

**CRITICAL LEARNING? AN EXPLORATION OF NON-FORMAL AND
INFORMAL LEARNING IN FREEDOM PARK, JOHANNESBURG**

By

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ABSTRACT

The dawn of democracy and its failure to deliver on the promises made necessitated a different form of engaging with power as communities ceased to ‘accept as normal a world characterised by massive inequities and the systemic exploitation of the many by the few’ (Brookfield, 2005, p. 2). A plethora of interventions operating outside the former liberation movements and seen as a ‘new’ strategy for dealing with ‘new’ issues in post-democratic South Africa have emerged. One such intervention was the Community Literacy and Numeracy Group Project (CLING) ‘a participatory action research (PAR) project, which [was] a particular form of popular adult education’ (Čubajevaitė, 2015, p. 141). Documents related to the CLING project suggest that it was inspired by the work of Paulo Freire.

This study focused on the CLING Project, specifically the adult education classes, in Freedom Park, a semi-informal settlement in Johannesburg. Framed within a critical paradigm, it examined the extent to which the Freedom Park CLING Project and the adult classes embraced a Freirean philosophy and methodology. It also considered the impact the CLING Project had on the ‘political’ classes which continued after the project closed. I used snowball sampling to access learners and facilitators that were part of the CLING Project, Abahlali baseFreedom Park (the community structure involved in development in the area), and community members involved in the political classes. Data were collected through a transect walk, photovoice, interviews, focus group discussion, and observation.

The findings were that there is some evidence that the CLING Project was conceptualised by its founders as a Freirean intervention, and embraced Freirean philosophy at least to some degree; although it is less clear that the Freedom Park CLING facilitators understood this to be the case. However, there is little evidence that Freirean methodology was embraced either at a macro level, or in the adult education classes. There is also no evidence that the learners

experienced the Freedom Park CLING Project adult classes as being Freirean. Finally, the data suggests that the political classes are non-formal, rather than informal; and evidence related to the level of 'self-directedness' of learning is conflicting.

DECLARATION

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education (Adult Education), University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa.

I, Zamalotshwa Thusi, declare that

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.
2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
4. This thesis does not contain other person's writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
 - a. Their words have been re-written, but the general information attributed to them has been referenced
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Zamalotshwa Florence Thembisile Thusi

Student Name



8 December 2018

Date

Dr Anne Harley

Name of Supervisor



Signature



19 February 2018

Ms Zamalotshwa Florence Thembisile Thusi 931321483
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Dear Ms Thusi

Protocol reference number: HSS/0101/018M

Project title: Critical learning? An exploration of non-formal and informal learning in Freedom Park, Johannesburg
Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 12 February 2018, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment /modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
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Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Paulo Freire whose body of work has inspired generations of activists and revolutionaries and continues to inspire new generations of activists and revolutionaries committed to a more just and loving world.

As we celebrate 50 years of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, it is also proper to quote Freire's words and dedicate this dissertation to the 'oppressed, and to those who suffer with them and fight at their side'.

Aluta continua! The struggle continues!

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
APF	Anti-Privatisation Forum
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
CEPD	Centre for Education Policy Development
CERT	Centre for Education Rights and Transformation
CLING	Community Literacy and Numeracy Group
CRs	Community Researchers
EPC	Education Policy Consortium
EPU	Education Policy Unit
FP	Freedom Park
GOLCCOM	Golden Triangle Community Crisis Committee
PAR	Participatory Action Research
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RDP house	A house that was built as part of a government-funded social housing project. Named RDP after the Reconstruction and Development Programme of the ANC government policy in terms of which such housing was made possible.
SANCO	South African National Civic Organisation
SOPA	Socialist Party of Azania
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

I am an outcome of having seen, whilst I was growing up, my mother struggle because she could not read and write. For many years she hid this from us children, probably because she considered it shameful. She was later persuaded by her friends to attend local literacy classes together. It bothered me that the literacy classes were not doing anything by way of questioning her reality – the fact that she worked as a domestic worker and for many years had continued to earn R150 a month. After buying her bus ticket and a bag of maize meal she was left with practically nothing. I asked her several times what it was that they were learning from these classes. She could not articulate it. Upon checking her books I felt a sense of hopelessness in that what they were taught seemed to justify, perpetuate and re-enforce the status quo; and actually bred a culture of silence in that she did not see the need to question her ‘missus’ about the fact that she had not given her a raise even after so many years.

