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Curriculum development in an urban refugee centre in South Africa.

Pausigere, Peter

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

"Curriculum discourse should be marked by richness, diversity, discordant voices, fecundity, multiple rationalities and should be touched by humanity and practicality in a hundred thousand contexts" Morrison Keith, 2004.

1.1. BACKGROUND

A large number of Zimbabweans have migrated to South Africa due to the economic crisis in Zimbabwe that began in the late 1990s. By November 2008; Zimbabwe's annual inflation rate was 89.7 sextillion (Hanke, 2009). Besides a collapsing economy, political violence, misgovernance and the loss of property rights led many Zimbabweans to flee their country (Besada & Moyo, 2008). It is estimated that about half of Zimbabwe's adult population or between 3 to 3.5 million Zimbabweans have migrated to South Africa to seek employment and economic prosperity (Lubbe, 2008; Mosala, 2008).

Fleeing from their country to neighbouring South Africa, Zimbabwean refugees found themselves homeless and without basic utilities. Some of these Zimbabwean refugees have been given refuge and provided with shelter in various South African centres. The Holy Cross church is one such centre. The five-storey Holy Cross church was built in 1965 in the Central Business District of Johannesburg, one of Africa's and world's largest metropolitan cities. Today, the church house serves a humanitarian function and shelters mostly Zimbabwean refugees, a small number of migrants from other African countries and a few South Africans. When compared to the 1960s, there has been a contrasting portrayal and depiction of the Holy Cross Church precinct as a result of a culmination of events that started in 2004. The number of refugees at the church has increased from 2004 to 2005. In 2004 a few Zimbabweans trickled to the church to seek accommodation, basic provisions, food and financial assistance from the generous Bishop Saul Vereeniging. Most of the refugees had no accommodation and were sleeping in the open at Park Station. The Holy Cross church housed less than 10 immigrants in 2004; 50 at the beginning of 2005 and over 300 at the end of the year, 2005 (Mr Makata. Personal Interview, 24 September 2009; Liz. Personal Interview, 1 September 2009).

Whilst some of the refugees would return monthly to their country, a large number remained and sought jobs and employment in South Africa. From 2006 to 2007 there was a marked increase of refugees coming to stay at the Holy Cross Church Refugee centre. By the end of 2007 more than 1 500 refugees were staying at the Refugee Church house, sleeping on the bare floors, corridors, hallways, steps and different halls in the five-storey building (Mr Makata. Personal Interview, 23 September 2009; Parra, 2008). The increase was triggered by the deteriorating political, social and economic conditions in Zimbabwe during these years. At the peak of the Zimbabwe crisis between 2008 and the first quarter of 2009 the church housed more than 4 000 to 4 500 political refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants, with some refugees sleeping on the pavements and streets outside the building (Seale, 2009; Tromp 2009; Flanagan & Seale, 2009; Lieberum, 2009). The Church, according to the leader of the Refugee Church Centre provides shelter and support to the

refugees, as the scriptures emphasise the need to be kind to the less fortunate (Bishop Saul Vereeniging. Personal Interview, 01 October 2009).

It is within this traumatic context that the need for education and training was felt. Thus the refugees at the church house started education and training programmes both for the children and the adults living at the centre. The refugee community has established a primary and a secondary school (St Alberton Street Refugee School) with a combined enrolment of about 500 learners. The refugees also initiated an infant day care centre; an Adult Basic Education Training centre; a pre-school; adult education and vocational training centres that offer courses and certificates in sewing, basic computer studies and waitering.

I investigated the curriculum initiatives and developments in this urban refugee centre through the lens of Walker's (1971) naturalistic model for curriculum development. The traditional orientation to curriculum design also referred to as the classical approach to curriculum development and as the Social Efficiency orientation (Schiro, 2008), emphasises the delineation of outcomes, objectives and aims in designing curriculum based on scientific analysis of skills (Eisner, 1967). The classical approach to curriculum, according to Cornbleth (1990, p. 13), is a technocratic conception of curriculum which views curriculum "as a tangible product, document or plan for instruction". This approach to curriculum has been influenced by the curriculum design model initially proposed by Franklin Bobbitt (1918), and popularised by Tyler (1949). This traditional orientation to curriculum design has been criticised and alternative approaches to curriculum development have emerged. The technocratic conception is perceived, firstly, as representing an idealised logic, secondly, with respect to values and interests it seems to be apolitical and nonideological and, thirdly, it does little to explain curriculum practice (Cornbleth, 1990). The new approaches move from being prescriptive or technicist to being descriptive of what actually happens in schools and classrooms and are aligned with practical and critical curriculum paradigms.

Walker's (1970, 1971) naturalistic model for curriculum development aligns with the descriptive and practical approach. Similar to Walker's model is Cornbleth's (1990) and Carr's (1993) critical views for curriculum to be conceived as an ongoing dialectical process through which curriculum and society are simultaneously shaped and transformed. Both Cornbleth (1990) and Walker (1970) believe that the contexts, values and beliefs are critical elements in curriculum development and design. Central to Walker's approach is that for curriculum to develop there must be values, beliefs, assumptions and preconceptions (platforms) which are shared by members of a group (Walker, 1971). The members of the group also make deliberations by which they formulate decisions, seek alternatives and the most defensible choices in developing a curriculum (Walker, 1971). The Kettering Visual Arts Project has been developed using such a model (Walker, 1971). Locally Basson (2000), in his studies of curriculum development in an informal squatter community in Boitekong found that they resembled elements inherent in Walker's (1970, 1971) naturalistic model. The main reason why I have applied a curriculum design model to analyse the curriculum in the refugee centre is based on the argument that "the planning (and development) for refugee education is not different from that of planning (and development) of any educational programme" (Vaynshtok, 2002, p.27).

Similar to the naturalistic model in emergency education has been what has been termed the "community-based approach" to education development (Bird, 2003, p. 67; UNHCR, 1995, p. 15 &

33; Sinclair, 2001, p. 18; Mwaba, 2007, p. 37). Under this new approach to emergency education the refugee curriculum and education activities are initiated, collectively decided, cooperatively planned and managed by the refugees (Pigozzi, 1999). The term curriculum developer under this new orientation is redefined to mean and imply ordinary refugees. Such an approach resonates with and takes heed of Morrison's (2004, p. 493) call for the need of a "hundred thousand voices, a hundred thousand theories, a hundred thousand curriculum development approaches". This community-based orientation, in which the refugees themselves or refugee education committees are involved in curriculum decisions and assist in identifying training needs in the emergency settlement population was formally recognised by UNHCR emergency education specialists in mid-1996 after it had been successfully undertaken by Rwandan refugees in Ngara Refugee camp in Tanzania (Bird, 2003; Betheke, 1996; Preston, 1991). The strength of this approach to refugee education and training is that it promotes genuine educational dialogue (deliberations) that results in sustainable, successful and cost effective learning and training programmes, in which the refugees are empowered to meet their own needs and solve their own problems (Mwaba, 2007), and have control over one important element of their social function - education (Betheke, 1996; UNHCR, 1995; Williams, 2001; Bird 2003; Mwaba, 2007). This approach to emergency education alongside the naturalistic approach to curriculum development provided the theoretical framework for this study.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Whilst information is available on the social, health, economic, living conditions and political status of Zimbabwean refugees at Holy Cross refugee centre, there has been no education research carried out in South Africa on how and why the Zimbabwean refugees developed and initiated education and training programmes in their precarious circumstances at the refugee centre. The research seeks to describe the details of how Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa have designed and developed their curriculum at the Holy Cross refugee centre.

1.3. RESEARCH AIMS

1.3.1. To investigate the education and training curricula that has been initiated by the refugees.

1.3.2. To trace the historical, political and economic situations leading to the establishment of the refugee centre.

1.3.3. To identify the type of curriculum followed by the refugees and understand the reasons for the type chosen.

1.3.4. To describe the forms and types of refugee curriculum followed, adopted and practiced.

1.3.5. To identify the key actors and supporters and explain their role in developing and shaping education and training programmes at the refugee centre.

1.4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1.4.1. How have Zimbabwean refugees at the Holy Cross refugee centre designed and developed their curriculum?

1.4.2. What forms of knowledge are being taught and what teaching and learning approaches are being used at the school and training centres?

1.4.3. What values, beliefs and assumptions about the purposes of education guided the refugees in formulating their curriculum?

1.4.4. To what extent does the school curriculum follow the curriculum of the refugees' country of origin or the host country?

1.4.5. To what extent do the training programmes for the refugees prepare for resettlement or repatriation?

1.4.6. What role do key actors/agents, supporters, international organisations and governments play in shaping and developing education and training programmes at the Holy Cross refugee centre?

1.4.7. What are the challenges faced by education and training programmes at the refugee centre?

1.4.8. What historical, political and economic situation led to the establishment of the refugee centre?

1.5. RATIONALE

1.5.1. This research will describe curriculum developments at Holy Cross refugee centre through the lens or templates of Walker's (1970, 1971) naturalistic model as well as the community-based approach to emergency education.

1.5.2. The significance of this research is the dearth of knowledge on refugee education in South Africa and on how refugees develop their education and training curricula in a host country with reference to any curriculum development model.

1.5.3. The theoretical value of this research is that it contributes to the literature on refugee education.

1.5.4. The practical value of this research is that it enlightens local education policy makers on how displaced and disadvantaged communities develop their curriculum and how such curricula resonates or contrasts with South African curriculum policy.

1.6. OUTLINE OF REMAINING CHAPTERS

Chapter Two – Literature Review, engages and synthesises a wide range of literature on the areas of both refugee education and curriculum development. The chapter draws on the writings of recognised authorities and discusses the key principles informing the different orientations to curriculum development. The chapter explains the context and key aspects of refugee education and drawing from experts and reports in the field discusses the importance, forms and types, the issue of language, challenges and teaching methods debates in emergency education.

Chapter Three – Theoretical Framework, describes the two main theories used in the research report: the naturalistic model and the community-based approach, which are drawn from curriculum development and the refugee education fields, respectively. The chapter also explains the origins, the key elements and cites case studies in both the naturalistic model to curriculum development and the community-based approach to emergency education development. Lastly the limitations of the naturalistic approach to curriculum development are explained.

Chapter Four – Research Methods, initially defines and explains the key tenets of the ethnographic research method. The chapter also presents how data was gathered through non-participant observation, interviews and document collection strategies. I then explain the sampling techniques used and how ethical considerations were complied with during fieldwork and in the compilation of this report. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the data analysis strategies and how validity and reliability of data was ensured during the information gathering exercise and in writing this report.

Chapter Five – Research Findings, chronicles the establishment of early childhood, educational, adult and vocational training centres initiated by the refugee community. The account also discusses and identifies key agents, social and financial supporters, challenges, teaching and training approaches and positive contributions made by each and every education and training programme at the refugee centre. The chapter explains the two main Deliberation Forums for the refugee community and the common important values and beliefs that led to the initiating and development of the curriculum for the training centres and the refugee school at Holy Cross. The last section of this chapter explains the influence of contextual factors on the refugees' curriculum making process and the general affairs and challenges facing the Holy Cross refugee community. The details and information presented in this chapter were drawn from interviews, documents and observation data and guided throughout by the research questions, aims and the theoretical framework of the research report.

Chapter Six – Discussion, explains key research findings which are interpreted alongside pertinent literature from emergency education, the curriculum development field and the underpinning conceptual framework. The chapter's concentrates on central issues of the importance, forms, languages, challenges and solutions, teaching methods and training approaches in refugee education

as informed by the research findings and theories from emergency education and curriculum development.

Chapter Seven – Conclusion, recaptures the main points, arguments and concerns raised in this research report. The chapter finally discusses the limitations of the study, makes recommendations which are key to refugee education and outlines topical areas and issues of the research that need further investigation.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the different approaches to curriculum development and illustrates summarily the principles supporting these orientations. It reviews several researchers and recognised authorities for the following curriculum development approaches: Social efficiency; Learner centred; Social Reconstruction; Scholar Academic; Technological; Integrated; Naturalistic and the Classical ideology. The limitations of the classical approach to curriculum development are delineated viz a viz the naturalistic model to curriculum development which formulates part of this study's theoretical framework. Drawing extensively from emergency education literature and related reports this chapter discusses the importance and value of refugee education; presents the different forms and types of refugee education; explains the instructional language difficulties in emergency education; profiles the complex challenges and explores the teaching methods debates in refugee education. Lastly the chapter points to the attitudinal problems between host countries and refugees.

2.2. The Classical approach to Curriculum development

The earliest advocate of the classical model to curriculum development was Franklin Bobbitt, who approached curriculum development scientifically and theoretically and called for "scientific technique/method . . . in curriculum making" (Bobbitt, 1918, p. 41-42). His theory argued for the importance and centrality of listing, stating and demonstrating how educational objectives were to be formulated and from the objectives devise learning experiences (Eisner, 1967; Jackson, 1992; Kliebard, 1975a). Bobbitt's two-step model borrowed from the scientific management theory, particularly the scientific notions of organisation and management, and according to him curriculum development was to occur on a national scale (Jackson, 1992; Flinders & Thornton, 1997; Kliebard, 1975b). Tyler drew, extended and refined from such an early curriculum theorist to develop what has been commonly referred to as the Tyler Rationale under which he improved on the two-step model and added two additional steps for creating curriculum or instructional programs (Schiro, 2008; Tyler, 1949; Jackson, 1992; Marsh, 1992). This rationale emphasises the importance of stating, what Popham (1997) has interchangeably called objectives, intents, goals, aims or outcomes, which Miller & Seller (1985, p. 175) regard as the "guiding images for curriculum development".

The Tyler Rationale emphasises that the design process begins with the most critical activity of delineation, determination and formulation of educational objectives (Schiro, 2008; Sockett, 1976; Chiarelott, 2002). For the given objectives to be attained, educators select learning experiences that will facilitate and give an opportunity to practice the kind of behaviour implied by the objectives (Tyler, 1949; Schiro, 2008; Chiarelott, 2002). The third component in Tyler's rationale calls for the

effective organisation of learning experiences (Schiro, 2008, Chiarelott, 2002). The last stage, of evaluation determines the degree and extent to which changes in behaviour are actually taking place (Schiro, 2008; Sockett, 1976; Chiarelott, 2002; Kliebard, 1975b). In short, the Tyler rationale emphasises that curriculum objectives be determined first in order to provide effectively organised educational learning experiences which will be evaluated at the end of the curriculum design process. Tyler's curriculum development process would take place at small scale levels (Jackson, 1992). Schiro (2008) explains that the ends, outcomes or objectives approach to curriculum can also be referred to as the Social Efficiency orientation to curriculum. Wiggins and McTighe's (in Chiarelott, 2002) backward design approach almost follows the same prescriptive approach to curriculum. Borrowing from William Spady's OBE, the classical approach to curriculum indirectly influenced the shaping of the South Africa curriculum (Harley & Wedekind, 2004).

This prescriptive approach to curriculum has been criticised for its narrowness, linearity, technicism, idealised logic, constraints, restrictions, abstractness, undemocratic, dehumanising (human engineering) tendencies and for being too theoretical and at variance with practice (Eisner ,1967; Atkin, 1963; Carr, 1993; Jackson & Belford, 1965; Macdonald, 1965; Marsh, 1992; Reynolds, 1995; Stenhouse, 1975; Hogben, 1972; Kliebard, 1975a). Regardless of the limitations and criticisms levelled against the objectives model it is worth noting that it remains central to curriculum development initiatives and teaching practices. According to Stenhouse (1975) the objectives approach improves practice and helps teachers to better their teaching by increasing clarity about ends, thus the model is "imperishable" (Kliebard, 1975a, p. 81).

2.2.1. Other approaches to Curriculum Development

There are other approaches or orientations to curriculum development that are worth mentioning. The Cognitive, Social Efficiency, Social behaviourists or Technical-instrumentalists orientation seeks to develop and promote the norms, values, skills, knowledge and commitments that are dominant in and supportive of society (Egan, 1997; Jackson, 1992; Eisner & Vallance, 1974; Moore & Young, 2001). The Self actualisation, Learner centred or Experientialist approach recommends, encourages and insists on student's active exploration and own discovery learning which arouses the learner's interests, needs and desires (Egan, 1997; Schiro, 2008; Eisner & Vallance, 1974). The Social Reconstruction or Critical Reconstructionist approach orientates learners to World social and justice issues (Schiro, 2008; Schubert, 2003; Eisner & Vallance, 1974; Dukacz & Babin (no date). The Academic rationalists, Scholar Academic, intellectual traditionalists, process, traditional or neo-conservative traditionalism ideology familiarises, initiates, acculturates and exposes learners into the essence or structure of academic disciplinary knowledge (Schiro, 2008; Jackson, 1992; Stenhouse, 1975; Davis, 2004; Moore & Young, 2001; Eisner & Vallance, 1974). The Technological approach to curriculum development is concerned with the technology by which knowledge is communicated and learning is facilitated, thus this orientation primarily focuses on developing a technology of instruction (Eisner &Vallance, 1974; Jackson, 1992; Duckaz & Babin (no date). The integrated approach is a unified, co-operative approach to education that evolves around the simultaneity of activities in an undifferentiated classroom time schedule that supports continuity between home and school life and integrated disciplinary inquiry (Warwick, 1973; Walker, 1971; Boydell, 1973). Of the curriculum approaches mentioned here it would be important to note that the integrated and learner-centred approach are key informing design features of the new South African curriculum, the Revised National Curriculum Statements (Harley & Wedekind, 2004; Chisholm, 2005).

The classical approach is different from the naturalistic approach as the naturalistic model portrays how curriculum development "actually occurs in practice", that is, "how curriculum planners actually went about their task" (Marsh, 1992, p. 112). On the other hand the classical approach prescribes how curriculum development should occur, that is, "how curriculum planners . . . should go about the task" (Marsh, 1992, p. 112). According to Cornbleth (1990, p. 22) the objective-focused model "prescribes but does little to explain curriculum practice". In other words the classical approach is prescriptive whilst the naturalistic approach is inclined towards the practical. The naturalistic model represents as faithfully as possible phenomena and relations observed and how they occur in practice mainly through deliberation (Marsh, 1992; Walker, 1971; Reynolds, 1995; Schwab, 1960). The Tyler rationale heavily emphasises the need for procedures through defining objectives, something which Schwab regards as too vague to provoke deliberation (Jackson, 1992, Reynolds, 1995). This research therefore was initially intrigued by the naturalistic approach to curriculum and later by what is called the community-based approach to emergency education.

The equivalence of the naturalistic model in emergency education is the community-based approach to education. This community-based approach, in which the refugees themselves or refugee education committees are involved in curriculum decisions and assist in identifying training needs, was formally recognised by emergency education specialists in mid-1996 (Betheke, 1996; Preston, 1991). Under this new approach to emergency education the refugee curriculum and education activities are initiated, collectively decided and cooperatively planned by the refugees (Pigozzi, 1999). The term curriculum developer under this new mantra is reincarnated to mean refugees. The advantage of the community-based approach to education and training is that it promotes genuine educational dialogue (deliberations) and results in sustainable, efficient, successful, effective and cost effective refugee learning and training programmes (Betheke, 1996; UNHCR, 1995; Williams, 2001; Bird 2003; Mwaba, 2007). This approach to emergency education provoked and provided part of the theoretical framework to this study.

2.3. Refugee Education

2.3.1. The importance of refugee education

In disadvantaged communities and in refugee camps there is no doubt that education is important and of primary concern. Whilst education in emergencies serves many purposes, there is always an insistence on the fact that education is an "inalienable, enabling and a progressive right" (Kagawa, 2005, p. 495; Pigozzi, 1999, p. 2; Sinclair, 2001, p. 11). The fact that education is a right of children is articulated and spelt out in international legal conventions and declarations. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 26.1, (United Nations, 1948) states that:

> "Everyone has a right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory".

The (1989) Convention of the Rights of the Child, Article 41, (in UNHCR, June 1995), also reaffirms that children have a right to education. The (1951) Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, Articles, 22.1 and 22.2, (in UNHCR, June 1995), make it mandatory for the receiving governments to provide refugees, asylum seekers and the displaced with elementary education. Whilst the first two

legal instruments generally regard education as a right of every child, the Convention relating to the Status of the Refugees makes it categorically clear that children in emergency situations or rather refugee children also have a right to education.

It is in this light that education is regarded as a "central pillar" or the "fourth pillar" of humanitarian response, alongside the pillars of food, shelter and health services (Sinclair, 2001, p. 2). Thus according to Betheke (1996) in emergency settlement situations education must begin as soon as possible after the immediate needs of health, food and shelter have been addressed. Besides being a right and central pillar, education for refugees is regarded by Bird (2003, p. 33) as "a life-saving activity".

Refugee education, just like any good basic education must convey and comprise of essential learning tools such as literacy, oral expression (communication), numeracy and problem solving as well as the basic learning content like knowledge, skills, values, attitudes and competences (Betheke, 1996; Kagawa, 2005; Pigozzi, 1999). What then are the advantages of providing the 3 Rs' (reading, writing and arithmetic) of basic education as well as the core knowledge in emergencies? Pigozzi (1999), Kagawa (2005) and Betheke (1996) agree that a focus on learning appropriate skills will empower the child to better respond to and overcome their difficult circumstances and forms the basis for a productive life that is based on lifelong learning. Good basic education therefore develops process skills as well as basic knowledge that gives the child the ability to survive and cope in emergencies and focuses the child on lifelong learning endeavours.

