constitutional values in school-based citizenship education in post-1994 South Africa;
- 1.4.2 To derive an analytical framework based on the principles of critical policy analysis and the developed conceptual framework;
- 1.4.3 To provide a context to how the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability find expression in state-sponsored school-based citizenship as expressed in White Paper 1, the *Manifesto* and the NDP 2030;
- 1.4.4 To analyse the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) present in CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012);
- 1.4.5 To comment on the implications of how the constitutional values construct the citizen envisioned in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) phase in light of the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power.

1.5 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

A conceptual framework is the piecing together of concepts to construct a lens or way of thinking through which one wishes to view a study (Bordage, 2009:312). Grant and Osanloo (2014:16) define a conceptual framework as "the researcher's understanding of how the research problem will be explored, the specific direction the research will have to take and the relationship between the different variables in the study". Miles and Huberman (1994:18) provide a more detailed definition explaining that "a conceptual framework explains, either graphically or in narrative form, the main things to be studied – the key factors, constructs or variables – and the presumed relationships among them."

Maxwell (2013:41) asserts that a conceptual framework used for one's research is to be constructed and is not found. He further states that it is made up of various pieces taken from different theories or concepts, but is ultimately drawn together in a coherent manner. It is therefore the researcher who constructs the conceptual lens to explore the phenomena under study.

In constructing the conceptual framework I made use of Jabareen's eight phases (2009:53-55). These include the mapping of the selected data sources; extensive reading and categorisation of the selected data; the identification and naming of concepts; the deconstruction and categorisation of the concepts; the integration of the concepts; the synthesis, re-synthesis, and sense-making; the validation of the conceptual framework; and the rethinking of the framework.

The conceptual framework will be derived from two of Foucault's concepts, namely governmentality and disciplinary power. Foucault's concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power - in analysing how the constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen - is important as they allow for critically engaging with how the government set out to 'construct' the democratic and liberal citizen through education policies and state-sponsored schooling. These concepts will enable me to explore and ascertain how the constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen in the Curriculum Assessments Policy Statements (CAPS) Life Orientation Further Education Training phase (DBE, 2012).

Firstly, governmentality refers to the art / practice of government (Olssen, Codd and O'Neill, 2004:25) and how governments govern, intervene in the population and manage human resources. In relation to governmentality, Foucault (as cited in Olssen et al., 2004:22) considers policies as discourses imbued with "both subjectivity and power relations." Therefore, the production of policy is fundamentally an activity performed by governments (macro-mechanism) through which they seek to structure power relations. Secondly, Schirato, Danaher and Webb (2012: xix) explain that disciplinary power "refers first to the notion of punishment or coercion, and second to the notion of sets of skills and forms of knowledge that must be mastered in order to achieve success in particular fields." Olssen et al. (2004:30-31) further explain that the concept of disciplinary power is the use of micro-mechanisms or techniques of government (e.g. institutions) to gain control over a population through classifying, differentiating, categorising, excluding, including, individualising, hierarchising, identifying and normalizing citizens of liberal governments. Governmentality contributes to how disciplinary power is exercised in so far as it affects how citizens think, act and engage with their roles and duties in a country.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHODS

In the following section I explain the research methodology as well as provide a brief explanation of the research methods selected in line with the methodology, I employed to conduct this study. Clough and Nutbrown (2012:46) state that methodology is the justification for any decisions or assertions made in the study. They further argue that (Clough and Nutbrown, 2012:46) methods facilitate the relationship around research questions and answers provided in part by data; while methodology validates and assures the process of that mediation. In addition, Silverman (2000:79) asserts "a methodology defines how one will go about studying any phenomena" and in relation to this that "methods are specific research techniques" employed to conduct a study. Based on this,

one can deduce that there is a strong link between methodology and methods. In other words, methodology provides the reasons why a study will be done in a particular manner and methods are tools chosen to assist in conducting the proposed research.

1.6.1 A NON-EMPIRICAL APPROACH: THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

McGregor and Murname (2010) define methodology as a division of knowledge that encompasses universal ideologies or truisms of the generation of new knowledge. Further to this, it raises the specific reasoning and philosophical assumptions that underpin “any natural, social or human science study, whether articulated or not” (McGregor and Murname, 2010:2). In other words, methodology discusses how judgement, truth, values and what is considered knowledge informs research. Similarly, Sarma (2012:101) argues that methodology is “the systematic process of investigation in which theory finds its applications; a clear, theoretically informed approach to the production and analysis of data.” A research methodology can therefore be described as a particular philosophical assumption employed in a study to provide systematic direction to find an answer to the research question. This particular study does not involve fieldwork or human participants but is conceptual in nature, making use of a variety of documents. Winstanley (2012:18) argues that studies grounded in theory, literature as well as data gathered from documents do not include gathering data from human participants but “make exclusive use of knowledge and ideas that already exist in written documents” (Winstanley, 2012:18). My research objectives are dependent on the selection, analysis, exploration, evaluation and discussion of theoretical material and as such a theoretical analysis is suitable for my study. Further to this, to gain a better understanding of how constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen within selected education policy documents, I had to decide from which perspective I would interpret these values. After much thought and exploration, I settled on Foucault’s concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power to inform the conceptual framework of Chapter 2 of this study. This enabled me to achieve my first objective, namely gathering appropriate information to construct a conceptual framework. Consequently, a theoretical analysis is well suited for this study, since the information that was gathered was carefully selected from the existing body of knowledge with regards to how constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen within the formal schooling context in South Africa. The fourth objective is also in line with theoretical analysis, since the conceptual framework that was constructed together with the analytical framework I developed was used to analyse the CAPS LO

FET (DBE, 2012) to explore how the constitutional values expressed therein construct the envisioned citizen in the context of state-sponsored schooling.

1.6.2 RESEARCH METHODS

McGregor and Murname (2010:2) as well as Jabareen (2009:50) describe research methods as various procedures or techniques used to provide data to answer a particular research question. It is important to note that these methods should align with the research methodology which justifies the use of these particular methods and the goals of the study. In this study I employed two research methods, namely a literature review and a critical policy analysis. These methods align with the chosen methodology.

1.6.2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

For the purpose of this study it was essential to develop a conceptual framework based on Foucault's concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power to serve as a lens through which selected education policy documents could be analysed. As previously stated, I made use of Jabareen's eight phases (2009:53-55) to construct this conceptual framework. These phases relied on a literature review method which assisted me in attaining the first objective of the study. Kaniki (2006:19) defines a literature review as putting "the research project into context by showing how it fits into a particular field." Cresswell (2009:89) provides an extensive definition by stating that a literature review is "a written summary of journal articles, books, and other documents that describes the past and current state of information, organizes the literature into topics; and documents a need for a proposed study." This process was directly linked to my first two objectives, namely, to develop a conceptual framework based on Foucault's concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power, as well as to derive an analytical framework based on the principles of critical policy analysis and the conceptual framework I developed. Furthermore, my third objective entailed a partial literature review to provide a global and local context for constitutional values found in state-sponsored school-based citizenship education.

1.6.2.2 CRITICAL POLICY ANALYSIS

The second research method used in this study was policy analysis. Policy analysis defines the problem and the goals, examines the arguments, and analyses the implementation of policy documents (Public Administration and Public Policy, 2007:xix). Codd (1988:236) mentions two purposes for policy analysis; one *for* policy content and another *of* policy content. For this study, I have chosen analysis *of* policy content. Codd (1988:236) explains this purpose as looking “for the values, assumptions and ideologies that underpin the policy process.” Codd's (1988:236) understanding of policy analysis advocates for the deconstruction of policy. His reason for deconstruction lends itself to discourse analysis. In this study I will identify specific constitutional values within CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). Critical policy analysis (CPA) was utilised to analyse CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). The use of critical policy analysis allowed me to explore how policies and other documents have the potential to advance or hinder the goals set out for education in our country. Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard & Henry (1997:44-53) further explain that CPA entails exploring the context of policy, the text itself and the consequences of policy. Firstly, to understand the context of the policy, I provide a historical context of the current South African Constitution (RSA, 1996) and CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). I then identify constitutional values that are relevant for citizenship education in CAPS (DBE, 2012) as these values stem from the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995), the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) and the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012). In addition, the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) assisted me to provide definitions for these values, as this document was specifically created to help make these constitutional values explicit in education for democracy, as well as to help with its strategic educational implementation. Secondly, the text itself was analysed by identifying constitutional values that are relevant to citizenship education, and perusing these through the concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power. This was done to achieve part of my third objective by establishing a background for the final analysis of constitutional values in CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). Lastly, the consequence of policy was explored in the final analysis of CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). This was done to achieve the fourth objective of the study, which entailed an analysis of how selected constitutional values find expression in CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012).

1.7 DEMARCATION OF THE STUDY

Anderson (2000:2) defines policy studies as the study of public policies that are undertaken to gain a greater understanding of the underlying behaviours, values and processes that drive the policy. In addition, Cloete and de Coning (2011) define policy studies as the process of describing the content

of public policy and determining the impact of this content on the surrounding society, as well as the effect of various institutional arrangements on public policy. According to Bell and Stevenson (2006:1-2) “policy studies in education have tended to take one of three forms: the development of broad analytical models through which the policy process can be understood and interpreted; analysis of a range of policy issues and critiques of specific policies”.

This study is demarcated to Policy Studies in Education, as its focus is on how the constitutional values of a democratic South Africa find expression in selected education policy documents and contribute toward constructing the envisioned democratic citizen in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) in light of the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power. Exploring these values means exploring the policy texts that have been established to ensure these values are instituted in formal education. The study entails analysing the constitutional values expressed in the Constitution itself (RSA, 1996), White Paper 1, the *Manifesto*, the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012), and the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012).

1.8 VALUE OF THE STUDY

Cloete and De Coning (2011:7) define policy as a public-sector statement of intent, including at times a more detailed program of action, to give effect to selected normative and empirical goals as to improve or resolve perceived problems and needs in society in a specific way, thereby achieving the desired changes in society. The production of policy is fundamentally a governmental activity (Anderson, 2000:6). The use of Foucault’s concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power are therefore employed in this study to explore and comment on how constitutional values (which stem for governmental discourse) construct the envisioned citizen in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012).

Staeheli and Hammet (2013), Spreen and Vally (2012), Schoeman (2006) and Enslin (2003) all agree that for most South Africans the idea of common citizenship is merely stated in official documentation, while in practice inequalities are still the norm. Enslin (2003:82) states that should the state be successful in achieving the “ambitious constitutional goals, this may determine the future viability of the very idea of democratic citizenship.” As stated earlier, Sutrop (2015:192) asserts that all spheres of education are value laden. Many South Africans have experienced the negative effects of apartheid values in education. It is therefore crucial to be critical of how constitutional values expressed in school-based policy, documents and curricula all aid in constructing the envisioned citizen, as well as determining whether we agree with constitutional

goals ascribed to us as citizens. As previously stated, one can argue that a common South African citizenship has not yet materialised. In order to unify a country, I would argue that it takes more than mere rhetoric or naïve inclusive discourse to achieve this task. For this reason, it is imperative that citizens themselves be critical of how constitutional values are defined, expressed and used to construct future democratic citizens. Further to this, citizens should be encouraged to engage with how these constitutional values are defined in order to ensure active and critical participation as a democratic right and responsibility.

1.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

No human participants were involved in this study as it exclusively involved document analysis. No personal or sensitive information has therefore been obtained or disseminated. The documents analysed in this study are freely available to the public. These documents, along with the other literature presented in this study, have been referenced in the correct format to guard against plagiarism. The University of the Free State (2010:Section 3) defines plagiarism as “direct duplication of the formulation and insights of a source text with the intention of presenting it as one’s own work.” I have made every effort to ensure that I am respectful of the work others have contributed to the topic of this research and have given them proper recognition in this study. Although this study is document-based, I applied for and obtained ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee at the Faculty of Education. This ethical clearance number is UFS-HSD2017/1364 (see Addendum A).

1.10 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

This research study is presented in six chapters. In addition to this chapter that foregrounds the orientation of the entire study

- the focus in Chapter 2 is on the construction of a conceptual framework of the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power, by means of an extensive literature review.
- Chapter 3 is an extension of Chapter 2 and centres around the construction of the analytical framework by combining the principles of critical policy analysis with the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 2. This was done by means of an extensive literature review.

- the emphasis of Chapter 4 is to provide an overview of a global and local context for constitutional values found in state-sponsored school-based citizenship education. This was done partly by means of an extensive literature review as well as critical policy analysis with regards to the South African context.
- I analysed and evaluated the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) identified in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) in Chapter 5, through making use of the analytical tool constructed in Chapter 3.
- the focus of Chapter 6 is on commenting on the implications for the way in which the constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) in light of the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power. This chapter provides a conclusion for the study as a whole.

1.11 SUMMARY

This chapter serves the purpose of orientating the study and introduces various aspects such as the main research question, subsidiary questions and related research objectives that directed the quest of exploring answers to the research question. Furthermore, I provide a brief overview of the conceptual framework that informed the analysis of the policy documents. As a non-empirical study, theoretical analysis was espoused as the approach to the research. In support of this approach the methods used were explained. These methods are a literature review and a policy analysis. Since none of the methods utilised involved human participation, ethical considerations were restricted to respecting the contributions made by others within the body of knowledge relating to this study.

In alignment with my first objective, namely to develop a conceptual framework based on Foucault's concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power to consider the expression of constitutional values in a state-sponsored school-based citizenship education in post-1994 South Africa, the focus of the next chapter is on Foucault's concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1 (cf. 1.5) I briefly introduced Foucault's concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power. It is helpful to note that Foucault was considered by some scholars as a post-structuralist, however, he rejected this label. Post-structuralism is not easy to define, as the very 'architects' of the term, like Foucault, would not wish to define it themselves. This implies that post-structuralism as a theory is wary of any system that seeks to assert ultimate authority over meaning (Belsey, 2002:5). It is mostly applied in linguistics as it maintains that all texts are imbued with a plurality of meaning and that the context of the text could display more than one interpretation (Slim, 2013). Belsey (2002:7) argues that "[p]oststructuralism proposes that the distinctions we make are not necessarily given by the world around us but are instead produced by the symbolizing systems we learn". In other words, what we understand as meaning is generated by the structures already present. These distinctions are therefore learnt, or as Konar (2011:17) states "[i]t means that word reflects, records or mirrors world". Therefore, if these meanings are 'mirrors' of the world it would suggest that there could be a variety of meanings that could be understood in any text.

In this chapter, I explore Foucault's concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power in more depth by means of a literature review. Kaniki (2006:19) defines a literature review as putting "the research project into context by showing how it fits into a particular field". Cresswell (2009:89) provides an extensive definition by stating that a literature review is "a written summary of journal articles, books, and other documents that describes the past and current state of information, organizes the literature into topics; and documents a need for a proposed study". Hence, I made use of a literature review to construct the conceptual framework for this study.

As stated in chapter 1 (cf. 1.5) Maxwell (2013:41) asserts that a conceptual framework used for one's research is to be constructed and is not found. He further states that it is made up of various pieces taken from different theories or concepts which are ultimately drawn together in a coherent manner. It is therefore the researcher who constructs the conceptual lens through which to explore the phenomena under study.

In constructing the conceptual framework I made use of Jabareen's eight phases (2009:53-55). These include the mapping of the selected data sources; extensive reading and categorisation of the

selected data; the identification and naming of concepts; the deconstruction and categorisation of the concepts; the integration of the concepts; the synthesis, re-synthesis, and sense-making; the validation of the conceptual framework; and the rethinking of the framework. I specifically constructed a conceptual framework that was derived from two of Foucault's concepts, namely governmentality and disciplinary power to critically consider the expression of constitutional values in state-sponsored school-based citizenship education in post-1994 South Africa. In this chapter I firstly provide a brief history of the development of Foucault's concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power as found in relevant literature. Secondly, I argue the relevance of these concepts for considering school-based citizenship education in the post-1994 South African context. Thirdly, I indicate the relationship these concepts have to education before I briefly consider the expression of constitutional values in school-based citizenship education in post-1994 South Africa. The last section does not involve an in-depth discussion, as state-sponsored school-based citizenship education is considered at length in Chapter 4 of this study.

2.2 GOVERNMENTALITY

The concept of governmentality developed from Foucault's later works (Gordon, 1991:1). One of Foucault's main interests was to explore how power functions at both macro and micro levels in society. Governmentality is an example of power functioning at the macro level in society.

According to Gordon (1991:2) "Foucault understood the term 'government' in both a broad and a narrow sense". Governmentality, as Foucault proposes, is the 'conduct of conduct', in other words, "the government of oneself and others" (Gordon, 1991:2). According to Foucault (1991:87), governmentality entails the problem of "how to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept to be governed, how to become the best possible governor."

Put simply,

[a] rationality of government will thus mean a way or system of thinking about the nature of the practice of government (who can govern; what governing is; what or who is governed), capable of making some form of that activity thinkable and practicable both to its practitioners and to those upon whom it was practised. Here, as elsewhere in his work, Foucault was interested in the philosophical questions posed by the historical, contingent and humanly invented existence of varied and multiple forms of such a rationality (Gordon, 1991:3).

For Foucault (1991:94), “[t]o govern then means to govern things”. In other words, these ‘things’ must be governed in the correct manner that would lead to the greatest convenience for the ‘things’ that are being governed.

“The finality of government resides in the things it manages and in the pursuit of the perfection and intensification of the processes which it directs; and the instruments of government, instead of being laws, now come to a range of multiform tactics” (Foucault, 1991:95)

Foucault further explains (1991:94) governmentality to be a rationality of government which informs the actions of government in such a way that makes the exercise of governmental power plausible. Further to this, governmentality is the different ways government thinks about itself, its population and how it seeks to manage its population efficiently. Ultimately, governmentality is concerned with how government conducts itself in the process of governing its population. It also seeks to construct ways in which it makes it easy for government to understand and make sense of its population. In this regard it makes use of various institutions, creating opportunities for engagement with its population. In doing this, it also sets forth the manner in which the population should engage within the parameters ascribed by these institutions, which are driven by government and ultimately assert governmental interests.

In this study, policy is viewed as a mechanism of governmentality. Doherty (2007:199) describes policy as the ‘machinery of governmentality’ because policy encapsulates governmental rationality and communicates state intentions in various spheres of governance. The further exploration into this concept provides insight into how, at the macro level, the Constitution, education policies etc. make use of the knowledge of the population to exercise power over the way they understand and live out their own citizenship. Thus, understanding how governmentality is conducted in South Africa offers an awareness of how it has the potential to affect the actions of citizens in how constitutional values are expressed and addressed within policy as well as how it is ultimately articulated in state-sponsored school curriculum.

Foucault (1991), Gordon (1991), Olssen et al. (2004:25), Fimyar (2008:4) and Schirato et al. (2012:69-70) describe four types of governmental rationalities identified by Foucault. These rationalities show the progression of government from sovereign power to internal subject sovereign power. In other words, how the rationale of government moves from the use of direct power (usually in the way of showing force) on its population to more indirect power (that could eventually be self-actualised) over its population. The four domains of government rationality are identified as: pastoral power,

reason of state and the police state, liberalism (liberal reason) and neo-liberalism. I provide a very brief overview of the first two governmental rationalities, while focussing on liberal reasoning and neo-liberalism to situate the South African governmental rationality, which will be discussed later in the chapter.

2.2.1 PASTORAL POWER

Olssen et al. (2004:26-27) posit that Plato considered pastoral power as the individualised care by the rulers for each individual. Foucault “contended that the idea of the ruler as a shepherd of a flock was completely foreign to Greek and Roman political thought, but it was central to the ancient Oriental societies such as Egypt, Assyria and Judea” (Oksala, 2013:327). Pastoral power is focused on caring for the individual like a shepherd tending to his flock, “involving leadership, guidance, duty, responsibility and so on” (Olssen et al. 2004:26). For Foucault, this form of pastoral power reveals the complexity of the relation between ‘the one and the many’, between the individual and the totality in the context of the population. Olssen et al. (2004:26) assert that during the 15th century (Middle Ages), pastoral power or management of the family served as the first example of a governmental rationality of western society. This rationality was largely modelled after the Christian church. Oksala (2013:328) explains that the essential mechanisms of pastoral power were “continuous care and the compulsory extraction of knowledge rather than violent coercions and the delimitation of rights”. Although Christianity altered the pastoral model of power, pastoral power did not triumph as a form of governmentality. Pastoral relations became increasingly challenging to square with the primarily rural and dispersed economic context of the Middle Ages. Consequently, the failure of the feudal system during the 16th century made pastoral power an ineffectual means of governing.

2.2.2 REASON OF STATE AND THE POLICE STATE

The rationale of *reason of state* presented a change in the thinking of how the individual should be cared for. Schirato et al. (2012:70) aver that this form of government rationality reflects the “16th century political transition from a nation of sovereignty connected with and authorised by the church and God to an expectation that governing, and government needed to be driven by human reason and rational decision making”. As a result, the church was no longer seen as the carer as it was during the previous rationality. Rather, the state would now take sole responsibility for the wellbeing of the individual. Schirato et al. (2012:72) furthermore posit this to be the beginning of a

movement away from the family being at the centre of governing to that of the governing of the population by states. Since *reason of state* concerned itself with the question of how power can be exercised more efficiently, it is argued that two distinct types of knowledge were produced: “a diplomatic/military aspect that concerns itself with external political security; and ‘policy’, which is understood as a set of technologies and institutions responsible for internal security, stability and prosperity” (Schirato et al., 2012:72). This enabled the state’s reflective practice on what might be the most effective way to govern a state and “manage its resources and potential threats” (Schirato et al., 2012:75). Foucault (1991:103) asserts that, together with the *saviour fare* (expert knowledge) and the *polizate* (security/surveillance) of the population, the government could be most effective in governing the population efficiently. The police state was the increased concern of surveillance of the population which would enable greater efficiency in controlling crime within the territory the population occupied under the state.