Later on, when I became an adult educator, it was her I had in mind and how I could help other unsuspecting people deal with such issues. I was, therefore, consciously aware of what went into my teaching and how I wanted it to change people’s lives because anything different I considered to be as a waste of their time and mine. When I later taught facilitators of adult learning, I was also intentional about whose knowledge mattered. Of course I was not aware of Freire then; when I did have a Freirean encounter, I became curious about his teachings which were, for obvious reasons (it was during apartheid), not overtly proclaimed by those who taught and swore by them.

Because of this long-standing interest, for my Masters study I purposed to find a project that openly embraced a Freirean methodology and philosophy. However, there seemed to be relatively few overtly Freirean projects, compared to the apartheid days. You can imagine my excitement when I was referred to the CLING Project, a project I was told focused on Freirean principles.

1.2 Background

1.2.1 The CLING Project

At the inception of my study, I accessed an online document about the CLING Project (Gardiner, 2010) and consulted a booklet on the CLING Project published by the Education

Policy Consortium (EPC), *Umhlaba uyafufusa: Reflections on community participation in education* (Baatjes, 2016). These made it clear that the project drew on Freirean ideas. According to the National Co-ordinator of the CLING Project, Michael Gardiner, the Project was based on a ‘broad understanding of the term ‘literacy – which means discovering increasingly how to read the word and the world (Paulo Freire) – everybody’s interests are taken into account’ (Gardiner, 2010, p. 1). This notion is confirmed by Baatjes (2016) who also worked with the CLING Project. She argues that the Project used a ‘broader definition of literacy which is about **critical consciousness**, participation in activities that lead to action and change for the better, and **emancipation**’ (Baatjes, 2016, p. 11; author’s emphasis).

The Community Literacy and Numeracy Groups (CLING) Project was started in 2007 by a consortium of educational research units: the WITS Education Policy Unit (EPU), the Centre for Education Policy Development (CEPD), and the Education Policy Consortium (EPC), as part of the 3Rs Project (Gardiner, n.d.). The consortium (led by CEPD) eventually became known as the 3Rs Consortium because of its focus on the 3Rs (ibid). ‘3Rs’ refers to the basic requisite skills in education, namely; **reading, writing and arithmetic** (Baatjes, 2016). The 3Rs project was a five year project funded by the Embassy of the Kingdom of the Netherlands from 2007 to 2011 (Gardiner, n.d.). It wanted to understand the poor numeracy and literacy skills of school children, particularly in schools serving the predominantly ‘black’ poor, despite the state resources being allocated; and to interrogate the fact that there had not been any significant progress in the provision of quality education in these communities (ibid).

The CLING Project was also premised on the fact that a healthy democracy has to be supported by well-informed, actively participating and critical citizens (Baatjes, 2016; Čubajevaitė, 2015) and thus sought to probe the effects as well as the importance of ‘participatory citizenship and the development of democracy, and a recognition that the struggle for literacy and numeracy requires agency and active participation’ (Baatjes, 2016, p. 12).

The project began with Community Researchers, who were to play a leading role, being identified at community level; their selection was based on their knowledge of the community issues as well as their previous work and involvement with the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF) (Čubajevaitė, 2015). The APF was a social movement fighting against all forms of privatisation affecting poor communities. The Community Researchers were then

trained by the CLING Project staff (ibid).

The CLING Project used participatory action research (PAR) as its key methodology to interrogate the oppressive conditions and influence change. Baatjes (2016) posits that PAR as a practice is a valuable tool which is ‘in favour of the struggles of oppressed and marginalised groups (that is, it sides with the oppressed and marginalised) and is openly and clearly political in its position and in terms of whose interests it serves’ (p. 11). It is clear therefore that the CLING was purposed in its stance to be clearly political in its fight against the injustices within the communities in which it operated.

The CLING Project in each site began with the Community Researchers recruiting learners, supporting community mobilisation, assisting school learners with school work and homework through weekend classes, reading clubs, and story-telling, and by creating community libraries, as well as through providing extracurricular activities, such as poetry and Hip Hop. (CLING, n.d.). Later, opportunities for adult basic education and early childhood development were also created (Baatjes, 2016). The adult classes were aimed at encouraging reading and writing across all age groups in the community (CLING, n.d.).

As stated above, the CLING project was founded on the principle that literacy is not just about learning the skills and art of reading, writing and arithmetic. It was founded on the premise that literacy is a contribution to the liberation of humankind and their full development (Baatjes, 2016; Baatjes et al., 2012). Many ideas of how learning happens have been put forth, one being that the most important and stimulating learning occurs informally and incidentally in people’s everyday lives (Foley, 1999). The CLING Project openly decided that the most powerful learning happens as people struggle against oppression, as they struggle to make sense of what is happening to them and to work out ways of doing something about it. It was purposeful about its choices: ‘besides the informal and incidental learning, the CLINGs also participate[d] in non-formal education’ (Baatjes, 2016, p. 15).