Vocational or skills training is an important aspect of refugee education especially amongst the adult, post-primary or secondary school learners. Vocational training provides trade and craft skills that lead to gainful employment (placement), self-employment (income generating activities) or livelihood supplementation both in refugee situations and after repatriation (Dickerson 1974; Preston, 1991; Betheke, 1996; UNHCR, 1995; Lyby, 2001). Palestine refugees, according to Dickerson (1974), have recognised that it is only through education and specialised training that their children will be able to secure jobs. Vocational courses must relate to labour market conditions and match the needs of the host as well as the country of origin and wherever possible such skills training initiatives should also enrol local students (UNHCR, 1995; Betheke, 1996). Vocational training in some instances can also be combined with adult education (UNHCR, 1995; Betheke, 1996; Preston, 1991). Adult education according to Betheke (1996) and Preston (1991) teaches literacy and numeracy amongst adults and children who would have not attended formal schools. It is of no doubt that vocational training and adult education training are important in refugee communities as they provide (self) employment opportunities and teach basic education skills.

Refugee education and training "normalises" (Betancourt et al, 2008, p. 570) life for war-affected refugees youth as schools and training centres provide "a safe, protective and nurturing environment" (Winthrop and Kirk, 2008, p. 641) which refugee children need immediately in emergency situations (Bird, 2003). Education therefore according to Betancourt et al (2008) and Winthrop and Kirk (2008) restores a sense of normalcy, safety and stability in children's everyday routines and life as it keeps the child away from risks. Betancourt et al (2008) believe that the education system through its benchmarks and goal setting enables children to measure their progress in a positive direction, enhance the child's confidence, encourages goal setting and hope for the future amongst affected youth and makes them redevelop a sense of purpose for life. In this

sense education becomes a “coping mechanism” (Betancourt et al, 2008, p. 570) and according to Winthrop and Kirk (2008, p. 641) assists children to “cope and hope”, a fact that Kagawa (2005) and Sinclair (2001) also agree to. School stable environments enable goal setting mechanisms that help the refugees to develop “an identity and a sense of self-worth” (Betancourt et al, 2008, p. 570) which in the long run helps reaffirm the refugees’ sense of community and maintains their dignity (Dickerson, 1974).

Bird (2003) concurs with Winthrop and Kirk (2008, p. 640) who argue from an educationalist and a child protectionist perspective that schooling shapes the children’s well being as it is a mechanism for socialisation that “allows students to develop appropriate social behaviours”. The UNHCR (1995) and Betheke (1996) share this perspective, arguing further that schools help children to develop their social skills and a sense of responsibility. The fact that schools are socialising agencies is prominent in what Schiro (2008) calls the Social Efficiency ideology to curriculum development and such an aim of education is also discussed by Egan (1997). Generally it is the function of education to promote acceptable social values, refugee education is not an exception in this regard.

Betancourt et al (2008), Pigozzi (1999) and Sinclair (2001) elaborate that education in emergences is also essential in minimising psychosocial stresses or depression of trauma and displacements and supports and promotes psychological adjustments and needs amongst refugees which ensure “emotional stability and development” (UNHCR, 1995, p. 4). Such psychological adjustment and readjustment are regarded as major determinant factors in successful integration and reintegration of returning refugees and in post-conflict societies (Betheke, 1996; Betancourt et al, 2008; Weldon, 2009). Psychological adjustments, emotional maturity, balance, depth and stability can also be enhanced in refugees by focusing on conflict resolution skills, human rights, environmental awareness initiatives, peace and reconciliation, religious, cultural and recreational activities, health, HIV/Aids education, democracy and citizenship education (Sinclair 2001; UNHCR, 1995; UNHCR, 2003; Betheke, 1996; Pigozzi, 1999; Bird, 2003; Weldon, 2009). Such educational initiatives are paramount in enabling economic, political and social healing, restoration, integration and psychological adjustments and most importantly help refugees to understand conflicts rationally and peacefully as well as sustain a peaceful society (Davies and Talbot, 2008; Betheke, 1996; UNHCR, 1995; UNHCR, 2003).

Besides its psycho-therapeutic function, refugee education is also perceived to be contributing to the physical, social and cognitive protection of children, adolescents and adult learners from risks (Davies and Talbot, 2008; Kagawa, 2005; Sinclair, 2001). Education protects refugees from sexual abuses, substance abuses, prostitution, vandalism, violence, criminality, early pregnancies or marriages and labour abuses and focuses the child’s attention on education (UNHCR, 1995; Betheke, 1996; Kagawa, 2005). Learning therefore physically, socially and cognitively protects the refugee children from any forms of abuses, violence and ill practices that learners can be exposed to when they are not preoccupied by education.

International legal instruments, conventions and declarations set the precedent on refugee education regarding it as a fundamental right that is crucial and a vehicle for providing basic knowledge, appropriate learning skills as well as social values. Vocational training which happens to be an important aspect of refugee education is essential for the purpose of economic integration and reintegration in host and in the country of origin. It is education and nothing else but (refugee)

education that provides a safe, protective and nurturing environment for the child that makes the child to develop and redevelop a sense of self-worth and purpose of life (Betancourt et al, 2008; Talbot and Davies, 2008). Refugee education and its different facets are fundamental in psychological adjustment and readjustment as well as setting the stage and tone for peaceful societies (Betheke, 1996; UNHCR, 1995; UNHCR, 2003). Education therefore is ultra essential, vital and critical in emergency situations.

2.3.2. The forms and types of refugee education

Both Sinclair and Kagawa regard refugee or emergency education as "education in situations where children lack access to their national educational systems due to man-made crises or natural disaster" (Sinclair, 2001, p. 4) and its "contents and process of learning and teaching" can take many forms (Kagawa, 2005, p. 497). The first form identified by most writers is "education for repatriation" (Bird 2003, p. 37; Kagawa, 2005, p. 497; Preston, 1991, p. 72; Sinclair, 2001, p. 25). Education for repatriation is consistent with core elements of the curriculum of the country of origin and prepares children for return to their home country (Bird 2003; Kagawa, 2005; Preston, 1991; Betheke, 1996). Dicum (2008, p. 623) calls education that follows that of the country of origin "maintaining the familiar in chaos" which is all about retaining preconflict learning routines and practices. Betheke (1996) and Preston (1991) agree that an important element in education for repatriation is that the languages taught and used in refugee schools should initially be common and the same as those used in the area of origin. A unique example of the concept of "education for repatriation" recorded by Preston (1991) and Sinclair (2001) is that of Mozambican refugees in Malawi and Zimbabwe who followed the Mozambican curriculum, using Portuguese as the medium of instruction. Learning the curriculum of the country of origin has a positive psychosocial impact as it "lessen the shock of exile to the children", utilises refugee teachers, allows refugee communities to contribute towards their schools and enables refugees to "continue their studies on return to their home country" (UNHCR, 1995, p. 19). However the weakness of this concept, according to Preston (1991), is that it maintains refugees on the social and economic periphery and in inferior positions within the host state.

On the other hand is a form of refugee education called "education for integration" (Bird, 2003, p.37; Betheke, 1996) which utilises the curriculum of the host country and prepares children to integrate. Education for integration, which Dicum (2008, p. 626) calls "adaptation", Preston (1991, p. 71) preferably calls "education for local settlement". Education for integration, argues Sinclair (2001), mostly utilises languages different from the refugees' previous language of instruction, something which the UNHCR (1995, p. 10) regards as "problematic for refugee children to study in schools using unfamiliar languages of instruction". A classical example of education for integration or adaptation is recorded by Mwaba (2007) at Meheba refugee settlement, north-west of Zambia where the curriculum, language and examinations used in the (Rwandans, Burundians, Ugandans, Sudanese and Angolans) refugee schools was based on the Zambian education system. Bird (2003) reports of a similar form of education at Ngara Refugee Camp in Tanzania, amongst the Burundians and Preston (1991) recounts a scenario where South African Swazis refugees in Swaziland were entitled to attend high schools with local Swazi children. Another groundbreaking example of integration amongst former rival refugees' ethnic groups at Mostar Gymnasium School in Bosnia and Herzegovina is reported in Hromadzic (2008), where two ethnic groups of refugees shared the same curriculum regardless of language differences. The greatest advantage of education for integration

is that it allows refugees to easily integrate into the local and economic communities (Preston, 1991).

In-between education for integration and education for repatriation lies what has been called a "mixed curriculum" (UNHCR, 1995, p. 10) that "faces both ways" (Sinclair, 2001, p. 26) and "incorporates core elements of the curricula of the country of origin and country of asylum" (Betheke, 1996, p. 11). The greatest strength of this concept is that it prepares refugees for eventual return or settlement in the host country and provides linguistic skills for children whose families can repatriate or integrate (Sinclair, 2001; Williams, 2001). Such a mixed curriculum system was evident amongst Bhutanese refugees in Nepal (Williams, 2001).

The other two forms of refugee education pertain to the curriculum for integration as well as repatriation which can be used with some "adjustments or modifications" (UNHCR, 1995, p. 23). Such a tendency is similar to what Kagawa (2005, p. 498) calls "renewal of curriculum by infusing new elements". In both instances the degree and extent of adjustment can vary and can either be very slight or moderate but not too much. Such curriculum modification can also happen during "the bridging phase" (Sinclair, 2001, p. 26). Following extensive refugee literature review and my own personal reflection I would like to call these two forms of curriculum; renewed/adjusted/modified curriculum which can either be what I am calling here "Renewed education for repatriation" or "Adjusted education for integration". I must hasten to say that these two forms of education lead to slight or moderate changes only, for if the changes are extensive they will result in a mixed curriculum.

2.3.3. The issue of Language in refugee education

Another important, yet problematic and contentious, issue in refugee curriculum is the language of instruction. Not only is the issue controversial but also the issue of which language to use at which level? (Bird, 2003). Betancourt et al (2008) and Hromadzic (2008) explain that the selection of language in which curriculum content is related is particularly sensitive in refugee situations where language can be used as a tool to convey the notions of identity and culture. Language choice is also seen as providing an opportunity for refugees to exert control over their education system (Oh and Van der Stouwe, 2008). Sinclair (2001) argues that the issue of language instruction is a human rights issue and advocates for the freedom to use the previous medium of instruction amongst refugee children. Like wise Betheke (1996, p. 11) argues for the use of languages used in the area of origin as this "facilitates rapid repatriation . . . . . prevents additional trauma and provide familiarity for the children". Such a position resonates with the UNHCR (1995) guidelines for refugee education which abhor the use of unfamiliar languages of instruction unless and until proper transition arrangements have been made. Such a bridging measure is reported by Mwaba (2007) at Meheba, Zambia, where a few refugees attended lessons of their country's official languages at foreign languages training programme centres. Language had exclusionary effects amongst Burmese-speaking refugees who did not speak the Karen language yet it was used as the language of instruction in the schools, this excluded the Burmese students from high school resulting in their dropping out (Oh and Van der Stouwe, 2008).

2.3.4. Challenges and problems of refugee education

Education for refugees is riddled with many challenges. Refugee education is faced with the daunting issue of inadequate funding. Lack of funding results in endless financial crises and is the main reason cited for poor quality refugee education (Sinclair, 2001; Williams, 2001). The inadequate financial assistance from NGOs to cover the various costs of schooling leads to poor resource levels in refugee schools and this inhibits learners from concentrating on learning (Betancourt et al, 2008). Inadequate finance implies limited supplies in teaching and learning materials/equipments, textbooks, uniforms and furniture (Williams, 2001; Betancourt et al, 2008; Bird, 2003). Preston (1991) and Davies and Talbot (2008) however acknowledge the commitment and positive engagement of international organisations, donor governments, private donors, host governments, multilateral donors and lending agencies in funding and addressing educational needs in emergency education.

Another factor compromising the quality of refugee education as well as limiting concentration on learning is the poor physical conditions of schools (Betancourt et al, 2008). Pathetic and harsh learning environments are depicted by Bird (2003, p. 62) at Karagwe refugee camp in Tanzania where children were reported to have learnt in "cramped, underequipped, poorly lighted classes with fixed benches". Sinclair (2001) narrates stories of Rwandan refugees' children in Goma learning under terrible and unbelievable learning situations. For record purposes the UNHCR (1995) recommends a class of not more than 35 pupils. Besides poor physical conditions they can be a problem of limited space in refugee schools (Betancourt et al, 2008).

It is difficult as well to attract and retain quality teachers and managers of educational programmes who are supposed to work in physically demanding school environments and receive low subsidies for their effort (Betancourt et al, 2008; Bird, 2003). Refugee schools face high turnover or attrition of teachers who complain of poor incentives and usually seek higher paying jobs in private schools outside the camps or at times end up doing manual labour jobs to earn cash (Williams, 2001: Betheke, 1996). High staff turnover can disrupt learning as was the case in one Bhutanese refugee class where it was reported that there had been five different teachers for one class in a single year (Brown, 2001). To encourage staff retention Betheke (1996) argues that teachers in refugee schools should be from the refugee community wherever possible. The UNHCR (1995, p. 21) is on record that refugee teachers must "be paid incentives rather than full salaries" as was the case in some of its previous programmes. On a staff development note the UNHCR (1995) recommends that there be in-service training for teachers in emergency situations.

In the refugee education context, the term "access" is used differently by authors to imply various things. The term generally means the removal of restrictions on the education of refugees and asylum seekers (Sinclair, 2001). For example some governments do restrict refugee children to access local schools or can accommodate only a certain number of refugee learners (Sinclair, 2001; Mwaba, 2007). Another factor that can limit access to education and training is lack of documentation (identification particulars) or restrictive asylum granting practices (UNHCR, 1995; Jacobsen, 2002). Some government or refugee schools might not be physically accessible as they will be too far from the homes of the refugees and this causes some children not to attend schools (Bird, 2003; Mwaba, 2007). Physical accessibility, documentation problems and host countries' restrictions

can limit access to education and training for refugees. Some of these limitations amount to human rights violations of the refugees and is indeed a challenge to refugee education.

Another problem and challenge in emergency refugee education has to do with learners' discipline (Talbot and Davies, 2008). There have been instances of refugee children and adolescents being involved in substance abuse or prostitution (Sinclair, 2001). There has also been cases of sexual abuse and harassment of students by peers as well as by teachers (Davies and Talbot, 2008). Oh and Van der Stouwe (2008) report of students dropping out of formal schooling because of early marriage or pregnancy. Bird (2003) also reports of frequent absenteeism (which can lead to dropping out) as children do not attend school if they have no clothing or school uniforms and supplement their food rations by working. Closely related to this are the problems that face the "unaccompanied minors" (Bird, 2003, p. 54) who might not have family, social and economic support.

There is also the problem of underestimating the importance of early childhood education amongst refugee communities. Betheke (1996) is of the opinion that insufficient attention has been paid to Early Childhood Care for Development (ECCD) education in emergency situations. There are some people, according to Sinclair (2001), who think that pre-schools or kindergarten activities are a luxury. Yet it must be recognised that early childhood learning is an important and critical aspect of the refugee curriculum which relieves psychosocial tensions, assists child development and prepares the child for school learning (Bird, 2003; Mwaba, 2007: Pigozzi, 1999). Both Sinclair (2001) and Mwaba (2007) agree that the introduction of early childhood education also contributes to girls enrolment and retention in high schools as girls attend schools instead of being expected to look after the younger siblings.

Worse still there are some authorities who believe that providing education to refugees will deter them to make decisions to repatriate quickly or may prevent rapid voluntary repatriation (Sinclair, 2001). There are also some retrogressive opponents who are blinkered by "the macho philosophy that education is a luxury in emergencies and not a humanitarian requirement" (Sinclair, 2001, p. 9).

Refugee education faces a complexity of problems and challenges. The array of problems and challenges range from limited financial resources, poor physical learning conditions, higher teacher turnover, limited access, learners' discipline and the wrong perception that refugee education is not an urgent humanitarian need but a luxury. All these difficulties compromise the quality of refugee education and inhibit learners from concentrating on the worthwhile activity of learning.

2.3.5. Teaching Methods and purposes of refugee education

Refugee education is also embedded in complex, controversial and contested pedagogical issues that have characterised the education terrain in the 20th and 21st centuries. The question has been; should refugee teaching and learning methods be child-centred or teacher centred? (Williams, 2001). This question also draws into perspective the critical debates about theories, approaches and orientations to knowledge that are discussed by Moore and Young (2001), Egan (1997), Schiro (2008) and Davies (2004). Kagawa (2005), Pigozzi (1999), Davies and Talbot (2008) argue for progressive pedagogies that are democratic, child/learner centred approaches. Student centred teaching is closely linked to the democratisation of society and also allows for the learner's critical thinking and exploration (Davies and Talbot, 2008; Kagawa, 2005). However we must take note of the fact that

democratic teaching methods are difficult to carry out in overcrowded classrooms and are seen as time consuming in a congested curriculum and do contradict with the drive for examination passing (Davies and Talbot, 2008; Williams, 2001). This is even exacerbated by the poor learning conditions for refugees. It is in this regard that the UNHCR (2003, p. 43) has recommended for the utilisation of the "Direct Instructional Model" also interchangeably called "Active Teaching Model" or "Mastery Learning" which is a teaching model used to teach in difficult circumstances with limited space and resources and is teacher directed but in a positive manner that ensures students engagement. There is no doubt that the world over people are moving towards democratic and participatory methods of teaching and learning. However limited space and resources, the nature of the curriculum and assessment methods also determine the final pedagogical approach to be employed in transmitting knowledge and in the learning and teaching transaction.

Education can serve a dual purpose in emergency education. It can contribute to peace, respect and tolerance (Betheke, 1996; Davies and Talbot, 2008). It is on this note that Winthrop and Kirk (2008) argue that schooling must support the refugee's child well-being by allowing them to speak about learning and educational priorities. In this regard education serves a democratic cause of reconciliation and reconstruction and ensures that violence does not recur. On the other hand, education can be used as a channel or vehicle to transmit political hate messages and this prolongs conflict as "education . . . . . brings violence, politics and conflict into the learning process" (Dicum, 2008, p. 627; Betheke, 1996; Sinclair, 2001; Davies and Talbot, 2008). Dicum (2008, p. 627 & 630) reports of one interesting story of the "politicization" of the Pakistani curriculum for example in "math lessons . . . . . the objects counted were guns, grenades and other weaponry". However the worst case of harrowing indoctrination is reported in Macedonia by a UNHCR Community Service Officer who noted that in refugee pre-school groups, children were singing songs about blood and revenge (Sinclair, 2001). In today's emergency education programmes such negative purposes and trends of education are being curtailed by calls for refugee education to comply with the minimum standards for education in emergencies, chronic crises and early reconstruction which involves the use and application of minimum standards for emergency education (INEE in Davies & Talbot, 2008).

2.4. Local people's perceptions of refugees

The general international perception of refugees has been the belief that refugees impose a variety of security, environmental and economic burdens to the host country as they compete with locals for scarce resources such as jobs and overwhelm existing infrastructures such as schools, housing and health facilities (Jacobsen, 2002). On a similar note Preston (1991) argues that some governments are unable and unwilling to offer assistance to refugees. In some instances refugee camps "are usually characterised by crime and insecurity . . . . . and this problem leaches out into the surrounding community" (Jacobsen, 2002, p. 585 & 587). Jacobsen (2002) also argues, on a positive note however, that refugees themselves represent all kinds of potential as they bring human capital in the form of labour, skills, new technologies and entrepreneurship and are conduits for remittance flows. In very rare instances Morrow, Maaba and Pulami (2002) as well as Preston (1991) draw memories of how South African political exiles and refugees perceived themselves to be too superior and received preferential treatment in their relations with Tanzanians and the Swazi society.

2.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter engaged with literature from recognised scholars and authorities on the different orientations to curriculum development and discussed the key tenets informing each approach. I have attempted to justify my conceptual framework which is grounded in the naturalistic model to curriculum development and the community-based approach to education development. The chapter also provided a more detailed discussion and overview of refugee education and its importance, its forms and types, language issues, challenges and teaching methods debates as informed by researchers and writers in the emergency education field. The next chapter discusses the conceptual framework to this study.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Introduction

This chapter is a discussion of the naturalistic curriculum development model and the community-based approach to education development that provided the theoretical framework to this study. The chapter begins by tracing the emergence of the naturalistic curriculum development approach from Schwab up to its refinement by Walker in the 1970s. It further describes the key elements of this curriculum development approach namely "deliberation" and "platform" and cites curriculum development case studies that have employed the naturalistic curriculum development model. This is followed by an explanation of the origins, features, advantages and case studies related to the community-based approach to refugee education development. The chapter concludes by delineating the limitations of the naturalistic approach to curriculum development.

3.2. The Naturalistic approach to Curriculum design and development

The emergence of the naturalistic curriculum development approach is attributed to Schwab's four famous "Practical" papers (1969, 1970, 1971 & 1983) on curriculum. Schwab (1969, p. 1) declared that the curriculum field was in a crisis, "unhappy state" and "moribund" for its methods and principles were theoretically inclined and relied much more on theory. Schwab (1971, p. 493) explicitly stated that education and curriculum had been "inveterately theoretic". Schwab (1969) therefore proposed that curriculum development should divert and change from being theoretical to being practical. In his major contribution in the curriculum field for which he is most remembered Schwab (1969, 1983) argued for the commitment to deliberation and to move out of the highly artificial and prescriptive objectives approach popularised by Taylor. Deliberation, according to Schwab (1969, 1971 & 1983), is carried out by a group of people who could generate and weigh alternative formulations and choose the most effective alternative. The group's deliberative mode of discussion and proceedings are monitored and administered by a Chairperson who ought to be a curriculum specialist (Schwab 1970, 1971 & 1983). Schwab (1970) identified five bodies of experience which must be represented in the curriculum design group and these are teachers, students, subject specialists, curriculum specialists and the milieu, the latter refers to the community. What Schwab (1970) termed the milieu, Roby (1985) termed the economic, social and cultural context. He further explained that new educational materials and purposes can be generated through collaboration and learning from each other's experiences, concerns, values and operations. To Schwab (1970) curriculum purposes are communicated by language through the whole course of deliberation which generates alternative solutions.