2.2.3 LIBERALISM

Olssen et al. (2004) and Schirato et al. (2012) consider liberal reason as a counter to *reason of state*. Gordon (1991:10) posits that the use of force in liberal reason is less direct i.e. physical force. Fimyar (2008:6) explains that “in a liberal state population, its welfare, health and efficiency are perceived as the ends of the government of the state.” Security in the form of human rights, welfare and health then is the basis of prosperity within a liberal rationale. The focus of liberal reasoning is on the individual within the population. Gordon (1991) asserts that for Foucault the establishment of a social contract (Hume as in Gordon 1991:21) formed the start of liberal reasoning. In brief, the social contract is the willing submission of oneself under laws that limit total personal liberty for the purpose of protection and prosperity. In other words, the individual gives up total liberty for the purpose of being governed by the state in order to gain protection and prosperity. The state’s role within this reasoning is to ensure prosperity for the population in managing economic activity as well as creating adequate opportunity for economic participation. For the state to function efficiently it makes use of ‘human science’. For example, knowledge of the population is used as a means of control and regulation over the population. This knowledge, referred to as ‘biopolitics’, would consist of personal information such as identity numbers, immunisation records, employment records and school records, as well as statistics on demographics, geographical location of the population, disease control, crime, etc. All of these can be utilised by the state to make inferences of what needs to be ‘improved’ to ensure the welfare and prosperity of the

population. Liberal reason is subtle in its governing and is characterised as a *laissez-faire* approach to governance, a way of “acting and not acting” (Gordon 1991:15). The manner in which governance occurs is to create systems that ensure that the individual is aware of her need for security and to trust the government’s guidance. In a sense, security is a condition for liberty and prosperity within liberal rationality. Once the individual understands this, she will regulate herself, believing that it is in her best interest and greatest gain to do so. For example, as it pertains to this study, citizenship education is arguably influenced by this government rationality, particularly where it is incorporated in state-sponsored schooling. Such schooling provides the government with tools to influence its citizens and their actions regarding how they conduct themselves in society. Consequently, educational policies and school curricula, as set by the government, should contain (and reflect) this rationality.

2.2.4 NEO-LIBERALISM

As previously stated, Foucault (1991:87) sees governmentality as answering the problem of “how to govern oneself, how to be governed, how to govern others, by whom the people will accept to be governed, how to become the best possible governor”. In the case of neo-liberal reasoning, the focus moves beyond that of the population, in other words moving beyond geographical territory of nation states to trans-international organisations. The scope of governance moves beyond geographical boundaries and considers the global economic market as the regulator of economic participation. It is not governments who regulate the economic market but rather trans-international companies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) (Peters, 2009:xxxiii). In the *liberal reasoning*, the state is responsible for regulating markets and economic access. However, within this rationality, it is the market and not the state that regulates and sets forth the rules of engagement for the individual’s opportunity for economic participation. According to Lemke (2001:200) “for neo-liberals the state does not define and monitor market freedom, for the market is itself the organizing and regulative principle underlying the state”. It is now the free market system that controls and regulates the economy. In this instance, the economy is the focus of this governmental rationality. Although the population remains an important aspect in the action of governing, access to the economy is of greater importance. The government will put emphasis on allowing the free market system to work ‘independently of itself’ to allow those with capital to participate. This means that the market has a certain view of how individuals should participate. It relies on citizens to take the initiative to participate.

2.3 SOUTH AFRICA'S GOVERNMENTALITY

Since South Africa's democracy is modelled on representative democracy (Modise, 2017:1), it makes sense to consider and explain Foucault's liberal reasoning of the state as it finds expression within the South African context. Post-apartheid South Africa is described by Tikly (2003:166) as one of 'a governmentality in the making'. Tikly (2003:165) offers an in-depth account of South Africa's transition from an illiberal to a liberal government and maps out an emerging governmentality that encompasses varied narratives of governmentality. Further to this, Tikly (2003:165) asserts that a plurality of rationalities has emerged in South Africa due to the historical influence of an illiberal government, as was found under colonial and apartheid rule. This complex governmentality poses a challenge in the way government thinks about its 'conduct of conduct', and the potential role citizens have in it. Arguably, this also holds implications for how state schools are positioned within this plurality of rationalities and the role they are understood to fulfil in relation to democratic citizenship education. Tikly (2003:166) asserts that education policy is caught between the complexities of the at times conflicting rationalities of government. Tikly (2003:171) makes mention of the Outcomes Based Education (OBE) curriculum, which was applied to schools in the form of the Curriculum 2005 framework during the early stages of democracy in South Africa. The curriculum left much of the decision-making of what content to include to individual teachers and schools, to meet the outcomes and assessments identified for the eight learning areas. This posed a great challenge considering the inequalities inherited from the apartheid schooling system. Jansen (1998) highlights the issue of the uneven distribution of qualified teachers and materials due to these inherited inequalities. The DoE's report (2000) of the review committee details even more challenges arising from the impact of Curriculum 2005. Since then the school curriculum has undergone further revision and CAPS (DBE, 2012) is the latest curriculum expression.

Codd (1988), Anderson (2000), Doherty (2007), Fimyar (2008) and Cloete and de Coning (2011) define policy as a statement of government intentions. This study views policy as "a machinery of governmentality" (Doherty, 2007:199). Governmental text, like policy, is used as a mechanism by government to assert power/knowledge over its population. Schirato et al. (2012:45) describe Foucault's concept of power as not being a possession but a relation. This means that power belongs to no one but only exists because it is spread out across different networks, institutions, etc. This means that power is not only repressive but can be productive as well. Power can, furthermore, be understood through its linkage to types of knowledge and discursive practices, i.e. how power is

expressed through various forms of discourse. Foucault (in Olssen et al., 2004:34) describes discourse as different modes of either speaking or writing about a specific phenomenon. Codd (1988), Olssen et al. (2004) and Doherty (2007) further explain that discourse is never neutral as it develops within discursive practice in which historical, social and political spheres influence and create or perpetuate the status quo of a specific issue. Smart (1985:80) asserts that “the exercise of power necessarily puts into circulation apparatuses of knowledge, that it creates sites where knowledge is formed”. Lastly, Schirato et al. (2012:45) argue that according to Foucault any relation of power will cause resistance. For instance, education policy provides a discourse of education (in a country) and within these policies power/knowledge is presented as facts, statistics, historical, political contexts etc. that are able to influence how education is articulated and ultimately implemented into curricula.

This study viewed policy text as discourse, as asserted by Ball (2006:44, 48). Discourse is the way a phenomenon is articulated and rearticulated in a variety of forms. Policy as text is just one form of discourse, and in this instance, policy text as discourse is the articulation from government to institutions regarding a specific issue. This will be unpacked in greater detail in the next chapter. Therefore, power/knowledge occurs within discursive practices. In the case of governmental discourse, what is expressed in authoritative discourse and how the practice of discourse in turn affirms and or influences action, is expressed in the exercise of power in apparatuses of knowledge production. For example, in the case of the first education policy written for the democratic South African context (DoE, 1995), its power/knowledge was arguably informed by the purpose of unifying a nation once divided. Since the focus of this study is to understand how the constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen within the state-sponsored school curriculum, I argue that the concept of governmentality potentially provides insight into how, at macro level (governmentality), the South African government makes use of the power/knowledge of its (population) country in the Constitution (RSA, 1996), White Paper 1 (DoE 1995), the *Manifesto* (DoE 2001), NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) and the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). In the following section I discuss the Foucauldian concept of disciplinary power and how this relates to governmentality. Here, I argue that disciplinary power is a consequence of governmentality.

2.4 DISCIPLINARY POWER

In *Discipline and Punishment*, Foucault (1977) describes at length how power was exercised on the body of subjects in relation to whoever was their sovereign ruler. For example, if a prince was the sovereign ruler, i.e. a person ordained by God with the right to rule from birth, then any offence inflicted by the subject would be a direct offence against the prince. This offence would be rewarded with physical punishment inflicted on the body to cause the subject to know the limits of his or her liberty in relation to the sovereign ruler. The idea of the 'disciplined society' is one of the concepts arising from Foucault's *Discipline and Punishment* (Foucault, 1977). The idea that it is possible to create a self-disciplined society by means of rigorous repetitive practice in a variety of institutions. In the same work, Foucault explores the development of power on the bodies and minds of subjects. The issue of control, Foucault (1977) asserts, is at the centre of disciplinary power.

Disciplinary power included a number of techniques and principles, such as the organisation of space, activity and behaviour (Foucault, 1977:141-168; Smart, 1985:81-83 and O'Farrell 2005:7). For the purpose of this study, I focus on the institution of education. I explore how constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) which is located in the context of state-sponsored schooling in South Africa. As explained by Foucault, (1977:141-168), Smart, (1985:81-83) and O'Farrell (2005:7), the organisation of space in school hostels entails grouping together children from similar backgrounds, to keep the 'bad' and unruly children away from the 'good' children who came from homes with 'good morals'. The organisation of activity and behaviour ensures that the various groups are engaged in the same tasks. These groups also perform group activities e.g. practice sitting at a specific time when signalled to do so. As a result, these actions become automatic and flawless in the manner in which they are executed. Behavioural organisation at school could be something as simple as teaching children how to correctly hold a pen. The main purpose of these techniques is to make the body an efficient unit. Smart (1985:75) posits that Foucault's

[g]enealogic analysis reveals the body as an object of knowledge and as a target for the exercise of power. The body is shown to be located in a political field, invested with power relations which render it docile and productive, and thus politically and economically useful.

Disciplinary power is described as the gaining of control over the population by means of classifying, differentiating, categorizing, excluding, including, individualising, hierarchizing, identifying, and

normalizing. In addition, it is used as a mechanism of governmental control, for example over epidemics of disease, fiscal control over markets, administrative control over for example crime, schooling, as well as military control. This is achieved by making use of micro-mechanisms/techniques of government (e.g. institutions) which are organised differently in different countries (Foucault, 1977; Gordon, 1991; Olssen et al., 2004; Schirato et al., 2012). Considering this, I argue that disciplinary power is a result of governmentality. Foucault (1977) and Smart (1985) expand on the instruments through which disciplinary power is achieved. These include hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and the examination.

2.4.1 HIERARCHICAL OBSERVATION

Hierarchical observation is best described in the functioning of the physical construction of Bentham's Panopticon. The sole purpose of its invention was to create the impression in the minds of those being observed that their every move was under constant surveillance. Foucault (1977:200) describes the construction of the building in some detail:

Bentham's Panopticon is the architectural figure of this composition. We know the principle on which it was based: at the periphery, an annular building; at the centre, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell from one end to the other.

Although in the cell can never actually see the observer, their cells are constructed in such a way that they are always visible to the observer. O'Farrell, (2005:7) asserts that 'panopticism' can still be found in the surveillance of the modern society in schools, hospitals, prisons, shopping malls, airports and in almost any other contemporary public or institutional spaces. The visibility of the subject and the constant invisibility of the observer is what makes hierarchical observation such a powerful tool to influence the conformity of questionable conduct as to what is acceptable within a society. Smart (1985:86) asserts that

[i]f it were possible to construct the perfect disciplinary apparatus in a single gaze, 'the eye of authority', would be able to constantly observe everything. It is important to remember here that the power exercised through hierarchical surveillance is not a possession or a

property, rather it has the character of a machine or apparatus through which power is produced and individuals are distributed in a permanent and continuous field.

In other words, hierarchical observation is viewed as the character of a machine that produces power, and individuals are continuously subject to it. The effectiveness of the use of hierarchical observation as an instrument of disciplinary power, is its distinctly invisible characteristic to those over whom it intends to exercise power. The aim is the power of influencing and ultimately controlling the behaviour of individuals.

2.4.2 NORMALIZING JUDGEMENT

According to Foucault (1977:177-184), Smart (1985:86) and O'Farrell (2005:7), normalizing judgement is the process where experts like doctors, psychiatrists, teachers, police etc. 'fix' those who act defiantly against societal norms. Criminals are to be rehabilitated to conform to acceptable behaviour. The school sets criteria (assessments) and categories (phases and grades) of how learners should progress in a school system. Behaviour and capabilities are in a sense then confined to what is possible in the system. Normalisation serves as a tool of correction and conformity to what is prescribed as acceptable conduct. For instance, the strategies detailed within the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001:4-5) to aid in the transference of constitutional values have the potential to imbue the norming of these values in society.

2.4.3 THE EXAMINATION

Foucault (1977:184) and Smart (1984:86) explain that the examination is a combination of both hierarchical observation and normalizing judgement techniques, which is used as an effective 'normalizing gaze' through which individuals or subjects may be classified and judged. As Foucault (1977:184-185) posits, "[a]t the heart of the procedures of discipline, it manifests the subjection of those who are perceived as objects and the objectification of those who are subjected". For example, in a classroom setting, a learner could potentially be viewed as an object under the teacher's authority. In this relational context, the potential exists for the learner to be objectified by the teacher due to the teacher's authoritative power/knowledge and control over the learner's actions.

According to Foucault (1977:187-192) and Smart (1984:87), there are three mechanisms of the examination that link with the relationships of power and knowledge. Firstly, the examination “transforms the economy of visibility into the exercise of power” (Smart, 1984:87). Secondly, it “introduces individuality into the field of documentation” (Foucault, 1977:187-192 and Smart, 1984:87). Thirdly, the culmination of documentary techniques then establishes each individual as a ‘case’ that is examined according to or against a set standard that is deemed the ‘norm’ or acceptable conduct in society or that specific institution.

2.5 THE RELEVANCE GOVERNMENTALITY AND DISCIPLINARY POWER

In providing a brief description of the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power, I argue that these concepts are relevant when considering state-sponsored school-based citizenship education in the post-1994 South African context. As previously stated in Chapter 1 (cf. 1.1), citizenship education is concerned with educating people about their civil, political and social rights (Waghid, 2009:104). It is further suggested that the task of educating a population belongs to the state. I argue that the concept of governmentality potentially provides insight into how, at a macro level (governmentality), the South African government makes use of the power/knowledge of its country (population, territory and economy) and how this finds expression in the Constitution (RSA, 1996), White paper 1 (DoE, 1995), the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001), NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) as well as the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) within the educational sphere. In light of this, the importance of investigating the presence and functioning of critical citizenry participation in a democracy at the level of state-sponsored schooling becomes relevant.

Governmentality is the rationalisation of how a government intends to manage a population. From this I would argue that a government could possess the authority (or power) to control and ensure forceful compliance, coercion or docile internal self-monitoring (Foucault, 1977:136-137). Essentially, it has the potential to influence the way in which citizens conduct themselves. Power is in direct relation to what governments are legitimately able to accomplish. For instance, policies are a way for governments to articulate their interest as ‘public interest’. The use of power/knowledge about the population enables governments to do so. For Foucault, the contemporary state is characterised by an increasing governmentalisation of the social order as the state intervenes on behalf of what it perceives to be its own interests (Doherty, 2007:196). Governmentality focuses on how to govern/manage the population, territory and economy of the country. To effectively govern a country, the government relies on the collection, production and reproduction of power/knowledge. The knowledge of a subject is ascertained from the relational network in the

citizen's social, political, geographical and historical context where she resides. For example, governments can make use of statistics and human science studies as a means of knowledge production of its population. Within this context, power is exercised when this knowledge is used to act upon or towards the citizen. Firstly, this action entails acting upon a citizen to using direct 'force' or 'coercive' methods. Secondly, acting towards a citizen is the use of indirect 'force' or 'coercive' methods. Each of these are a means of persuading the subject by suggesting that what is best for the subject is desired by the one making the persuasive argument with the support of scientific research, technological advancement etc. For effective governing the state needs knowledge of space/territory; people; things (phenomena) and the economy. This knowledge is then acquired by the surveillance of the population. I argue that surveillance is any form of monitoring for the purpose of gathering information to act in a manner to affect change or influence a situation. For example, surveillance can be captured by increasing security, such as direct or indirect human sciences statistical research. This knowledge is then used to exercise power over a population. In other words, a government makes use of this knowledge to create opportunities for economic participation so that the population can be prosperous. Ultimately, liberal governmentality intends to guide a population by using as little coercive force as possible. It aims to influence the population to make autonomous decisions that are indirectly guided by governmental apparatus/mechanisms. Policy is one such mechanism as it communicates a government's intention about a specific aspect that affects its population. For example, state-sponsored education is guided by political and economic governmental ideas that in turn impact the citizen.

Disciplinary power creates opportunities for ensuring that standards and expectations are effectively actualised. In other words, in order for subjects to act in an expected way they have to be given tasks, so that their actions become automated. They will eventually automatically respond as they 'should'. Foucault (1977) and Smart (1985) expanded on the instruments through which disciplinary power is achieved. These include hierarchical observation, judgement and the examination. Within the school context hierarchical observation is subtle and almost goes undetected by the learner as the curriculum administered by the teacher provides an overarching means of how, based on governmental policy, the content should be understood. For example, constitutional values are articulated in the general aims of CAPS (DBE, 2012) for each subject area as the curriculum content is prescribed to schools in the national curriculum statement. This could be viewed as a form of hierarchical observation as the learners are 'subject' to the government's understanding of constitutional values expressed in the curriculum for a specific subject. The

government is essentially invisible to the learners and yet it is the power imposing specific content on learners, and so has influence over them. Normalizing judgement could be seen in the outcomes which the learner should have acquired at the end of each section. In other words, the learner must acquire a specified scope of knowledge by the time she reaches a certain grade and phase. Additionally, the constitutional values espoused in the general aims of CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) has the potential to influence citizens in prioritising and emphasising these values in the way they make decisions and ultimately conduct themselves. In light of the curriculum content and outcomes, the learner is then assessed. The examination of how the learner has progressed is determined by her acquired curriculum content and competence of attaining the outcomes as a measurement of being successful in the subject.

Staeheli and Hammett (2013:32-41) assert that due to South Africa's past (cf. 1.1), education on citizenship needs to be developed further. They suggest that through education the post-1994 South Africa government should try to narrow the divide that separate the different experience of citizenship by different races. In doing so it is hoped that embracing diversity through the strategic implementation of democratic values from the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) into curriculum would engender a sense of a unified identity of citizenship and help heal the wounds of the past. Abdi (2008:160) asserts that citizenship education should be used to educate citizens for democratic participation in African countries where democracy has not been the mode of operation in terms of governance. I argue that the constitutional values in citizenship education should aid in helping citizens to participate critically, so that they are able to contribute to their own governance.

2.6 THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Jabareen (2009:51) points out that some of the features of a conceptual framework is to provide an interpretative approach to social reality, understanding, a 'soft interpretation' of intentions, as well as the possibility of being developed through a process of qualitative analysis. The concepts present within this conceptual framework are discourse and power/knowledge within the overarching concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power. These concepts are presented in the diagram (Figure 1) at the end of this section.

Discourse, the first concept, is the instrument which allows discursive practices to develop and circulate (Codd, 1988; Olssen et al., 2004 and Doherty, 2007). This process includes a variety of stakeholders, constitutions, policies, media, societies, history etc. Discursive practices inform

power/knowledge which is the second concept relevant to this study. In other words, knowledge refers to whatever knowledge is ascertained about a phenomenon within discursive practices which will enable governments to exercise power over citizens. This knowledge influences the power exercised over citizens. Davidson (2012:12) explains that “power-knowledge relations refers to the circular nature of the interaction of these two forces. According to Foucault, power provides for knowledge while knowledge extends and gives credence to power”. Put differently, power/knowledge of the context and the purpose of the policy will inform the establishing of these values. This power/knowledge is exercised within state-sponsored educational institutions like schools. Discursive practices and power/knowledge help inform the establishment of the governmental rationality of a country’s government. Governmentality, the third concept, entails how a government thinks about how it governs its population, territory and economy. Governmentality is responsible for exercising the power/knowledge gained from discursive practices within discourse. As stated previously (cf. 2.4), disciplinary power, the final concept, is the result of governmentality. Disciplinary power is focused on direct control of subjects and is the result of how power/knowledge is ultimately exercised upon citizens within state-sponsored schooling.



Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

2.7 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I provided a brief overview of Foucault’s concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power as found in relevant literature. Secondly, I argued the relevance of these concepts in considering state-sponsored school-based citizenship education in the post-1994 South African context. Thirdly, I unpacked the linkages within the conceptual framework and how each concept feeds into or influences the next. The next chapter details the analytical framework. It explains how the conceptual framework, in conjunction with the analytical framework, is used as an analytical tool in the study.

CHAPTER 3: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I derive an analytical framework for this study based on the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 2, as well as the principles of critical policy analysis. This analytical framework is used to analyse the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability as these find expression in the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995), the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001), the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) and the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). In analysing these values, I set out to critically consider the expression of these constitutional values in state-sponsored school-based citizenship education in post-1994 South Africa. Firstly, I explain in brief how policy is viewed in this study in light of Foucault's perspective of it as discourse and text. Secondly, I define the principles of critical policy analysis (CPA) before explaining how the analytical framework of critical policy analysis is utilised in conjunction with the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 2.

3.2 POLICY AS DISCOURSE AND TEXT

As stated in Chapter 2, this study views policy as "a machinery of governmentality" (Doherty, 2007:199). Governmental text, such as policy, is used as a mechanism by government to assert power/knowledge over its population. Notably, Ball (2006:44, 48) asserts that policy as text can be viewed as discourse. Foucault (in Olssen et al., 2004:34) conceptualises discourse as different modes of either speaking or writing about a specific phenomenon. Discourse could also include various media platforms in contemporary society. I say this because current modes of discourse are regularly coupled with visuals as well as audio elements that influence discursive practices. Policy, then, can be viewed as governmental discourse. It is important to note that discourse is never neutral and eventually develops into discursive practices in which historical, social and political spheres influence and create and perpetuate the *status quo*, or that which is considered normal or acceptable in a society. In the case of policy as governmental discourse, it is in essence asserting and communicating governmental ideology and agenda of a certain phenomenon in society because governments are the legitimate producers of policy. It is an activity of the government to establish policy to solve, deal with or enhance the functioning of specific institutions in society. The content would ultimately express discourse within the discursive practices which in turn affirms the

influence over the actions of citizens of how power is exercised in apparatus of knowledge production. Gordon (1991:4) describes Foucault's perspective of the exercise of power as occurring in a process of relationships that have various effects. This means that power can, as a result, be largely productive. The potential for the productivity of power from Foucault's perspective contrasts with the historical view of power by scholars such as Weber, who view power as merely possessive and repressive. Smart (1985), Olssen et al. (2004) and Schirato et al. (2012) allude to the idea that the relationship between power and knowledge has the ability to produce particular things. These scholars assert Foucault's perspective that power can be largely productive, rather than merely oppressive. Governmentality, along with disciplinary power, has the ability of providing knowledge about citizenship education and values that produce intended outcomes of what is espoused in the curriculum. This relationship between power and knowledge therefore has the ability to imbue societal control over citizens with particular reference to state-sponsored schooling. Foucault's view of power affords an opportunity for the achievement of positive goals within policy. Power can, furthermore, be understood through its link to types of knowledge and discursive practices, i.e. how power is exercised through various forms of discourse that influence how goals set out in policy can be achieved. In other words, discourse is instrumental in what knowledge is produced within discursive practices. From this the construction of certain types of power/knowledge are created in society.