The CLING Project was therefore based on an understanding that literacy is a ‘contribution to the liberation and full development of people’ (CERT, 2010, p. 11). An important aspect that this learning project argued for, was ‘critical consciousness’; participation in activities that lead to ‘action and change’ for the better; and ‘emancipation’ of the community (Čubajevaitė, 2015). Baatjes (2016, p. 10) posits that what made the project emancipatory is the fact that it favoured the struggles of the oppressed and was very clear about whose interests it purported to serve. Of significance, is the fact that it acknowledged that those who have been oppressed

and marginalised have the 'important knowledge'. Its emphasis on action was based on the fact that it tried to understand the world by attempting to change it (ibid).

I mentioned earlier on that the CLING Project was conceptualised in 2006 and was meant to be a five year project. According to the documents I consulted for this study, it seems that it started at different times in various sites. The Freedom Park CLING specifically started in 2007 (although it was formally launched in 2009), whilst the two sites in Limpopo (Siyandhani and Davhana) started in 2012 (Gardiner, 2010). As I will discuss in more detail below, the issue of whether the CLING project in Freedom Park was still running or not during the course of my study remained a very murky issue.

The CLING Project was implemented in five different sites (in both urban and rural communities): two in Limpopo, two in Gauteng (Freedom Park and Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle) and one in the Eastern Cape. Obviously, looking at all of these was impractical; I thus decided to focus on the Freedom Park CLING (since this was the most convenient site for me).

The Freedom Park CLING was initiated by the EPC together with the Centre for Education Rights and Transformation (CERT) at the University of Johannesburg. CERT's focus is on academic research that leads to action learning thus promoting educational change at grassroots level (CERT, 2010). A community member who had been involved in the EPC (and also, as it happens, the community survey undertaken by Khanya College and GOLCCOM, discussed below), began working to bring the EPC project to Freedom Park in 2007; the Freedom Park CLING was formally launched in 2009 (Baatjes, 2016). It began working with Grade R to 9 learners, and then expanded to include the (new) high school and adult learners (ibid). The Community Researchers, or 'learner-activists' as they came to be called, requested literacy training after 'recognizing the lack of skills to run the Saturday classes' (Community Researcher's Report quoted by Čubajevaitė, 2015, p. 157). The report says that the learner-activists believed that this training equipped them with facilitation skills and increased their knowledge of ABET programmes. It provided them with 'ideas on how to better engage in educational activities with children, and also how to approach the teaching of adults and children differently' (ibid).

The Freedom Park CLING apparently faced a number of issues, including tensions arising from different political affiliations. It had ceased to operate between September 2009 and May 2010, but was revived by a group of mainly female youths (Baatjes, 2016). Stipends

were made available to the CLING facilitators involved in the adult literacy project, but were then stopped. Nevertheless, according to the organisations involved, the Freedom Park CLING accomplished numerous educational achievements (Čubajevaitė, 2015).

When I planned my study, I thought the CLING Project within Freedom Park was an actually existing project. Although the official five-year term of the project had ended, according to a key document I consulted, a community structure called Abahlali baseFreedom Park continued the project in the community (Baatjes, 2016). Baatjes reported that the Freedom Park CLING's 'plans, hopes and dreams' for the future included livelihood research training of community researchers; a refresher workshop on the REFLECT method (a Freirean-inspired literacy approach); secure stipends for about ten community educators; a feeding scheme for afternoon classes; training on business management; and cultural events such as drama, poetry, hip-hop, and dance (p. 26).

However, as related below, the issue of whether the project was still happening rapidly became murky; and indeed as my research unfolded, it became more and more clear to me that the CLING Project was not actually running, although throughout the research, some people continued to claim it was still running. This posed a problem in terms of how to conceive this case study, whether as an historical case study intended to be evaluative, or as a case located in the present as research in action. In order to locate the study accordingly I drew up a timeline based on what participants said about the status of the CLING Project; however this was not really helpful in terms of helping to establish the status of the CLING Project or its relationship with other structures in the community.