Walker (1970, 1971) then borrowed from Schwab's proposition, refined and popularised it resulting in one important foundational approach to curriculum development and design. Walker (1970, 1971) following Schwab's position argued that "deliberation" be the central feature for curriculum development (Reynolds, 1995; Pinar, 1997). Like his predecessor, Walker (1975, p. 92) argued for flight from the earliest prescriptive curriculum theorists towards the "natural" and "the need and faith in the study of the observable phenomena" (Walker, 1973, p. 58-59). Walker and Reid (1975)

and Wraga and Hlebowitsh (2003) were of the opinion that worthwhile contribution to curriculum could only come as a result of the fruitful interaction and vital interplay of theory and practice. Such an allegiance and inclination to the practical resurfaced in Cornbleth (1990) and Carr's (1993) call for curriculum development to be grounded in social practice or within the social structures of society. Reid (1975) argued that the classical model was an appendix and not an integral part of curriculum development in practice. Worse still it ignored "problems of choice and of achieving consensus" (Reid, 1975, p. 243). To Walker (1971) neglecting such important facets of curriculum distorted practices in curriculum development. Walker's curriculum development model therefore introduced a fresh, innovative and appropriate metaphor into curriculum theory and practice. Such a paradigm shift avoided the kinds of errors in the imagery of curriculum development as engineering and designing (Reid, 1979).

I will now fully discuss the important element of deliberation, which also happens to be the keystone of Walker's curriculum development theory. Deliberation is "the process by which beliefs and information are used to make decisions" (Walker, 1971, p. 53). Orpwood (1985, p. 293) defines deliberation as "the verbal interchange that is carried on, usually by a group with the intent that some kind of curriculum plan, policy or programme will emerge". The essence that deliberation entails communicative interaction is also explained by Reid (1979). Such deliberations which lead to new curriculum programmes, do develop over a long period of time. Reid (1975) stresses the importance as well as the effectiveness of consensus, negotiation and deliberation in curriculum development. Gauthier (1963), Reid (1979) and Pereira (1984) explore in depth the term, deliberation, and agree that the concept is Aristotelian in origin and meant "practical reasoning". One engages in the process of deliberation when determining what to do and mostly in response to uncertain practical problems or problematic situations (Gauthier, 1963; Knitter, 1985; Roby, 1985). When the philosophical definition of deliberation is employed in the curriculum field, deliberation becomes the main instrument for the solution of curriculum problems (Reid, 1975; Walker, 1975; Pereira, 1984). Deliberation, therefore, can be defined as the process of practical reasoning in education (Walker, 1975). Walker (1975, p. 132) clearly articulates that "the logical essence of curriculum development is practical reasoning". Curriculum deliberation entails "formulating decisions, devising alternative choices, considering arguments for and choosing the most defensible alternative" (Walker, 1971, p. 53). It involves, according to Harris (1986, p. 117), "weighing and examining reasons for and against a measure and giving careful consideration and mature reflection to choices". To Orpwood (1985) the deliberation process leads to the formulation of defensible resolutions. Decision formulations are at times characterised by confusion, debates and feelings run high amongst a group of people (Walker, 1971). Deliberations, therefore, are at the heart of the naturalistic curriculum development model. Such logical practical reasoning and adumbrations in education and curriculum issues involve groups of people.

Besides deliberation, platform is the other important element in the designing and development of a curriculum. Walker (1970, p. 3) argued that the development of curriculum materials, plans and activities happens through a platform, that is, "values, beliefs, assumptions and preconceptions that members hold in common". What Walker calls platform, Reid (1975, p. 248) explains as the regulators of behaviours of curriculum developers and cites "values, beliefs and expectations" as the three main determinants of curriculum learning programmes. Cornbleth's (1990, p. 6) curriculum structural contexts which include, "established roles and relationship, operating procedures, shared beliefs and norms" are akin to Walker's platform features. Without platform according to Walker

(1975) it would be impossible to develop curricula. The platform is made up of three components that is, “conceptions, theories and aims” and is a sophisticated product of reflection on life and education (Walker, 1971, p. 55). Conceptions are “beliefs about what exists and what is possible”, theories are “beliefs about what is true” and aims are “desirable beliefs about the good and the beautiful in education” (Walker, 1971, p. 54). Inherent in the platform are the group’s vision and future intentions. Walker (1970, p. 4) goes on to argue that the “evidence of platforms is in the communications of members with each other and with outsiders” which at times can contain conflicting tendencies and contradictions among members. Platform features do inform as well as propel deliberations.

It is through the elements of a curriculum’s platform and deliberation that a curriculum is designed by a curriculum specialist, hence curriculum “design” becomes the third element in the process of curriculum development (Walker, 1971). The curriculum development process also involves four agents which Walker (2003, p. 59) calls “topic, commonplaces or foundation” of curriculum work and these are “the student, teacher, subject matter and the society”. The societal agent is similar to Cornbleth’s (1990, p. 6) sociocultural context which is made up of “demographic, social, political and economic conditions, traditions and ideologies and events” elements. Walker’s enlisted agents of curriculum development alongside their beliefs do affect the final appearance and shape of the curriculum. The curriculum’s “design” is the “theoretically significant output of the curriculum development process” (Walker, 1971, p. 52). However this element plays second fiddle to the other two elements as curriculum “design” is the process itself that leads to the production of a curriculum. Today, Walker’s model is known as the naturalistic approach to curriculum or better still the “naturalistic model” (Marsh, 1992, p. 112), and is regarded as an “opportunity of translating platform into deliberation” (Walker and Reid, 1975, p. ix). This then becomes part of the theoretical framework of my study. In fact it becomes the theoretical lens and spectacles which I will employ to study how the refugees started their education programmes.

Walker (1970; 1975) reports of how Eisner in 1967 developed a curriculum for the Kettering Visual Arts Project for primary school children through naturalistic curriculum model elements of platform and deliberation and this resulted in the construction of curriculum materials, plans and activities. Misco (2007) also explains how a cross-cultural initiative responded to the need for educational materials for the new holocaust course for the Republic of Latvia through the method of curriculum deliberation. Another close practical example of such curriculum developments are reported by Strom, Johnson, Strom and Daniels (1992) on how they developed a multicultural parent curriculum for Vietnamese and Central and South American immigrants and refugees based on their educational needs and priorities. Orpwood (1985) reports of the deliberative process carried out by school board officials and teachers in formulating a new science programme for their schools, in Ontario, Canada. Bonser and Grundy (1988) also talk about the process of reflective deliberation which they believe was evident in the creation of computer education curriculum in New South Wales rural high school. The Rwandan Ministry of Education consulted and deliberated on developing resource materials and plans of how to teach history in secondary schools (Freedman, Weinstein, Murphy & Longman, 2008).

Basson’s (2000) study of an informal squatter settlement community in Boitekong resembles the naturalistic model. The Boitekong squatter community in the North West Province of South Africa, through collective decisions and deliberations, set in motion a curriculum development process

which over a period of 6 years provided crèches, schools and a community college for adults and further education (Basson, 2000). In Basson's (2000) study at Boitekong the term "curriculum developer" is redefined to imply ordinary laymen and the underprivileged. Similarly Walker (1975, p. 131) reports of how the Kettering Curriculum Development Project did also involve "laymen" who did play a "part" in curriculum development. These two case studies reincarnate the term curriculum developer to include members of the community and ordinary laymen who decide on what must be taught.

Such a reinvention of the term, curriculum developer, and consequently curriculum development refocuses the term curriculum into a wider perspective. The term curriculum becomes "open-ended . . . and touch(es) major issues in everyday life", it becomes "everything that can be learned, how they can be learned, why they are learned, with what justification, by whom and with what consequences" (Morrison, 2004, p. 487, 488, 490). Carr (1993) also welcomes such a notion of curriculum that is open, broader and unrestrictive. Curriculum within such a broader framework captures and reflects the ideological role of curriculum within the social structures, circumstances and conditions of society (Carr, 1993). Such an open view of curriculum concurs with Cornbleth's (1990) call for curriculum to be regarded as a social process with multiple, interacting context. This study therefore takes a broader definition of curriculum that is inclusive of major social issues in life (society) and within multiple interacting contexts and conditions.

3.3. The Community-based approach to education

In emergency education the usage of the term "curriculum developer" to imply refugees (ordinary people) is captured under the "new mantra" called the "community-based approach" to education development (Bird, 2003, p. 67; UNHCR, 1995, p. 15 & 33; Sinclair, 2001, p. 18; Mwaba, 2007, p. 37). The community-based approach to refugee education development was formally recognised by the UNHCR in mid-1996 after it had been successfully undertaken by Rwandan refugees at Ngara Refugee camp in Tanzania (Bird, 2003). Examples of other successful community-based rapid responses to education are recorded by Chanda (in Sinclair, 2001) at Mayukwayukwa refugee camp, in Zambia between 1999 and 2000 within Congolese and Angolan refugees, amongst Bhutanese refugees in Nepal in 2000 (Williams, 2001) and was also experienced towards the end of 1996 in Tanzania's Kigoma region in Congolese refugee camps (Bird, 2003). It is also recorded between the years 1993 and 1994 amongst Afghan refugees in Peshawar, Pakistan (Sinclair, 2001).

Under the model of the community-based approach to education, refugees themselves or refugee education committees initiate, decide and manage learning programmes for their settlement and this ensures and promotes genuine dialogue, sustainability, continuity, effectiveness and cost-effectiveness (Betheke, 1996; UNHCR, 1995; Williams, 2001; Bird 2003). The refugee education committees are basically involved in "curriculum decisions" and help to identify training needs in the emergency settlement population (Betheke, 1996, p. 19). According to Sinclair (2001) and the UNHCR (1995) the other advantages of the community-based approach is that it gives the refugees control over one important element of their social function - education (and training) as well as bringing together refugees in a common endeavour. If refugee communities participate in their education programmes this will empower them and make them independent and non-dependent of NGO support (Bird, 2003). Self-initiated refugee education approaches are the key to any successful

and efficient programmes that will help to improve the refugee capacity to meet their own needs and solve their own problems (Mwaba, 2007). Refugee parents and communities have to be involved, participate and are key partners in the planning of their curriculum and educational activities as there is no guarantee that education specialists will be readily available in an emergency situation (Pigozzi, 1999). It is because of these numerous advantages that the community-based approach to education is currently the most preferred and favoured approach to refugee curriculum development that guarantees success, acceptance and rapid uptake within emergency communities.

The community-based approach to curriculum or education development has revolutionarised emergency education. It is the new buzz and watchword in refugee education. It has rechristened the term curriculum developer to encompass refugee communities and ordinary people. Morrison (2004) argues for such inventions and discoveries in the field of curriculum development as this enables fertility, comprehensiveness, diversity, fecundity and refashioning of the curriculum field. Refugee communities or their education communities do make deliberation on and about education sustained by platform consequently resulting in curriculum development upon which the communities decide what to learn and what to exclude from their education systems. Whilst Walker's naturalistic curriculum development model does provide the lens through which I can gaze into refugee education, the community-based approach to education development also serves a similar purpose. The two theories are almost similar as they are all driven by platform and deliberation. In Walker's naturalistic model curriculum specialists as well as ordinary people do initiate learning programmes whilst in the community-based approach the term curriculum developer is translated to mean ordinary refugees and refugee education communities. In both instances curriculum deliberations and decisions are reached by a group of people. Consensus therefore drives curriculum development both in the naturalistic model to curriculum development and the community-based approach to education.

3.4. Limitations of the naturalistic approach to curriculum development

According to Roby (1985) there are habits or factors that could interfere with the deliberation process. Such habits or impulses like ignorance or inappropriate reactions to situations, expectation of linear progress and the resulting difficulty coping with uncertain situations and jumping to conclusions without comprehensive thinking could all interfere with the curriculum decision making process (Roby, 1985). Roby (1985) and Pereira (1984, p. 347) further argue that the process of deliberation is indeed complex and convoluted and there is also little evidence in literature (or few reported studies) that Walker's model has "encouraged a commitment to deliberative methods". The other problem bedevilling this model, according to Harris (1986), is that the term deliberation has colloquial and ordinary-language meanings thereby making it difficult for curriculum workers to grasp its meanings and implications and begin to use it. Harris (1986) therefore yearns for written products, demonstrations and training programmes which are fundamentally important for guiding curriculum practitioners in deliberation. Walker (1971) cautiously argues that this model must be fully developed as it contains propositions that need to be tested.

3.5. Chapter Summary

This study has been informed by the naturalistic approach to curriculum development and the community-based approach to emergency education development. This provided the theoretical lens through which I would gaze into the curriculum initiatives and developments at the Holy Cross Church's education and training programmes. The study takes heed of Morrison's (2004) position and arguments for discoveries in the curriculum development field. The next chapter discusses the research method employed, data collection methods utilised, sampling strategies used, ethical issues considered and how analysis, validity and reliability of data was ensured.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODS

4.1. Introduction

The chapter begins with a discussion and clarification of the ethnographic research method. A detailed explanation of the three data collection methods (non-participant observation, document collection and interviewing) is also provided. The chapter further explains the sampling techniques used to identify interviewees and classrooms observed during fieldwork. Ethical issues considered in this study are also discussed. Lastly the chapter details data analysis strategies employed and how reliability and validity of data was ensured in the study.

4.2. Ethnographic research method

In carrying out my research I used the ethnographic method. Fetterman (1997), Neuman (2006), Bell (2005) and Spradley & McCurdy (1988) agree that ethnography is the art, science or the task of describing and understanding a group's culture from the native point of view. McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 26) clarify this qualitative research method and define it as "an in-depth description and interpretation of cultural patterns and meanings within a specified culture of social group". Ethnography therefore involves the task of describing, understanding and interpreting the group's cultural patterns and meanings from an insider's point of view. The need to describe accurately a particular group's culture implies a commitment to a search for meaning which must result in "a suspension of preconceptions and an orientation to discovery" (Ball, 1993, p. 32). Under this method one's pursuit and quest to understand a group's culture leads to a commitment to search for meaning, emphatically. The ethnographic research method has been used to produce many school-based studies with some involving immigrants which are reported by Walker (1988), Bulliant (1987), Davis (in Spradley and McCurdy, 1988), Parrot (in Spradley and McCurdy, 1988) and Doyle (in Spradley and McCurdy, 1988).

This research method, according to McMillan and Schumacher (1993; 2006) and Spradley and McCurdy (1988), involves prolonged fieldwork and employs a variety of field methods with the primary strategies for gathering data being observation, interviewing and document collection in the context of a single study. I primarily used these three data collection methods over a period of five months from mid June up to mid November. I used the ethnographic research method to elicit information about the historical antecedents leading to the development of a refugee community in an urban environment and how this community developed and designed their curriculum. The ethnographic research method enabled me to observe the patterns of action and interaction between members of the refugee community (Best & Kahn, 1998).

4.3. Data Collection Methods

4.3.1. Observation

One of my data collection methods was non-participant observation. Observation, according to Best and Kahn (1998), consists of detailed notations of behaviour and events, and the contexts surrounding the events and behaviour. In this research I was more of an observer or what Manion & Cohen (1980) and Bell (2005) call "a non-participant observer" which McMillan and Schumacher (2006, p. 208) terms "a complete observer". The prime advantage of being an observer is that it allows you to observe and understand natural human behaviour and actions in a real-life setting and to discern ongoing behaviour as it occurs and in the process appropriate notes about its salient features (Best and Kahn, 1998; Manion and Cohen, 1980; Bell, 2005). Both McMillan and Schumacher (2006) and Bell (2005) agree that observations reveal characteristics and elicit data that is nearly impossible with other means or approaches. Non-participant observations allowed me to closely record what I observed, undisturbed as participation in the activities would have distracted me from the data collection exercise (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006). It is because of these advantages that I used observation as a data collection tool that enabled me to "understand" the refugees' natural behaviour as it occurred and probe for information on how schools and training centres were initiated by the refugees. Generally I did observe the education and training "environments, (classroom) social interactions and physical activities" (Best & Kahn, 1998, p. 253) at Holy Cross Church and at St Alberton Refugee School. I did attend and observe 20 of the refugees meetings which are held weekly on Friday from 7 pm in the Main Chapel hall. I also attended and observed five of the School Council meetings which usually start at 2pm in the afternoon and last for two to three hours. Daily observations of the teaching and learning interactions were done for one week in Grade 1 and Form 3B classes at the St Alberton Street Refugee School. These classes were selected through the stratified random sampling technique. Observations would start early in the morning up to the time the students were dismissed, I would sit in the classroom seeing, hearing and writing educational observations and interactions within that classroom. I also spent two hours a day for seven continuous days observing each and every vocational training programme and the two early childhood centres within the refugee community. During these non-participant observations of the refugees meetings, school council meetings, classrooms teaching and learning interactions and training instructional periods, field notes were dated and written in my fieldwork research notebook. The observations were recorded using the fixed schedule time sampling and through continuous observation data collection techniques (Best and Kahn, 1998; McMillan and Schumacher, 1993). This means that the observations were for a fixed duration and what I observed during that period was written and recorded in my fieldwork research notebook in a chronological order. My observations were generally continuous spanning over a period of five months and this is in line with Wiersma's (1986) emphasis that observations in ethnographic research must be continuous. At times I would sleep either at the refugee church house or at St Alberton Street School with the "natives".

4.3.2. Document collection

One of the three methods I used in my fieldwork data gathering exercise was document collection. Document collection is an extremely valuable alternative source of data used to supplement information obtained, in this particular research from observations and through interviewing (Bell, 2005). According to McMillan and Schumacher (1993; 2006) document collection provides an

internal perspective as well as the values of the organisation (or the refugee community in this case). In my five months stint at the Refugee centre and at St Alberton Street School I managed to collect weekly minutes of refugee meetings, minutes of school council meetings, school principal reports, the school timetable, certificates, programmes of events, curriculum guides and school pamphlets. Some incidents and events at the Refugee centre and at the school appeared in various widely circulating newspapers like "The Citizen", "Sowetan", and "The Star". Most of the documents that I collected and reviewed fall under the category of primary sources of educational data and are also official documents in Bell's (2005), McMillan and Schumacher's (2006) and Best and Kahn's (1998) categorisation of documents.

4.3.3. Interviewing

The third data collection technique that I used was interviews. Interviews according to Fetterman (1997) help in explaining and putting into larger context what the ethnographer sees and experiences. Neuman (2006) and Best and Kahn (1998) regard interviews as a research tool for obtaining specific information from another person as it allows the interviewer to access the perspective of the person being interviewed. Thus from interviews information regarding an individual's experiences and knowledge and his/her opinions, beliefs and feelings can be gathered (Best and Kahn, 1998). The major advantage of interviews which has been cited by most writers is its adaptability and flexibility (Bell, 2005; Manion & Cohen, 1980; McMillan & Schumacher, 1993).

I used the standardised open-ended interview to solicit for information from key members of the refugee community. Topics, questions and issues to be covered were selected in advance and the interviewer asked the same basic questions in the same order. This is typical of standardised open-ended interviews as they have the exact wording and the sets and sequence of questions are predefined and predetermined (Wiersma, 1986; McMillan and Schumacher, 2006). Questions were worded in a completely open-ended format (Best & Kahn, 1998). The advantage of using the standardised open-ended interview according to McMillan & Schumacher (1993) is that it reduces interviewer effect and bias. Bias it must be noted has been and will always remain the "old enemy" of interviewing (Bell, 2005, p. 116). Secondly, standardised open-ended interviews allow and easily facilitate the recording, summarising, organisation and analysis of data (Best & Kahn, 1998). Open-ended items also encourage co-operation, help establish rapport and most importantly allow the interviewer to make a true assessment of what the respondent really believes, thinks and what is important to him or her and to get a response with many answers (Manion & Cohen, 1980). The greatest weakness of this type of interview format is that it reduces interviewer flexibility as standardised wording constraints and stifles the naturalness and the relevance of the response (Best & Kahn, 1998; McMillan and Schumacher, 2006). Only the first two interviews were tape-recorded and during the other following interview sessions I resorted to direct note taking as the refugees were unwilling to be tape-recorded.

4.4. Sampling

The purposeful sampling strategy was used to identify and choose individuals likely to be knowledgeable and informative (information-rich informants) about the phenomenon of interest (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993). The purposive sampling method was the most appropriate

sampling method for my fieldwork as it enabled me to select key, specific individuals who provided me with the best information on my research (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006; Neuman, 2006). To that effect in this research the Bishop, the refugees' committee chairman, the secretary of the refugees and two senior elder members of the refugee community were the selected information rich informants. Other knowledgeable and informative respondents that were purposefully sampled and interviewed using the standardised open ended interview format were heads/leaders/principals of different educational and training centres and programmes in the refugee community. These included the Head of St Alberton Street Refugee School and also the leaders of ABET centre, sewing training project, computer centre, the infant day care centre, pre-school and the hotel and catering programme. I therefore compiled two sets of standardised open–ended interview schedules that I used during the data collection exercise.

The two classes in which lessons were observed were selected through the stratified random sampling technique. I divided the refugee school classes into two broad homogenous categories or subgroups of primary and secondary level classes and then randomly picked a class from each strata or subpopulation (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993, 2006; Manion and Cohen, 1980). The advantage of the stratified random sampling procedure is that it is more representative of the population than simple random sampling and this guarantees that the sample reflects and represents the whole population (Manion and Cohen, 1980; Neuman, 2006; Best and Kahn, 1998). Thus the Form 3B and Grade 1 classes I observed lessons are much more likely to be a representation of the teaching and learning classroom interactions that occurs in other classes within and at the refugee school.

4.5. Ethical Considerations

Ethical issues in research concern beliefs about what is wrong and what is right from a moral perspective in the conduct of research (Mourton, 2003; McMillan & Schumacher, 2006). Research ethics therefore imply compliance with acceptable research norms, morals, standards and principles. As my research dealt with refugees who are considered a vulnerable group in society I had to comply and conform to research ethical codes, guidelines, protocols and practices set by the University's Research Ethics Committee. The education ethics committee approved my ethical research application, Protocol Number 2009ECE56. I was also granted permission to conduct my research by the Gauteng Department of Education. Before entry into the research site I was granted permission to carry out my research by Bishop Saul Vereeniging and also by the Head of St Alberton Street Refugee School.