According to Ball (2006:44-48), policy text is not merely text as it does not exist in a vacuum. There are usually social phenomena that the government perceives as important to be addressed through policy. Furthermore, the production of policy does not exist in isolation but within a specific economic, social, historical and political context. It is essential to consider this when attempting an analysis of policy. Ball (2006:46) asserts that political ideologies are present in policy texts, and these affect the interpretation of how policy is implemented and understood by a variety of stakeholders. It is also important that the reader of the text has certain agendas, and these agendas warrant their own interpretations. Codd (1988:239) explains that "for any text a plurality of readers must necessarily produce a plurality of readings". For instance, in this study I am concerned about the expression of the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu as well as accountability and how these potentially construct the citizen in post-1994 South Africa. I make use of a conceptual framework utilising Foucault's concepts of discourse, power/knowledge, governmentality and disciplinary power as bases for my analysis.

3.3 THE PRINCIPLES OF CRITICAL POLICY ANALYSIS

Policy analysis defines the problem and the goals, examines the arguments, and analyses the implementation of policy documents (Public Administration and Public Policy, 2007:xix). Codd (1988:236) mentions two purposes for policy analysis, namely one *for* policy content and another *of* policy content. Analysis *for* policy content is utilised during policy production. Policy producers make use of information obtained from an array of sources and institutions that inform the creation of a particular policy (Codd, 1988:236). Taylor et al. (1997:37) explain that analysis *of* and *for* policy are traditional distinctions. The former is considered as merely an academic task, while the latter is considered as part of the process of policy production. Taylor et al. further reject this distinction because they aver that policy analysis is never a value-free exercise, and it is not without political implications. However, Codd (1988:236) explains that the purpose of analysis *for* policy can be understood as an exploration “for the values, assumptions and ideologies that underpin the policy process”. I acknowledge that, in this study, the analysis of the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) in the South African constitution (RSA, 1996), White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995), *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001), NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) and the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) to consider the expression of constitutional values in school-based citizenship education in post-1994 South Africa is not a value-free task. Similarly, Shaw (2004:56) asserts that “policy analysis is never value-neutral”. Codd (1988), Taylor et al. (1997) and Taylor (1997) agree that policy analysis is influenced by the purpose or reason for the analysis. Considering that CPA acknowledges that policies are ideological texts (Taylor, 1997:28), the values present in these documents are potentially laden with particular ideologies that promote the governmental rationality.

In this study, I identified specific constitutional values within CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). CPA was used to help gain insight into these values in conjunction with the conceptual framework. The use of critical policy analysis allowed me to explore how policies and other documents have the potential to advance or hinder the goals set out for education in our country. The focus of this study is to gain insight into how constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen within the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). Taylor et al. (1997:44-53) and Taylor (1997:32) further explain that CPA entails exploring the context of policy, the text itself and its consequences. Additionally, they assert that the historical, political and social contexts included in policy analysis are rarely considered to be key aspects in the process of analysis. However, in this study I am cognisant of these contexts in my analysis, as is clear in Chapter 4.

In their work Codd (1988), Taylor *et al.* (1997), Olssen *et al.* (2004) and Ball (2006) focus largely on western liberal contexts of policy such as Australia and Britain. Although the contexts of Australia and Britain differ from the South African context, the extensive contribution of these authors within the field of policy analysis as well as the insight they apply to the process of policy analysis is helpful here.

3.3.1 CONTEXT

Taylor *et al.* (1997:45) and Torregano and Shannon (2009:321) state that context generally includes past issues as well as current phenomena that push government into the creation of a specific policy. These include economic, social, political and at times historical factors “which lead to an issue being placed upon the policy agenda”. (Taylor *et al.* 1997:45). These authors also point out that these issues may be influenced by certain interest groups that force the government to articulate a response through a particular policy statement. Furthermore, they assert that the historical background of a policy, along with any developments and initiatives that took place prior to the establishment or improvement of a policy, is also important to consider when dealing with context as part of the analysis process. Taylor *et al.* (1997:46) state that the “considerations of both the contemporary and historical contexts of policy help to illuminate the ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions we ask in critical policy analysis”.

3.3.2 TEXT

Taylor *et al.* (1997:48) and Taylor (2004:435) state that, “[i]n turning to the text, one can analyse the work that national (government) does in terms of the very structure of the policy itself”. The context aids in gaining insight into the text itself (Taylor, 1997:33). The structure of the text stipulates how certain values are expressed and addressed. In analysing constitutional values within education policy, it is important to consider how these values are articulated by paying attention to the language used to express them. It is also important to consider how the presence of these values in state-sponsored schooling are either emphasised or underplayed. In light of the context, the purpose of the policies analysed in this study enabled me to make sense of how constitutional values could be used to construct the envisioned citizen within the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012).

3.3.3 CONSEQUENCES

Taylor et al. (1997:50) assert that the complex nature of contextualising policy brings many competing interests and the ambiguities to the fore that arise from these. As a result of these competing interests, the text itself will overtly or covertly address or not address particular concerns. The consequence of policy is therefore never easy to determine. There are however tangible measurable outcomes stipulated within the policy that it intends to achieve to impact or effect change (Taylor et al., 1997:51 and Taylor, 1997:33). In this instance the curriculum will be viewed as a consequence of the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995), the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001), and the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012)⁴. I argue that these documents provide background and guidance for the curriculum that ultimately has a direct impact on the citizen. I therefore view the curriculum as a consequence of policy (and other documents) that provides direction for constitutional values in citizenship education.

3.4 ANALYTICAL TOOL

In Chapter 4 of this study I analyse selected policy documents in order to provide a contextual background to the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995), the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) and NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) in light of the conceptual framework developed in Chapter 2. I then explore how the selected constitutional values find expression in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) as these values stem from the documents already mentioned.

The analytical tool is employed to firstly help make sense of the context of the policies and documents under investigation. To do this I made use of Samuel's questions (2016: 11) that are helpful for policy analysis. These include:

Policy focus: what is the focus of the policy?; Policy textual proposition: What is the scope of the policy?; Policy type: What type of policy is it?; Policy goals: What are the intentions behind the policy?; Policy borrowing: From where did the policy draw its inspiration (internally/externally)?; Policy discourse context: What is the policy responding to?; Policy

⁴ It is important to note that even though the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) and the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) are referenced in the same year, the curriculum was published in 2011 (DBE, 2012) and implemented in 2012, while the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) was published at the end of November 2012. Although the NDP 2030 (DBE, 2012) was written later, I include it as part of the documents to analyse due to the fact that it is a recent document that provides a recent macro overview of post-Apartheid South Africa.

consultation: Who are the major stakeholders involved in the policy-making process?; Policy beneficiaries: Who are the intended beneficiaries?; Policy implementation: How is the implementation to be achieved? and Policy currency: How does one develop ownership among potential users of the legislation? (Samuel, 2016:11; also see Taylor et al., 1997).

These questions help unpack the specific details that provide an understanding of the background of the policies and documents. Further to this, an understanding of the context informs the aspects that necessitated the establishment of the policy or document. Secondly, to analyse the text of the documents I focused on how the selected values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) were presented in the text itself. This was to understand the discourse of how these constitutional values are expressed in these documents. In addition, the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) assisted me to provide definitions for these values, as this document was specifically created to help make these constitutional values explicit in education for democracy, as well as to help with its strategic educational implementation. Thirdly, power/knowledge was analysed in the text. Power/knowledge is influenced by the discourse of the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) in the policies and documents. This was done to gain insight into how power/knowledge necessitates the inclusion of these constitutional values expressed and addressed in each of the documents. Fourthly, the type of governmentality was identified in the text of each policy and document. This provided insight into what kind of rationality the government made use of in the selected analysed governmental texts. Lastly, the consequences of policy for constitutional values were explored within the curriculum CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). For the purposes of this study, the curriculum was viewed as a consequence of the policies and documents analysed in Chapter 4, since the curriculum details the intended implementations of constitutional values in state-sponsored schooling. The analysis described above was conducted in two parts. In the following section I describe what each part of the analysis entailed.

The first part of this analysis is conducted in the second half of Chapter 4 to provide context and background for the analysis in Chapter 5. Here the CPA principles of context and text were used together with the conceptual framework to analyse the Constitution (RSA, 1996), the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995), the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001), NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) and the Curriculum and Policy Statements (DBE, 2012). This part of the analysis is described under the four headings of context, discourse, power/knowledge and governmentality. Under the heading context I made use of guiding questions provided by Samuel (2016:11) to describe the context by identifying some of the economic, social, politic and historical factors that influenced the establishment of the policy.

Thereafter, I consider how the discourse in the text addresses and expresses the selected constitutional values. Following this, I consider how the power/knowledge acquired from the discourse in the text influences how constitutional values are addressed and expressed in the text. Finally, I attempt to identify the type of governmentality expressed in the discourse and the power/knowledge in the text to consider the potential influence it has on how constitutional values are expressed and addressed in the selected policies and documents. The second part of the analysis is conducted in the second part of Chapter 5 and is concerned with an analysis of the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) present in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). In this part of the analysis, the CPA principle of consequence was used in conjunction with the concept disciplinary power to analyse the constitutional values democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). The selected constitutional values along with the instruments used to achieve disciplinary power were identified within the curriculum and analysed. The figure below represents a visualisation of the analysis of the study.

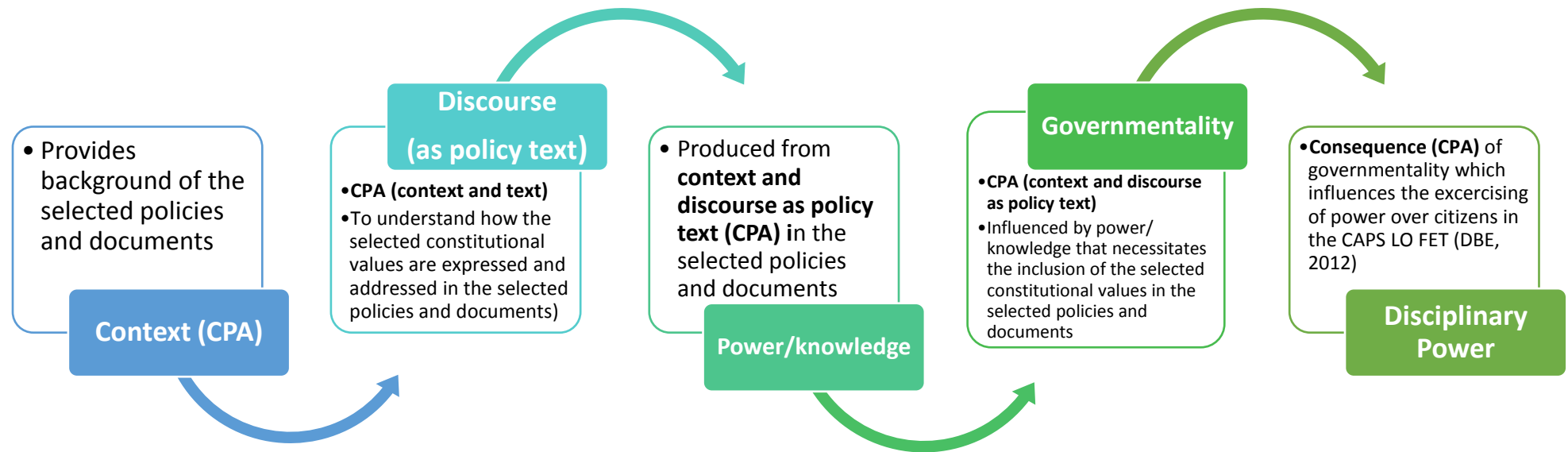


Figure 2: Visual representation of the analytical tool

3.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I briefly explained that from a Foucauldian perspective, policy can be viewed as discourse and text. Secondly, I defined the principles of critical policy analysis and highlighted those aspects relevant to addressing my research questions. Finally, I explained how the analytical tool will be utilised to analyse the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) in the selected policies and documents.

CHAPTER 4: CONSTITUTIONAL VALUES IN CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the first part of this chapter I provide an overview of the global and local context for constitutional values found in state-sponsored school-based citizenship education. The second part of the chapter is an analysis of the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995), the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001), and the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012). The analytical tool employed for this analysis is Critical Policy Analysis (CPA) in conjunction with the conceptual framework as developed in chapter 3. In this chapter I present the first part of the analysis which entails exploring the context of the policies and documents under investigation. This is done by providing a historical, political and social context of these documents. Additionally, I specifically consider the concepts of discourse, power/knowledge and governmentality in this first part of my analysis.

4.2 GLOBAL CONTEXT FOR CONSTITUTIONAL VALUES FOUND IN STATE-SPONSORED SCHOOL-BASED CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

South Africa, once governed under the illiberal government of the Apartheid regime, moved on to become a country governed by the principles of participatory democracy (Tikly, 2003:163-164). Between 1990 and 1993 negotiations between various stakeholders, such as the National Party (NP) and the African National Congress (ANC), took place under the banner of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA I and II). During this time, the interim South African constitution of 1993 was negotiated to pave the way for establishing a constitutional democracy. Consequently, the first democratic elections were held in 1994. This was the first time all citizens of the country were able to exercise their right to vote as democratic citizens. The adoption of the final South African Constitution (RSA, 1996) took place in 1996. The Constitution (RSA, 1996) is the supreme law by which all citizens in the country are governed and as such it is intended to inform all subsequent policies and legislation. Van Heerden (1996:35) states that the idea of a supreme constitution was introduced at the establishment of constitutional democracy in 1994 which ultimately brought an end to parliamentary supremacy. A supreme constitution would ensure that abuse of power at a parliamentary level would be

limited, ultimately safeguarding South Africa against any form of governance as inhumane as the apartheid regime.

During the negotiations at CODESA a team was tasked to write a new constitution for a democratic South Africa. South Africa made use of modern constitutions such as those of Germany and Canada as examples to aid in the establishing of its own constitution. Some constitutional borrowing occurred here. Constitutional borrowing is when countries who are fairly new to constitutional writing wish to write a Constitution. These countries borrow from the Constitutions of countries that have similar or relatable contexts, and whose values are in alignment (Smith, 2011:869). This process entails borrowing sections from an existing Constitution or using the interpretation of key concepts or incorporating the structure and layout of the actual text into the creation of one's own Constitution. It is also important to note that although constitutional borrowing is common and accepted, it is essential that the new Constitution being drafted works for that specific context (Smith, 2011:868). In the case of South Africa, Johan Kruger (personal communication 13 June 2018), stated that although South Africa did borrow from other Constitutions it did not do so by inserting borrowed texts directly into the Constitution. However, interpretation of key concepts and the structure and layout of existing texts were used to craft the Constitution of South Africa.

Evidently, South Africa's Constitution was not written in isolation. It is therefore helpful to understand how the German and Canadian Constitutions influenced the South African Constitution. Further to this, given the influence of Germany and Canada, it is helpful to understand how these countries define citizenship as well as citizenship education, and what constitutional or democratic values they address in state-sponsored school-based citizenship education. Some examples of constitutional borrowing which influenced the South African Constitution are presented below.

The Canadian influence on the South African Constitution is included in Chapter 2 of the South African Constitution, as it is substantially based on the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Davis, 2003:186-187).

Johan Kruger (personal communication 13 June 2018) further stated that

“The prominent place of human dignity as a basic value accords with the German Constitution where human dignity is mentioned in the very first section as “unassailable”. The German reads: *Die Würde des Menschen ist unantastbar*. In addition, Section 1(2)

declares human dignity to be the foundation of all human interaction, be it formal or informal. Hence there clearly exists a strong element of 'borrowing' in this regard."

These examples relate to the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) I wish to analyse later in the study.

4.2.1 CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

In this section, I provide a general definition of what citizenship education is, what it should entail, and whose responsibility it should be. I also give a brief description of citizenship education within the German and Canadian contexts as this is useful as a comparison with the South African context, in line with the constitutional borrowing mentioned in the previous section. Further to this, the brief insight provided of each country provides some understanding into how these country's goals for citizenship interlink with that of South Africa.

To attempt an explanation of what citizenship education is and what it entails, it is helpful to start with an understanding of what citizenship is. Enslin and White (2003:111) assert that "citizenship is the legal status conferred by a state." Additionally, Schoeman (2006:131) states that "citizenship can be defined as a contract between the individual and the state." Given this description one can deduce that citizenship involves two parties, the individual and the state. The assumption of citizenship education is that it creates the need to educate the citizen on what citizenship means in a specific country. Democratically governed countries need to equip their citizens to realise the benefits and responsibilities of their citizenship. Democracy means the people will govern or the rule of the people. The word democracy stems from the Greek word "*demos*" which means the common people. Citizens should therefore be viewed as a pivotal part of democracy. The importance of citizenship participation is a critical aspect of democracy. Staeheli and Hammett (2010:669) aver that "[t]he importance of education in fostering a democratic citizenry is hard to overstate."

Benhabib (in Waghid, 2009:400-401) proposes that democratic citizenship constitutes three aspects, namely "collective identity (take into account people's linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious commonalities); privileges of membership (political participation); and social rights and benefits (civil, political and social rights)." In other words, citizenship education entails educating citizens about their political and social rights, benefits and responsibilities within society (Waghid, 2009:400-401). There is a general sense that democratic citizenship entails a sense of

belonging and participation or engagement in democratic affairs (Waghid 2015:254). This implies that citizenship education should make provision for a set of common values that promote the importance of unification or a certain national identity as well as equip its citizens with knowledge and skills that will enable them to participate in democratic duties. The most important focus of citizenship education should be on equipping the citizen for effective participation in local, provincial, national civic political life as well as international affairs (Schoeman 2006:132; Vilakazi and Mathebula, 2016:198). Further to this the literature implies that citizenship education should be a state activity, as its goal should be to educate citizens for life in a democratic context (Osborne, 2000:8; Kahne & Sporte, 2008:739; Kennelly & Llewellyn, 2011:897-898; Spreen & Vally, 2012; Staeheli & Hammett, 2013:32 and Ruitenberg, 2015). I would further argue that state-sponsored school-based citizenship education would be the greatest tool in transferring democratic values to young citizens due to its extensive reach and also that fact that in most democratic countries education is viewed as a basic human right. However, it is important to bear in mind that citizenship education should not be limited to formal education i.e. state-sponsored school-based education (Vilakazi & Mathebula, 2016:198). Citizenship education should enable citizens to understand their context and be able to participate in a way that promotes democracy for future generations (DoE, 2001:1,6). In most democratically governed countries citizenship education (CE) is of great importance. Due to the influence of the Canadian Constitution (Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms) on Chapter 2 of the South African Constitution (RSA, 1996), I will briefly discuss citizenship education in the Canadian context.

According to Osborne (2000:8) “[f]rom their very beginnings public schools in Canada, as in other countries, were expected to prepare the young for citizenship.” Osborne (2000:10) further explains that Canada traditionally trained students through CE for “cultural, social and vocational functions of schooling”. Canada seemed to promote the idea of CE for social as well as economic production. However, it appears that the focus has moved towards the participation of citizens in the economy to produce for market purposes. Osborne (2000) points out that the potential risk of this shift in focus on economic production could seriously hinder social cohesion in the country. Additionally, there is a lack of encouragement to care beyond the self within citizenship education. In the Canadians on Citizenship report, some citizens noted that the focus of citizenship tended to be on the aspect of rights more so than the aspect of responsibilities (The Environics Institute, 2012:17). Sears (in Kennelly and Llewellyn, 2011:898) states that the issue

of education curricula generally falls under the authority of provincial policy, although the federal government seems to intervene in aspects of CE in the curricula.

Currently citizenship education in Canada focuses on 'active' and 'responsible' citizenship (Bickmore, 2014:259). The language of 'active' citizens raises some concerns. Bickmore (2014:259) asserts that neo-liberal individualistic ideological terminology continues to seep into citizenship education (course documents) and interprets 'active' citizenship as encouraging compliant behaviour. Neo-liberalism is geared at allowing the market to dictate how citizens participate. A government does not control this consumer exchange in the economy as this happens at a global scale. It basically involves transnational companies that regulate the market (cf. 2.5). I argue that merely being an 'active' citizen has the potential to negatively influence how citizens think about their citizenship. Perhaps this is the intent of the way in which being 'active' is interpreted through this ideology? If citizens become passive in their thinking there is a real chance that they will merely keep on agreeing with the prevailing status quo. Further to this, for citizens to act they would have to have access to the market. What happens when citizens are unable to access the market in order to be active citizens? Canada's diverse population, due to immigrants, adds another interesting dimension to consider. As a result, citizenship is likely to be viewed and experienced from various perspectives. Minorities who may not be able to act or produce for and in the market will continue to suffer and not be able to fully actualise their citizenship within the Canadian context. In the section that follows I briefly discuss the German context of CE.

Siedler (2010:315) asserts that "[p]hilosophers, economists, and political scientists have long argued that education plays a major role in the transition from authoritarian rule to democracy in the sustainability of democratic systems." This is the case for Germany who had to make this same transition from an authoritarian/nationalist government rule to democracy. In Germany, CE was intended to promote a sense of belonging, educating citizens regarding their political rights and benefits. German federal government policies (in Siedler, 2010:317) state that "[t]he objective of education for democratic citizenship in school is to transmit democratic values and skills to pupils so that they grow up to be responsible citizens." Lange (2012:91) asserts that CE currently endeavours to teach learners to gain a real understanding of current political realities and to be able to engage in it with the purpose of meaningful impact. Lange (2012:91) further states that for CE "its goal is to train the socio-political consciousness in a way that allows the learner to develop as much autonomy and political maturity as possible." In addition, Lange

(2008:92) suggests five important areas in which citizens in modern societies need to be competent. These are:

First, social learning which helps develop an understanding for social differences and diverse interests in pluralistic societies. Second, cultural learning which creates moral concepts and normative values that are relevant to democracy. Third, economic learning which develops perception concerning the structure and processes of the economy. Fourth, historical learning that fosters competency in shaping the present and the future by enriching both with past experience. Finally, people find out more about how social groups regulate general obligations through political learning.

For Germany the reality of an influx of immigrants added another aspect that requires careful consideration. Consequently, this necessitated a change in CE to be more inclusive of the ever-increasing diverse demography of Germany. Germany focuses on framing the process of the incorporation of immigrants as 'integration' rather than 'assimilation' (Brown, 2014:426). It seems as if this approach makes room for the diversity of immigrants' roots while trying to educate them in the rich history and context of Germany (Faas, 2011:473). It is important to note that in most democracies like Canada and South Africa, affirming national pride is encouraged. In contrast, Germany discourages the affirmation of national pride for fear of stirring up anything that could lead Germany back to past injustices and the gross human rights violations of the Nazi era.

Rather than patriotism required by other countries, most German orientation course teachers taught a distinctly negative or, as some subjects described it, 'broken' form of civic emotion which combined feelings like sadness and shame for the Nazi genocide with a staunch rejection of national pride (Brown, 2014:426).

Brown (2014:426) further asserts that "[i]n the German case the emotional content of membership is unique and thus uniquely visible." One could argue that a focus on the past and teaching history for the sole purpose of adopting a negative emotion, can potentially affect a citizen's ability to be critical. I do not wish to downplay the severity of the impact that this horrendous history has had on the world, yet it may potentially curtail the development of something new that is not born from shame.

Although Canada and Germany have unique contexts for CE it can be argued that to some extent the rhetoric of policy intends the forming of unity among citizens. Yet there are a few overlapping outcomes from these countries that relate to the South African context. Unity among citizens, I

argue, is one such overlapping outcome from these countries that relate to the South African context. It is possibly the most fundamental outcome for citizenship education that South Africa could hope for.

4.2.2 CONSTITUTIONAL/DEMOCRATIC VALUES

Huitt (in Nieuwenhuis, 2007:9) states that “[v]alues are defined in literature as everything from eternal ideas to behavioural actions.” In a moment when the individual is confronted with a reality to which she must respond, values place an imperative on the individual to act in a manner consistent with that which she regards as worth striving or living for and that she sees as worth protecting, honouring and desiring. This is in line with Rokeach (1973:5) who defines a value as “an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence”. Therefore, the concept of a value refers to that which is worth striving for as well as protecting. Within the South African context citizenship education is based on democratic values that stem from the Constitution, which lays out the supreme law of the land. It is envisioned by the Constitution that these democratic values are upheld by all its citizens. Thus, there exists a need to educate citizens on the values that underpin this supreme law (the Constitution) to ensure that citizens are able to live out these values and participate fully as citizens within a democratic society. Educating citizens about their political and social rights, benefits and responsibilities within society are essential if we want citizens to participate in a democracy (Enslin, 2003; Schoeman, 2006; Waghid, 2009 and Staeheli and Hammett, 2013).

4.3 LOCAL CONTEXT FOR CONSTITUTIONAL VALUES FOUND IN STATE-SPONSORED SCHOOL-BASED CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

In the previous section (cf. 4.2), I provided the context for the South African Constitution, highlighting the historical injustice of apartheid which necessitated a radical change. Further to this, in the introduction to the study (cf. 1.1), I noted the Constitution’s (RSA, 1996:Preamble) vision is set to “Heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights”. This shows that a new society is to be formed and founded on democratic values.

In February 2000 (DoE, 2000:2) a working group formed for the purpose of starting the debate on values in education presented six values to be considered for both primary and secondary

educational institutions. The report recommended six values that originated from the Constitution namely equity, tolerance, multilingualism, openness, accountability and honour (DoE, 2000:4). These values were further discussed and debated at the Saamtrek Conference in February 2001 (DoE, 2001) which eventually culminated in the *Manifesto*. The *Manifesto* further identifies ten democratic values that expand on the six initial values derived from the Constitution: democracy, social justice and equity, equality, non-racism and non-sexism, Ubuntu (human dignity), an open society, accountability (responsibility), rule of law, respect and reconciliation. This *Manifesto* aims to strategically convey constitutional values within state-schooling so that the redress of injustices resulting from South Africa's volatile past might be a concerted endeavour. Asmal (DoE, 2001) asserted that these values ought to be continually assessed and discussed as values cannot be legislated. Values are fundamental in how human beings choose to conduct themselves in society (cf. 4.2.2). As stated earlier (cf. 1.1), Sutrop (2015:192) asserts that subject selection, along with teaching, schools, and curriculum statements are value laden. Therefore, it is essential that citizens be encouraged and equipped within state-schooling to critically engage with values through citizenship education.

Citizenship education is not new for South Africa, as citizens were educated for citizenship under the apartheid regime. During apartheid, citizenship education had the sole purpose of educating citizens according to the legal limitations set forth in apartheid laws based on racial divides. As previously stated, (cf. 1.1) whites were encouraged to hold an attitude of superiority over non-whites (Kallaway, 2010). Non-whites were in turn taught their place of inferiority in relation to whites and to view whites in their rightful place as leaders over them, ultimately embracing a position of being subservient to whites (Kallaway, 2010). Smit and Oosthuizen (2011) elaborate on education during apartheid, stating that 17 different educational systems were established in order to implement the policies of segregation founded on race, ethnicity, culture and place. Each system focused on the advancement and implementation of the apartheid laws.

Based on this it can be deduced that citizenship education is an effective tool to use to influence values that citizens are to embrace. It can, as in the case of apartheid, have devastating effects on how citizens experience and access their citizenship, but the opposite could also hold true. In the new democratic dispensation (RSA, 1996:Section 3) the citizenship is defined as a common South African citizenship, where all citizens are "equally entitled to the rights, privileges and benefits" that this entails as well as being "subject to the duties and responsibilities" that stem from this status. Currently, the national curriculum (DBE, 2012:4) aims to play an important role in realising the aims set out in the preamble of the Constitution to heal the divisions of the past,

to help establish a society founded on democratic values, to improve the quality of life and help free the potential of every citizen. Therefore, it is important to consider the implications for how constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen within state-schooling in South Africa.

4.4 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND CRITICAL POLICY ANALYSIS (CPA)

In the following section I employ the analytical tool developed in Chapter 3 to achieve part of my third objective. This involved establishing a background for the final analysis of constitutional values in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) in Chapter 5. The White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995), the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) as well as the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) are the policies and documents I selected for their relevance in understanding the South African context of how constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). I considered the concepts discourse, power/knowledge and governmentality highlighted in my conceptual framework, together with critical policy analysis (CPA), to function as the analytical tool to gain insight into the expression of the selected constitutional values in these policies and documents. The concept of disciplinary power (the final concept in the conceptual framework) will be explored in my analysis of the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) in Chapter 5, together with the concept of disciplinary power as a consequence of the policies and documents mentioned above. In proceeding with my analysis of these three selected policies and documents, I firstly describe the context by identifying some of the economic, social, political and historical factors that influenced the establishment of the policy. Secondly, I consider how the discourse in the text addresses and expresses constitutional values. Thirdly, I consider how the power/knowledge acquired from the discourse in the text influences how constitutional values are addressed and expressed in the text. Finally, I attempt to identify the type of governmentality expressed in the discourse and the power/knowledge in the text to consider the potential influence it has on how constitutional values are expressed and addressed in the selected policies and documents. The coloured sections of the figure below represent the first part of the analysis which will be conducted in this section, while the grey sections represent the second part of the analysis which will be concluded in Chapter 5.

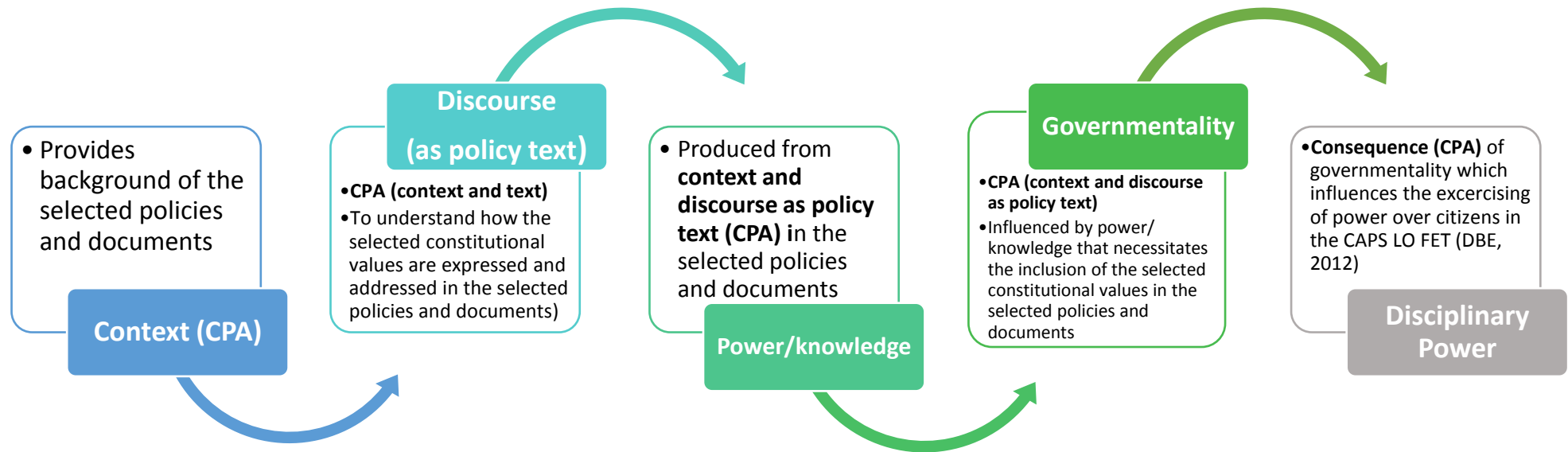


Figure 3: Visual representation of part 1 of the analysis

4.4.1 CONTEXT

In this section, I describe the context by identifying the economic, social, political and historical factors that influenced the establishment of the selected policy or document.

White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995)

The new democratic dispensation necessitated the creation of new policies (cf. 4.3). As previously stated, the main goal of the apartheid regime was to keep citizens segregated under very specific conditions. Policies were created for categorising citizens by race and ethnicity. White Paper 1 was the first education policy document produced by South Africa's newly elected democratic government (DoE, 1995: Message from the Minister of Education Professor S. E. Bengu). The focus of this policy was to create a unified education system that would transform the fragmented system of the past and ensure that all citizens receive equal and quality education.

In Part 1, Chapter 1, Section 1 (DoE, 1995) the scope of the document is detailed as follows:

“This document is a "white paper" which describes the first steps in policy formation by the Ministry of Education in the Government of National Unity. It locates education and training within the national Reconstruction and Development Programme, and outlines the new priorities, values and principles for the education and training system; previews important developmental initiatives on which the Ministry of Education is engaged; discusses the implications of the new Constitution for the education system, especially in respect to Fundamental Rights; discusses the division of functions between national and provincial governments in the field of education and training; provides information about how the national and provincial departments of education are being established; analyses the budget process in education, and the necessity for a strategic approach to education funding in relation to the national priority for human resource development; discusses in detail two significant policy initiatives for the school system: the organisation, governance and funding of schools, and the approach to the provision of free and compulsory general education (DoE, 1995:Chapter 1 Section 1)”.

Noticeably, the fact that the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995:Chapter 1 Section 1) “discusses the implications of the new Constitution for the education system, especially in respect to Fundamental Rights” is important to highlight, as the selected constitutional values under analysis stem from these rights. Further to this, within the scope provided above, the policy

summarises a new set of innovations, “values and principles for the education and training system” (DoE, 1995:Chapter 1 Section 1). These values and principles were to give guidance to how government should proceed in this new climate of transformation in education. In the sections that follow, I focus on the values and principles of this policy when analysing discourse, power/knowledge and governmentality of the selected constitutional values.

Jansen (2002) speaks of this policy as political symbolism, suggesting that its discourse had one task, which was to take a critical stance of radical transformation, unity and the redress of education. Due to the gross injustices of the substandard state-sponsored schooling provided to non-white citizens, the policy had to vehemently oppose the inequalities of the past. Samuel (2016:7) avers that symbolic policies are often “critiqued as simply aiming to develop new direction; it can be seen as merely rhetorical with no clear outlining of pragmatic ways to implement said direction”. In this instance, the White Paper 1 played the role of heralding a new era in the transformation of education and training. I would argue that having to chart unknown territory in the wave of this transition of government would require a specific kind of rhetoric and new vision and dream for education in South Africa. This mammoth task could not possibly be achieved by a single policy. The focus of the policy as stated by Prof Bengu (DoE: Message from the Minister of Education Professor S. E. Bengu) was that it “describes the process of transformation in education training which will bring into being a system serving all our people, our new democracy, and our Reconstruction and Development Programme”. It is important to note that this policy was not intended to be a final outline for educational change, although it proposed to “address the areas which require urgent direction as the new government seeks to transform the fragmented and ethnically-based system into a non-racial system of education and training” (DoE, 1995: Part 6 Conclusion).

The intention of this policy was to develop policies which would evolve as they were critiqued for improvements on the premises of the knowledge gained from relevant stakeholders such as academics, consultants, professional and other experts in field for helpful council (DoE, 1995: Section 5, 7). Further to this its intention was to consider the “performance of the education and training system in the improvement of quality, equity, productivity (effectiveness) and efficiency” (DoE, 1995: Part 1 Chapter 1 Section 7) with the help of technikons and universities.

The political climate of the time inspired the development of this policy for a total restructuring of the education system at a national level. It further sought “the dismantling of the old education bureaucracy through the establishment of new national and provincial education

departments, and the acceptance of legislative competence and executive authority by provincial governments” (DoE, 1995: Part 1 Chapter 1 Section 4). This was to give rise to a new direction of education and training in a democratic South Africa. The policy was responding to the need for the transformation and unification of a fragmented education system, and attempted this in six parts. Part 1 introduces and explains the purpose and scope of the policy; in part 2 the document addresses the reconstruction and development of the education and training programme; part 3 explains the constitutional and organisational basis of the new system; part 4 explains the funding of the education system; part 5 describes reconstruction and development in the school system, and the conclusion is offered in part 6 (DoE, 1995:Contents). Bengu (DoE, 1995: Message of the Minister of Education) states that this new education system should “serve all our people”. South Africa has never had a truly national system of education and training. This policy document describes the envisioned process of transformation in education and training which would bring into being a system serving all South Africans, in a new democracy, and under the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Thus, this policy was intended to benefit all South Africans.

The public response to the White Paper 1 is addressed in Part 1 Chapter 1 Section 10 of the policy (DoE, 1995). Section 10 states that there were many questions regarding the implementation of the policy, specifically concerning the fact that details related to its implementation were not specified. Furthermore, suggestions regarding this “have been reserved for consideration by the responsible implementing authorities, and many will be referred to the respective commissions or committees which will be investigating major areas of policy or of educational need in much greater detail than this document has tried to do. In fact, all contributions from the public have been filed and classified for easy access, so that they can continue to be consulted (DoE, 1995:Chapter 1 Section 10)”. This implies that the contributions and concerns raised by the public would continue to be taken into consideration as other policies were established to further address the educational needs of the new democratic dispensation.

The *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001)

The *Manifesto* was born in a climate of anxiety about the need for moral regeneration and the re-norming of society. It is in this climate that the Working Group on Values in Education presented its document “as a starting point in what ought to become a national debate on the appropriate values for South Africa to embrace in its primary and secondary educational

institutions” (DoE, 2001:6). More specifically it was deemed important to not just prepare learners for the marketplace but to serve society as well (DoE, 2001:3).

The focus of the document was therefore to “provide a practical framework for instilling and reinforcing the culture of communication and participation that the Values in Education Initiative identified as a critical step in nurturing a sense of the democratic values of the Constitution in young South Africans” (DOE, 2001:7).

Ten values are outlined in this document, namely Democracy, Social Justice, Equality, Non-racism and Non-sexism, Ubuntu (Human Dignity), An Open Society, Accountability (Responsibility), The Rule of Law, Respect, and Reconciliation born from the Constitution. Sixteen educational strategies are included to provide guidance on how these values can be transferred within state-sponsored schooling. In this section I will focus on the values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility). South Africa was still new to democracy and the unified sentiments of the Constitution had not yet captured the hearts of the people. It can be argued that due to the moral degeneration of society as well as the ongoing racial and ethnic tension prevalent among citizens, the Constitution’s declaration of unity had not seized the hearts of South Africans. In other words, this change in legislation did not coincide with the hearts and minds of the people, so it is reasonable to assume that this change would take some time. The *Manifesto’s* intention was to emphasise educational values that could be ‘taught’ in schools which would help future citizens to critically participate in a democratic country (DoE, 2001:3). These values were also intended for future citizens to develop a new common citizenship underpinned by the values set out in the *Manifesto*.

According to Samuel (2016:7) a redistributive policy has a strong agenda that outlines the intended new direction of a state, organization or institution. The focus is on the impact this redistribution has on society. Redistribution generally refers to the redistribution of material resources, but in this instance the values set out in the *Manifesto* are not materials but are still deemed important enough to emphasise the pivotal role that values play in education. Further to this, the outlining of the sixteen strategies are emphasised as a means to ensure the transference/implementation of these values. This implies that strategic thinking and action are required for values to take root in the lives of citizens. I would further argue that the transference of values will remain ineffective if viewed purely as an academic exercise. These strategies need to move beyond classroom activities. Some of these strategies may include improving the culture of communication and participation in schools by creating more opportunities for dialogue; making arts and culture part of the curriculum to encourage learner to express themselves

creatively; using sport to shape social bonds and nurture nation building at schools as well as promoting anti-racism in schools (DoE, 2001:4-5).

The intention of the *Manifesto* “is founded on the idea that the Constitution expresses South Africans' shared aspirations, and the moral and ethical direction they have set for the future. As a vision of a society based on equity, justice and freedom for all it is less a description of South Africa as it exists than a document that compels transformation” (DoE, 2001:3). In other words, this document intended to eagerly oblige the relevant institutions it addressed to be deliberate in their process of transformation.

This document drew on public submissions and debates as well as the proceedings of the Saamtrek conference⁵, and recast the original Values, Education & Democracy document into a second discussion of the issues. It was titled a *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy*, and wished to secure the commitment of all individuals involved in the education sector and specifically schools (DoE, 2001:1).

The *Manifesto* describes a new enemy of disunity as a result of South Africa's fractured past and the necessity for the emphasis of values, particular in schools, in order to build a community in unity who upholds the values enshrined “in the Constitution and in the Bill of Rights, as inspiring a beacon as any divided people could wish for” (DoE, 2001:8). Therefore, the document was responding to the potential threat of disunity that stemmed from the divisions of South Africa's past.

The intention of the policy was for all citizens to benefit from it. The focus of state-sponsored schooling is implied in the sixteen educational strategies in Section 2A (DoE, 2001:17-59) of the document. In the educational strategies detailed in Section 2A of the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001:17-59) it is averred that it is not possible to legislate values or impose them on people within authoritative policies on behalf of all South Africans. Instead, these strategies are a way of practically transferring these “values of the Constitution in young South Africans, through the educational system, in the belief that they will germinate in time, become rooted, and flourish (DoE, 2001:17)”. The section further states that

⁵ The Saamtrek (Afrikaans for drawing or pulling together in the same direction, an assembly of common purpose) conference was the National Conference: Saamtrek: Values, Education and Democracy in the 21st Century, held at Kirstenbosch from 22 - 24 February 2001. Politicians, academics, intellectuals, departmental officials, researchers, educators and members of non-governmental organisations, came together to discuss the values arising out of our Constitution that our education system ought to embrace (DoE, 2001: Forward, Conference Report).

[t]hese are strategies to which we all can commit ourselves - whether we are departmental officials, politicians, parents, educators, community members, private sector business-people or learners. They are strategies which can work only if they are conducted in partnership between government and civil society (DoE, 2001:17).”

Thus, these strategies are intended to ensure a holistic transference of constitutional values within education.

National Development Plan: The Vision for 2030 (NPC, 2012)

The National Development Plan: Vision for 2030 (NPC, 2012) was developed to help South Africa reach the goals stipulated in the Constitution’s preamble. The NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) is not a policy but a suggested plan from a presidential advisory committee. This committee was tasked with identifying problems that have hindered progress in South Africa. Trevor Manuel states in the Foreword to the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) document that,

we seek to eliminate poverty and reduce inequality. We seek a country wherein all citizens have the capabilities to grasp the ever-broadening opportunities available. Our plan is to change the life chances of millions of our people, especially the youth; life chances that remain stunted by our Apartheid history (NPC, 2012:Foreword).

In identifying the areas that need to be improved, the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) aids in providing guidance on how to reach, address and improve aspects in these areas. There are 15 Chapters in the document, and each of these is dedicated to one focus area. The focus of Chapter 9 is on improving education, innovation and training, and specifically Section 5 of the Chapter pertains to constitutional values in education and curriculum. I furthermore considered Chapter 15 of the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) as it touches on issues regarding active citizenry and the social compact.

The scope of this document is to address the nine main challenges South Africa currently faces, which are “too few people work; the standard of education for most black learners is of poor quality; infrastructure is poorly located, under-maintained and insufficient to foster higher growth; spatial patterns exclude the poor from the fruits of development; the economy is overly unsustainably resource intensive; a widespread disease burden is compounded by a failing public health system; public services are uneven and often of poor quality; corruption is widespread and South Africa remains a divided society” (NPC, 2012:3).

The NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) is procedural in nature as it outlines what actions are to be taken to meet specified targets to achieve the outcomes detailed in each area of concern. Samuel (2016:6) explains that a procedural policy “emphasises the structures (organisations, officials, committees or persons) responsible for particular elements of a procedure”. Since the NDP is not a policy but a suggested plan from a presidential advisory committee, its suggestions stem from a thorough investigation, so that the government is able to roll out specific policies to address the identified concerns. However, by itself the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) does not have the authority to regulate processes and mechanisms.

The intention behind this document was to identify a new approach to eliminating poverty and reduce inequality. This requires the citizenry to move from passive benefactors of state services into a citizenry that “are active champions of their own development, and where government works to develop people’s capabilities to lead the lives they desire” (NPC, 2012:1-2).

In the introduction to the overview of the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) a quote from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) from 1994, the first macro policy of a then newly democratic dispensation, states that “[n]o political democracy can survive and flourish if the mass of our people remain in poverty, without land, without tangible prospects for a better life. Attacking poverty and deprivation must therefore be the priority of a democratic government” (RDP, 1994 in NPC, 2012:1).

The NDP 2030 can therefore be argued to be a response to the gaps in the progress made since the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme that was tasked with focusing on redressing the issues of the past. As already mentioned above, nine challenges were identified as being crucial to improving the current state of affairs. If South Africa is to make any advancements to achieve the vision enshrined in the Constitution for the liberation of all citizens as well as creating a space for every citizen the opportunity to reach her full potential, then these challenges should be tackled aggressively.

The stakeholders involved in the creation of this document consisted of 26 people who were appointed by the President “to advise on issues impacting on long-term development. This gives the commission the license to be honest, bold, cut through the silos of government and take on board the views of all South Africans. It also requires us to be humble, never pretending that we have a monopoly on wisdom. This is a proposed development plan, subject to public comment

and criticism” (NPC, 2012:Foreword). It is also important to note that the national planning commission is not a department of official government structures.

The citizens of South Africa are the ultimate beneficiaries of the plan. Trevor Manuel (NPC, 2012:Foreword) explains that this document is the first such plan and that detailed reports on issues have been outlined in this mandate.

4.4.2 DISCOURSE

In this section I consider how the discourse in the text addresses and expresses the selected constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility).

White paper 1 (DoE, 1995)

The discourse of the White Paper 1 is largely geared towards the transformation of education and redressing the injustices of the past. Values and principles contained in it are set out in Chapter 4, and these were intended to “drive national policy for the reconstruction and development of education and training” (DoE, 1995:Chapter 4 Section1). The 23 values and principles inscribed in Chapter 4 (DoE, 2001) are included in order to provide guidance to this policy in the process of the reconstruction and development of education and training. I have highlighted some of the values and principles mentioned in Chapter 4 that are in line with the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) that will be analysed further in the context of the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012).

In Chapter 4 Section 3, responsibility is placed on the parents as being primarily responsible for the education of their children. This implies that the state expects parents to keep account of their children’s school attendance. In Chapter 4 Section 11 it asserts that in a democratic education system, various stakeholders are involved in decision-making to ensure that democratic governance is carried through in all levels of the system. The value highlighted is democracy and the text emphasises the significance of democratic governance in the decision-making processes of education.

Section 12 of Chapter 4 states:

“The restoration of the culture of teaching, learning and management involves the creation of a culture of accountability. This means the development of a common purpose or mission among students, teachers, principals and governing bodies, with

clear, mutually agreed and understood responsibilities, and lines of cooperation and accountability.”

Students, teachers, principals and school governing bodies (SGB's) all have responsibilities and should be held accountable. In other words, this implies that all stakeholders have a role to play in making this culture of accountability a reality. I would assume that the adults would hold the greater responsibility as the learners may not be able to affect changes at high levels in school districts, provincial governments, etc.

In Chapter 4 Section 13, the text states that the goal of the policy is to enable a democratic, free, equal, just and peaceful society to take root and prosper in our land. This requires the inclusion of diversity, equal citizenship and a common national destiny, remembering that any form of prejudice is dehumanising. I argue that within this discourse there is an implication towards the constitutional value of Ubuntu⁶. This discourse assumes that the various stakeholders can welcome diversity, treat all its citizens with equal status and understand what the general national destiny is.

Chapter 4 Section 14 states that,

“[t]his requires the active encouragement of mutual respect for our people's diverse religious, cultural and language traditions, their right to enjoy and practice these in peace and without hindrance, and the recognition that these are a source of strength for their own communities and the unity of the nation”.

Again, I argue that within this discourse, the text leans towards implying that Ubuntu as a constitutional value needs to be observed. Ubuntu encapsulates virtues such as “kindness, generosity, compassion, benevolence and courtesy as well as respect and concern for others” (Waghid, 2016:448), that will enable citizens to embrace the complexities of this diversity. For

⁶ Ubuntu (human dignity is explained as having an appreciation of the humanity of fellow citizens and acknowledging that there is strength in the diversity of the citizens of South Africa (DoE, 2001:3). This extends beyond merely tolerating each other's differences. Nieuwenhuis (2007:63) expands on the meaning of Ubuntu (human dignity) as “a culturally based value rooted in a specific conception of what it means to be human. For this reason, it is intricately linked to human values such as love, respect, peace, honesty and integrity.” Additionally, Waghid (2016:448) states that “Ubuntu consists of moral norms such as kindness, generosity, compassion, benevolence and courtesy as well as respect and concern for others.” These virtues are encapsulated within the concept of Ubuntu. The concept refers to acknowledging the humanity of each person in a society, as the ability to do this can create better social cohesion. Through Ubuntu the individual is acknowledged as a part of the whole of society, as a person having unique skills and gifts that can benefit not only themselves but also the greater community.

this principle to be a reality for citizens, it assumes that citizens have a sense of freedom to live out their religious, cultural and language diversities. It does not, however, acknowledge the challenges of changing mind-sets within the context of education and training institutions in order to make this plausible.

The *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001)

The discourse regarding the values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) in the *Manifesto* is focused towards the critical participation of future citizens. To gain a better understanding of how these values are understood, it is helpful to investigate how these are defined in the *Manifesto* itself. Firstly, democracy is viewed as being the ability to critically engage and participate responsibly (DoE, 2001:3). This implies that democracy is a phenomenon that requires citizens to act in a specific manner. The citizen is intended to be involved in the process of democracy in all that it entails.

Nieuwenhuis, (2007:63) defines democracy as

“an ideological value based on the idea that the will of the people must be heard in all matters pertaining to the governance of public institutions, but it is interrelated and dependent on the realisation of the values of equality, freedom and social justice.”

Considering this, it is sensible that the value of democracy should be transferred to citizens in the state-sponsored schooling context. The *Manifesto* acknowledges the importance of understanding what democracy entails, coupled with its goal of aiding and equipping future citizens to live within a democratic country. The *Manifesto* itself was established to aid state-sponsored schools in equipping future citizens to live out their citizenship within the context of a constitutional democracy.

“The approach of the *Manifesto* is founded on the idea that the Constitution expresses South Africans' shared aspirations, and the moral and ethical direction they have set for the future. As a vision of a society based on equity, justice and freedom for all it is less a description of South Africa as it exists than a document that compels transformation” (DoE, 2001:3).

In other words, democracy is more than an idea, it is a way of life, and it has no effect if it remains mere rhetoric. Dewey (in Johnston, 2010:106) in his philosophy on education within democracy asserts that the lived experience of children is essential to experience real freedom which is a vital element of democracy. Therefore, state-sponsored schooling is used as a tool to guide

citizens on how to live out this vision for their own benefit as well as the collective within a democratic society.

Secondly, having an appreciation of the humanity of fellow citizens, acknowledging that there is a strength in the diversity of the citizens of South Africa is what is encapsulated in the term Ubuntu (human dignity) (DoE, 2001:3). Additionally, this extends beyond merely tolerating differences among each other. Nieuwenhuis (2007:63) expands on the meaning of Ubuntu (human dignity) as “a culturally-based value rooted in a specific conception of what it means to be human. For this reason, it is intricately linked to human values such as love, respect, peace, honesty and integrity”. Additionally, Waghid (2016:448) states that “Ubuntu consists of moral norms such as kindness, generosity, compassion, benevolence and courtesy as well as respect and concern for others”. These virtues are encapsulated within the concept of Ubuntu. The concept acknowledges the humanity of each person in a society, and the ability to do this can create better social cohesion. Through Ubuntu the individual is acknowledged as a part of the whole of society, as a person having unique skills and gifts that are to benefit not only themselves but the greater community. Each citizen has rights, but the fact is no citizen exists in isolation. In order for the individual’s rights to be upheld and recognised as important to others, fellow citizens need to acknowledge that the individual is valuable and also worthy of experiencing these rights. Equality within citizenship is what South Africans need to be persistent about. Although citizens are deemed equal on paper (in various policy documents), this is not always the case in practice (Staeheli and Hammet, 2013; Spreen and Vally, 2012; Schoeman, 2006 and Enslin, 2003). Ubuntu is not merely the recognition of another person’s humanity but acknowledging that the person is valuable in what she can contribute to her community (Waghid, 2016:447). I argue, that the concept of Ubuntu enables one to have a holistic perspective of where one belongs and how one complements, contributes and garners support in society, one’s country as well as the world one lives in.

The third value is accountability (responsibility). The *Manifesto* explains that, through the democratic act of citizens voting for their chosen representatives to govern them, power has legitimately been given to those in government. Citizens are therefore tasked with holding these people accountable of their duties to their fellow man (DoE, 2001:4). Accountability (responsibility) is described by Nieuwenhuis (2007:64)

as being underpinned by the notion that natural rights place an obligation on citizens and organs of the state to answer to their constituency. Accountability is thus associated with

democracy in the sense that the will of the people must be served and therefore elected officials must be answerable to the electorate.

Accountability (responsibility) is an integral value for democracy to be successful, as the state is legally obliged to account to its citizens. Although the *Manifesto* expresses the value of accountability (responsibility) as a relationship between government and the citizen, I argue that it is more complex than this. Nieuwenhuis (2007:105-108) further explains that accountability (responsibility) within a democracy extends beyond merely the relationship between government and the citizen. In relation to education, accountability (responsibility) includes the involvement of government, parents, teachers, principals, communities and learners. Democracy necessitates collective responsibility in order for equality, freedom and social justice to prevail. Equality, freedom and social justice are some of the core principles that underpin democracy.

The sixteen strategies detailed in the document attempt to provide practical ways to aid in the transference of these values. The policy itself avers that values cannot be legislated (DoE, 2001:4). However, the fact that this policy was established is indicative of its fundamental importance as well as an acknowledgement that state-sponsored schooling should not merely be utilised to produce citizens fit for economic activity, but also citizens who would be able to impact society socially as well. The discourse within the *Manifesto* is favourable towards constitutional values. In Chapter 5 of the study, I undertake a deeper analysis of the values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) within the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012).

National Development Plan: The Vision for 2030 (NPC, 2012)

The language of the discourse in the vision statement of this document (NPC, 2012:41-48), the writing of a new story for South Africa, is focused on a highly functional economic market with the citizenry actively participating. One can understand the need for a re-imagination of the state of South Africa as the heavy shadow of the apartheid past still lingers on in society and continues to weigh down the potential for change. This document identifies nine main challenges that need to be resolved in order to make successful progress.

Chapter 9 (NPC, 2012:261-294) of the NDP 2030 focuses on education and training. This chapter details the challenges within this sector and puts forth quantifiable targets for improving the problem areas. Constitutional values are not addressed in this section apart from a brief mention of “addressing the decline of the humanities (NPC, 2012:290)”. This section alludes to the

potential impact that research at tertiary level has on issues pertaining to identity, languages, ethics, and the creation of a non-racist and non-sexist society, and so on. I argue that these aspects resonate as values when one considers the constitutional values stipulated in the *Manifesto*. Considering these aspects, it potentially implies that the NPC views these values as important for the development of society and acknowledges the importance of research in terms of a deeper understanding of values. Chapter 14 (NPC, 2012:401-410) addresses the promotion of accountability in the face of corruption. I mention this because I have highlighted accountability (responsibility) as a constitutional value that will be analysed in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). This section describes the impact that corruption has beyond governmental institutions that ultimately impacts society. The corruption of state systems is the focus here. This area describes how the vision seeks to entrench a zero-tolerance stance on corruption by taking the necessary legislative action in conjunction with increased political will and active citizenry as explained in the chapter. Accountability is needed on all sides to ensure that corruption has no room to breed.

The overview of the document (NPC, 2012:6) states that more well-off South Africans need to come to terms that “the old model of consumption is unsustainable”. Put differently, for real change to happen, these well-off citizens will have to make some sacrifices so that all citizens can benefit economically. Therefore, they should accommodate and support the necessary changes regarding the creation of equitable opportunities for those previously disadvantaged because of systemic laws and institutions of the past. It is however not clearly stated here who these well-off South Africans are. In Chapter 15, the section on the problem statement (NPC, 2012:412) mentions historical privilege as one of the dominant issues for lack of progress in societal transformation. Further to this, it states that the generations of investment made into the development of white people is due to historical privileges. Only for a short time has the black middle class been able to make progress in skills development for more economic opportunities. However, the clear majority of black people living in historically deprived areas remain disadvantaged (NPC, 2012:412). I would argue that the well-off citizens point to the historically privileged, i.e. white people. This issue could potentially be managed by citizens embracing the value of Ubuntu, and not merely people being open to diversity in terms of language, culture and religion, but all aspects of diversity in the lived experiences of fellow citizens. The virtues or moral norms of Ubuntu (explained in the previous section on the *Manifesto*) (DoE, 2001) such as kindness, generosity, compassion, benevolence and courtesy as

well as respect and concern for others would be beneficial in improving social cohesion. This will hopefully enable these well-off citizens to acknowledge the realities of others, and in so doing accept some extent of personal sacrifice for the advancement of the collective citizenry. Moreover, they may come to the realisation that when the collective advances, everyone does.

Chapter 15 (NPC, 2012:411-430) focuses on transforming society and uniting the country. In a sub-section of this chapter, a nation-building vision for 2030 is also mentioned, which includes a discussion of the fostering of constitutional values (NPC, 2012:422-427). These values are unpacked as one of the capabilities needed to help the 2030 vision of nation building. Notably, there is acknowledgement that values cannot be legislated (NPC, 2012:423). Under this section, the importance of values is mentioned to help citizens live these out and uphold values enshrined in the Constitution. Here, it also asserts the values stipulated in the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) as mentioned in the previous section. Firstly, one of the ways to foster constitutional values is in the role of the family. For instance, despite the pervasiveness of a patriarchal society, the NPC (2012:424) proposes that it intends for the family to be a starting point for a citizen to gain exposure and understanding of values like democracy, tolerance, diversity, non-racialism, non-sexism, equity, etc. These values link to cultivating a collective identity, one of Benhabib's ideas about what constitutes democratic citizenship, which includes taking into account people's linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious commonalities (Waghid, 2009:400). Secondly, using schools in conjunction with the curriculum is another way the document suggests that constitutional values can be fostered. The NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012:425) states that "[s]chools unlike the families, can enable the fostering of common values across language, culture, religion, race, class and space". Consequently, reasons are given why the school is a good place for these values to be encouraged. Additionally, through the teaching and learning of values in the curriculum, learners will be encouraged to gain confidence, and in so doing, develop a "curious mind" (NPC, 2012:425). Further to this, pre-service teacher education needs to create opportunities to incorporate and develop curriculum that promotes the internalisation of values to allow them to live out and practice these values in their future profession (NPC, 2012:425-426). Thirdly, the media can be used to promote these values. Media in its variety of forms can promote constitutional values with the content it selects to present to the public. For example, by challenging the status quo of gender norms in a patriarchal society, the media can help to encourage healthy debate to ensure that diversity is not just tolerated but embraced as a strength in society. The very last part of the chapter entails a brief explanation of active citizenry and the

social compact (NPC, 2012:429). Here the Constitution is described as the ideal social compact for South Africans as it details the vision of liberty and equality, and that all citizens enjoy the benefits but also uphold the duties of their citizenry. Active citizenry is described as active participation in society in every aspect of life. For example, all citizens should seek to display qualities of “leading by example and following the laws of the land: honesty, integrity and trustworthiness; able to manage change and drive a new agenda, communicating with people, keeping them interested and informed as well as the ability to make unpopular decisions” (NPC, 2012:429). Therefore, the discourse in Chapter 15 (NPC, 2012) asserts the importance of constitutional values as underpinning the thoughts and actions of citizens.

4.4.3 POWER/KNOWLEDGE

In this section, I consider how the power/knowledge acquired from the discourse in the text influences how constitutional values are addressed and expressed in the various policy documents.

White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995)

As explained in Section 4.4.2, the values and principles set out in Chapter 4 of the White Paper 1 were included with the intention to be the driving force behind the policy. This means laying down values and principles that would underpin all further developments regarding subsequent education policy. As explained in Chapter 2 of this study, power/knowledge is “...whatever knowledge is ascertained about a phenomenon within discursive practices, that will enable governments to exercise power over citizens. The knowledge gained influences the power exercised over citizens” (Davidson, 2012:12). This means that power/knowledge of the context and the purpose of the policy would inform the establishing of the values and principles of the White Paper 1. This section analyses the values and principles selected in the previous section (4.4.2) on discourse to make sense of the power/knowledge that influenced the inclusion of these values in the policy.

In Chapter 4 Section 11 the value of democratic governance in the decision-making processes of education is highlighted. The power/knowledge influencing this value is explained in Part 2 Chapter 3 Section 3. Here it is stated that “the education system taken as a whole embodies and promotes the collective moral perspective of its citizens that is the code of values by which the society wishes to live and consents to be judged (DoE, 1995:Part 2 Chapter 3 Section 3)”.

Considering the role that education plays in a democratic society, it is important that democratic governance is asserted as a fundamental value. The absence of this assertion could once again result in a fragmented system. Therefore, the knowledge of the past and the establishment of constitutional principles influence the value of democracy as it is highlighted in the policy.

In Chapter 4 Section 12 the value of accountability is highlighted within the context of the school to restore the culture of teaching and learning. Part 2 Chapter 3 Section 13 states that the different educational histories and the impact these have had in creating a transformative and democratic mission for a united system in education is acknowledged. It further states that “[i]t is now the joint responsibility of all South Africans who have a stake in the education and training system to help build a just, equitable, and high quality system for all the citizens, with a common culture of disciplined commitment to learning and teaching” (DoE, 1995:Part 2 Chapter 3 Section 13). This knowledge prescribes that in order to achieve accountability within the school context, accountability among the stakeholders in state-sponsored schools as well as the stakeholders at local, provincial and national level are pivotal in ensuring that schools function well.

The value of Ubuntu is highlighted in Chapter 4 Section 13 as the need for inclusion of diversity, equal citizenship and a common national destiny is expressed. I argue that the power/knowledge necessitating this value is integral to the redressing of segregation and embracing of a unified people. Further to this, Part 2 Chapter 3 Section 6 explains:

When all South Africans won equal citizenship, their past was not erased. The complex legacies, good as well as bad, live on in the present. Difficult as it may be to do so, South Africans need to try to understand each other's history, culture, values and aspirations, not turn away from them, if we are to make the best of our common future.

Evidently, the acknowledgement of the impact of the segregated past and the complexity of such a history would be great a challenge in embracing the various cultures of all peoples in South Africa. Therefore, this power/knowledge influences the necessity for the value of Ubuntu to be upheld as essential in uniting citizens.

The value of Ubuntu is again highlighted in Chapter 4 Section 14 as the need for “the active encouragement of mutual respect for our people's diverse religious, cultural and language traditions.” The power/knowledge influencing this value is explained in Part 2 Chapter 3 Section 12. This section asserts that all systems previously operated in isolation in every sphere except in top management.

Mutual ignorance has therefore been the norm, even between teachers and administrators working virtually side by side in neighbouring systems within the same city, town or rural village. In 1995, as their educators and administrators are absorbed into new non-racial national and provincial departments, the pre-democratic ethnic departments will dissolve and their separate institutional cultures, personal networks and community relations, good and bad, face extinction (DoE, 1995:Part 2 Chapter 3 Section 12).

Due to the segregation of systems and people in various aspects of education, it is important that a value of mutual respect for diverse backgrounds underpins the policy. I have viewed it as a value of Ubuntu, although it is not a given that people will live it out as such. Waghid (2016:448) asserts that “Ubuntu is a practice of communal sharing encouraged by peace, social harmony and socio-political consensus”. It is important to note that the power/knowledge of these values and principles is intended to aid in striving for a new vision that requires work over a period of time.

This knowledge of segregated systems of education has influenced the values and principles expressed in this policy. Further to this, the democratic dispensation necessitated that the power/knowledge gathered from the effects of the past and goal for the future would be in stark contrast. The policy aimed to enable South Africa’s education system to employ a new vision of unity to help redress the gross inequalities of the past.

The *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001)

The *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001:6) describes the issue of moral regeneration and reforming society as one of the values that needed to be addressed. Young South Africans are at the heart of the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001:7) who will be “the succession of citizens who are the countries future”. Further to this, the *Manifesto*’s reach (DoE, 2001:7) would extend to every part of the education system for all those engaged in education, including educators, administrators, community leaders, parents, officials and ultimately the learners themselves. Considering this, a need arose for establishing a common destiny among citizens given South Africa’s segregated past of Apartheid. As was explained in previous sections of this study (cf. 1.1 and 4.3), the goal of Apartheid was separation. Even the laws under this regime dictated this and ensured that it was actualised. For this reason, for democracy to flourish, policies, laws etc. need to help actualise a

sense of unity among citizens which is the vision enshrined in the Constitution South Africans are to strive for. However, as stated by Nelson Mandela (in DoE, 2001:8), the injustices of the past cannot merely be forgotten, and just because a new vision was cast this does not mean that it will automatically take effect in society. Therefore, as Asmal asserts, the goal is that values “should govern our lives and our relationships” (Asmal in DoE, 2001:9). In other words, achieving a common citizenship will require work, hence the need for transferring values and debating these values in this process for the purpose of unity. This is the power/knowledge that influences the selection of values that are expressed and addressed in the *Manifesto*.