To comply with the principle of "informed consent" I explained honestly and openly to all participants about the nature, aims and purpose of my study and further elaborated to participants that participation in this research is voluntary. The participants would then sign the Participant Information and Informed Consent, and the Interview Consent forms. The learners observed in Form 3B and Grade 1 classes also signed a Learner's Assent form and their guardians signed the Guardian Consent slip. In all these instances I secured prior voluntary consent before observing and interviewing participants.

In this research I also complied with ethical issues of confidentiality, anonymity and privacy. To ensure confidentiality names of the interviewees will not be disclosed, the name of the school,

teachers, learners, principals (heads) will remain anonymous and will not appear in the research report. Instead, fictitious names have been used throughout the report. The data gathered in this exercise will be solely and strictly used for the purpose of this research project. After completion of the study the raw research data will be appropriately stored at the Wits School of Education. Such confidentiality initiatives and data storage measures are all in the interest of ensuring and protecting the privacy and anonymity of participants. McMillan and Schumacher (2006) and Neuman (2006) agree that guaranteeing privacy, anonymity and confidentiality means that access to participants' responses, behaviour and information is restricted to the researcher and kept secret from the public. I have made the necessary effort to ensure and uphold the informants' privacy and made all necessary commitments to uphold research ethics principles during the fieldwork and in the compilation of this report.

4.6. Data Analysis

I used the "template analysis style" (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006, p. 368) which is similar to what both Neuman (2006, p. 469) and Sarantakos (1998, p. 317) call "successive approximation" data analysis strategy to synthesise and make sense of massive raw data and information obtained from observations, interviews and documents (Wiersma, 1986; Best & Kahn, 1998). Basically these methods involve coding, categorising (grouping) and interpreting of data through provisionally preconceived categories (Bell, 2005; McMillan and Schumacher, 2006). These categories which were decided in advance emerged initially from interview questions, research questions and from my theoretical framework. Thus when I began my analysis and exploration of data I was guided by the interview guide questions, research questions and my theoretical framework (Best and Kahn, 1998). These categories were further recycled, readjusted, frequently revised and modified through repeated iterations so that they fitted the gathered evidence better and also so as to achieve a higher level of accuracy (Neuman, 2006; Sarantakos, 1998). Such data analysis strategies are naturally close to deductive though they also bear elements of inductive data methods as categories, dimensions and interrelations are derived from but not solely dependent on hypothesis and research and interview questions.

My data codes and categories were in the beginning illuminated by the interview and research questions, and the theoretical framework. Thus in my data analysis exercise I had such codes as "Values, beliefs (platforms)", "Refugee education problems", "Deliberation Forums". The data coding exercise activity imposed order on the data and also reduced large amounts of raw data into manageable piles (Neuman, 2006). Similarities and differences in the respondents' data were taken heed of during the data coding exercise through the outstanding intellectual task of "comparing and contrasting" (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993, p. 483). The respondents' codes or tags which are pieces of recurring inferential information obtained during the fieldwork were fit into pre-figured and pre-defined categories or themes (McMillan & Schumacher, 2006; Bell, 2005). Thus from the "Beliefs" code emerged such themes or categories like "hope, empowerment, (self) employment and good morals", and the school council and refugee meetings emerged as categories from the "Deliberation Forums" code. The categories resulted in patterns of meanings to emerge and these were related to the conceptual framework selected for the inquiry and the research problem and questions (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006; Neuman, 2006; Best and Kahn, 1998). Whilst during my

data analysis the research questions and theoretical framework did guide me in analysing the data this did not restrict me in sorting my data as I constantly modified, revised, recycled and rephrased the categories and the information patterns (McMillan and Schumacher, 2006; Neuman, 2006). Thus in my final Research Findings chapter the categories had been modified and frequently revised resulting in new patterns of meaning to emerge that were however aligned to and informed by the interview and research questions as well as the theoretical framework. As a consequence of this Section 5.5.1 and 5.5.2 in the Research Findings chapter emerged from the "Deliberation Forums" code and the "Belief/Value" code resulted in the 5.6 sub-topic entitled "Important values and beliefs about education shared by the Refugee community".

4.7. Validity and Reliability of data

To facilitate the patterns seeking exercise and to ensure validity and reliability of data I used the triangulation, sequence analysis and the critical analysis of documents techniques. Triangulation involves cross-validation of data so as to test and compare one source of information against another and to see whether there is a pattern recurrence and corroboration (Wiersma, 1986; Fetterman, 1997). In my data analysis process I triangulated and cross-checked data collected from documents, interviews and from field observations, firstly about the history of how the refugee community, the school and the training programmes were started and secondly enlisted the key financiers and social supporters of the refugee's education and training programmes. The sequence analysis technique organises information, events in order of occurrence or across time (Neuman, 2006). Thus in my Research Findings chapter I historically as well as chronologically traced the antecedents leading to the development of each and every education and training programme within the refugee community, with those programmes that were firstly initiated, being presented first and those that followed latter appearing later in the Research Findings section. The critical analysis of documents calls upon the researcher to subject documents to rigorous scrutiny to check consistency, truthfulness and authenticity (Fetterman, 1997; Bell, 2005). Thus the minutes of the refugees' weekly meetings, minutes of school council meetings, the school timetable, certificates, programmes of events, curriculum guides and school pamphlets were thoroughly and rigorously examined to test the truthfulness of these documents. The three methods used in the pattern seeking exercise were used to critically assess, verify, check and examine the reliability and validity of the data and information gathered during the fieldwork. It is also typical of ethnographic data analysis to employ a host of methods in the coding, grouping and interpreting of data.

However in as much as I have attempted and would have wanted to be objective in my data collection exercise it must be noted and I must frankly acknowledge that at times bias can creep in, especially in this study where most of the research participants were fellow countrymen, Zimbabweans. Bias is regarded as one major cause of invalid and unreliable data (Manion & Cohen, 1980). Having been aware that bias can surface I tried by all means necessary to be objective and impartial in this study.

4.8. Chapter Summary

This chapter detailed the essence of the ethnographic research method. It also outlined why observation, document collection and interviewing were the three preferred data collection techniques. The chapter further explains ethical issues considered in this study. A discussion of the data analysis strategies employed and how data validity and reliability was ensured rounds off this chapter. The following chapter provides a detailed explanation of the research findings of this study. It describes how the Holy Cross refugee community's curriculum development initiatives resulted in the establishment of early childhood learning centres, a School and vocational training centres.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1. Introduction

The research findings are presented generally on the basis of interview schedule questions supplemented by documentary information and observation data which is interspersed to strengthen the aim of the research and to provide an extended description on "how Zimbabwean refugees in South Africa have designed and developed their school and training curricula at Holy Cross refugee centre?" The research findings section also discusses the historical background, the key actors, the teaching and learning or training approaches, the positive contributions and benefits as well as challenges facing early childhood centres, adult and vocational training centres and the St Alberton Street Refugee School. This chapter presents information chronologically with the earliest established education and training centres being presented first. Lastly the chapter captures the general affairs and challenges facing the refugee community.

5.2. Early Childhood Development Centres

The refugees' infants and children have access to two Early Childhood Care and Development centres. The Flock early childhood centre is much more of a pre-school preparing both South African and refugee children for primary school whilst the refugee initiated Day Care Centre is basically a baby sitting and infant caring establishment serving primarily resident refugee mothers when they go off to look for work or to work. The differences in the early childhood centres is not only limited to their purposes but extends ironically to the type of food they serve, their location, administration and management styles, the space available and their learning programmes.

5.2.1. Flock Pre-School

Before the Zimbabwean crisis the Church did have a well established and functional pre-school that had been established by the South African Holy Cross inner-city church congregants. The Flock Pre-school had been established in 1989 and was the first inner-city all races pre-school. This pre-school and another one in Braamfontien did become symbolic icons of racial integration in the apartheid era. The Holy Cross church was then under the leadership of Bishop Mvula Dandala (Chipo, Administrator of Flock Pre-school. Personal Interview, 09 September 2009). This early childhood development centre is the longest surviving education centre at the Refugee House. It is situated at the basement of the church building and in comparison with other education and training centres at the Refugee centre, it has abundant space. It has an enrolment of 35 children between the ages of 2 to 5. A third of the children's parents are either refugees or economic migrants from Zimbabwe. The centre is run and managed by South African citizens and has a well run learning programme and a weekly menu in which they serve sumptuous and nutritious meals to the learners. The pre-scholars parents do pay R200, 00 every month but the biggest challenge has been that some Zimbabwean refugees do not afford the pre-school fees. Chipo bemoaned the falling standards of the pre-school which led most of the South African parents to withdraw their children citing the refugee centre as an unsafe place for children to learn. At its peak in 2006 the pre-school enrolled 135 learners and currently it has less than 40 learners. Language is also a difficult issue as some of the Early Childhood

educators use South African indigenous languages and this disadvantages the immigrants' children. As a measure to overcome such a difficulty, the pre-school educators use English as the medium of communication which however is not the mother tongue for the pre-school learners. The other challenge which happens to be a health risk occurred during fieldwork observations (10 September 2009) at the pre-school when raw sewage from the blocked male toilets overflowed into the preschool learning hall. The Head of the pre-school centre later told me that at times the sewage dripped from the roofs making the learning exercise difficult and exposing learners to health hazards (Ms Dube. Personal Interview, 10 September, 2009).

5.2.2. Day Care Centre

The Day Care Centre caters for children who are left by resident refugee mothers as they go out to look for work or go to work mostly as shop assistants, housemaids or security guards. The centre has three female volunteer Child Carers and one of them holds a Child Care certificate. More than 20 children are left by their mothers everyday in the morning and are collected at the end of the day at the Day Care Centre, which was started on 17 July 2007 with the prime intention of caring for infants and children whose mothers go to work at a minimal fee. The idea behind the Day Care Centre was one refugee, Mr Arafat Nzou, who consulted with working mothers in the refugee community, the bishop and through the refugee meetings decided to start the programme. The programme gets financial support from individual donors and well wishers as well as the church Bishop to buy food and other basic necessities for the children (Ms Rute. Personal Interview, 18 July 2009)

A typical normal day at the Day Care Centre starts with the feeding of the children at 7 am with porridge; fruits are served at 10 am and potatoes or pap with some relish is served as the main meal at 12:30 pm; eggs, butternuts or yoghurts are given to the kids at 3 pm. In between hours the kids will be playing with toys, singing, sleeping or doing chorus elementary numbers counting. The childminders mostly use Shona and English to communicate with the kids though they can hardly speak Ndebele or Zulu which is the mother tongue for some of the kids. The centre at times faces the problem of lack of food for the kids. Some refugee mothers can not afford the R150 a month fee payment. The Day Care Centre's room which is about 15 square metres is too small for children whose number at times reaches 30, several refugee meetings have raised this issue (Refugee meetings minutes, 12 September 2009; 23 October 2009).

5.3. Adult and Vocational Training Centres at Holy Cross Church Refugee House

5.3.1. ABET Centre

The ABET Centre is perched on the fourth floor of the building and has been one of the most successful adult education programmes initiated by the refugees themselves. The programme was started in the last quarter of 2006 by four Zimbabwean adult refugees in collaboration with one South African educator. One of the four Zimbabwean refugees had been a teacher in Zimbabwe whilst the other three held post-secondary school diploma qualifications. The programme started as a study group initiative with lessons being held in the Bishop's office. It was through several meetings and discussions between those who were facilitators to be and the Bishop that the ABET programme was born. The initiators also found that there was need to provide literacy and

numeracy skills to some of the illiterate members of the refugee community. Secondly, the need to establish such a centre came because of the marked increase in the number of child refugees who were not going to school because of lack of finance and documentation to register in local schools. Towards the end of 2006 the programme relocated to the fourth floor with about 100 registered learners. The Centre by then enjoyed massive financial support from donors and Non Governmental Organisations. Lonehill Methodist Church provided food for the learners and paid facilitators stipends. Media Works did provide study materials, syllabuses, textbooks, learners' workbooks, computers and trained the facilitators at a cost of R8 000, 00 per facilitator. The centre also enjoyed generous financial support from the British as well as the American embassies. The initial capital injected to kick start the programme amounted to about R48 000, 00 (Leon. Personal Interview, 08 September 2009). The Centre had the best pass rate in central Johannesburg when compared with other ABET centres. Besides Zimbabwean refugees, tuition is also provided to Zambians, Congolese, Mozambicans and the South Africans as well.

As I have said before the ABET centre is one of the most successful refugee initiated learning programme that resulted in two outstanding refugee students passing the programme and enrolling for undergraduate degrees with the University of the Witwatersrand. Most refugees as well as South Africans are proud holders of the ABET certificate from this centre, which enabled them to get employment. When it was operating at full throttle the centre constantly maintained a 100% pass rate on the four ABET levels in which students wrote numeracy, literacy and communications skills through the Independent Examination Board (IEB) exams. However the programme is endangered and faces imminent closure, the key donors have withdrawn their funds, because the ABET centre was firstly invaded by married couples who slept in the main teaching hall and currently the centre is being used as a sleeping area by school going learners. One of the former facilitators of the programme is alleged to have stolen 4 computers and fled with them to Zimbabwe, 3 other computers were stolen by unknown members of the refugee community. Most of the computers and furniture at this centre has been vandalised or broken. As there are no financiers who buy food, learners hardly attend the ABET lessons. In one of my observations during fieldwork only five learners attended an ABET lesson.

The ABET programme has an outcomes-based approach to curriculum development. The learners' ABET workbooks clearly state the unit standards, under each unit standard are the intended specific learning outcomes with assessment criteria for each particular outcome (Communication in English Level 3 Workbook, 2005). At the end of each lesson students do an exercise in the workbook which is marked by the facilitator and the learners can progress to the next lesson if they have passed the previous lesson. The ABET programme just like the South African Revised National Curriculum also encourages learner participation, interaction and involvement in the learning process as well as the importance of integrating everyday knowledge with school knowledge. The ABET facilitators are always encouraged to use facilitative techniques that encourage interactive learning (Ntini. Personal Interview, 21 July 2009).

On 21 July 2009 at 7:30pm I observed a 45 minutes English Literacy lesson on the topic "Myself". The lesson was much more of an oral lesson and had 5 learners which were in different ABET levels. The ABET facilitator initially outlined to the learners that he was focusing on oral (speaking) and listening skills. Each learner was given time to explain in English what his intended career was and also to give a personal background about himself while other learners listened. The facilitator urged

the learners to outline their personal weaknesses and strengths in life. Solutions to each student's weaknesses were explored and sought by the learners and the facilitator. In the observed lesson the facilitator interacted with the learners and made the necessary effort to ensure student participation in the lesson through discussions and at times asking questions.

5.3.2. Computer Centre

The refugees have not been left out of the technological fervour and euphoria gripping the whole world. The refugee community has indeed ridden the crest of the technological wave resulting in a total of 778 people from the community being computer literate and all the learners from Grade 3 up to Form 5 at St Alberton Street Refugee School. What started as an overzealous and overambitious attempt by one of the enthusiastic and maverick refugee on the 5th of August 2007 turned out to be the best bet and risk ever taken by a lone volunteer refugee. With not even a single computer, the founder of the Computer centre started computer theory lessons in the Chapel with 10 students and he would hire a computer laptop from a nearby private college for use overnight or at times he would take the students to an internet cafe for hands-on practical computer training. As fortune has it, the centre received a donation of 5 computers from the Anglo American Company in October 2007. Thus the computer programme was offered a spacious room in what is known as the Boardroom, where it is currently housed on the second floor.

This Information Technological centre offers basic short computer courses and today boasts of 15 computers and 5 state of the art laptops which were donated by World Vision, World Mission Possible, Lonehill Church and UMCOR church members in America. The computer training programme runs for 8 weeks with trainees writing exams and being issued with certificates from Gifford College a registered and an accredited South African private college. The teacher provides computer lessons and also assesses learners on the practical component of the computer course, the theoretical component is examined by Gifford College and the examinees pay R60, 00 per candidate for the entire short computer courses examinations. The centre has throughout maintained a 100% pass rate in their examination results and has clinched several awards and prizes from Gifford College for the students' excellent performance. On a positive development, the centre has currently enrolled students who will do a 6 months course in Computer engineering. The centre according to Mr Willard intends to empower and give the refugee community hope through education so that they can acquire computer literacy skills and be employable (Willard. Personal Interview, 23 September 2009). The majority of the trainees have been Zimbabwean though Mozambicans, Congolese, Burundians, Malawians, Cameroonians, Swazis and South Africans have also been trained.

The computer training programme has a social efficiency and a technological approach to teaching and learning as the trainees are taught on and about touch-typing, keyboard skills, computer storage devices and components and on how to print documents. The students are also taught and use the "type to learn" programme which is an instruction programme designed to teach students to type using a computer. Teaching of such concepts and technological programs will result in learners to be competent on the use of computers in the workplace and these are the prime aims of the Social efficiency and the technological orientation to curriculum development.

5.3.3. Sewing Project

Mr Vhiri trained as a high school teacher specialising in Cutting and Designing in Zimbabwe. Mr Vhiri, together with a colleague and in consultation with the Church Bishop, decided to start a garment making training centre. Such an intention was announced in the refugee meeting and 21 refugee trainees immediately registered (Mr Vhiri. Personal Interview, 24 July 2009). These trainees and those who were to register later were trained in the various aspects of garment making over a period of 3 months. In partnership with Loveck College, the trainees are offered a certificate in which they complete two courses in Practical Cutting and Designing, and Cutting and Designing Theory. The practical examination takes between 8 to 10 hours and involves cutting and sewing a garment. The theory component of the examination consists of a written one hour paper. All the examinations are written at the refugee centre and are examined by Mr Vhiri, the Sewing project Instructor. The centre has three industrial sewing machines which have been used to train the refugees. However, these are inadequate to train a large number of students. The centre has a very small room to train tailors and like other refugee initiated training programmes lacks adequate space as well as financial resources to buy fabric and other clothing accessories. Nevertheless, the project has to this date trained 66 refugees, 36 of these being men and 30 women. 13 of these trainees have been employed as full time workers at Singer Clothing factory, 9 were employed by Mama Africa Clothing, 6 are at Siyabuya, 6 were recruited in Mpumalanga and some have been employed in local small sewing business ventures or shops (Mr Vhiri. Personal Interview, 24 July 2009). Some trainees returned to Zimbabwe where they started their own sewing businesses. This is all in line with the Sewing project's intentions of training the refugees so that they become self-sufficient –"create employment for themselves" and so that they get employed (Mr Vhiri, Refugee meeting minutes, 10 July 2009).

In one observed sewing practical lesson (23 July 2009) during fieldwork, it was quite evident that the learning and teaching approach resembled and was close to the Social efficiency or the technical instrumentalism ideology to curriculum development. The Instructor practically demonstrated and emphasised the need for precision in measuring, squaring and cutting the garment to the learners using a khaki paper garment model. The learners went on to assemble a short trousers garment model with a needle, stitching, locking and hemming it. During the model garment's cutting the teacher attended, observed, checked and measured each student's garment. The Instructor would do explanations in both English and in Shona and the students were given notes which they copied into their notebooks. The practical lesson was basically teacher dominated with the learners responding to closed suggestive questions.

5.3.4. Hotel and Catering Training Centre

The Hotel and Catering training centre was started just at the same time as the Sewing Project when the community recognised the need for skills so as to get employed in the host country. It was Mr Arafat Nzou the current head of St Alberton Street School, who announced that they needed to train refugees in hotel and catering. Initially five people volunteered to be trainers. Their professional certificates were verified and in consultation with the bishop started to train refugees in the church Sanctuary, the centre was later relocated to St Alberton Street Refugee School. The initial capital was injected by the Bishop. However, one of the teachers disappeared with the money. The current head of this centre had to be given another R3 000, 00 to buy utensils and equipment to re-start the

training programme (Rachie. Personal Interview, 2 September 2009). The Hotel and Catering Training Centre trains members of the community to be waiters, waitresses, barmen and chefs for six to eight weeks with half of that time being spent on practicals in reputable hotels and fast food outlets in and around Johannesburg. To date, the programme has trained over 400 people with most of the trainees being highly sought out at Chicken Inn, Nandos, Spurs, Kentucky Fried Chicken, Indaba, Emperors Palace, Beachwood Hotel and in several hotels within and around Johannesburg (Rachie. Personal Interview, 02 September 2009). The trainees who complete their courses are examined by Gifford College and given certificates by this accredited South African tertiary training college. However, the biggest challenge facing this training centre is the need for money to buy the waiters' apparels and uniforms and also transport fares for trainees to commute to and from hotels during the practical sessions (Refugee meeting minutes, 04 September 2009).

During training the Instructor does use South African Hospitality Studies textbooks and her approach to teaching and learning is close to the Social Efficiency orientation. In one of the observed waiters' training session on "de hotte" table setting the teacher emphasised on the good practice, principles and rites of table setting and table clearing techniques. The lady Instructor demonstrated to the trainees how to put an overlay table cloth and covers on the table and how cutlery such as forks (joint, fish, starter, dessert), spoons (dessert, soup), knives (dessert, fish, fork, starter, butter), glasses (champagne, red wine, white wine) and plates (main, side) were to be placed on the table. The Instructor interacted with the learners and always posed questions and sought explanations from the students on the positioning of cutlery on the table. After the teacher's demonstrations the students were left alone and repeatedly practised how to clean, prepare, set and clear the table the de hotte way and for the continental breakfast. The teacher finally instructed and observed each student setting the table within 5 minutes and clearing it within 2 minutes. During this observed practical session (on 2 September 2009) trainees were awarded marks. The Instructor always used English in training and instructing the learners.

5.4. St Alberton Street Refugee School

5.4.1. History

The St Alberton Street Refugee School is about a kilometre away from Holy Cross Refugee Centre and was historically used as a school for black working-class labourers' children during the apartheid era. It was closed in 1958 by the then government for serving black children in a white designated area (Principal's Speech on the 1st Anniversary of St Alberton Street Refugee School, 25 July 2009). Exactly half a century later the school was (re)opened on the 7th of July 2008 by four volunteer teachers and 17 students under instruction from Bishop Saul Vereeniging. The volunteer teachers and the church Bishop decided to start the school after they found out that there was an increase in the number of children at the refugee centre who were not attending school. The volunteer teachers felt the need to establish the school so that they would engage themselves in productive teaching activities rather than just staying at the church. The increase in the number of loitering refugee children had been caused by the worsening political and economic situation in Zimbabwe as well as a wave of violence experienced by foreigners in South Africa during the May 2008 xenophobic attacks. Worse still the refugee children faced problems in enrolling at South African private and public schools as they did not have the necessary documentation. The school aims to "empower . . .

children through education as a better alternative to street life that . . . breeds criminals in our societies" (Principal's Speech on the 1st Anniversary of St Alberton Street Refugee School, 25 July 2009). St Alberton Street Refugee School is an "Integration Centre" run by the Holy Cross Church and the refugees that enrols displaced, less privileged and traumatised children from low income families. The integration concept of the school is quite evident from the fact that the school also enrols children from Mozambique, Malawi, Uganda, Swaziland, Lesotho, Democratic Republic of Congo and South Africa.

On the very first day of starting the school, in 2008, some teaching did take place and by the end of the week the refugee school had enrolled 35 students. By the end of that year the school had about 100 unaccompanied and 120 accompanied students and 11 teachers. As at 13 July 2009 the school had a total number of 523 students with 124 being unaccompanied students, 399 accompanied students and 18 teachers. Of the 399 accompanied students, a third attended High School whilst the other two thirds were in Primary School. In the unaccompanied students category the highest number was of 76 secondary school boys and the least figure was of 5 unaccompanied primary school girls. The table below shows the students categories, their sex and their respective numbers at Primary and Secondary school level.

Table 5.1: St Alberton Street Refugee School's Enrolment and Student Categories as at 13 July 2009

	LEARNERS CATEGORIES						
School Levels	**Accompanied Girls**	**Accompanied Boys**	**Total of Accompanied Learners**	**Unaccompanied Girls**	**Unaccompanied Boys**	**Total of Unaccompanied Learners**	Total
Primary School	129	136	265	5	16	21	286
Secondary School	63	71	134	27	76	103	237
Totals			399			124	523
Totals	192	207		32	92		523

Sources: St Alberton Street School establishment table, 13 July 2009; Refugee Meeting minutes, 10 July 2009.

When I left the research site on November 15 2009, the school had a total of 21 teachers, 534 learners of which 421 were accompanied students and 113 unaccompanied students. The term "unaccompanied students" denotes learners who came from their country of origin without parents or guardians and do stay at Holy Cross Refugee House which provides them with food, shelter and clothing, most of these are Zimbabwean children. The term "accompanied students" means learners who came from their country of origin with either their parents or guardians, most of whom are

Zimbabwe economic migrants or refugees, other African countries migrants and some few South Africans who do not stay at the Refugee house. The Refugee School was initially opened to cater for the unaccompanied students but this thrust has changed over time as the school's accompanied student population far outnumbers that of the unaccompanied students, by three times. The table below indicates the students' enrolment figures, their categories and staff establishment since the school was started up to mid- October 2009, a month before I rounded off my research from the refugee school.

Table 5.2: Student enrolment, categories and teaching staff establishment at St Alberton Street Refugee School

Date	School Total Enrolment	Accompanied Students	Unaccompanied Students	Teaching Staff
14 July 2008	35	8	27	4
12 Sept 2008	140	57	83	9
21 October 2008	180	84	96	11
7 December 2008	220	120	100	11
5 January 2009	561	487	74	21
20 February 2009	456	341	115	21
13 July 2009	523	399	124	18
11 Sept 2009	531	394	137	18
14 October 2009	528	394	134	22

Sources: St Alberton Street School establishment table, 13 July 2009; Refugee Meetings minutes, 11 September 2009, 20 February 2009, 12 September 2008; Principal's Speech on the 1st Anniversary of St Alberton Street Refugee School, 25 July 2009; School Council meeting minutes, 14 October 2009, 5 January 2009, 21 October 2008.

5.4.2. Curriculum

The school provides tuition from Grade 0 (R) to Form 5. In addition it also feeds the unaccompanied children and provides counselling which is done by Doctors Without Borders (MSF), Church Ministers, a psychologist and Child Care Workers. The school follows the Cambridge Curriculum, and this decision was reached by the refugee community when the school was started. The decision to adopt the Cambridge curriculum and examinations involved looking at the pros and cons of the South African viz a viz the familiar Cambridge curriculum. The Cambridge curriculum and syllabuses followed by the refugee school is of their former country of origin, Zimbabwe. Firstly the Cambridge curriculum was identified as internationally recognised and is easily "transferable for learners to Zimbabwe" (Bishop Saul Vereeniging, School Council meeting, 13 April 2009). This implies that the learners could use their school leaving certificates when they returned to their country of origin and these certificates would be recognised and accepted by the Zimbabwean Ministry of Education. The

decision to follow this British originating curriculum was necessitated by the fact that the refugee learners could not register for the South African Matric as they did not have identity documents and were required to have done the Gauteng Department's Certificate of Education. The Cambridge examination centre in South Africa which happens to be run by the British Council did not require the Ordinary level refugee candidates to have any form of identity documents, that is identification cards, birth certificates, asylum seeker or refugee status papers. The British Council relaxed the registration rules for the refugee Ordinary level candidates and allowed them to register as private candidates using their school identification cards or the Holy Cross Church's refugee registration cards as legal documents (School Council meeting minutes, 7 May 2009). The South African Cambridge representatives even went to the extent of allowing the refugee learners to sit for their Ordinary level examinations without any form of identification on condition that the church Bishop (Saul Vereeniging) submitted a list of the candidates' names with their dates of birth (School Council Meeting minutes, 13 July 2009). It is on these grounds that the refugees collectively decided to adopt their former country's curriculum and its respective examination board. However the Ordinary level Cambridge examination fees were quite exorbitant at R900, 00 per subject and for the 15 refugee candidates who did write their exams in November the Refugee community forked out R81 000, 00. Great thanks must go to Penny, one of the Holy Cross Church's senior members, who managed to single handedly fund raise this substantial amount.

The Refugee school curriculum basically has an academic orientation to curriculum development with most of the subjects taught being from the great traditional knowledge disciplines. However the Refugee curriculum was slightly modified to incorporate Life Orientation, Computers Studies, Music and Drama, Arts and Physical Education which are done by learners from Grade 3 to Form 4. These subjects were not externally examinable except for Computer Studies in which learners were issued with a certificate endorsed by Gifford College, a local South Africa private college. At Advanced level, subjects are divided into two areas of specialisation which are Arts and Commercial subjects. The Arts subjects are History, Divinity, Literature in English and Geography, the latter subject also falls into the Commercial specialisation alongside Accounts, Management of Business and Mathematics. In South Africa the Advanced level is the equivalent of Matric and is accepted as a university entry qualification. The Life Orientation subject was adopted from the South African's Revised National Curriculum Statements and the teachers used South African textbooks in teaching this subject (learning area). Life Orientation greatly assists the refugee learners in making choices on jobs, career and study opportunities and is an eye opener to South Africa's social life aspects. The refugees' curriculum modification results in a curriculum innovation that is highly recommendable in emergency education circles. The table below shows the St Alberton Street Refugee School curriculum.

Table 5.3: The Refugee School Curriculum.

Subjects	SCHOOL LEVELS				
	PRIMARY SCHOOL		SECONDARY SCHOOL		
	Grade 1-3	Grade 4-7	Form 1-2	Form 3-4	Form 5
English Language	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Maths	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Science		✓	✓	✓	
Life Orientation	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Computers		✓	✓	✓	
Art	✓ *	✓			
Music & Drama	✓ *	✓			
Physical Education	✓ *	✓	✓	✓	
Geography			✓	✓	✓
History			✓	✓	✓
English Literature				✓	✓
B K/Divinity				✓	✓
Accounts				✓	✓
Business Management					✓

✓ * subject(s) only done from Grade 3

Source: St Alberton Street School pamphlet with additional information provided by the School Principal.

On extra-curriculum activities the learners do ball games on Thursday afternoon at Randburg Stadium. Other sporting and entertainment activities provided by the school for the learners includes music, watching movies and television, ball room dancing and indoor games. The School was also in the process of establishing a library after receiving many books from donors.

In some of the classes observed, the teaching and learning was typical of the dominant teacher transmitting disciplinary knowledge and encouraging rote learning with closed questions as was the case with observed Grade 1 class lessons in Numeracy and English. In observed Form 3B class

lessons, teaching was also teacher dominated with students' participation being minimised or being limited to closed questions. The following Form 3B Maths lesson extract illustrates how teacher dominated were most of the lessons at the Refugee School:

Maths Lesson Extract: Form 3B

Teacher: Today we are to talk about matrices (writes the word Matrices on the board). Does anyone know what the term Matrices means?

Learners: . . . . . .

Teacher: Ok, matrices are numbers arranged in a rectangular. The numbers will be in rows and in columns. We first read the numbers in the column, followed by the numbers in the row that gives us the matrices its name. If a matrices has 3 columns and 2 rows we call it a three by two matrices. . . . . and if a matrices has 2 columns and 2 rows we call it a two by two matrices (Teacher writes examples of the 2X2 and 3X2 matrices on the board)

Matrices can be added or subtracted and we add numbers or subtract numbers in the same position. Take for example the matrices $\begin{pmatrix} 1 & 3 \\ 5 & 7 \end{pmatrix} + \begin{pmatrix} 2 & 4 \\ 3 & 1 \end{pmatrix}$

. . . . . we add this by saying one plus two

Teacher & Learners: (chant) . . . . three (teacher writes 3 on the board)

Teacher: five plus three

Teacher & Ls: (chant) . . . . . eight (teacher writes 8 on the board)

Teacher: three plus four . . . that's. . . .

Teacher & Ls: (chant) . . . seven (teacher writes 7 on the board)

Teacher: if we add seven to one we get?

Teacher & Ls: (chant). . . .eight (teacher writes 8 on the board)

Teacher: the answer to the matrices on the board becomes three seven . . . eight eight (teacher writes on the board $\begin{pmatrix} 3 & 7 \\ 8 & 8 \end{pmatrix}$

Teacher: Now let's do another example on subtraction.

Source: Fieldwork observation notes dated 1 October 2009.

Another important aspect of the curriculum is language, thus the Refugee school's official and agreed medium of instruction and communication is English (School Staff meeting minutes, 25 June 2009). Teachers are and were not allowed to teach in vernacular languages though it emerged during my fieldwork observation that the Grade 1 teacher at times used Shona in a class of 43 learners where 15 children spoke Ndebele/Zulu and 3 students were Congolese with the remainder being Shona speaking learners. The same was also noted at Flock pre-school where half of the pre-

scholars were either from Zimbabwe or other African countries yet the pre-school teachers sang Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho songs during which refugee children appeared confused and completely lost. However one interesting development and observation noted was that most Shona learner speakers are gradually mastering or able to speak Ndebele or Zulu especially in the lower primary grades.

5.4.3. Challenges

- *Socio-economic challenges*

The Alberton Street School is no exception to challenges and problems facing emergency education though its challenges might be unique as the school is located in an urban environment. One disturbing development at the Refugee school were allegations of sexual abuse of the girl child levelled against male teachers. The allegations severely tarnished the image of the school and became headlines in several widely circulating South African newspapers (Police Probe Church child abuse, 2009; Cops set to probe church over sex claims, 2009; NPA to swoop on Church over sex claims, 2009; Time for action, 2009; Sex accused teacher asked to leave, 2009). It is because of such allegations that the Child Care Workers programme was launched, these Care Workers are responsible for the social welfare and psychological care of the unaccompanied children (Refugee meeting minutes, 13 November 2009).

- *Discipline and Documentation challenges*

Some learners were also accused of being involved in robbing and mugging activities, what the refugees called in their vernacular language "kubata ngunzvi" (mugging), in the Central Business District. Worse still some learners worked in partnership with elder members of the refugee community in criminal activities and drug and alcohol abuse (Local Children's Committee meeting, 23 October 2008). In one shocking incident and an indicator of how bad at times the discipline levels of the students were, three refugee learners were found armed with a 9mm pistol with live bullets (School Council meeting minutes, 8 December 2008). When the issue of learner discipline proved to be beyond the grasp of the community, the school resorted to sending some juvenile delinquents to shelters (Children homes), with six of the learners having been sent to juvenile prisons. Some unaccompanied children had a tendency of dropping out of school and rejoining later when they felt like so. Several refugee meetings (20 February 2009; 4 September 2009) and School Council meetings (8 December 2008; 16 December 2008; 05 January 2009; 12 February 2009; 23 October 2009) showed that most of the unaccompanied learners did not have legal identity documents though an international refugee legal practitioner, Dr Emmanuel, had been engaged to deal with this issue. Most of the learners were supposed to have applied for asylum or refugee status papers. These refugee legal papers can be acquired from the Home Affairs Office, obtaining them however is a nightmare and an impossible feat for young children.

- *Educational resources, registration and living condition challenges*

Another major challenge facing the institute is limited learning space. Though some measures had been made to partition and subdivide the Form 2s and Form 3s classrooms and to relocate the Grade 3 up to Grade 7 classes to the main sanctuary at Holy Cross Church, the space problem continued to resurface as the number of children enrolling increased on each and every passing day. The problem of the acute shortage of space was not only limited to learning space but also to

sleeping space for the learners, who slept regrettably like packed sardines on the 4th floor of the church building. The school lacks relevant current textbooks, stationery for learners and also has a shortage of furniture that which is available is being vandalised. The school was still unregistered however an organisation called OSISA was assisting in this regard as it had hired and engaged one Perishaw Camay, a private consultancy to take the sole responsibility of registering the school. Perishaw had made several recommendations amongst them that each learner be allocated one and half square metres of learning space and that the school must have a fire escape. The registration of the school would enable it to get the much needed funding from the South African government.

- *Teacher Attrition*

The school has a higher staff turnover with the most sought after Maths and Science teachers leaving for highly paying jobs in private and government schools. Most teachers lasted for only one term before moving for other jobs or to other schools. The teachers were also not adequately remunerated. In fact the school administrators emphasised two things, that teachers must first volunteer before they were appointed and that teaching at the school is voluntary with teachers receiving a R3 000, 00 monthly stipend (School Council meetings minutes, 13 April 2009). At times there was inadequate money to pay teachers salaries, thus in the months of March and April 2009, teachers were not paid (School Principal report, 25 April 2009). At one time the school was seriously understaffed and had to introduce compost classes in the primary grades, thus grade 1 and 2 were amalgamated, grade 3 to 5 were made into one class and grade 6 and 7 pupils learned together (School Council meeting minutes, 21 October 2008).

5.4.4. Financial and Social support

The School also receives financial and social support from NGO's, embassies, the donor community, churches and individual well wishers. About R200 000, 00 used to kick start the school was a donation from the Australian and Dutch embassies. The Dutch embassy and UMCOR which is the Committee Relief arm of the Holy Cross Church at times provided the school teachers' salaries. The Solidarity Peace Trust has the sole responsibility of feeding the learners. World Mission Possible also provided finance and were as well renovating the whole school. World Vision, which is a donor agency, had also provided books, stationery, food, toiletries and sanitary pads to refugee learners. The UNHCR donated 100 foam rubber mattresses which the students slept on. OSISA provided and paid for a consultant to facilitate the registration of the school. A group of lecturers from the Wits School of Education also held workshops on teaching and learning which provoked the refugee teachers to think more about teaching and learning. One voluntary teacher's effort needs mention in this report, Mrs Beanie taught Ordinary level Science, provided breakfast for the teaching staff and donated 60 chairs to the school. Different church denominations worth mentioning for their outstanding support and assistance to the community and the refugee school are, the Salvation Army Corps, Christ embassy, Lonehill and Randburg Methodist churches, the Lutheran church and the Latter Day Saints fellowship. The National Association of Child Care Workers (NACCW) sponsored by UNICEF provides Child Care Workers who counsel, live with and look after the welfare of the unaccompanied refugee learners. Doctors Without Borders (MSF) and one Witwatersrand University psychologist also provide counselling services to the learners. The vignette below shows the positive impact counselling played for traumatised and abused learners.

Vignette 1

Chuma is a 13 year old boy from Zimbabwe who fled to South Africa as a political refugee and a victim of violent political persecution. Chuma had seen and faced unimaginable horrors in his young life. The most devastating was when he witnessed the murder of his father and two step-mothers in one of Zimbabwe's politically volatile urban town, Bindura. Chuma fled for his life leaving behind the raging violence that plagued his hometown. Hiking haulage trucks, Chuma found his way to Beitbridge border post and crossed the crocodile infested Limpopo River into South Africa in search of safety.

Chuma walked an additional 100 kilometres and arrived at the Holy Cross Church Refugee Centre in a state of shock and fear. Chuma could hardly eat or drink water for days. He was unable to completely relay his story to Counsellors without collapsing. Doctors Without Borders (MSF) Counsellors and Psychologists held counselling sessions with the traumatised Chuma which in the end resulted in his joining the St Alberton Street Refugee School in the third term of October 2008 and enrolling as a Grade 6 pupil. Chuma's performance in the class has been consistent and above average in 2009 he joined the Grade 7 class and is looking forward to starting his high School in 2010.

Source: Story adapted from an article written by Santiago (4 March, 2009) which appeared on UMCOR website with additional information supplied by the School Principal.

5.4.5. Adult Education

The adult education programme was immediately started after the main refugee school had been opened. This programme follows the Cambridge curriculum and writes the Cambridge examinations which the community argues are "internationally recognised" (Hartwell, Head of the Adult Education programme, Refugee Meetings minutes, 13 November 2009; 23 October 2009). The adult education programme is an after-work free programme that accommodates adult refugees and immigrants who go to work and still want to acquire a school leaving certificate. The adult education school uses the same premises and classrooms as the St Alberton Street Refugee School. To encourage learners to enrol, the adults are provided with free stationery and food. In the refugee meetings the community is frequently encouraged to utilise this rare opportunity and not to spend the day doing nothing (Refugee Meetings Minutes, 5 June 2009; 12 June 2009). The adult education lessons start at 5:00pm and finish at 7:00pm. By mid November 2009, the adult education programme had an enrolment of 20 adults with 18 students doing "Ordinary" level whilst two students were doing their "Advanced" level studies. The curriculum for the adults is similar to that adopted by the Refugee School though the learners do not do Life Orientation, Computers or Physical Education and only attend lessons for four days instead of the five in the mainstream school. Geography, History Accounts, Commerce, Maths, English, English Literature and Bible Knowledge are offered at both "Ordinary" and "Advanced" level. The four teachers of the Adult programme are all Advanced level certificate holders volunteer educators recruited from the refugee community whom the school administrators intends to assist in registering and paying their fees for undergraduate degrees in South African universities (Hartwell. Personal Interview, 1 October 2009).

5.5. Deliberation Forums

5.5.1. Refugee Meetings as platforms for deliberation

The Refugee meetings are a major platform for the deliberation of essential community values and also served as a forum for decisions leading to the formation of training centres and the refugee school. The refugee meetings are held in the church's main sanctuary every Friday from 7pm and last for 2 to 3 hours. The meetings are chaired by the Church Bishop Saul Vereeniging with the refugees Secretary recording the minutes. All members are free to make contributions and air their views during the communal deliberations. In fact, according to rules formulated by the refugee community, every refugee is compelled to attend the refugee meetings (Refugee meeting minutes, 23 October 2009). The important function of the refugee meetings in the words of Richard, one of the refugees, was that in refugee meetings "important discussions are held which affect everybody's life" (Refugee meeting minutes, 09 October 2009). The main sanctuary is full to the brim during these refugee meetings. The first refugee meeting was recorded in 2005 and led to the first election of the Refugee Committee which had a Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer and Advisory members (Mr Makata. Personal Interview, 24 September 2009).

- *Educational and Social deliberations*

In my five months stint at the Holy Cross Refugee centre during my fieldwork I attended more than twenty refugee meetings. I must accept and note that in these refugee meetings important decisions were reached that affected generally the lives of the refugee and specifically those that affected the nature, shape and the development of education and training programmes (curriculum) amongst the refugees. The important rules of the building had been formulated by the refugee community and the Refugee Committee in the refugee meetings. The rules prohibited smoking, fighting, stealing or extra-marital sexual activities in the building. All the people were supposed to leave the building early in the morning and come back in the evening. The other important rule of the building which is the driving cog and linchpin of this project was that "everyone must be involved in education – either by teaching or to be taught – people should make use of this rare opportunity" (Refugee meetings minutes, 23 October 2009; 10 July 2009). Some education related decisions taken in the refugee meeting included the need for a book club for the refugee community and a school library for St Alberton Street Refugee School (Refugee meeting minutes, 14 August 2009).

- *Establishment of ABET Centre*

The first ever important education related decision made by the Refugee Committee during a refugee meeting was to endorse that the ABET Centre be established. Some refugees were of the opinion that the church building should be used only for accommodation, that is as a sleeping place only. The other refugees were against any forms of learning for they argued that their prime intention for migrating to South Africa was to look for employment so as to sustain families that they had left in their home country (Leon. Personal Interview, 8 September 2009). However through refugee meetings the majority of the refugees as well as the sponsors of the programme saw the need to provide literacy and numeracy skills via the ABET programme far outweighing the second option of not establishing the centre.