National Development Plan: The Vision for 2030 (NPC, 2011)

The challenges facing South Africa identified in the NDP 2030 can be seen as power/knowledge. By identifying these challenges this power/knowledge was used by the creators of this document to suggest solutions to these problems. These solutions have the intention of having a positive impact on citizens to improve (as stated throughout the document) the life-chances of citizens and ensure progress for the future.

The overview of the document (NPC, 2012:6) states that more well-off South Africans need to come to terms with the fact that “the old model of consumption is unsustainable”. Interestingly the document highlights the mind-set of the well off as having an impact on progress. This implies that the previous model of consumer conduct is a hindrance to progress. The constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility), if embraced by citizens, could potentially shift these mind-sets. For instance, the value of democracy would create awareness and exposure to human rights that are to be experienced by all citizens, as well as the participation of citizens in the process of governing. Additionally, the value of Ubuntu would promote better social cohesion if citizens were to promote and live out the virtues of kindness, compassion, respect etc. Moreover, the value of accountability (responsibility) would encourage all citizens to be held accountable for their own conduct and to take up their individual responsibilities.

In Chapter 15 (NPC, 2012:411-430) the document highlights three ways of fostering values (NPC, 2012:424-426): the role the family plays in society, the school and the school curriculum, and the media. I argue that the emphasis of these three ways in fostering values is an acknowledgement that for constitutional values to be upheld and lived out by citizens there needs to be a culture

of cultivating constitutional values in various spheres of society. Further to this, being exposed to different interpretations of values could potentially encourage debate and critical thinking among citizens. For example, one of the concerns raised in the NDP 2030 in utilising the family to foster values, is that South Africa is largely a patriarchal society. One needs only observe the current climate of heightened violence against women and children. The headlines of countless news articles tell of too many women and children harmed by the hands of a man with whom they have close connections. For example see articles like 'Gender based violence on the rise' (South African Government, 2018), the 2018 report on Crime against Women in South Africa (Statistics South Africa, 2018), websites like ewn.co.za (EYEWITNESS NEWS) as well as www.news24.com under the topic tag 'violence against women'. Additionally, in this context, views about gender norms and roles in society are often a cause for contention as women often face challenges in living out these values without negative repercussions. In other words, although the family may be the starting point to cultivating constitutional values, it is not guaranteed that these values would be interpreted in the same way. The need therefore arises for using the school and media to foster values for a broader scope of interpretation and understanding that can encourage healthy debate among citizens.

The NPC's power/knowledge of rights and responsibilities (2012:413) implies that if a citizen merely focuses on her own rights, it prevents her from taking responsibility for her contribution to the dysfunction in society. A lack of ownership from citizens in South Africa necessitates the need to envision a more active citizenry. Active citizenry potentially provides a sense of ownership through the suggested standards citizens should seek to uphold in their communities. I argue that power/knowledge can be used to serve the interests of the discourse that the state wishes to assert.

I argue that not all citizens may be aware of the various spheres of actively participating in decision-making, as the emphasis is placed on voting during elections. This is viewed as the main way of democratic participation. Modise (2017:1) agrees that because of a lack of knowledge regarding participatory democracy, citizens are not adequately equipped or informed to participate in all available spheres. Biesta (2011:142) further asserts that through education the potential for the domestication of the citizen is highly probable, depending on what is emphasised or omitted within citizenship education. Further to this, I argue that democracy may not be understood by all in the same way. Since South Africa's democracy is fairly young, the

views and lived experiences (socio-economic, historical and political) of segregation remain entrenched within society as well as in institutional cultures.

4.4.4 GOVERNMENTALITY

In this section I identify the type of governmentality expressed from the discourse and the power/knowledge in the text to consider the potential influence it has on how constitutional values are expressed and addressed in the selected policies and documents.

White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995)

In Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2 and 2.3) of this study it is stated that governmentality is concerned with how government conducts itself in the process of governing its population (Gordon, 1991:1-2). It also seeks to construct ways in which it makes it easy for government to understand and make sense of its population (Foucault, 1991:94). Put differently, the state is in a relationship with itself, its citizens and vice versa. Within this relationship there are rules of engagement which are often stipulated by government. It is also argued in Chapter 2 that policy and documents created by government are considered as governmental discourse (Ball, 2006:44, 48). Such discourse attempts to regulate and aid in making the citizenry comprehensible to the government within the boundaries set forth by the government. For example, the values and principles stipulated in Chapter 4 of the White Paper 1 (specifically Section 10) focuses on school governance. In Chapter 4 Section 10 it is stated:

The years of turmoil have taken a heavy toll on the infrastructure of our education and training system. The relationship between schools and many of the communities they are expected to serve has been disrupted and distorted by the crisis of legitimacy. The rehabilitation of the schools and colleges must go hand in hand with the restoration of the ownership of these institutions to their communities through the establishment and empowerment of legitimate, representative governance bodies.

The discourse of the text uses the term legitimacy quite frequently, which is indicative of the fact that legitimate governance within schools and communities needed to be addressed.

The 23 values and principles outlined in Chapter 4 of the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995) are recognised by government as being important to achieve unity, equity and redress in a single

education system. This is done bearing in mind the fragmented system of Apartheid which operated with several education systems in isolation of each other (Smit and Oosthuizen, 2011:34). The need to restructure at all levels is also due to promoting a legitimate system seeking to serve all South Africans. It is difficult to say to which specific rationale this policy leans. As mentioned, Tikly (2003) (cf. 2.3) saw post-apartheid South Africa as experiencing a plurality of governmental rationalities. He highlights liberalism and neo-liberalism as examples in the South African context. I argue that to some extent within the discourse of White Paper 1 (in particular Chapter 4) there is a hint of pastoral power. For example, Chapter 4 Section 3 emphasises parents' primary roles regarding the responsibility for the education of their children. It implicitly provides guidance on how parents should to conduct themselves regarding the wellbeing of their children's education. This could be interpreted as pastoral power as Olssen et al. (2004:26) describes it as "involving leadership, guidance, duty, responsibility and so on". Pastoral power is focused on caring for the individual like shepherds tending to their flock or in this instance a parent caring for her child. Section 10 Chapter 4 leans towards liberalism because it emphasises the importance of communities to take ownership of school governance. Fimyar (2008:6) explains that "in a liberal state population, its welfare, health and efficiency are perceived as the ends of the government of the state". Security in the form of human rights, welfare and health is the basis of and prosperity within a liberal rationale. By encouraging parents to care for their children it implies that the government seeks to create opportunities for citizens to participate directly in the governance of how children receive an education, thus enacting their human rights within this rationality.

The *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001)

The emphasis on transferring values through education implies that the government intends for citizens to behave in a certain manner. The *Manifesto*'s focus on constitutional or democratic values is indicative of the fact that it is deemed a necessity that citizens adhere to or uphold these values above all. The power/knowledge of the historical context of South Africa is a pervasive reality that needs serious intervention. Thus, the highlighting of values in the *Manifesto* allows for government to encourage citizens to embrace a new way of conducting themselves in society, emphasising power/knowledge regarding the past norms of segregation that imbedded its tentacles within the laws of the land. This need for the transference of values is articulated as essential for future citizens to embrace a common destiny. In other words, this

governmentality seemingly, subtly leans towards liberal rationality. In Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2.3) I stated that security in the form of human rights, welfare and health is the basis of and prosperity within a liberal rationale. The focus of liberal reasoning is on the individual within the population. In Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2.3) it was stated that the state's role within this reasoning is to ensure prosperity for the population in managing economic activity, as well as creating adequate opportunity for economic participation (Fimyar, 2008:6). For the state to function efficiently it makes use of 'human science'. For example, knowledge of the population is used as a means of control and regulation over the population. In other words, the government wishes to make citizen more legible within the democratic dispensation by having them adhere to democratic practices deemed compulsory.

National Development Plan: The Vision for 2030 (NPC, 2011)

This document states its main goal as eliminating poverty and reducing inequality. Throughout the document the chapters mostly culminate in a set of targets to be met. These targets mostly seek to improve citizens' opportunities to participate in economic activities. For example, in Chapter 9 (NPC, 2011:35) one of the targets is to eventually link learner performance to the remuneration of teachers. While this may seem plausible, it arguably negates the current social realities faced by communities. I argue that linking learner performance to teachers' salaries pushes teachers to produce a product for market purposes. The downside of this is that learners may potentially focus more on their ability to produce and less on their social responsibilities toward their fellow citizens.

Further to this, in the NDP 2030's vision statement (NPC, 2011:41-48), where the new story of South Africa is articulated, the language tends to linger around the performance of citizens. This alludes to citizens being encouraged to produce for market purposes. This appears to guarantee the elimination of poverty. Although this may seem well intended, the social responsibility aspect is not addressed as strongly as it could be. If this is the case, it implies that being active in the economy is of greater value than social cohesion. I therefore argue that this document strongly leans to a neo-liberal governmental rationale. In Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2.4) I explained that in the case of neo-liberal reasoning, the focus moves beyond that of the population; moving beyond geographical territory of nation states to trans-international organisations (Peters, 2009:xxxiii). Here the scope of governance moves beyond geographical boundaries and considers the global

economic market to be the regulator of economic participation. Although the population remains an important aspect in the action of governing, access to the economy is of greater importance. The government will put emphasis on allowing the free market system to work 'independently of itself' to allow for those with capital to participate. This means that the market has a certain view of how individuals should participate. It relies on citizens to take the initiative to participate.

4.5 CONCLUSION

The first part of this chapter provided an overview of the global and local context for the constitutional values found in state-sponsored school-based citizenship education. I focused on Germany and Canada, as the Constitutions of these countries had a significant influence on the South African Constitution. Additionally, I briefly described constitutional values and their importance to citizens in democratic dispensations. I did this to achieve the third objective of my study, namely, to provide context to how the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability find expression in state-sponsored school-based citizenship as expressed in White Paper 1, the *Manifesto* and the NDP 2030 (cf. 1.4.3). In the second part of the chapter, I conducted the first part of my analysis. I did this to provide context to help achieve my fourth objective, which is to analyse the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) present in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). Here I analysed the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995) the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) and the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) by employing the analytical tool to gain insight into the context of constitutional values in these documents. Here I linked CPA's principles of policy context and text with the conceptual framework concepts of discourse, power/knowledge and governmentality. This enables me to consider in the next chapter how disciplinary power (the final concept of the conceptual framework) interlinks with CPA's concept of consequence.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS OF SELECTED CONSTITUTIONAL VALUES IN CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this study, I view the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) as a consequence of policy. In Chapter 4 (cf. 4.4) I conducted the first part of my analysis to provide the background to how constitutional values are expressed in macro policies and other documents relevant to education. These documents provide the overarching vision and strategy for constitutional values in education but do not detail implementation plans. However, the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) details plans for content and assessment that should be taught in the classroom, which has a direct impact on citizens in state-sponsored schooling. For instance, the general aims of CAPS (DBE, 2012:4) stipulates that the national curriculum should equip learners with knowledge, skills and values for self-fulfilment and that will enable them to participate meaningfully in society. It further serves the purpose of helping learners to transition from educational institutions into the workplace, so that they can participate economically. I focused on the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) curriculum to help understand how constitutional values are expressed in the curriculum. Additionally, it is important to highlight that the CAPS LO FET “is one of the four fundamental subjects required for the National Senior Certificate” (DBE, 2012:8). Prior to the FET phase, the CAPS Grades R-9 Life Orientation curriculum is explained as being foundational for citizenship education. This is because the content of life orientation is geared at preparing citizens to function in society by creating awareness of the role of the citizen as well as exposing citizens to important democratic concepts, processes and the various ways of participating within such a context. Evidently, CAPS Life skills Foundation Phase Grades R-3 (DBE, 2012:8), CAPS Life skills Intermediate Phase Grades 4-6 (DBE, 2012:8) and CAPS Life Orientation Senior Phase Grades 7-9 (DBE, 2012:8) all provide content that progress across these phases to ultimately equip learners with the necessary knowledge, skills and values to effectively participate in a democratic society.

The analysis conducted in this chapter was done to ascertain how selected constitutional values might help in constructing the envisioned citizen. As stated in the previous chapter (cf. 4.5), in the first part of the analysis the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995) the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001), and the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) were analysed by employing the analytical tool developed in Chapter 3 to aid in gaining

insight into the context of constitutional values in these documents. To do this I linked CPA's principles of policy context and text with the concepts discourse, power/knowledge and governmentality to enable me to create the context for how disciplinary power (the final concept of the conceptual framework) interlinks with CPA's concept of consequence. I argue that disciplinary power is ultimately the result of discourse, power/knowledge and governmentality. This is because discourse influences power/knowledge in policy and other documents. This in turn influences the governmentality of a country and eventually the disciplinary power that impacts citizens. The grey sections of Figure 4 represent the first part of the analysis and the green section represents the second part of the analysis presented in this chapter.

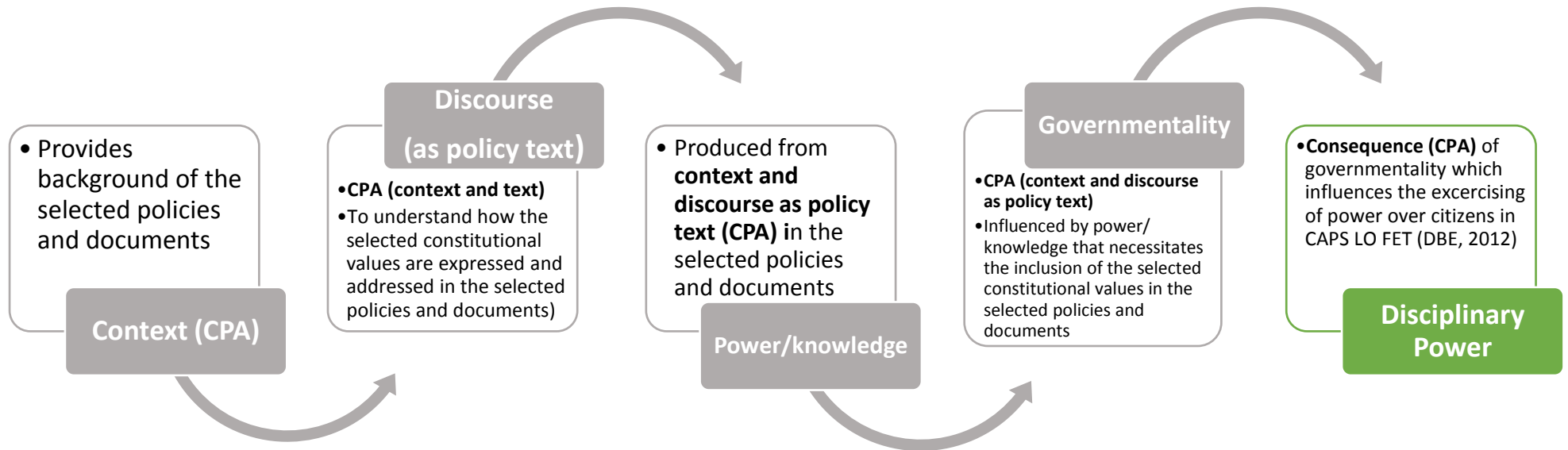


Figure 4: Visual representation of part 2 of the analysis

I have argued (cf. 2.4 and 2.6) that disciplinary power can be viewed as a result or consequence of governmentality. A government's rationale of who, what and how it governs will affect the citizens of that particular country. The focus of disciplinary power is to gain control (Foucault, 1977) by utilising various instruments to achieve a desired behaviour or conduct that is required through governmental institutions/mechanisms. As such, disciplinary power has the potential to impact the actions of citizens in promoting compliance and docility. In this chapter I specifically set out to explore how disciplinary power, as a consequence of governmentality, is present within the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012), and potentially impacts the actions of citizens. In the following section I first unpack selected parts of the content of the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) as it links with the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility). I then identify where the three instruments of hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and examination may be present in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) in light of the selected constitutional values. I analyse the potential impact of these three instruments on the interpretation and transference of constitutional values to citizens, and ultimately how this has the potential to impact the actions of citizens.

5.2 CONTENT OF CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012)

In the general aims of the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:4), it is stipulated that learners are to be prepared for "meaningful participation in society as citizens of a free country". It is important to ask what the building blocks are in preparing the citizen for meaningful participation. Schoeman (2006:133-135) suggests six attributes of a good citizen in a constitutional democracy. These attributes are understanding of and commitment to democratic values, respect for the common good, knowledge and understanding of political concepts, issues, structures and systems, higher level thinking skills and a patriotic feeling, social skills and an attitude of participation in democratic processes (Schoeman, 2006:133-135).

The CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:8) defines Life Orientation as "the study of the self in relation to others and to society". This subject area specifically aims to "address the skills, knowledge and values about the self, the environment, responsible citizenship, a healthy and productive life, social engagement, recreation and physical activity, careers and career choices" (DBE, 2012:8). This implies that this curriculum intends to prepare learners for at least some aspects of democratic citizenship participation as set out by Schoeman (2006). Further to this, the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:8-9) unpacks the following specific aims:

guide and prepare learners to respond appropriately to life's responsibilities and opportunities; equip learners to interact optimally on a personal, psychological, cognitive, motor, physical, moral, spiritual, cultural and socio-economic level; expose learners to their constitutional rights and responsibilities, to the rights of others and to issues of diversity as well as to equip learners with knowledge, skills and values to make informed decisions about subject choices, careers, additional and higher education opportunities and the world of work;

The specific subject aims within this curriculum address some of the attributes suggested by Schoeman (2006). Equipping learning to interact optimally on various levels could link with developing social skills as Schoeman (2006:135) suggests. Additionally, exposing learners to their constitutional rights and responsibilities, to the rights of others and to issues of diversity could link with "respect for the common good" (Schoeman, 2006:133); knowledge and understanding of political concepts, issues, structures and systems" (Schoeman, 2006:134) and possibly developing an "attitude of participation in democratic processes" (Schoeman, 2006:135). The attributes that Schoeman (2006) suggests, provide guidance as to what a 'good citizen' looks like within a democratic society. Further to this, it helps in understanding what tools the citizen needs to acquire to function optimally within a democracy. The CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012), as explained above, makes some strides at attempting to cultivate these attributes.

In the general outcomes of CAPS (DBE, 2012:5) there are several points that a learner should be able to do in order to be productive in society. I argue that learners who are able to "identify and solve problems and make decisions using critical and creative thinking; work effectively as individuals and with others as members of a team; collect, analyse, organise and critically evaluate information; communicate effectively using visual, symbolic and/or language skills in various modes; use science and technology effectively and critically showing responsibility towards the environment and the health of others;" (DBE, 2012:5) could all be well intended outcomes for the purpose of holistic civic participation. Having the ability to make decisions using critical and creative thinking; working effectively as individuals and with others as members of a team; communicating effectively using visual, symbolic and/or language skills in various modes as well as showing responsibility towards the environment and the health of others (DBE, 2012:5) could benefit learners in working with fellow citizens from diverse backgrounds. This in turn could have a positive impact on citizens' understanding of the practicalities of collaborating with others. This alludes to the constitutional value of democracy (cf. 4.4.2) in that it promotes diversity and inclusion of others in functioning not

just in a workspace but in a democratic society. Additionally, the ability to think critically and creatively when making decisions is an important skill to have to function in a healthy manner in a democracy. Since critical and creative thinking further promote innovation, progress and growth, and enable us to embrace the benefits of diversity. Moreover, the ability to communicate effectively alludes to aid the practice of the constitutional value of Ubuntu by recognising the humanity (cf. 4.4.2) of other citizens. By having the ability to make use of visual, symbolic and/or language skills in various modes in order to communicate, implies that one has respect for another citizen. This further implies that one views one's fellow citizens as valuable in what they can contribute by being open to communicating in these various modes to ensure participation. Finally, showing responsibility towards the environment and the health of others alludes to promoting the value of accountability (responsibility) (cf. 4.4.2) as well as Ubuntu by acknowledging that each citizen must take responsibility and account for their contribution towards the environment as it affects not only the citizen but others as well.

The CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:8) includes six topics, namely 1) Development of the self in society; 2) Social and environmental responsibility; 3) Democracy and human rights; 4) Careers and career choices; 5) Study skills and 6) Physical Education. These topics span across the FET phase (Grades 10 – 12) as indicated in Table 1. I will focus on the first three topics as these relate to transferring the selected constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility). The table below reflects the content of the first three topics. I have further bolded the relevant content under each topic for the transference of the selected constitutional values.

The topic of 'Development of the self in society' entails subtopics like self-awareness, understanding gender roles, power relations in society, making decisions, problem solving, and conflict resolution. These are intended to provide guidance to the citizen to help her navigate life's responsibilities and to understand herself in relation to society. I argue that this topic relates to the value of Ubuntu as it puts in perspective how the individual complements the rest of society. In Chapter 4 (cf. 4.42) I discussed the definition of Ubuntu as acknowledging the humanity of each person in a society, and the ability to do this can create better social cohesion. Further to this, I also listed some virtues like "kindness, generosity, compassion, benevolence and courtesy as well as respect and concern for others" (Waghid, 2016:448) encapsulated within this concept. The content of self-awareness, understanding gender roles, power relations in society, making decisions, problem solving, conflict resolutions has the potential to help learners develop the moral virtues captured within the concept of Ubuntu. Secondly, the topic of 'Social and environmental responsibility' exposes citizens to social

issues both locally and globally that impact negatively on these communities. Environmental issues are also raised, and citizens are exposed to their responsibilities in this regard. To some extent this topic alludes to the value of accountability (responsibility) by making citizens aware of the issues related to current environmental challenges as well as teaching citizens of their responsibility in improving these situations is a way of incorporating this value in the curriculum. In Chapter 4 (cf. 4.4.2) I stated that accountability (responsibility) as a value engenders the willingness to take ownership of an action and accept responsibility for that action. Accountability (responsibility) is an integral value for democracy to be successful, as the state is legally obliged to account to its citizens. The inclusion of the content mentioned above may serve the purpose of exposing learners to this constitutional value specifically in the way in which they relate to the environment.