- *Day Care Centre*

The decision by the community to have a Day Care Centre was grounded on two major premises, firstly that women should go and look for employment, and secondly that working mothers needed to leave their children somewhere as they go for work. The collective decision and impetus to establish the Day Care Centre greatly assisted and worked to the advantage of the women in the refugee community. Later refugee deliberations intended to incorporate the Day Care Centre with Flock Pre-school but mothers felt such a move would disadvantage them as Flock started at 8am whilst the women needed to go for their jobs as early as 6am (Refugee Meeting minutes, 23 October 2009).

- *Computer, Sewing and Hotel and Catering Centres*

In between August and September 2007 the refugee community reached major decisions that had a vocational training fervour. The need for computer, tailoring and hotel and catering courses was reached by the refugees themselves in collaboration with the Church Bishop, Saul Vereeniging. The main reason for starting these training projects was the immediate and crucial need to provide skills to the refugee community which would make it easy for the refugees to look for employment and be gainfully employed or to start self-employment ventures. Most of the refugees found themselves unemployed after arriving in the "City of Gold", Johannesburg. The training centres run by Zimbabwean refugees therefore intended to satisfy and meet the job market needs of the South African economy by churning out skilled and competent trainees. It was also agreed in several refugee meetings that trainees be issued with certificates from South African accredited and registered private tertiary colleges. Loveck and Gifford Colleges in partnership with the refugee community would assess, examine and issue out certificates. It is these certificates with South African seals that would be used by the refugees to seek employment. The Sewing and the Hotel and Catering certificates easily leveraged and served as a springboard for the immigrants to enter into the South African job market. Whilst the computer training courses assisted most of the refugees to be computer literate it is not clear how many refugees were employed as a direct result of being certificate holders of the computer literacy course?

- *The School curriculum and its establishment*

Another unanimous curriculum decision taken by the refugees that informed and affected the nature of knowledge taught in the school, the teaching and learning styles and the forms of assessment was to adopt the Cambridge syllabus, curriculum and examinations. Both the St Alberton Street School and the Adult education programme felt that the Cambridge curriculum be followed as it is internationally recognised and acceptable in Zimbabwe, the Matric curriculum which was born out of the South African Revised National Curriculum Statements was regarded as inferior by the refugees and not recognised by the Zimbabwe government on return to the country of origin. At one time it was suggested in the refugee meeting (24 July 2009) to have the RNCS run in parallel with the Cambridge curriculum in the adult education programme but this was resented by the refugees and never came to fruition. The Zimbabwean refugees looked down upon the RNCS and instead had a high regard and held in high esteem the Cambridge curriculum. The taking of such important curriculum issues decisions beckon upon the educational researcher and all those in the curriculum

field to reconsider the term curriculum developer to include ordinary people and laymen, who in this research happens to be refugees.

It must be noted that the decision to start the St Alberton Street School was because of the fact that there were many children in the building with no documentation and that these children had failed to register in local South African schools. In the last quarter of 2007 the Holy Cross Refugee House also had a sizeable number of professionals mostly teachers who had not gone through the arduous, costly and bureaucratic process of evaluating their certificates with the South African Qualifications Authority and had not registered to practice with the South African Council of Educators. These teachers were still job hunting and could for the mean time be involved in teaching the children at the refugee centre. The Australian embassy managed to raise funds to pay the teachers registration and certificate evaluation fees.

- *Other Issues*

The refugee meetings are also a platform for other important economic, social and political decisions taken by the community. Employment opportunities were announced in the Refugee meetings by prospective employers who were seeking artisans, seasonal and permanent farm labourers, housemaids and gardeners. Another important social decision made in the Refugee assemblies was that women should have their own sleeping rooms thus the Robertsroom and Minor Hall was allocated only for women. Men could sleep anywhere they wanted in the five-storey building. Married couples or spouses were allocated the Vestry room and the senior and elder married members of the community would sleep in some reserved rooms in the fourth floor. With the increased number of children in 2008 in the building, women were relocated to sleep in the upper floor of the main Sanctuary and the Robertsroom served as the sleeping area for the unaccompanied children. Those sleeping in the Sanctuary are supposed to vacate the area by 7 am in the morning so that it can be cleaned and be used as learning classrooms. In August 2009 it was later decided that children must sleep in the spacious 4th floor of the building as they were being constantly harassed and abused by the adults at the easily accessible ground floor, Robertsroom.

5.5.2. The School Council Meetings as platforms for deliberation.

One of the most significant achievements made by the refugee community was the establishment of the St Alberton Street School Council which has 12 volunteer parents' representatives, the school Principal and three senior teachers from the Refugee School, Bishop Saul Vereeniging as the Chair, 2 church leaders' representatives, 3 students' representatives and a support staff member from the school. The idea of a School Council was mooted three months after the school had been opened and School Council meetings are held once or twice a month. Initially the School Council meetings were held behind closed doors but later members of the refugee community were also free to join and participate in the education deliberations. The School Council makes very important decisions on curriculum, teaching and learning and school governing principles. The School Council therefore serves as an important forum for the design and development of the refugee curriculum. For example the School Council Meeting (21 October 2009) had decided to adopt English as the medium of instruction though some members were of the opinion that different mother tongue languages of the children must be used if the school was to be a typical "integrating school" – integrating different nationalities. Others felt that this issue needed adequate research (School Council meeting minutes, 21 October 2009). The ultimate School Council decision on language was

binding and only English was to be the school's lingua franca, hence in subsequent staff meetings the principal edged teachers not to teach in Shona (which is the main indigenous language of the major tribal group in Zimbabwe). It must be noted that the issue of language is a very sensitive issue in emergency education and the way it had been handled by the School Council though not the best ideal solution it was at least a better approach as it had been reached by consensus in a democratic manner. On the issue of St Alberton Street school being an integration centre, such a concept and term was created and crafted in the School Council meetings (5 January 2008; 21 October 2008), if the school was to be an "integration centre" it had to cater for displaced children from different countries thus its enrolment policy is inclusive and all encompassing, accommodating Zimbabwean refugees, immigrants from other countries as well as South Africans.

It is the School Council that also made the resolution that fees be pegged at R125, 00 per month for accompanied learners. Before this figure was agreed upon several higher figures had been proposed and that had caused heated arguments within the council but at the end of the day and as usual consensus prevailed (School Council meeting, 21 October 2009). The supreme school body also decided on extra curricular issues pertaining to sporting activities and entertainment for the students. Through School Council meetings' collective decisions the sports day was changed to Thursday afternoon in a move aimed to accommodate accompanied learners (School Council meeting minutes, 29 August 2009). The School Council meeting also agreed that entertainment such as movies, music, drama, dancing and indoor games be provided (School Council meeting minutes, 8 December 2008).

If ever there was one thing that the school struggled with, it was student discipline (School Council meeting minutes, 5 January 2009). The issue of discipline cropped up in School Council deliberations thus in one of its recommendations, it was agreed that delinquent children were to be sent to children homes/shelters (School Council meeting minutes, 18 April 2009). Such Council deliberations amounted to a school policy on student expulsion. A four member disciplinary committee had been set up by the School Council to deal with the issue of indiscipline among the learners. To deal with the problem of learner overcrowding and acute shortages of learning space the School Council had first made the decision to relocate Grade 3 up to Grade 7 to the Holy Cross Church (School Council meeting minutes, 12 February 2009). When the problem persisted suggestions for "hot sitting" had been made though the Council finally agreed on partitioning of classrooms. Of the 27 Council members on this day 26 voted in favour of partitioning. By agreeing to partition the classes the Principal told both the School Council and teaching staff members that learners would write a mock test and classes would be screened based on learner performance thus the Form 2 and Form 3 classes were divided into A and B cohorts. The notion of streaming, its pros and cons are within the paradigm and crux of curriculum issues. If this is the case then the School Council and the School Staff meetings then serve as platforms for the curriculum making process. At times the School Council meeting dealt with the issues that had to do with the challenges facing the refugee learners. Thus the School Council had devised a mechanism for refugee learners to elude police arrests and had agreed that students must always put on the school uniform so as to protect themselves from police abuses (School Council meeting minutes, 07 December 2009).

In one of his reports to the School Council the School Principal made an important suggestion that would affect teaching practice when he recommended that teacher pupils' interaction should be enhanced in classrooms (School Council meeting minutes, 16 December 2008). Such a suggestion of

participatory approaches to teaching and learning were also unearthed in the School staff meetings minutes dated 25 July 2009. By making decisions on teaching and learning mechanics and encouraging and promoting student teacher interaction the Principal made the School Council meetings to be plenary sessions for making important curriculum decisions which amounted to curriculum development and design. However it must be noted that some curriculum decisions were carried out in staff meetings. Generally staff meetings' educational deliberations had to be ultimately reported to the School Council.

The Staff meeting decisions would always resurface in the School Council meetings where the Principal had to make a report. Hence the school administrators decisions to suspend the History teacher who was not teaching the right content and whose work was not up to standard (School Staff meeting minutes, 07 May 2009), was reported before the School Council meeting (School Council meeting minutes, 26 June 2009). If the teacher was not teaching the right content and his work was not up to standard then he must have deviated and diverted from the knowledge and content parameters contained in the Cambridge curriculum guidelines. Thus the teacher might have provided children with biased historical facts or indoctrinated learners with false information. The right content that replicates the Cambridge syllabus is the essence and the nature of the academic subject discipline. On this issue the decision taken by the Principal and reported to the School Council shows both the Principal and the School Council forum as Curriculum developers or better still resembles a Curriculum development management team.

The decision to adopt the Cambridge curriculum must be credited both to the series of Refugee meetings as well as School Council meetings which also approved and endorsed such a foresighted and far fetched vision for the refugee learners (School Council Meeting minutes, 16/12/08). It was in the School Council meeting of 13 April 2009 that it was suggested that the Cambridge curriculum be the preferred curriculum of choice for "it was transferable for learners to Zimbabwe" (Bishop Saul Vereeniging). I have reinterpreted the words "transferable for the learners", to imply that this curriculum and its resulting school leaving certificate were and would be recognised and accepted in Zimbabwe. In the School Council meeting on the afore mentioned date, the deliberators bemoaned the high cost of the Cambridge examination fee and contemplated on requesting for subsidies from the British Council as well as fundraising the money. The issue of students' documentation which was resolved by the British Council's acceptance of the School's identity cards and the Refugee registration cards as legal documents for writing exams was also tabled before the School Council meeting's sitting on the 7th of April 2009. The fact that the School Council reached such logical conclusions pertaining to core education matters points to the fact that this board made paramount curriculum decisions and in the process developing and shaping their own curriculum.

5.6. Important values and beliefs about education shared by the Refugee community

There was no doubt that the refugee community did regard education as an important opportunity for the community. This opportunity to learn, encouraged Mr Arafat Nzou (Refugee Meeting minutes, 20 February 2009), must be utilised by the community, as it was a "rare opportunity" (Bishop Saul Vereeniging, Refugee meeting minutes, 05 June 2009; 10 July 2009). The Bishop always reiterated in numerous refugee meetings and social gatherings that "everyone must be engaged in learning" (Bishop's speech on the 1st anniversary of St Alberton Street Refugee School, 25 July 2009).

One of the basic rules and guiding principles of the building was that "everyone should be engaged (involved) in education . . . either by teaching or to be taught" (Refugee meeting minutes, 23 October 2009; 10 July 2009; 07 January 2009). Two frequently repeated sayings among the refugees' School and training centres' leadership that as well captured the importance of education was that "one will never go wrong with education" and "that you are never too old to learn" (Mr Ntini, Refugee Meeting minutes, 17 July 2009; Mr Arafat Nzou, Refugee Meeting minutes, 07 August 2009; Liz's speech on the 1st anniversary of St Alberton Street Refugee School, 25 July 2009). The latter slogan is in total agreement with Bishop Saul Vereeniging's philosophical sarcastic argument that the only time you should not learn is when you know that you are dying tomorrow. Education to the refugee community was a rare and never to be missed opportunity that was one of the core rules of being part of the Holy Cross Refugee community. The following values and beliefs propelled the refugees' vocational training centres and education programmes.

- *Empowerment*

The refugees' education programme was designed carefully to *empower* the less privileged, disadvantaged, displaced and traumatised African children who had been affected by political and economic situations in their countries and had apparently migrated into South Africa (Mr Arafat Nzou, School Council meetings minutes, 5 January 2009; 21 October 2009). These learners could not be accommodated into local public or private schools because of lack of proper documents and financial support. The belief that education and training did *empower* the refugees was reiterated by the founder member of the ABET centre when he said that the community viewed "education as liberation" (Leon, Personal Interview, 08 September 2009). It was only through quality education and training programmes that the refugee community would be *empowered* by the Refugee school and its various vocational training centres which disregarded issues of nationality, citizenship status, documentation or one's financial standings. In education and through education would the vision for *empowerment* be realised, thus capturing one of the essential values about education shared by the refugee community.

- *Hope*

Many of the Zimbabwean refugees and economic migrants who fled to South Africa must have become a hopeless lot. They had been harshly treated by their governments, some had been politically victimised and persecuted, suffered economic deprivation, were homeless and jobless. On arrival in South Africa the going became even tougher, as they were constantly arrested and harassed by the South African police force and were further denied legal documentation by the Department of Home Affairs. This was double tragedy and shattered the lives of these marginalised and underprivileged members of the society. Such a scenario left most of refugees and economic immigrants without even the faintest *hope* for a better life. In such situations argued Mr Arafat Nzou, "people must not give up and lose *hope*" (Refugee meeting minutes, 17 July 2009). Thus one important value the Refugee School intended to inculcate into the learners was to give them "a new *hope* for a better life through education" (Santiago, 2009). Education could breathe a new lease of life full of *hope* into the refugees' life journey. The head of the computer centre had categorically stated that it was the value of *hope* that they intended to instil into the learners that spurred them to continue with the vocational training programmes and the school as well (Willard. Personal Interview, 23 September 2009). The fact that education was the impetus for generating a new *hope*

of life was shared within the refugee community and was the vital cog driving most of the refugees education and training programmes.

- *Socialisation and Good morals*

Another important value the St Alberton Street School intended to disseminate into the learners was to teach them *good moral values and acceptable societal norms*. Such a transformative behavioural thrust and value for education is important considering the background of most of the learners who had been vagabonds and were used to street life that breeds criminals in our societies (Arafat Nzou, 1st Anniversary Speech, 25 July 2009). Not only the refugee learners had discipline problems. Most South African parents admitted on enrolling their children at the school that their kids as well had serious disciplinary problems (School Council meeting minutes, 05 January 2009). The school therefore does not intend to have a narrow academic objective but also aims to be a broader institute that serve inter-alia as "a rescue, rehabilitation and childcare centre" (Mr Ralph. School Council meeting minutes, 13 April 2009). To enable the learners to have *good morals* and to mould their behaviour into *acceptable societal norms* the teachers are always expected to be committed, dedicated and caring for the children (School Council meeting minutes, 05 January 2009) and the learners always receive successive counselling from psychological specialists, church ministers and counselling workers. The idea that the school should inculcate *good moral values* is also replicated in the basic rules of the building which the community was supposed to abide by, such as no drinking of alcohol, smoking, fighting, stealing and sexes unless one is married (Refugee meeting minutes, 23 October 2009). The school curriculum I suppose intends to transmit *good morals* through such subjects like Life Orientation and Religious and Moral Studies. The belief that *good morals* transform learners' behaviour is paramount for the continuation as well as the behaviour-modelling function of the Refugee School.

- *(Self) employment and Sustenance*

The other belief that drives the vocational training centres at Holy Cross Refugee Centre is that through training and acquiring skills one would "become *employable*, earn a living for themselves or *create employment* for themselves" (Refugee meetings minutes, 20 February 2009; 10 July 2009; 14 August 2009). If one is trained in a new skill and acquired a certificate that person would be easily marketable on the labour exchange. If one learned a new course as well s/he could also enter into a self-initiated business venture. Through *employment* or *self employment* one could get money which he could remit home or buy food for those who had remained in Zimbabwe, what the refugees called in their local language "kutumidzira" (sending back home). *Sustaining* those at *home* became an important value amongst the refugees (Liz. Personal Interview, 01 September 2009). If one *sustained home* and send groceries or money it was something to be proud of, something held in high esteem and revered by the refugee society. The will to *sustain* those at home compelled many unemployed refugees to register and train in the various vocational training initiatives at Holy Cross Church Refugee Centre. One would be further motivated to do the training courses when he found out that most of the courses at the centre lasted only for an average of 2 months.

5.7. The Social, Political and Economic context and its influence on the refugees' curriculum making process.

It is generally agreed that any curriculum making process is affected by its context or environment factors such as the social, political or economic situation. The declining economic situation in Zimbabwe between the years 2000 up to 2008 is known worldwide and needs no further explanation here. The Zimbabwean dollar was then literally valueless. Basic food prices would increase daily if not hourly and were beyond the reach of ordinary citizens. Most of the refugees needed to send something home be it hard foreign currency or basic food. The unskilled refugees who had found themselves in South Africa discovered that finding a job was indeed a mammoth task. The refugees therefore needed skills or skills training at the shortest possible time that would leave one competent and skilled and with certification that would be recognised in South Africa, find employment and send money home. Sending money and groceries home, "kutumidzira", became the buzz word among the refugees (Liz. Personal Interview, 01 September 2009). It is because of this line of reasoning that the adult vocational training courses lasted only a few months, the sewing, waitress/waiter training and computer literacy courses all lasted or took a duration of two months. The growing South African economy and expanding job market could accommodate skilled labourers, the refugees also stood a better chance of being gainfully employed as they had local certificates which the refugee training centres issued in partnership with local private colleges. The refugee vocational education centres took cognisance of the refugees' host and their country of origin's economic situations in their curriculum making process thus their period of training had to be in the shortest possible time yet results in one being a competent worker with locally approved certification.

Whilst the political situation in Zimbabwe deteriorated with politically motivated violence and intimidation, Zimbabweans envied their former country's education system (Bishop Saul Vereeniging, Personal Interview, 01 October 2009; Mr Refuse, Personal Interview, 23 September 2009). The Cambridge Curriculum and examinations was one such envied facet of the Zimbabwe's education system which was internationally recognised and accepted in Zimbabwe (Refugee meeting minutes, 13 April 2009). Whilst the refugees had political reservations about their country's political leadership, they had no such an opinion on the education system which was one of the best in Africa. On the political front the refugees were still optimistic that things would one day get stable in Zimbabwe and the young generation would go back home. These young learners were supposed to have school leaving qualifications that enabled them to smoothly enter into their home country's universities, training colleges as well as seek employment. If the political situation in Zimbabwe was to continuously decline, the Cambridge's school leaving certificate would be recognised in South Africa or anywhere else in the world. Though the Zimbabwean refugees recognised the superiority of their former country's curriculum they also took into consideration the South African education system and adopted its Life Orientation subject which would help the school going refugee learners understand and appreciate the economic, social, cultural, political and religious context of the host country, South Africa.

The social life of the refugees who lived as a group and made decisions collectively influenced the curriculum making process. The refugees always made important decisions communally (Refugee meeting minutes, 09 October 2009), thus decisions pertaining to the School's education and the training centres were reached in the numerous Refugee and the School Council meetings. Because

of the group nature the School Council and Refugee meetings serves as forums not only for the social life of the refugees but also for important facets that deal with the refugee's education and training system. Any decision taken and conclusion reached on educational matters had to be deliberated and justified within the communal group set up. Thus any unresolved troublesome issue on the children's discipline , teachers' salaries, sleeping places, curriculum options, examination boards, certification, streaming, classroom participation and teaching and learning had to be tabled before the refugee forums so that consensus would prevail. It was the majority's will as well as the reasoning behind a submitted proposal that mattered most at the end of the day.

5.8. General affairs and challenges at Holy Cross Refugee House

5.8.1. Health and Social affairs at Holy Cross Refugee House

The refugees at Holy Cross Church are involved in many sporting and entertainment activities. The Book Club runs a small library for the refugees. The Refugee fellowship does various informative lobbies, campaigns and workshops like teaching refugees on legal issues, labour rights, issues of abuse and attending to their psychological problems. There is also a traditional dance, drama and poetry clubs which at times do free live public performances during the largely attended weekly refugee meetings. The refugees' chess club has enjoyed immense success and plays tournaments in the elite South African chess league, where it has clinched top prizes and awards. Added to the list is the Karate Club, the soccer club and the Television and Music Show club in which refugees listen to music and watch television.

On health related issues the Refugee community has a home based care programme that caters for terminally ill patients as well as a fully functional clinic run by Doctors Without Borders (Medecins Sans Frontieres). The clinic serves both the refugee community and the local citizens and provides basic health care, medication and locum doctors. One needs no documentation when visiting the health centre and medication is for free. To maintain order and security in the building the refugees have their own security division.

5.8.2. General Challenges facing the Refugee Community

In my interview with the Secretary of the refugee community, it surfaced that the surrounding business community and the Gauteng's Department of Health and Social Development felt that the refugee centre must be closed as it was a health time bomb, very dangerous and a haven for criminals (Liz. Personal Interview, 01 September 2009; CMC could face Closure, 2009; Seale, 2009). Most South Africans felt that the building must be closed and the refugees must be relocated to farms, properly managed refugee camps or be returned to their country of origin (CMC could face Closure, 2009 ; Politicians want to close Central Methodist Church, 2009). Today the entrance to the refugee house has been heavily palisaded with long sharp fencing iron bars leaving a narrow space for people to get through the church doors. The shopping mall area is closed between 6pm and 6 am so that the refugees do not sleep in the mall. The police also violently raided the church building twice on the 1st of February 2008 and on 3rd July 2009. On the first instance the police wanted to check the identity particulars of the refugees and the second raid was aimed at arresting refugees for not abiding with the city by-laws and "loitering" as the refugees slept on the pavements around

the church (Vos, 2009a; Ndaba & Maphumulo, 2009). The first raid did receive world wide condemnation. In one incident showing the negative attitude of the locals to this community, refugees sleeping on the church precinct were sprayed with what was suspected to be sewage water from an unidentified truck (Vos, 2009b). The police also frequently arrested refugees for not having identity papers and in the process asking for bribes and extortions. Getting asylum papers from the Department of Home Affairs is a nightmare as only a small percentage of the refugees applying for asylum are granted legal status. The Refugee house also reported high rates of tuberculosis, sexually transmitted infections and HIV and AIDS amongst the refugees. For example it was reported in the Refugee meeting (07 August 2009) that 21% of the people tested at the refugee house clinic were HIV positive. Whist there has been condemnation, insensitivity and negative portrayal of the refugee community, people must recognise that though the living conditions at the Holy Cross Church are less than ideal because of overcrowding, it is the only alternative to living on the streets for most Zimbabwean refugees.