Table 1: Section 3 Teaching Plan of CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:10)

3.1 OVERVIEW OF TOPICS				
	Topic	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12
1.	Development of the self in society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Self-awareness, self-esteem and self-development • Power, power relations and gender roles • Value of participation in exercise programmes • Life roles: nature and responsibilities • Changes towards adulthood • Decision-making regarding sexuality • Recreation and emotional health 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plan and achieve life goals: problem-solving skills • Relationships and their influence on well-being • Healthy lifestyle choices: decision-making skills • Role of nutrition in health and physical activities • Gender roles and their effects on health and well-being 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Life skills required to adapt to change as part of ongoing healthy lifestyle choices • Stress management • Conflict resolution • Human factors that cause ill-health • Action plan for lifelong participation in physical activity
2.	Social and environmental responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contemporary social issues that impact negatively on local and global communities • Social skills and responsibilities to participate in civic life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environmental issues that cause ill-health • Climate change • Participation in a community service addressing an environmental issue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Environments and services which promote safe and healthy living • Responsibilities of various levels of government • A personal mission statement for life
3.	Democracy and human rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Diversity, discrimination, human rights and violations • National and international instruments and conventions • Ethical traditions and/or religious laws and indigenous belief systems of major religions • Biases and unfair practices in sport 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Democratic participation and democratic structures • Role of sport in nation building • Contributions of South Africa's diverse religions and belief systems to a harmonious society 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsible citizenship • The role of the media in a democratic society • Ideologies, beliefs and worldviews on construction of recreation and physical activity across cultures and genders

Finally, the topic of 'Democracy and human rights' entails helping learners to understand diversity, democratic participation, human rights and the responsibility of citizenship. Further to this, citizens are also exposed to ethical traditions, indigenous belief systems, and national and international instruments and conventions. The value of democracy is evident in this topic as it exposes learners to the different elements encapsulated within a democracy. In Chapter 4 (cf. 4.4.2) I explained that democracy is viewed as having the ability to critically engage and participate responsibly (DoE, 2001:3). This means that the citizen is intended to be involved in the process of democracy in all

that it entails. By exposing citizens to understand diversity, democratic participation, human rights and the responsibility of citizenship, this in turn aids in the transference of the value of democracy.

The curriculum plan further details how assessment of the topics mentioned above should occur within the respective grades of the LO FET phase. Assessment will be discussed in detail in Section 5.5 below.

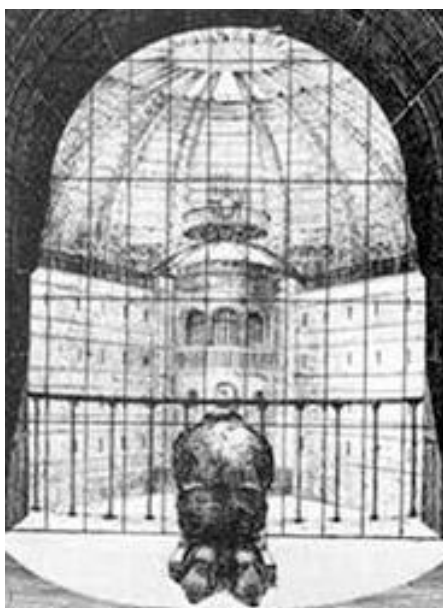
Having provided a brief summary of the curriculum content as it relates to the selected constitutional values, I turn my attention to the instruments used to achieve disciplinary power as well as identify where these may be present within the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012).

5.3 DISCIPLINARY POWER

As explained in Chapter 2, disciplinary power is described as the gaining of control over a population. This can be done by means of classifying, differentiating, categorising, excluding, including, individualising, hierarchising, identifying, and normalizing (Foucault, 1977). Further to that, it is used as an apparatus of governmental control. For example, epidemics of disease, fiscal markets, administration are controlled by the government. Making use of the information established from these events the government directly influences how crime, schooling, as well as military are controlled in a country (O'Farrell, 2005). Foucault (1977) and Smart (1985) expand on the instruments through which disciplinary power is achieved. These include hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and the examination (cf. 2.4).

5.3.1 HIERARCHICAL OBSERVATION

This instrument is described in light of Bentham's panopticon (in Foucault 1977:200) which is explained in Chapter 2 of the study (cf. 2.4.1). The notion of a subject being observed from a single vantage point at any time by an authoritative figure, without being aware of this observation, is the crux of this instrument. The intended purpose of this observation is to create in the mind of the subject the perception of being under constant observation. In other words, the idea of being observed is enough to encourage obedience and cooperation from those being observed. Ultimately in this way the expected behaviour of subjects becomes automatic.



Panopticon: "a hypothetical prison designed by Jeremy Bentham arranged so that all cells are visible from a central observation tower. It is used as a symbol of the disciplinary society of surveillance and experimental laboratory of power in which behaviour would be modified (Foucault, 1977:172)".

Disciplinary power – Michel Foucault (1977:172), Discipline and Punish.

Figure 5: Bentham's Panopticon, Foucault (1977:172)

It is important to remember that policy documents are viewed as governmental discourse (c.f. 2.3). This idea, taken from Doherty (2007:199), argues that governments are able to communicate their ideology and values to the public through policy and other state documents. In other words, policy is a device utilised by governments to further their work/interests. For instance, in Chapter 4 (cf. 4.4.1) I provided contextual background for the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995), the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) and the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012). These provide an overarching framework for the curriculum. The curriculum is the detailed plan for how to achieve the goals and intentions set out within these guiding policies and documents for education. This makes it convenient for government to ensure that citizens relate to government in a way that makes them legible. The legibility of citizens means that they function appropriately within the democratic context which the government has established for the benefit of the citizen. Considering this, the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) is the national plan for state-sponsored schooling in which it details general outcomes for education in schools. The three constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility)

are highlighted within the prescribed content. Further to this, the plan explains the purpose of the subject area as well as the intended outcomes for the particular subject. The various topics that should be covered are stipulated, and a time frame is provided to ensure that the set topics are covered efficiently. Additionally, assessment plans are also included. The specifics of how and when assessments should take place as well as other information that would guide the teacher in her teaching of citizens in her classroom is provided in the plan. In this way the state's directives regarding the curriculum requirements are fulfilled.

The curriculum itself can be seen as an instrument of hierarchical observation. The teacher is provided with specific topics to cover in a given time outlined in the document. The CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012), being the national syllabus for all state-sponsored schooling, implies that an expectation of uniformity should be present in all schools following the national curriculum (DBE, 2012). Moreover, throughout the teaching plan the curriculum stipulates that "it is compulsory to cover the given topics in the term indicated" (DBE, 2012:13). This implies that teachers are required to present content in line with these topics. The use of textbooks as a resource is also referred to in the curriculum (DBE, 2012:12-24). This could be problematic as it inadvertently creates the impression that the teacher is limited to the textbook and may feel that she has no freedom to be creative, which ultimately curtails teacher autonomy. For teachers to enable learners to be critical and to be able to exercise some level of autonomy would provide a greater opportunity for teachers to enact their agency within the curriculum. Further to this, the disempowerment of the teacher has the potential to restrict the practice of democracy in the classroom. As has been stated (cf. 4.2.1) democracy involves participation from all citizens for the governance of a country to work well. Democracy at its core is intended to be a collective ideal that embraces diverse cultures, ideas, languages etc. (Waghid 2015:254). Arguably, by hindering teachers' agency in the school and classroom context, they will not be able to live out the value of democracy in practice. Ultimately, the practice of democratic participation is limited to an end product of citizens who have some sense of theory related to democracy. It is however not explicit that learners are given opportunities to practically engage with the action of democracy in what the *Manifesto* (DBE, 2001:3) defines as critical engagement and active participation. There are merely suggestions for informal assessment tasks (DBE, 2012:25) that could create the opportunity for critical engagement. These are not compulsory in determining student progress but can be considered if there are no time limitations in getting through the compulsory formal and informal assessment tasks. It is however reasonable to conclude that the teacher would rather focus on completing the formal assessment tasks. The

curriculum as an instrument of hierarchical observation therefore serves the purpose of enforcing curriculum content deemed important by the government with mostly no objection and limited awareness.

5.3.2 NORMALIZING JUDGEMENT

Normalizing judgment (cf. 2.4.2) is a process of establishing conformity amongst subjects (Foucault, 1977:177-180; Smart, 1985:86 and O'Farrell, 2005:7). Constitutional values can be used to aid the citizen to conform to a certain way of behaviour/conduct within a democratic society, differently, there is an acceptable way for citizens to behave within the context of democracy to ensure that democracy or the expression of democracy in a particular context is upheld. This could be considered the status quo. State-sponsored schooling has a greater reach in transferring constitutional values to ensure that citizens are exposed to these values, and to ultimately consider them beneficial for their own lives. For this reason, it is a powerful tool to ensure that citizens are exposed to these values from the time they enter their reception year at state-sponsored schooling institutions to the time they matriculate.

The range of topics covered across the CAPS LO FET phase (DBE, 2012:5) are there to present a point of view that takes into account the pertinent issues of human rights, social justice etc. These are some of the principles encapsulated in South Africa's expression of democracy. As stated in Chapter 4 (cf. 4.4.2) some of the principles of democracy include equity, justice and freedom (DoE, 2001:3). The documents analysed in Chapter 4 (cf. 4.4) provides every citizen with the background for the reason for democracy and the benefit of its establishment as well as the importance of sustaining it. For example, the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995) (cf. 4.4.1) provides the basis of understanding the need to transform the education system of South Africa. Additionally, the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) (cf.4.4.1) provides further explanation why constitutional values need to be emphasised in education. In Section 4.4.1, I explained that although democracy had been established it has not yet taken root in the way society operates from day to day, due to the country's continuing inequalities as a result of years of systemic oppression. Moreover, the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) (cf. 4.4.1) provides a report of how far South Africa has progressed in this democratic dispensation, but also highlights challenges needing to be addressed in order to further democracy. Considering the background provided by these documents, the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:8) provide every citizen enrolled in state-sponsored schooling with the opportunity to be exposed to topics including Development of the self in society; Social and environmental responsibility; and Democracy and human rights. This makes

state-sponsored schooling the ideal tool to ensure that the public at large is informed of governmental ideals. For example, the specific aims for the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:8-9) creates the expectation that all citizens are meant to be able to respond appropriately to life's responsibilities and opportunities; to interact optimally at every level; to gain exposure to constitutional rights and responsibilities; to understand the rights of others as well as issues of diversity; and finally to be prepared for the world of work and/or to articulate into higher educational opportunities upon their completion of school. The specific aims of the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:8-9) imply that only the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) will enable a citizen to make the appropriate progress to function optimally in a democratic society. This results in citizens reaching the 'rational' conclusion that state-sponsored schooling is the only means of providing citizens with tools for successful participation within democracy.

5.3.3 THE EXAMINATION

The examination (c.f. 2.4.3) includes both hierarchical observation and normalizing judgement, which is used to categorise and evaluate a subject. Further to this, Foucault (1977:187-192) and Smart (1985:87) stipulate three mechanisms of the examination. These mechanisms are converting the economy of being visible into the exercise of power⁷, the introduction of individuals into the space of documentation, and how documentation techniques are able to present each individual as a 'case'. This 'case' is then measured against a set of criteria or outcomes that are considered to be acceptable by the majority within a society or institution, which would be deemed the status quo. These three mechanisms aid in connecting the relationship between power and knowledge. For example, during the assessment process, citizens are singled out as individuals who are required to participate in assessment activities. This is done so that their progress and competency in their knowledge of the content of the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) can be evaluated. Citizens would then be compared against a set of ideal outcomes deemed necessary for them to attain ensuring their progression to the next grade. Consequently, this reduces the citizen to a 'case' as documentation is gathered and collated to present it as evidence of a learner's progress to proceed to the next

⁷ For example, the examination of a subject exposes her to scrutiny and critique against a set of outcomes that in turn enables those examining her to exercise power over her in relation to the outcome of her performance.

level. The curriculum provides guidelines for the assessment of the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) and defines it as:

a continuous planned process of identifying, gathering and interpreting information about the performance of learners, using various forms of assessment. It involves four steps: generating and collecting evidence of achievement; evaluating this evidence; recording the findings and using this information to understand and thereby assist the learner's development in order to improve the process of learning and teaching (DBE, 2012:25).

CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:25) further explains that Life Orientation should not only be assessed using a test-based approach, as this could lead to focusing merely on theory. The curriculum also highlights the need to be practical and create opportunities for the development of skills given the nature of the subject area and what it entails. Additionally,

skills such as self-awareness and management, dealing with stress, decision-making, empathy, interpersonal relationships, communication, assertiveness, negotiation, goal-setting, ability to access information, problem-solving, creative and critical thinking are addressed across all six topics and assessed through formal or informal assessment for Life Orientation (DBE, 2012:25).

Moreover, the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:25) asserts that “attitudes such as respect for the self and others, respect for and acceptance of differences, assuming responsibility, perseverance, persistence, anti-discrimination and equality, are also addressed and assessed across all six topics”.

The various types of assessment have different roles in evaluating the progress of the citizen. Assessment guidance is provided in the curriculum plan (DBE, 2012:25-36). The curriculum (DBE, 2012:25) further stipulates that assessment is monitored through the course of the school year and includes three different but interlinked activities, namely informal or daily assessment tasks; optional certificate tasks; and formal assessment tasks.

Informal or daily assessment tasks (DBE, 2012:25-26) are described as activities that help learners to be successful in their formal assessment tasks. The curriculum further states that it is not necessary for the teacher to mark each of these informal assessment tasks, but that guidance should be given by way of memoranda, checklists and peer assessment tools to help the learner to assess her own performance. Some examples of such tasks are short class tests, discussions, practical demonstrations, mind-maps, debates, oral reports, role-playing, short homework tasks, worksheets, group work and individual record-keeping. The informal assessment tasks suggested seems to imply

that the teacher should be creative with peer assessment, debates, role-playing etc. These assessments are however not counted in evaluating a citizen's progress (DBE, 2012:25).

Optional certificate tasks (DBE, 2012:26) are not compulsory, but they serve the purpose of enhancing the earning and learning potential of learners as well as instilling a sense of achievement in learners as they exit Grade 12. These tasks can be either performance-based or participation-based tasks. Firstly, performance-based tasks require the learner to perform a certain skill proficiently, such as completing a First Aid Level 1 course or a learner driver's license. Secondly, participation-based tasks require the learner's active involvement for a certain period of time. Some examples of such tasks could be getting involved in community activities/projects, cultural activities, sport, as well as planning, organisation and presentation of school events, workplace experience and participation in club or group activities e.g. Girl Guides or Boy Scouts.

Formal assessment tasks (DBE, 2012:26-27) are described as assessment tasks that make up a formal programme of assessment for the year. These tasks are marked and formally recorded by the teacher for progression and certification purposes. These tasks are moderated for quality assurance purposes as well as to ensure that they are appropriate for the learners' age of development. Some examples of formal assessment tasks are presented in the form of written tasks, and include source-based tasks, case studies, assignments, written reports, written and oral presentations, and portfolios of evidence. A programme of assessment is also included to provide specific guidance to the teacher on how the assessments stipulated in the curriculum could be spread throughout the year. The weighting of marks for the formal assessment tasks are also clearly stipulated in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:27).

The curriculum (DBE, 2012:34-36) further details four levels of the moderation of assessments. These are at school, district/region, provincial and national level. According to the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:34) "[m]oderation refers to the process that ensures that the assessment tasks are fair, valid and reliable". Additionally, it stipulates that for the quality assurance of all assessments it is necessary to have and maintain comprehensive and appropriate moderation practices (DBE, 2012:34).

It is interesting to note the emphasis on formal assessment (e.g. written tests). It seems to be of greater merit than the informal assessment (e.g. debate, role-play or peer assessment). If democracy is being taught, minimising the importance of creating/facilitating opportunities for dialogue seems contradictory. Schoeman's attributes (2006) as explained in the previous section (cf.

5.2) posits the importance of being able to function optimally within a democratic society. Enabling citizens to take part in dialogue and debate in a facilitated space can teach them to value the diverse opinions of others, to respond in ways that improve how they grapple with conflicting ideals and also to appreciate difference. Waghid (2009:405 and 2010:20-22), however, cautions that deliberation is often not a peaceful process and can often end in dissonance rather than the preferred consensus. He further asserts that democracy should entail the inclusion of the voices of all citizens.

All the assessment tasks counting toward the progression mark are individual tasks. The examples of tasks deemed appropriate for assessment are detailed in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:28-30), and these all seem to promote individual performance. This may be a hindrance to exposing the learner to engage with the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility), which are best experienced in a group setting. In Chapter 4 (cf. 4.4.1) I asserted that the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) provided a background to the need for emphasising constitutional values. In Section 4.4.2 I identified the definitions that the *Manifesto* provided for these values and then alluded to the strategies suggested by the *Manifesto* in order to aid in the transference of these values. Considering this, it is apparent to me that values cannot be left to a mere theoretical and academic activity. Participation and interaction with others are essential in order to develop and strengthen these values. This development is only possible with the aid of other citizens. I argue that the focus of assessment being an individual task perpetuates the idea of competing and ranking of learners and reduces the opportunity to have real life experiences in understanding social cohesion, both its benefits and its challenges. Furthermore, individualising assessments could hinder the learner from achieving the aims stipulated in the curriculum, which is to produce a citizen who is equipped with knowledge, skills and values that will enable self-fulfilment and allow her to meaningfully participate in society (DBE, 2012:4).

The instruments of hierarchical observation and normalizing judgment are incorporated in the instrument of examination. The instrument of examination is present in the process of assessment. Assessment requires citizens to work independently to produce a task (provided by the teacher, under the guidelines of CAPS (DBE, 2012) which as stated in 5.3.1 is viewed as a form of hierarchical observation) against a specified standard (this specified standard alludes to the instrument of normalizing judgement explained in 5.3.2) in order to evaluate or judge whether she is fit to progress to the next grade.

5.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter I set out to achieve my fourth objective, which was to analyse the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) present in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). I did this by unpacking the content of the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) as it links with the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility). Thereafter, I identified the areas within the curriculum where hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and the examination (through which disciplinary power is achieved) were present in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012), considering both the selected constitutional values as well as the analysis conducted in Chapter 4. Finally, I analysed the potential impact these instruments could have on the interpretation and transference of constitutional values to citizens, and how it could potentially have an impact on the actions of citizens.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUDING REMARKS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I comment on the implications on how the constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012), considering the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power. This chapter provides a conclusion for the study. Firstly, I provide a summary of the first three chapters of the study. Secondly, I provide a discussion and implications of the analysis of the selected policies and documents from Chapters 4 and 5. Thirdly, I consider how constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen as a means to address the main research aim. Fourthly, I discuss the limitations of the study before making recommendations for further exploration. I conclude the study with a reflection of my journey and academic growth during this process.

6.2 SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS 1 to 3

The preamble of the Constitution (RSA, 1996) states that society must be based on democratic values. It should “lay the foundations for a democratic and open society where government is based on the will of the people” and ultimately improve the quality of life of all citizens, freeing the potential of each person. The CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:Foreword by the Minister) states that “[e]ducation and the curriculum have an important role to play in realising the aims set out in the preamble of the Constitution”. The purpose of citizenship education, as explained in Chapter 4 (cf. 4.2.1), is to educate citizens about their political and social rights, benefits and responsibilities within society (Waghid, 2009:400-401). Prior to the FET phase, the CAPS Grades R-9 Life Orientation curriculum is explained as being foundational for citizenship education. I argue this because the content for life orientation is geared toward preparing citizens to function in society, creating awareness of the role of the citizen, as well as exposing citizens to important democratic concepts, processes and the various ways of participating within such a context. Evidently, the CAPS Life Skills Foundation Phase Grades R-3 (DBE, 2012:8), the CAPS Life Skills Intermediate Phase Grades 4-6 (DBE, 2012:8) and the CAPS Life Orientation Senior Phase Grades 7-9 (DBE, 2012:8) all provide content that progress across these phases to ultimately equip the learner with the necessary knowledge, skills and values to effectively participate in a democratic society. Considering this, I

argue that the envisioned citizen is one who can participate meaningfully in a democratic society. In light of this, I now consider the main research question.

The purpose of the study is to answer the main research question: How do the constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen in the CAPS (2012) Life Orientation FET phase? In alignment with my main research question, the aim of this study is to gain critical insight into how the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) construct the envisioned citizen in the CAPS (2012) Life Orientation FET phase in light of the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power. Based on the main research aim I developed five research objectives.

For the purpose of achieving my first objective, I developed the conceptual framework from the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power in Chapter 2. In this chapter, I provided a brief history of the development of Foucault's concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power as found in relevant literature. Following this, I argued the relevance of these concepts for considering school-based citizenship education in the post-1994 South African context. Thereafter, I indicated the relation these concepts have to education before I briefly considered the expression of constitutional values in school-based citizenship education in post-1994 South Africa. I have only done so briefly as an in-depth discussion of school-based citizenship education is considered in Chapter 4.

Following this, I explained the analytical framework of critical policy analysis (CPA) and its relevance to the study in Chapter 3. I also briefly explained the manner in which policy is viewed as discourse and text from a Foucauldian perspective. Secondly, I defined the principles of critical policy analysis and highlighted those aspects of relevance to addressing my research questions. Finally, in Chapter 3 I also explained how the conceptual framework in conjunction with the analytical framework was used as the analytical tool to analyse selected and relevant policies and documents. This aided me in achieving my second objective.

6.2.1 DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF ANALYSIS IN CHAPTER 4

The third objective was achieved by providing a global and local context for constitutional values found in state-sponsored school-based citizenship education. This was specifically done in the first part of Chapter 4. Additionally, in the second part of Chapter 4, I conducted an analysis of the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) in the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995), the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) as well as the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012). This was done to

establish a background and context for the final analysis of constitutional values in citizenship education.

Each policy and document provide a background that explains the reason for its creation. The implication of the **context** and background provided by these policies and documents is that constitutional values remain a pertinent issue and is professed as necessary for improving the lives of citizens in aiding them to function optimally in a democratic society. White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995) creates the broad vision for a new education system, as education under Apartheid was fragmented and dysfunctional. The constitutional values present in this policy can be used to guide educational institutions in a political climate of democracy. The *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) follows on by acknowledging the need for moral regeneration by providing definitions for ten important values that will enable democracy to flourish. It also provides strategies to ensure effective transference of these values within state-sponsored schooling. The NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) focuses on addressing the gaps of redress and inequality from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) left unfulfilled and is based on the nine challenges identified in the document.

The **discourse** of the selected constitutional values in the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995) was highlighted as a guiding force for future policy developments. In the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) the discourse strongly focuses on promoting the transference of constitutional values. Definitions are provided along with strategies to help the transference of constitutional values in a holistic manner. The NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) explains the importance of values being promoted in various spheres of society. It further states that active citizenry is required for democracy to be successful. It also provides examples of the types of activities that focus on participation in community involvement, and individuals taking the initiative and responsibility wherever they find themselves in society.

This discourse, in turn, informs the **power/knowledge** that explains what necessitated the inclusion of these constitutional values. The power/knowledge influencing the inclusion of constitutional values in the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995) is due to a transitional government and radical break from a fragmented education system. Further to this, a new democratic dispensation required an overhaul of the values to be emphasised to ensure democracy would take root. For the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) the realisation of disunity due to moral degeneration among citizens, necessitated intentional governmental discourse of constitutional values to be put in place by way of identifying 10 important democratic values South Africans should uphold in order to be able to function and be productive in a democratic country. The NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) focuses on the nine challenges that hinder South Africa from achieving the goals it set out achieve from the first macro Redistribution

and Development Plan (RDP) policy. It also notes the attitude of well-off citizens as being largely consumeristic. This attitude is unhelpful as influences consumeristic behaviour which is unsustainable for the progress South Africa wishes to make. Further to this, the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012:413) states that citizens tend to focus on their own personal rights above their civic responsibilities. This prevents citizens from taking responsibility for their contribution in improving society. The need for fostering constitutional values is therefore clear, and the document highlights this in Chapter 15.

Power/knowledge in turn guides the **governmentality** that will affect how power is exercised over citizens. The governmentality identified in these policies and documents are pastoral power, liberalism and neo-liberalism. I argue that to some extent within the discourse of White Paper 1 (in particular Chapter 4) there is a hint of pastoral power as well as liberalism. For example, Chapter 4 Section 3 the parents' roles in the education of their children being their primary responsibility is emphasised. It implicitly provides guidance in how parents should conduct themselves regarding the wellbeing of their children's education, for which they are primarily accountable. This could be interpreted as pastoral power, as Olssen et al. (2004:26) describes it as "involving leadership, guidance, duty, responsibility and so on". Pastoral power (cf. 2.2.1) is focused on caring for the individual like shepherds tending to their flock or in this instance a parent caring for her child. Furthermore, in Section 10 Chapter 4 liberalism is identified because it emphasises the importance of communities to take ownership of school governance. As stated in Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2.3) "in a liberal state population, its welfare, health and efficiency are perceived as the ends of the government of the state (Fimyar, 2008:6)". It is further stated that (cf. 2.2.3), security in the form of human rights, welfare and health is the basis of and prosperity within a liberal rationale.

The emphasis of the *Manifesto* on transferring values through education implies that the government intends for citizens to behave in a certain manner. This need for the transference of values is articulated as one that is essential for future citizens to embrace a common destiny. In other words, this governmentality subtly leans towards liberal rationality. The focus of liberal reasoning is on the individual within the population. In Chapter 2 (cf. 2.2.3) it was stated that the state's role within this reasoning is to ensure prosperity for the population in managing economic activity as well as creating adequate opportunity for economic participation (Fimyar, 2008:6). For the state to function efficiently it makes use of 'human science'. For example, knowledge of the population is used as a means of control and regulation over the population. In other words, the

government wishes to make citizens more legible within the democratic dispensation by trying to get them to adhere to democratic practices.

In the NDP 2030's vision statement (NPC, 2011:41-48), articulating the new story of South Africa, the language tends to linger around the performance of citizens. This alludes to citizens being encouraged to produce for market purposes. This appears to guarantee the elimination of poverty. Although this may seem well intended, the mention of social responsibility is not addressed as strongly as it could be. This implies that being active in the economy is of greater value than social cohesion. I therefore argue that this document strongly leans to a neo-liberalist governmentality. Although the population remains an important aspect in the action of governing in neo-liberalism, access to the economy is of greater importance (Lemke, 2001:200). The government puts emphasis on allowing the free market system to work 'independently of itself' to allow for those with capital to participate. This means that the market has a certain view of how individuals should participate and relies on citizens to take that initiative to participate.

6.2.2 DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF ANALYSIS IN CHAPTER 5

In Chapter 5 I set out to achieve my fourth objective, which was to analyse the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) present in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). I did this by unpacking the content of the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) as it links with the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility). By employing the second part of the analytical tool and identifying the instruments (hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and the examination) that aid in achieving disciplinary power, I considered how these constitutional values find expression within the curriculum. I identified the areas within the curriculum where hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and the examination were present in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). To do this I considered both the selected constitutional values as well as the analysis conducted in Chapter 4. Finally, I analysed the potential impact these instruments could have on the interpretation and transference of constitutional values to citizens, and how this could potentially have an impact on the actions of citizens.

In analysing the content of the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) it is evident that some of the topics link with the selected constitutional values. These topics include development of the self in society, social and environmental responsibility as well as democracy and human rights (DBE, 2012:10). The subtopics further illustrate the importance of the government's intentions for the transference of

constitutional values within the curriculum. The value of Ubuntu is highlighted in the first topic, as it puts in perspective how the individual complements the rest of society. In Chapter 4 (cf. 4.4.2) I discussed the definition of Ubuntu as acknowledging the humanity of each person in society, and how the ability to do this can create better social cohesion. Further to this, I also listed some virtues like “kindness, generosity, compassion, benevolence and courtesy as well as respect and concern for others” (Waghid, 2016:448) encapsulated within this concept. The content of self-awareness, understanding gender roles, power relations in society, making decisions, problem solving, and conflict resolution all have the potential to help learners develop the moral virtues captured within the concept of Ubuntu. The second topic alludes to the value of accountability (responsibility) by making citizens aware of the issues related to current environmental challenges. It also contributes to teaching citizens their responsibility in improving these situations. This is a way of incorporating this value in the curriculum. In Chapter 4 (cf. 4.4.2) I stated that accountability (responsibility) as a value engenders the willingness to take ownership of an action and to accept responsibility for that action. Accountability (responsibility) is an integral value for democracy to be successful, as the state is legally obliged to account to its citizens. The inclusion of the content mentioned above may serve the purpose of exposing learners to this constitutional value specifically in the way they relate to the environment. The third topic highlights the value of democracy and is evident in this topic as it exposes learners to the different elements encapsulated within a democracy. In Chapter 4 (cf. 4.4.2), I explained that democracy is viewed as the ability to critically engage and participate responsibly (DoE, 2001: 3). This means that the citizen is intended to be involved in the process of democracy in all that it entails. By exposing citizens to understand diversity, democratic participation, human rights and the responsibility of citizenship, this in turn aids in the transference of the value of democracy.

The curriculum itself can be seen as an instrument of hierarchical observation as the teacher is provided with specific topics to cover in a given time outlined in the document. CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012), being the national syllabus for all state-sponsored schooling, implies that an expectation of uniformity should be present in all schools following the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). Moreover, throughout the teaching plan, the curriculum stipulates that “it is compulsory to cover the given topics in the term indicated” (DBE, 2012:13). This implies teachers are required to present content in line with these topics. The use of textbooks as a resource is also referred to in the curriculum (DBE, 2012:12-24). This could be problematic as it inadvertently creates the impression that the teacher is limited and may not feel that she has any freedom to be creative, which ultimately curtails

teacher autonomy. For teachers to enable learners to be critical, being able to exercise some level of autonomy would provide them with a greater opportunity to enact their agency within the curriculum. Further to this, the disempowerment of the teacher has the potential to restrict the practice of democracy within the classroom. Democracy at its core is intended to be a collective ideal that embraces diverse cultures, ideas, languages, etc. (Waghid 2015:254). Arguably, by hindering the teacher's agency in the school and classroom context, teachers will not be able to practically live out the value of democracy. Ultimately, the practice of democratic participation is limited to an end product of citizens who have some sense of theory related to democracy. It is however not explicit that learners are given opportunities to practically engage with the action of democracy, as defined by the *Manifesto* (DBE, 2001:3) as critical engagement and active participation.

The topics contained in the curriculum have the potential to be an instrument for normalizing judgment. The range of topics covered across the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:5) phase is there to present a point of view that takes into account the pertinent issue of human rights, social justice, etc. These are some of the principles encapsulated within South Africa's expression of democracy. CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:10) provides every citizen enrolled in state-sponsored schooling with the opportunity to be exposed to topics such as development of the self in society; social and environmental responsibility; and democracy and human rights. Normalizing judgment serves the purpose of ensuring that the subject conforms to a specific way of being and understanding (Foucault, 1977:177-180; Smart, 1984:86; O'Farrell, 2005:7). This makes state-sponsored schooling the ideal tool to ensure that the public at large is being informed of governmental ideals.

The examination (c.f. 2.4.3) includes both hierarchical observation and normalizing judgement which is used to categorise and evaluate a subject. During the assessment process citizens are singled out as individuals who are required to participate in assessment activities. This is done so that their progress and competency in their knowledge of the content of the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) can be evaluated. Formal assessment (e.g. written tests) is emphasised as having greater merit than informal assessment (e.g. debate, role-play or peer assessment). Further to that the assessment tasks that count toward the progression mark of the learner are individual tasks. Evidently, the examples of tasks deemed appropriate for assessment are detailed in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:28-30), although these seem to promote individual performance. This may be a hindrance in an effort to expose learners to engage with the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) that is best experienced in a group setting. I argue that

the focus of assessment being an individual task perpetuates the idea of learners competing and being ranked. It also reduces the opportunity to have real life experience in understanding social cohesion, its benefits and also its challenges. Furthermore, individualising assessment could hinder learners from achieving the aims stipulated in the curriculum, which is to produce citizens who are equipped with knowledge, skills and values that will enable them to meaningfully participate in society and for self-fulfilment (DBE, 2012:4).

6.3 HOW CONSTITUTIONAL VALUES CONSTRUCT THE ENVISIONED CITIZEN

The insights gained during this explorative study is that the manner in which the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility) construct the envisioned citizen in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) is a complex process.

As stated in the value of the study (cf. 1.8), the production of policy is fundamentally a government activity (Anderson, 2000:6). I later explained in Chapter 2 that I view policy as governmental discourse (Ball, 2006:44, 48). To gain insight into the government's rationale I employed Foucault's concept of governmentality to assist with the construction of the envisioned citizen through the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) curriculum by focusing on the constitutional values it expresses. Foucault's concept of disciplinary power was also employed in the study to further explore how the government exercises power over its citizens. From this it was found that there are a variety of elements that influence how constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen. Evidently, governmental discourse influences how constitutional values are expressed and addressed, as well as which ones are emphasised within different policies and documents. In the White Paper 1 (DoE, 1995), the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) and the NDP 2030 (NPC, 2012) constitutional values are promoted as important to contributing to improving the functioning of a democratic society. The goal for all of these policies and documents in relation to the importance of constitutional values as stated in Chapter 4 (cf. 4.4.1) is to encourage unity among citizens. In Chapter 1 (cf. 1.8) I stated that it will take more than mere rhetoric or naïve inclusive discourse in order to unify a country. For this reason, it is imperative that citizens themselves be critical of how constitutional values are defined, expressed and used to construct future democratic citizens. Further to this, citizens should be encouraged to engage with how these constitutional values are defined to ensure active and critical participation as a democratic right and responsibility.

In my analysis of the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) I highlighted the topics in the content of the curriculum that would help in the transference of the selected constitutional values. I found that the subtopics also contributed to ensure that this transference can occur (see 6.2.2's detailed discussion). I further identified the three instruments of hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and examination, which aid the success of exercising disciplinary power over citizens in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). The curriculum itself can be seen as an instrument of hierarchical observation, as the teacher is provided with specific topics to cover in a given time outlined in the document. CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012), being the national syllabus for all state-sponsored schooling, implies that an expectation of uniformity should be present in all schools following the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). The school, the teacher and the learner are subjected to the directives set out in the curriculum. There is no input from these stakeholders as governments seek to create a unified statement on how citizenship education should be taught in school. The school and the teacher may have some awareness that state-sponsored education is largely controlled by governmental discourse (policy), but the learners may be blindly unaware of their involvement. The learner as the citizen has little choice in deciding what content is covered, how it is covered and who covers it. I also highlighted the limitation that government-selected content could place on teacher autonomy, and ultimately the lack of democratic participation from the teacher's side in selecting content and topics.

The topics contained in the curriculum have the potential to be an instrument for normalizing judgment. The range of topics covered across the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012:5) phase is there to present a point of view that takes into account the pertinent issue of human rights, social justice, etc. From the background provided from the analysis of Part 1 in Chapter 4 it can be deduced that the goal of governmental discourse concerning constitutional values in education is to promote and encourage a common citizenship amongst South Africans. State-sponsored schooling is used because of its reach over citizens. This ensures that the intended content is covered, and constitutional values are emphasised. Further to this, the content could be presented in a way that favours the government's understanding and interpretation of these constitutional values. This would ultimately aid the government in ensuring that these constitutional values encourage citizens to conform to this interpretation and means of normalizing their judgement.

The examination includes both hierarchical observation and normalizing judgement which is used to categorise and evaluate a subject. These three mechanisms aid in connecting the relationship of power and knowledge. For example, during the assessment process, citizens are singled out as

individuals who are required to participate in assessment activities. This is done so that their progress and competency in their knowledge of the content of the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) can be evaluated. In the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) only formal assessment (mainly written tasks) is considered when deciding whether a learner is competent to proceed to the next grade. Further to this, even though informal assessment (debates, role-playing, dialogues, peer assessments) is encouraged, it does not form part of grading. The informal assessment activities allow for creativity and interaction with other citizens and can be useful for measuring the practical aspects of living out constitutional values set out in the curriculum content. By regarding these activities as not essential, this can potentially deter the teacher from incorporating it the classroom due to time constraints and other activities that interfere with school timetables (sport days, school athletics, special assemblies, school concerts, etc.). Furthermore, limiting learners' interaction with one another has the potential of relegating the teaching of constitutional values in citizenship education to a mere theoretical exercise. This will then also defeat the point of the holistic transference of constitutional values that the *Manifesto* (DoE, 2001) advocates for in the provision of sixteen strategies that entail activities beyond the classroom that will help citizens consolidate values in their lived experiences.

Although the policies and documents are in favour of promoting constitutional values in education, it is evident that the implementation of the curriculum directives could pose challenges. These challenges, as mentioned above, limit the practice of democracy within state-sponsored schooling. The content and topics covered in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) essentially make provision for the transference of the constitutional values of democracy, Ubuntu and accountability (responsibility). However, directives may be well intended but can potentially limit a holistic practical experience of living out these constitutional values. The restrictions of the time allocated for covering content, lack of teacher and learner input in choosing content as well as the lack of diversity in formal assessments has potential to undermine the importance of these values. Learners can end up viewing these as mere theory and not be sufficiently prepared for critical participation as citizens in a democratic society. This increases the potential for the docility of citizens who are not educated in critically participating in democracy. They are therefore not equipped to embrace diversity, which is an important aspect of functioning optimally within democracy. Further to this, critical participation promotes, innovation and increases the willingness to embrace diversity and ultimately helps improve democracy if these constitutional values are upheld and lived out by citizens.

6.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study focused on exploring how constitutional values construct the envisioned citizen in citizenship education in light of the Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power. It has provided insight into the complexities of this construction by highlighting some hindrances, such as the directives on how assessment is expected to be executed by individuals. This can potentially hinder the practical experience of democracy within the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) as citizens are limited in working with diversity in terms of people, ways of thinking, culture, language and values. Moreover, the fact that content is prescriptive from government implies that there is a limitation on citizen engagement and therefore also in decision-making.

The limitations of a non-empirical study are that the research is limited to documents. One is therefore not able to comment on actual implications at school level. In other words, the study can only comment on the documents and literature that form part of how the envisioned citizen is constructed by constitutional values and draw conclusions from this information. I also only considered a few selected policies and documents in the study to narrow the focus. The selection of the only three constitutional values was also to narrow the focus. These constitutional values were also largely present in the selected policies and documents that were analysed. Babbie (2010:92) explains that there are three purposes for conducting an exploratory study. They are “(1) to satisfy the researcher’s curiosity and desire for better understanding, (2) to test the feasibility of undertaking a more extensive study, and (3) to develop the methods to be employed in any subsequent study”. My purpose was to satisfy my own curiosity on constitutional values in citizenship education as well as to develop potential methods to employ in future studies. Thus, the limitation of this kind of exploration could mean that there may be no concrete answers to research questions (Babbie, 2010:93). However, exploratory studies do allow for creative and different ways to view topics and provide unique insights.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

In analysing the instruments that may achieve disciplinary power, which ultimately affect how values construct the envisioned citizen, it would be beneficial to conduct an empirical study on how constitutional values are articulated within the school context in general, and in particular how democratic practices unfold within the classroom context. One could, for example, investigate how

teachers who instruct learners in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012) understand the curriculum directives and implement them. Alternatively, one could explore how learners understand their own citizenship in terms of the content and constitutional values highlighted in the CAPS LO FET (DBE, 2012). Additionally, one could interrogate how the external influences of a community impact the transference of constitutional values. From this one could potentially create a tool that could establish opportunities for critical engagement between communities and schools.

6.6 REFLECTION

In the process of conducting this study I have gained valuable insight both into the practice of research and myself. Independent academic research by way of writing a dissertation is a mammoth task. At the onset of this task I must admit I did not realise what it entailed. One of the most important skills I have acquired is to persist in thinking and rethinking my own thinking. Another academic skill I have acquired is learning to make informed independent decisions on what information to include and what information to exclude. I also learnt that being organised is essential to being successful in completing this task. There are various administrative requirements, like organising articles in categories as well as organising these in ways that will allow for easy access. These are some of the practical skills I have acquired during this process. Beyond these practical skills, learning to write coherently is an ongoing skill that I believe I will continue improving on. Additionally, I found that becoming comfortable with constructive critique by way of comments and guidance from my supervisor as quickly as possible is beneficial to making progress. Moreover, writing with the reader in mind is a lot more challenging than I anticipated it would be. Firstly, in understanding one's topic it takes time to immerse oneself in the content, and although I read extensively, I am well aware that there is much more to learn and read.

In delving into reading the content for this study in particular, I gained a lot from making sense of my conceptual framework. The Foucauldian concepts of governmentality and disciplinary power are complex. Governmentality, for instance, is focused on how a government thinks about itself, the people it governs, the place it governs and how it governs, in other words, a type of government rationality. I have come to understand that it is important to gain insight into a country's governmental rationale as this influences all spheres of government. For example, policy is viewed in this study as governmental discourse. It is therefore important to understand governmental rationale. Moreover, all governing structures have a type of rationality whether known or unknown.

Knowing this helps one understand how it influences disciplinary power. Moreover, the insights gained from these concepts permitted me to value the importance of thinking critically – not just about my own writing but also about my own thinking. Reading Foucault has helped me to appreciate the complexities of how reality is constructed. There are actually many more forces at work that influence the structures we live in than meets the eye. In view of this, learning more about how constitutional values are transferred through citizenship education and how this in turn constructs the citizen solidified the importance of being able to be critical, of being able to look beyond myself and what I think I know, as well as being open to other possibilities. This includes being confronted with these possibilities and being able to make an informed choice.

Regarding my personal development, the process has taught me a lot about myself. At the beginning of my studies I spent six months reading about deconstructive theory and critical discourse analysis, and eventually realised that these would not aid me in my study. This posed a serious challenge as well as a setback in time lost reading content I would ultimately not use. The writing of my first chapter took a long time, as I needed to read new content and make enough sense of it to write. I was also apprehensive to write as I feared I would not be able write anything decent. A lot of delays in writing was as a result of dealing with my inner battles of inadequacy, of serious thoughts of feeling unable to complete a chapter - let alone a dissertation. Apart from the commitment I had made of registering to complete a master's degree, I chose to persevere out of a commitment to myself. I have committed to do my best in living out my full potential. I either had to choose comfort or discomfort in overcoming the various challenges.

Even with the challenges considered, I am extremely grateful that I was able to embark on this journey. I look forward to continuing my academic journey to improve my skills as a researcher that will positively impact on and contribute toward the improvement of basic education in South Africa.

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Addendum A: Ethics Clearance



Faculty of Education

20-Nov-2017

Dear **Miss Juliet Paulse**

Ethics Clearance: **Governmentality and disciplinary power: Constitutional values and democratic citizen education in post-1994 South Africa**

Principal Investigator: **Miss Juliet Paulse**

Department: **School of Education (Bloemfontein Campus)**

APPLICATION APPROVED

With reference to your application for ethical clearance with the Faculty of Education, I am pleased to inform you on behalf of the Ethics Board of the faculty that you have been granted ethical clearance for your research.

Your ethical clearance number, to be used in all correspondence is: **UFS-HSD2017/1364**

This ethical clearance number is valid for research conducted for one year from issuance. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension.

We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure we are kept up to date with your progress and any ethical implications that may arise.

Thank you for submitting this proposal for ethical clearance and we wish you every success with your research.

Yours faithfully

Prof. MM Mokhele
Chairperson: Ethics Committee

Education Ethics Committee

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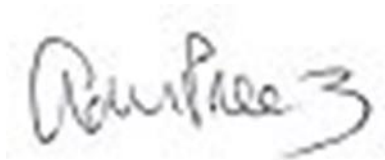
www.ufs.ac.za



Addendum B: Letter of Language Editing

To whom it may concern

This is to state that the dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Masters in Education degree by Juliet Palse titled **Governmentality and disciplinary power: Exploring constitutional values and democratic citizenship education in post-1994 South Africa** has been language edited by me, according to the tenets of academic discourse.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Annamarie du Preez' with a stylized flourish at the end.

Annamarie du Preez

B.Bibl.; B.A. Hons. (English)

13-01-2019