5.8. Chapter Summary

This chapter chronicled the historical background, identified the key agents, explained the training courses and the school curriculum, described the training or teaching and learning approaches, listed financial and social supporters, delineated the positive contributions and discussed the challenges facing early childhood and adult and vocational training centres as well as the refugee school. The details in this chapter are drawn from interviews, documents and observation data and guided by the research questions. The theoretical model and its key elements namely; deliberation, platform, beliefs and values and context informed the presentation of information in the subsequent sub-sections **5.5**, **5.5.1**, **5.5.2**, **5.6**, and **5.7** of this chapter. The last part of this chapter notes health and social affairs and general challenges facing the Holy Cross refugee community. The following chapter discusses the most important points of the research findings in the context of the literature reviewed and the conceptual framework.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

6.1. Introduction

In this section I present the most important points of the research findings and interpret and explain them in the light of curriculum development approaches as well as emergency education literature. The discussion chapter serves as a forum for the literature reviewed and the research findings. It is in this part of the research project that the rubber meets the road and intersects the common and essential aspects of literature and research findings. The major findings pertaining to the importance, forms, languages, challenges, pedagogy in refugee education (and training), as well as the community-based approach to emergency education and the naturalistic curriculum development model will be discussed within the purview of the literature. Of academic importance in this chapter and part of my knowledge contribution to the refugee education field is the identification of two new forms of emergency education which I have called "Renewed education for repatriation" and "Adjusted education for integration".

6.2. The importance and purpose of education and vocational training at St Alberton School and Holy Cross Refugee Centre.

Whilst the South African government is a signatory to international legal conventions that articulate that education is a right of children they seem to be found wanting when it comes to, The 1951 Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, Article 22.1, (in UNHCR, June 1995, p. 3), which states that:

> ". . . . the contracting states shall accord refugees the same treatment as accorded to the nationals with respect to elementary education".

As a receiving country and a signatory to the convention, South Africa, is obliged by the instrument to provide free elementary education to refugees. In my research at the Refugee Centre it emerged that there is not even a single account of government intervention to support refugee education and training initiatives at the Refugee House. However, the South African government never barred international donors, NGO's and individual well wishers from providing educational support to refugees, asylum seekers and economic migrants at the Refugee Centre.

The refugee community seems to have been intuitively aware of the right of refugees to education for the basic rule of the community, which also happened to be an order, was that all children housed at the refugee centre must go to learn (Local Children's Committee meeting, 28 October 2008). One quite outstanding value and importance of education amongst the refugees was to regard education as a means and avenue for empowerment (School Council meeting minutes, 5 January 2009; 21 October 2009; Leon, Personal Interview, 8 September 2009). The refugees' "integrating school" intended to empower the disadvantaged and displaced African children with and through education which did provide the basic core appropriate knowledge, skills and values to

the learners. These core basic international skills enabled learners to develop full capacities, to live and work in dignity, to improve the quality of their lives and make informed decisions (Betheke, 1996). Education for the Holy Cross refugee community was also seen as providing hope for a better life, such an importance of education according to Betancourt et al (2008, p. 570) enhances the refugees' "confidence in their abilities and provide them with a sense of purpose in their lives" and allows them to develop "an identity and a sense of self-worth". Education at the Refugee Centre also has a function of developing, inculcating and promoting acceptable social values given the fact that some of the learners had been vagabonds and were used to street life. Another function of emergency education recurring in literature is that education assists in psychological adjustments, which at times can occur through counselling sessions (Pigozzi, 1999; Sinclair, 2001; UNHCR, 1995; Bird, 2003; Betheke, 1996). Weldon (2009) reports on how past traumatic memories were used differently to construct the history curriculum in post conflict Rwanda and South Africa and in the process ensuring social (re)integration. At St Alberton Street school students receive continuous counselling and psychological monitoring from psychological specialists, church ministers and Social Care workers provided by UNICEF and this aligns with the school's intention of serving a tripartite function of being a rescue, rehabilitation and child care centre (School Council meeting minutes, 13 April 2009). Sporting activities and entertainment provided at St Alberton School also ensures the refugees' psychological adjustments, readjustments and social integration.

The vocational training courses offered at the Holy Cross Centre did enable many refugees to secure jobs in South Africa, thus a total of almost 500 refugees had been trained either as tailors or as waiters and were gainfully employed. Close to 1 000 refugees had been made computer literate. From such statistics it is quite clear that the vocational training centres at the Refugee house had indeed competently trained and made the refugees to be placed in gainful employment as they met the South African job market conditions and demands. Most vocational training programmes undertaken in emergency situations primarily intend to make the refugees employable or to be self-employed (Dickerson, 1974; Lyby, 2001). This has been the case with Burundian refugees in Tanzania, Palestinian refugees in the Middle East and South African exiles in Tanzania to name but a few cases (Dickerson, 1974; Lyby, 2001; Morrow et al, 2002). However my main worry and concern is if the certificate issued to the refugees through the Holy Cross refugee training programmes in partnership with local private colleges would be recognised in Zimbabwe and make one to secure employment there.

By being an "integrating school" and accommodating learners from Mozambique, Malawi, Zimbabwe, DRC, Cameroon and local South Africans, the refugee school made positive contributions to peace, respect, tolerance, integration and co-existence. The integration and reintegration was firstly amongst the different African nationals and secondly and most importantly between South Africans and other African nationals. The latter type of integration must be viewed in the light of the May 2008 xenophobic violence whose ugly face rocked this nation when black South Africans injured, attacked and killed about 60 foreigners mostly Mozambicans and Zimbabweans. St Alberton School's integration thrust transforms all this at the micro (school) level allowing South Africans to learn alongside their African counterparts. South Africans, Zimbabweans and other African nationals also train and mingle together at the Computer centre, during ABET lessons and in the Hotel and Catering training sessions. Education in this context becomes a vehicle for transmitting messages of respect, tolerance, integration and co-existence. Education, I am happy to say, at the Holy Cross

Refugee centre's school and training centres serves reconstruction purposes and ensures that any earlier violence, tensions or misunderstandings that had happened will not occur again. An almost similar case is reported by Weldon (2009) in Rwanda and South Africa's post conflict societies where the history curriculum served the function of social reintegration and addressed issues of peace and reconciliation. In my 5 month fieldwork at the Refugee centre, education was never belittled to be a channel of indoctrination, politicisation or manipulation as was the case in Macedonia pre-schools (Sinclair, 2001), in Pakistanian maths classes (Dicum, 2008) or in Rwandan classrooms were hate messages were relayed against the Tutsi (Sinclair, 2001). Education therefore serves a positive purpose at the Holy Cross Refugee School and training centres and this result in learners and trainees, who co-exist, integrate well, appreciate and respect each other as well as humankind.

6.3. The Forms and Types of Refugee education at Holy Cross Refugee Centre.

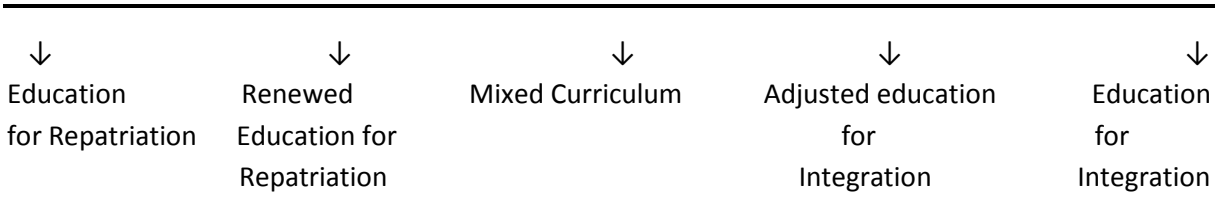
The St Alberton Street Refugee School and the Adult education programmes' adoption of the Cambridge curriculum is similar to a form of refugee education called "education for repatriation" (Bird, 2003; Kagawa, 2005; Sinclair, 2001, Preston, 1991). The Cambridge curriculum adopted by the refugees is similar to the curriculum used in Zimbabwe. Though the Zimbabwean government had localised its examinations since 1995, through an autonomous examination board called the Zimbabwe School Examination Council, most private schools and colleges still follow the British Cambridge curriculum which as well examines them. The advantage of adopting the Cambridge curriculum is that it is common to most learners as well as teachers and prepares children for return to their home country (UNHCR, 1995; Bird, 2003). In addition to these advantages the Cambridge curriculum as argued by the refugees is indeed internationally recognised. The British Cambridge curriculum has a scholar academic approach to curriculum development that familiarises and initiates students into the essence of the academic discipline subjects such as those taught at the Refugee school. However the Refugee School curriculum has been slightly renewed, adjusted and modified resulting in what I have called "Renewed education for repatriation". The school curriculum has been modified and incorporates the non examinable subjects of Life Orientation, Computer Courses, Art, Music and Drama and Physical education. Life Orientation is a learning area in the new South African RNCS which assist the refugee learners to make life adjustments and in the long run help them to know about South Africa's career and study opportunities, it's religious and cultural life and also one's personal health and life skills. By adopting the international Cambridge curriculum, the South African's Life Orientation and teaching computer courses the Refugee curriculum had been shaped and influenced by the international world and global trends, regional and local educational curriculum developments (Chisholm, 2005). A notable positive development in the refugee school's extra curriculum is the wide range of sporting and entertainment activities provided for the learners. The adjusted "education for repatriation" at the Refugee School is a convenient form of curriculum adjustment which spells the best practice in emergency education.

The ABET Centres' programme and its curriculum is a typical example of a type of refugee education called "education for integration" (Bird, 2003; Betheke, 1996). Such a curriculum utilises the core elements of the host country's curriculum and prepares learners to integrate (Sinclair, 2001). The key elements informing the ABET learning programme are outcomes based education, integration and learner centeredness and these are the core design features of the South African's RNCS. The

Holy Cross Refugee House's vocational training centres' curriculum type is much closer to "education for integration". However their type of curriculum has been slightly modified especially the teaching and learning approach which is much more inclined towards the social efficiency orientation. I would therefore call the form of refugee training curriculum practised by the refugees "adjusted education for integration" which adopted the host country's certification and utilised its textbooks but still retained a different approach to teaching and learning. I think the large number of refugees employed in South Africa because of the vocational training courses indicates that such a form of training curriculum helps refugees to integrate smoothly in the economic communities of the receiving country (Preston, 1991).

Following the review and synthesis of literature on refugee education forms or refugee curriculum, research findings and my own critical reflection, I have developed a refugee curriculum continuum which has five different forms of refugee education. Whilst in emergency education they have been traditionally three forms of emergency-refugee education namely: "education for repatriation; education for integration and mixed curriculum". I have identified two more forms of emergency education which I have called "Renewed education for repatriation" and "Adjusted education for integration". As said earlier the former type of refugee education is practised at the St Alberton Street Refugee School whilst the latter type is evident in the refugees' vocational training programmes. These two forms of refugee education lead to slight or moderate changes in curriculum for if the changes are extensive they result in a mixed curriculum. The forms of refugee education can occur sequentially as outlined in the diagram below or they can occur in any order. These five curriculum forms can be related or not related to the "early emergency settlement, extended stay or building the future phases" identified in the UNHCR (1995, p. 21, 23, 25) stages of education response in refugees' emergencies in host countries. The five forms of refugee education curriculum can be identified as follows:

Figure 6.1: The Five Forms of Refugee Education (Curriculum) continuum



6.4. Languages of Instruction at St Alberton Street Refugee School.

At St Alberton Street School the language issue had been addressed by the School Council which suggested that the teachers and students use English as the medium of instruction. This was necessitated by the context of the school as it had children from diverse national and cultural backgrounds who spoke different languages. This has no problem for secondary school learners but there are some difficulties when pre-schools and elementary grade learners are compelled to use

English. For example the Flock pre-school mentors used Ndebele, Xhosa or Zulu to communicate with Shona kids. In the school, the Shona teacher teaching Grade 1 would at times use Shona, whilst amongst the pupils they were Ndebele, Zulu and Congolese speaking learners. Such a tendency according to Oh and Van der Stouwe (2008) and Betheke (1996) has exclusionary effects and tends to add additional trauma to the young learners. The issue of language of instruction is fiercely contested in refugee education as it is symbolic and carries notions of identity, culture, power and control (Betancourt et al, 2008; Hromadzic, 2008). Two factors determine the choice of language of instruction, firstly the level of education and secondly the context (Sinclair, 2003). Thus the UNHCR (1995) refugee education guidelines recommend that elementary grades learners must be taught using the familiar languages or mother tongue(s) used in the country of origin. There are many advantages cited by authorities in emergency education for using languages from the area of origin (Betheke, 1996; Sinclair, 2001; Bird, 2003). At the secondary school level and in vocational training programmes English could be used and there is bound to be no problem. In fact this was the case at Holy Cross Refugee Centre's vocational training programmes and at the secondary school level.

I would therefore suggest that in the elementary grades teachers must use the multi-lingual approach or what Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez & Tejeda, (1999) call hybrid languages under which educators utilises different languages from the learners' community when teaching basic concepts. The multi-lingual or hybrid languages approach to teaching increases the possibility of dialogue and shows the teacher's appreciation of the individuals' and community's languages in the classroom (Gutierrez et al, 1999). Thus Shona, Ndebele, Zulu and Xhosa could be used alongside English to teach basic concepts to learners. Where teachers are not familiar with other languages they can integrate classes and do co-operative teaching with other languages speaking teachers. I think such a measure on language would be very helpful at least for the mean time to solve the issue of language at St Alberton Street Refugee School. However one positive development was noted amongst some elementary grade classes observed. In these classes Shona speaking learners managed to speak Zulu/Ndebele and such an approach should be encouraged.

6.5. Challenges and Solutions to problems facing the Refugee School and the vocational training centres

The Holy Cross refugee education system, like any other refugee education initiatives, was regularly in endless financial crises. Inadequate financial resources implied limited textbooks and furniture at the Refugee School. Though some donors donated textbooks most of these were not relevant to the Cambridge curriculum, thus rendering the donated books irrelevant. There is need for furniture or make shift writing pads or boards for the primary school learners who use two large open church halls which have fixed benches. The supply of teaching and learning materials, stationery and uniforms had improved substantially at the Refugee School, thanks to the numerous generous donor communities and international NGOs which I have mentioned in the section on research findings. Davies and Talbot (2008) acknowledge the positive engagement and commitment of donors in addressing emergency education needs. I am also of a similar belief that donors would probably solve and find solutions to the textbooks and furniture problems at the refugee centre.

If ever there is one thing that compromised the quality of education and training at Holy Cross, it was poor physical conditions and limited space at the refugee school and training centres. The deteriorating physical conditions at the Holy Cross Refugee centre were at par or even worse than those reported by Betancourt et al (2008) amongst Sierra Leoneans refugee learners, and in Rwandan and Burundian refugees classes at Goma and Ngara refugee camps (Bird, 2003; Sinclair, 2001). Overcrowding at the school had led to streaming and the subdividing of rooms but this solution had not helped. The subdivided Form 2B classroom was cramped with learners, dirty, dusty, stuffy, too small and poorly aerated. The Grade 4 to 7 primary school classes used two church halls; the Chapel and the Sanctuary, which were poorly ventilated and were unpartitioned thus teaching in one class would interfere with other classes. Worse still the halls served as sleeping areas by night and classrooms by day. The sewing centre had the smallest room which indeed compromised training standards. The ABET centre also faced imminent closure because of space, the Day Care centre also had a similar challenge. Therefore the greatest challenge to the teaching and learning and training programmes at the Holy Cross Refugee centre is inadequate space and poor physical learning conditions. These problems bedevilling the refugee community need to be addressed immediately if good quality learning and training is to be experienced by the refugees. Hot sitting interchangeably called the "double-shift system" (Bird, 2003, p. 65), or "double-shift schooling" (Bray, 2008, p. 17), could be one solution to this challenge as was the case in Rwandan refugee schools in Tanzania where such a practice was introduced to overcome overcrowding (Bird, 2003).

Like any other refugee programmes, the St Alberton School faced high staff turnover as teachers complained of poor incentives and sought higher paying jobs in South African private and government schools. To overcome such a challenge the Refugee school administrators resorted to recruiting untrained teachers who had passed Advanced level from the refugee community and enrolling them at local distance learning universities. Such a solution to teacher staff attrition would serve as the best strategy in emergency education staff retention. Four such volunteer teachers are teaching in the adult education programme at the St Alberton Street School. The School Administrators always set it clear to the teachers that refugee teaching was voluntary and teachers would instead be paid stipends. The move of recruiting teachers from the emergency population, according to Betheke (1996), ensures sustainability of the education system. Furthermore the UNHCR (1995, p. 21) recommends that refugee teachers be paid "incentives" rather than "full salaries" so as to sustain the costs of education.

Another challenge limiting access to education amongst the Holy Cross refugees and also cited by the UNHCR (1995) and Jacobsen (2002) was lack of documentation and restrictive asylum granting practices. The South African government had imposed stringent requirements for one to acquire refugee or asylum status. Acquiring an asylum or refugee papers at the local Home Affairs Office was indeed an insurmountable task. Most of the learners as well as the trainees at the Holy Cross Refugee house did not have legal documentation. The 15 Ordinary Level students who had written their exams in November 2009 had been saved by the British Council which accepted registering refugee students without legal documentation. Without documentation refugees could not enrol at the local schools. However it seemed by engaging an international migration legal practitioner a solution was in sight to solve this problem.

The St Alberton Street School faced some reputation damaging problems such as the sexual abuse of girls by male teachers, learners' discipline was out of control with some learners being involved in

mugging, criminal activities, drug and alcohol abuse and frequent school absenteeism. The problem of learner indiscipline was being solved by engaging UNICEF Child Care workers who were responsible for the social welfare of the unaccompanied children at Holy Cross Refugee centre. Bird (2003) argues that unaccompanied learners need social and economic support, it seemed the Care Workers at the Refugee centre did provide the former type of support. Besides Child Care workers, continuous counselling sessions were being held with delinquent refugee juveniles by a trained psychologist, MSF health workers and church ministers. Allegations of sexual abuses paralleled those reported by Kirk (2007) in refugee camps in West Africa where teachers took advantage of their position and became perpetrators of sexual offences. With regard to the St Alberton Street Refugee School I think the School authorities, the School Council and the refugees have to be firm on this issue, set the rules straight and demarcate the line on the nature and extent of relationship and association between female students and male teachers. Those found improperly associating with female students must be dealt with within the legal framework.

6.6. Teaching methods and Training approaches at Holy Cross Refugee Centre.

Whilst the school principal in the School Council meeting dated 16 November 2008 had recommended for the enhancement of teacher pupils interaction in classrooms, in practice the opposite seemed to prevail. At the Refugee School teaching and learning was much more hierarchical, ritualised, authoritative and teacher centred, typical of what Bernstein (1971, p. 30) calls "strong framing" under which the envisaged learner is passive with the teacher having power over what, when and how pupils receive knowledge. Mortimer and Scott (2003, p. 6) calls such a teaching method "authoritative communicative approach" in which the dominating teacher's voice and point of view is heard in the class. Bernstein (1971) even notes that such teaching methods are characteristic of the British Cambridge curriculum which is a collection code. The collection code basically has an academic scholar approach to curriculum development that primarily focuses on disseminating the structure of the discipline to the students. Such teacher orientated authoritative disciplinary knowledge transmission, dominated classroom interaction at the Refugee school. In one observed Grade 1 class lesson on reading the teacher encouraged rote memorisation learning with students repeating several times words written on the chalkboard. The teacher did pose closed questions thereby inhibiting learners' participation in the lesson. Such teacher dominated teaching styles were also observed in the Form 3B class in Maths, English Literature, English Language and Bible Knowledge lessons. Such teacher dominated transmission of knowledge that minimise students participation are being attacked in education circles and worse still in refugee education where they are being labelled as undemocratic and ineffective means of students learning (Kagawa, 2005). In emergency education the teaching and learning methods which are currently advocated for are progressive co-operative learning pedagogies that are activity-based, child/learner-centred and participatory approaches and these are linked to the democratisation of society (Kagawa, 2005; Williams, 2001). However these child-centred teaching approaches do contradict the drive for examination passing and are difficult to carry in overcrowded classes (Davies and Talbot, 2008; Williams, 2001).

Whilst recommending more participatory approaches to teaching and learning at the refugee school, I should be aware that the School's Cambridge curriculum has strong pacing and sequencing

(Bernstein, 2000) which are determined and driven by the need to pass the Cambridge examinations. Democratic learning approaches could be difficult to carry out at the Refugee school which is characterised by overcrowding and lack of space. The best teaching and learning approach for the Refugee community school is what the UNHCR (2003, p. 43) calls the "Active Teaching Model" which is teacher directed but ensures student engagement. Such an approach to teaching and learning suits the adopted Refugee school curriculum and is at the same time democratically aligned. The ABET programme at the Refugee centre seem to be driven by such a teaching agenda.

The training in the computer, sewing and waitering training courses made the refugees to be effective and efficient in industry, business and in the commercial world. The training tried by all means to resemble the best practices as in the production and industrial sectors and in the end producing competent trainees. The training approach used for the refugees is highly recommended and the most suitable training approach that provided competent and competitive trainees that are aligned to labour market needs. Such training has an inclination towards the Social Efficiency approach to curriculum development which Moore and Young (2001, p. 446) call "technical-instrumentalism". This approach to training aims to provide the trainees with the skills needed for the function of society as well as meet the needs of the economy and prepares the trainees for more competitive knowledge-based economy of the future (Moore and Young, 2001; Schiro, 2008). Furthermore the Computer centre had also been influenced by what Eisner and Vallance (1974) called the technological approach to curriculum development.

6.7. The naturalistic-community based approach to curriculum development and refugee education initiated programmes at the Holy Cross Refugee centre.

The naturalistic curriculum development approach involves curriculum specialists and also laymen. The dual elements of deliberation and platform that drive the naturalistic model are also evident in the community-based approach to emergency education development. Under both models are groups of people or committees involved in deciding, initiating and developing learning programmes, curriculum materials, plans and education activities (Walker, 1970; Betheke, 1996; UNHCR, 1995; Bird, 2003). At the Holy Cross Refugee centre the two major groups or committees which served as forums for initiating, deciding and developing learning and training programmes, refugee education policies and curriculum guidelines were the Refugee meetings and the School Council. It was through the weekly Refugee meetings that educational decisions were formulated, alternative choices were weighed and examined and the most defensible and consensus resolutions reached (Orpwood, 1985; Harris, 1986; Walker, 1971). Thus the ABET centres' establishment was endorsed by the refugees, the Day Care centre was initiated by the working mothers and by consensus, vocational training centres were started by the community. Other appropriate and practical solutions reached by the refugee group included the starting of the St Alberton School as well as well as the adult education programme which followed the curriculum of the country of origin. Another forum for making essential curriculum decisions was the School Council meeting in which logical practical solutions were reached on the school's medium of instruction, the school's inclusive enrolment policies, fees stipulations, extra-curricular issues, learner discipline problems, screening and streaming, the curriculum to be adopted, teaching and learning methodology and the right subject content to be taught. The School Council just like the agents enlisted by Walker (1971)

and Schwab (1970) had teachers, students and the community. The School Council was however devoid of curriculum specialists but still made important curriculum decisions that ultimately affected the shape and design of the refugee curriculum.

The success of refugee education and training programmes hinges on two important aspects. Firstly, that the learning and training programmes are initiated by the refugees and secondly, the fact that the developed educational programmes are driven by values, beliefs and assumptions shared by the refugee community (Pigozzi, 1999; Walker, 1970). Under the community-based approach to refugee education development it has been found out that when education and training programmes are initiated by the refugees themselves they stand a high chance of being successful, effective and sustainable (Betheke, 1996). The fact that the community also participates in what to learn and what not to learn promotes dialogue within the community which by nature is the basic ingredient for democracy and empowerment. It is the community-based approach to refugee education and training that made the Holy Cross Refugee school and its training centres to be vibrant and successful learning and training hubs just as was the case amongst the Bhutanese refugee education in Nepal which was initiated by the refugees themselves and continued to be run predominantly by them (Williams, 2001).

The refugees' shared values, beliefs, assumptions and expectations also sustained the refugee education and training programmes. There is no doubt that education was highly prioritised at the Holy Cross Refugee centre. They were values and beliefs shared by the community which also informed the nature of refugee training and education programmes. The refugee curriculum decision making process had to bear in mind that the refugees regarded education as "empowerment and hope" with schooling serving to inculcate and transmit acceptable societal norms to learners. Vocational training centres at the Holy Cross Refugee centre were assumed and preconceived to be employment and self employment provisory. Through deliberation, platform and the community-based approach refugees initiated and developed their own training and education curriculum which also took heed of the prevailing economic, social and political situation in both South Africa and Zimbabwe. The stable South African political and economic environment required skilled labourers whilst Zimbabwe's collapsing economy and volatile political landscape pushed one to forcibly migrate, seek employment and to send home remittances. The refugee community took all this into consideration when they co-operatively initiated, planned and developed their education curriculum and training programmes.

6.8. Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed key research findings in juxtaposition with underpinning theories and literature from curriculum development approaches and emergency education. It provided an account of the research findings concerning the importance, value, forms, languages, challenges and solutions, pedagogy in refugee education as well as the community-based approach to emergency education and the naturalistic curriculum development model interpreted in the context of literature related to the study. The chapter also contains some of my reflections and knowledge contributions to emergency education and curriculum development. The following chapter (Chapter 7) rounds off the report by capturing the main points of the study and explains the limitations, recommendations and areas that require future and further investigation.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The Zimbabwean refugees, at Holy Cross refugee centre's, curriculum development initiatives have resulted in this study to redefine the term curriculum developer to imply and encompass refugees, refugee communities and ordinary people. The refugee group meetings, the School Council sessions and some key agents made important curriculum deliberations and decisions that ultimately affected the shape, design and the development of the Refugee School curriculum and its training programmes. The refugee group's practical educational resolutions were guided, propelled and illuminated by key values, beliefs, assumptions, expectations and preconceptions (Walker, 1975; Cornbleth, 1990) that the refugee community commonly held. The refugees initiated, collectively decided, co-operatively planned, participated and managed their education and vocational training programmes. These were sustained by shared values which regard education and training as empowerment, hope and serving to inculcate and transmit acceptable societal values. In addition education could lead to (self) employment enabling refugees to sustain family members in Zimbabwe. However there were instances when these values where overridden by learners' indiscipline and other refugees who sought accommodation only.

The Refugee group and the School Council meetings successfully initiated and developed effective and sustainable learning and training programmes that resulted in the establishment of the St Alberton Street Refugee School; an adult education programme; an infant day care centre; an Adult Basic Education Training centre; pre-schools and vocational training centres that offered courses and certificates in sewing, basic computer studies and waitering. The refugees' curriculum deliberation forums made practically defensible resolutions on the school's medium of instruction, the school's inclusive (integration) enrolment policy, fees stipulations, extra-curricular issues, learners' discipline problems, screening and streaming, the curriculum to be adopted, teaching and learning methodologies and the subject content to be taught.

The Refugee school curriculum was close to a form identified in emergency education as "education for repatriation" (Bird, 2003, p. 37) as it followed the previously used, international Cambridge curriculum, which is a curriculum of the country of origin that prepared children for return to their home country. However the refugees' school curriculum has been modified and adjusted to incorporate one of the learning areas of SA curriculum – Life Orientation. The Cambridge curriculum is a collection code (Bernstein, 2000) that has a scholar academic approach to curriculum development that resulted in most of the subjects taught at the Refugee school to emanate from the great disciplines. Teaching and learning at the Refugee school was basically authoritative teacher orientated with educators transmitting disciplinary knowledge and minimising students' participation. Such learning and teaching methods are at variance with internationally and democratically advocated for progressive, co-operative, participatory, activity-based, learner-centred teaching and learning approaches.

The Holy Cross refugee centre's training programmes are almost similar to a type of emergency education identified as "education for integration" that utilises core elements and features of the

host country's curriculum and prepares refugee trainees to integrate into the local South African economic communities (Bird, 2003, p. 37; Preston, 1991). The form of refugee training practiced by the refugees has been slightly modified especially the teaching and learning approach which is more inclined towards the social efficiency or technical instrumentalism orientation to curriculum development. However the training curriculum adopted the host country's certification and utilised its textbooks. Such "adjusted education for integration" training initiatives allows refugees to smoothly and easily assimilate into the economic communities of the host country.

In developing and shaping their school curriculum and training programmes the refugees took cognisance of both the country of origin and the host country's political, economic and social conditions. South Africa's growing and expanding economy needs skilled labourers with locally approved certification whilst Zimbabwe's deteriorating political and economic situation forced citizens to migrate, look for work and to sustain families in Zimbabwe. The Refugee school curriculum in such an environment adopted an internationally recognised curriculum that would be acceptable in South Africa, Zimbabwe or anywhere else in the World. The refugees' communal social living set up compelled them to collectively make decisions, deliberate, debate, argue, justify and reach logical conclusions on education and training matters. The political, economic and social conditions of both the host and the country of origin impacted on the final shape and nature of the Refugee School and training curricula.

The refugee community, school and training centres at Holy Cross are no exceptions to challenges and problems facing displaced people in emergency education. Thus the St Alberton Street refugee school and the refugee training centres' challenges include inadequate funding, poor physical learning conditions, limited teaching and learning resources, limited space, learners' indiscipline, high teacher turnover and sexual abuse of the girl child. To overcome such challenges, various financial and social supporters assisted the Refugee school and its training centres. Various organisations, NGOs, embassies, international donor agencies, churches, voluntary organisations and well wishers support the refugee school and training centres with educational material and resources as well as financially. The refugee community also receive health care, financial and basic assistance from various local and international organisations and supporters. These supporters rarely influence the development of the school curriculum and the refugee training programmes except that their contributions are basically aimed at improving the quality and standard of the refugees' education and training programmes.

7.1. Limitations of the study.

The ethnographic research method involves and is characterised by prolonged fieldwork, extensive time and lengthy periods at the research site (McMillan and Schumacher, 1993, 2006; Bell, 2005). The time can be from several months up to years (Neuman, 2006). My ethnographic fieldwork research spanned a period of five months which could have been a shorter period for a typical ethnographic research that would have enabled me to fully study and collect data on and about the refugees' communal life and how they have designed and developed their curriculum. Though I initially intended to audio tape-record all the interviews the refugees were unwilling and were uncomfortable as they wondered what I would do with the recordings. I subsequently resorted to

direct note taking during the interviews. Tape-recording the interviews could have made information retrieval and data analysis easier and is the most preferred and reliable interview data collection method (Best and Kahn, 1998).

One major cause of invalid and unreliable data is bias which may cause the researcher "to overstate or understate the true value of an attribute" (Manion and Cohen, 1980, p. 252). I have tried to collect valid and reliable data without bias and compile an objective and impartial report on curriculum development at the refugee site. However I must acknowledge that with most of the research participants being Zimbabweans and fellow countrymen chances of bias might have crept in, unintentionally. Consequently this could be one of the limitations of this research.

Another limitation pertains to part of the theoretical framework, that is Walker's (1971) naturalistic curriculum development approach which contains untested propositions and is still a speculative hypothesis that needs thorough investigations of its principles by curriculum developers. It is because of this weakness that there have been only a few studies or accounts about and on curriculum deliberations (Pereira, 1984). Whilst other authors argue that the process of deliberation is difficult, complex and convoluted (Roby, 1985; Pereira, 1984), Harris (1986) thinks that the term has colloquial, ordinary language meanings thereby making it difficult for curriculum developers to understand its meanings and implications and begin to use. There is need therefore to clarify the term, deliberation and specify what it entails and set clearly what it is and what it is not.

7.2. Recommendations.

The South African government has largely been insensitive to the Zimbabwean refugees at the Holy Cross refugee house, its arms especially the police force, the Department of Home Affairs, the Gauteng's Department of Health and Social Development and the surrounding business community have been unfair and inhumane in their treatment of these vulnerable and less fortunate immigrants. On the education front the South African government is not abiding by the 1951 Convention relating to Status of the Refugees, Article 22.1 and 22.2, (in UNHCR, June 1995), which makes it mandatory for the receiving government to provide free elementary education to refugees, asylum seekers and the displaced. In line with this Convention I would recommend that the South African government intervenes and support at least primary education at the Holy Cross refugee house. The Zimbabwean government also needs to take care of its citizens in the Diaspora and assist them in their education and training initiatives and possibly take a cue from the Mozambican government that assisted and provided educational funding and support for Mozambican refugees that where in Malawi and Zimbabwe in the early 1990s (Sinclair, 2001; Preston, 1991).

I would also suggest more intervention from the UNHCR, that has to date only donated 100 foam rubber mattresses to the unaccompanied students at the Holy Cross Refugee centre. The UNHCR is a reputable international humanitarian organisation which caters for the rights, social welfare and its mandate is to "promote access to appropriate educational and training needs for refugees" (UNHCR, 1995, p. iv). The UNHCR's full intervention and implementation of the UNHCR Guidelines for Educational assistance to Refugees would have provided the Zimbabwean refugees with sound policies, valuable insights and a framework on the different aspects of refugee education and

training and on the design and content of education and training programmes in refugee situations (UNHCR, 1995).

I would also recommend that certificates issued to the refugees through their vocational training programmes and courses in partnership with local private colleges should be SAQA (South African Qualification Authority) recognised and accepted in Zimbabwe to enable certificate holders to secure employment or further their tertiary (higher) education qualifications. However the best possible recommendation would be to call for a regional (SADC) approach to vocational training certification as was the case in the Central African states of Rwanda, Burundi, DRC and Tanzania that shared common examination and certification modalities (Sinclair, 2001).

There is no doubt that there has been a paradigm shift in the teaching and learning approaches in global educational circles. Such waves of change have also affected emergency education classroom practices resulting in the argument for progressive, co-operative teaching pedagogies that are democratic, activity-based, child-centred approaches that are closely linked to the democratisation of society and allow for learner's critical thinking and exploration (Davies and Talbot, 2008; Kagawa, 2005; Pigozzi, 1999). However at the Refugee School teaching and learning is characterised by the authoritative teacher transmitting disciplinary knowledge and encouraging rote learning, posing closed questions and inhibiting learner's participation in the classroom. The refugee Educators' teacher centred approach (viz a viz students-activity based approach) may be justified given the fact that the school lacks learning space and has overcrowded classrooms- teaching and learning is driven by the need to pass the Cambridge examinations. In light of universal pedagogy innovations and trends, St Alberton Street Refugee school's limitations and constraints I would recommend that the Refugee school utilises the "Direct Instructional Model" interchangeably called "Mastery Learning" or "Active Teaching Model", which is a teaching model used to teach in difficult circumstances with limited space and resources and is teacher directed but in a positive manner that ensures student engagement (UNHCR, 2003, p. 43).

Though the Refugee School claims to be an "integration centre" and has an open enrolment policy that accommodates local and other African country's learners, it needs to include human rights education, peace education or democracy and citizenship education into its curriculum. Such a Social Reconstructionist approach to the refugee curriculum orientates learners to World social and justice issues and is paramount in enabling successful political and social healing, restoration, tolerance, co-existence, respect, integration and reintegration and helps refugees to understand conflicts rationally as well as sustain a peaceful society (Schiro, 2008; Schubert, 2003; Sinclair, 2001; Weldon, 2009; Davies and Talbot, 2008; UNHCR, 1995, 2003). The recommendation that subjects with a Social Reconstructionist approach should be introduced should be immediately addressed in consultation with the School Council, the school's teaching staff and the refugee community. On a similar issue, I would also argue for the South African's Life Orientation learning area to be introduced in the lower Sixth classes. This learning area greatly assists these tertiary (higher) education bound learners to make informed decisions and choices on jobs, careers and study opportunities, personal health, life skills as well as to understand the South African's social, religious and cultural life aspects.

Finally, to overcome the perennial problem of limited learning space and overcrowding bedevilling the Refugee school, the training centres and other educational programmes at Holy Cross refugee centre I would recommend that the authorities be and the refugee community in consultation as usual opt for hot sitting or double-shift schooling (Bray, 2008). The "Double-shift system" had also been introduced in Rwandan refugee schools in Tanzania to overcome the problem of overcrowding and space (Bird, 2003, p. 65). Such a similar solution to the Refugee School and the training centres would definitely go a long way to improving the quality of education and training at Holy Cross.

7.3. Further Research

There is no doubt that one major sensitive and contested issue in emergency education concerns the language of instruction for the elementary grades. The UNHCR's (1995) position on this issue is that primary school learners must be taught using their country of origin's familiar languages or their mother tongues. Gutierrez et al (1999) calls upon elementary grade teachers to use the multilingual or hybrid languages approach in instructing refugee learners and I argued for the integration of classes with teachers who speak other languages at the Refugee school. However all these solutions might not be applicable to the refugee's school context if one considers the complex composition of the learners' mother tongues in some classes at the Refugee School. For example in the Grade 1 class that I observed I found that the learners had five different languages which they spoke. Such findings point for the need for research on the medium of instruction to be used for elementary grades if the class comprises learners who speak different languages.

Another area that needs further research is on how to attract and retain quality teachers and managers of educational programmes who are supposed to work in physically demanding environments and receive low subsidies for their effort (Betancourt et al, 2008; Bird, 2003). Both the UNHCR (1995) and the St Alberton School administrators are of the opinion that teaching in emergency education is voluntary with teachers receiving stipends and not full salaries. Such a position affects teaching staff retention at the Refugee school which experiences high staff turnover. There is need therefore for research on the best strategies to be employed to retain teaching personnel in emergency education.

I am also of the opinion that there is urgent need for a Refugee curriculum model that outlines the best education practices for schools in emergency situations. Such a model should go beyond the guidelines provided by the UNHCR (1995, 2003) or the Inter-Agency Network for Education in Emergencies (INEE) minimum standards for humanitarian responses in the education sector (Davies and Talbot, 2008). The Refugee curriculum model I argue for, should outline the knowledge, pedagogy, language and assessment issues and practices worth participating and engaging in refugee education. The model should look at how the envisaged curriculum may be related and suited to the different forms and types of refugee education as well as the different stages/phases of education response in refugee emergencies (UNHCR, 1995).

This study takes cognisance of Morrison's (2004) call for curriculum issues, theories and development approaches to be open-ended and to take the initiative to invent new ideas. It however leaves room for further research, investigations and studies to prove if my argument for

the reincarnation of the term curriculum developer to mean refugees or ordinary people may be justified. There is need for further research therefore to logically prove if ordinary people groupings such as refugee education committees may be treated as curriculum developers who make important curriculum decisions that affect the shape and development of their curriculum in emergency situations?

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE / GUIDE

For: Principals/ Heads/ Leaders/ of Schools, Training or Education centres, programmes

Name of School, Training centre or Education programme ……

……

1. What do you basically provide in your training or education programmes?

2. Can you provide us with a brief history of how you started your programmes?

3. What were your aims when you started this programme?

4. Who have been the key financers' of your programmes and how much have they assisted you with?

5. Which other people have assisted you and what forms of assistance did they provide you with?

6. What values or beliefs about education do you think have assisted you to continue with these programmes?

7. Do you still remember the series of decisions you had to make to formulate your programmes, schools or centres?

8. Where there people who were against your programmes and what arguments did they bring against your programme?

9. How did you feel against any opposition to your programme?

10. How then did you justify your decisions?

11. What difficulties have you faced in the programmes, schools or centres that you run?

12. What are some of the successes that you have achieved?

13. What do you intend to do in the future in your, schools, training centres or education/training programmes?

14. What could be your greatest obstacles in the foreseeable future in your schools, training centres or education /training programmes?

THANK YOU

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE / GUIDE

For: the church Bishop, refugees Chairman and Secretary

1. Could you provide me with a brief history of how this community was founded?

2. What have been the important needs of the community?

3. Who have been the key financiers to the refugee community and how much have the assisted you with?

4. Which other social supporters have assisted you and what type of support have they provided you with?

5. What have been the biggest problems/obstacles that this community faces?

6. What values, beliefs or desires do you think are basically important and are shared by this community?

7. How are these values communicated amongst the refugee community?

8. What different education and training programmes and other important projects are run here?

9. How did the education and training programmes started?

10. What caused you to start these programmes?

11. How does the community view the importance of education and further training?

12. What are some of the successes that have been achieved by this refugee community?

13. Who have been your key supporters in education and training programmes amongst the community and what contributions have they made?

14. What problems are faced in the education and training programmes run by the refugee community?

THANK YOU

APPENDIX C: GAUTENG DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION RESEARCH PERMISSION LETTER

GAUTENG PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT

UMnyango WezeMfundo
Department of Education

Lefapha la Thuto
Departement van Onderwys

Enquiries : Shadrack Phele [MIRMSA]
Tel. no. : +27 11 355 0285

Monday, July 20, 2009

Mr Pausigere Peter
Wits School of Education
27 St Andrews Road Parktown
Johannesburg
0134

Dear Mr Pausigere Peter

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: PROJECT

The Gauteng Department of Education hereby grants permission to conduct research in its institutions as per application.

Topic of research	: "Curriculum Design and Development in an Urban Refugee Centre in South Africa."
Nature of research	: Masters of Education
Name of institution	: University of the Witwatersrand
Supervisor/Promoter	: Dr Devika Naidoo

Upon completion of the research project the researcher is obliged to furnish the Department with copy of the research report (electronic or hard copy).

The Department wishes you success in your academic pursuit.

Yours in Tirisano,

p.p. Shadrack Phele [MIRMSA]
Ms Mmapula Kekana
Chief Director: Information Systems and Knowledge Management
Gauteng Department of Education

10 YEARS OF FREEDOM

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF DIRECTOR
INFORMATION & KNOWLEDGE MANAGEMENT
Room 1501, 111 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, 2001 P.0.Box 7710, Johannesburg, 2000
Tel: (011) 3550809 Fax: (011) 0248 E-mail: mmapulak@gpg.gov.za or elridar@gpg.gov.za

APPENDIX D: ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER

Wits School of Education

27 St Andrews Road, Parktown, Johannesburg, 2193 • Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, South Africa

Tel: +27 11 717-3007 • Fax: +27 11 717-3009 • E-mail: enquiries@educ.wits.ac.za • Website: www.wits.ac.za

STUDENT NUMBER: 331885

Protocol: 2009ECE56

25 August 2009

Mr. Peter Pausigere

WSoE

Dear Mr. Pausigere

Application for Ethics Clearance: Master of Education

I have a pleasure in advising you that the Ethics Committee in Education of the Faculty of Humanities, acting on behalf of the Senate has agreed to approve your application for ethics clearance submitted for your proposal entitled:

Curriculum development in an Urban Refugee Centre in South Africa

Recommendation:

Ethics clearance is granted.

Yours sincerely

Matsie Mabeta

Wits School of Education

Cc Supervisor: Dr. D Naidoo (via email)