Secondly, at the start of the research process I was told that (whether or not the project was ongoing), community members, through a community structure Abahlali baseFreedom Park (apparently in some way related to CLING) were actively trying to learn about issues related to the community – i.e. some kind of informal learning was happening (some claimed this was a continuation of the CLING Project); as a result I planned to consider this process, and its relationship to the CLING Project, through an informal learning lens, and thus included a research question specifically related to this. However, during the research it became clear that this process was in fact non-formal classes organised by one of the political parties (SOPA) in the area – exactly how this related to the community structure and/or CLING remained contested. The same is true of the connection between Abahlali and the CLING Project. The CLING co-ordinator claimed that Abahlali as a group was created by

engagements facilitated by the CLING facilitators. However, Abahlali’s role in the CLING activities could not be ascertained; but their role over and above the political class was particularly prominent in mobilising community marches for land and service-delivery-related issues. These marches were largely attended by Black Consciousness Movement and SOPA members although they dealt with social issues. This, it seemed, was the cause of what seemed to be deep political divisions within the community between, primarily, SOPA and the ANC.

As the table below suggests, even the project start and end dates were not particularly clear. It seems according to the reports that the project closed down or was inactive for a period of nine months (September to May). The relations between the CLING project and other stakeholders inside and outside of the community were also multiple and complex.

Table 1: Timeline

Date	Event
2007	Freedom Park CLING Project starts
2009	Freedom Park CLING Project is officially launched
2009/2010	Freedom Park CLING ceases operating between September and May
2010	Freedom Park CLING is revived
2009-2010	Adult education classes start at Ikusasa Lethu Soup Kitchen
2010	Facilitators attend Adult Education Training facilitated by CERT
2010	CERT conducts a workshop on community mapping
2010	Community Researchers and EPU conducts a Community Mapping Process
2011	Abahlali starts
2012	Adult education facilitators start receiving stipends from the Department of Education
2012	CLING facilitators attended training in the Vaal organised by ILRIG with the assistance of CERT
2013	The DoE stipend stops
2014-2015	Community Process Mapping (door-to-door visits) is conducted by CLING facilitators
2015	Adult Education and CLING Facilitators attend a Planning Workshop in the Vaal organised by CERT
2017	Freedom Park CLING Project officially comes to an end – but some claim it continues

The complex dynamics of the community and CLING project itself shaped my study profoundly, so that what actually transpired was markedly different from what I had originally planned. My initial plan was to understand how the CLING Project, and in particular the adult education classes run as part of the project, embraced and implemented the Freirean philosophy and methodology and its impact on those involved; and what the

relationship was between the CLING project and the informal learning processes happening in the community. I planned to achieve this through sampling a number of adult learners and facilitators involved in the CLING project. It became clear that many of those who had participated in the project (both learners and facilitators) were fairly disgruntled – and were not too keen to participate. The deep political divisions within the community also affected the willingness of participants to engage with me, once they had seen me with members of a different political party from their own. This affected the number of participants I was able to secure for the research, and their attitude towards me (as an outsider); and this in turn affected the nature of the relationship I was able to build with them. Ultimately, I involved not only adult learners and facilitators in the CLING project (although far smaller numbers than I had envisaged), but also members of the community structure and those involved in the ‘political classes’.

1.2.2 Freedom Park

Situated some 30 – 40 km from the centre of Johannesburg, to the South-West of Soweto, Freedom Park came into existence in 1993, as the result of a ‘land invasion’ by people hoping for a place of their own in the run up to the first democratic elections (Hoag, 2009; Louw, 1999; Madlala, 1994; Ndaba, 2004). There is some evidence that much of the impetus for the occupation was the chronic overcrowding in nearby Soweto, where many of the people who initially moved to Freedom Park were backyard dwellers (Hoag, 2009). It is now a semi-informal township with a combination of informal shacks, Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) houses as well as bonded houses (CERT, 2010), consisting of a number of distinct areas – Devland Ext.27, Freedom Park, Lindela, Mahala Park, Siyaya, St. Martins, and Zimbabwe. Because it falls within an area demarcated by the N1, N12 and R553 (Golden Highway) major roads, the township is sometimes referred to as the Golden Triangle. The area is flanked by Eldorado Park and Naturena residential areas, and the Devland industrial area, and falls under the Eldorado Park Municipality (Hoag, 2009).

From the moment the Freedom Park residents occupied the land, there was an outcry from the neighbouring coloured community of Eldorado Park about the ‘rising crime levels and the depreciating property values’ thus making the relationship between the two communities a ‘hostile’ one (Louw, 1999). The occupation was also met with immediate hostility by the state and the private landowners of a portion of the area, who attempted to evict the occupiers. Their resistance led to building of RDP houses by a private contractor in the St.

Martin area in 1994. However, people continued to move into the area, leading to a cycle of evictions and resistance. Further RDP houses were built in Devland Ext.27 in 1996 (although there were allegations of corrupt allocation of these houses, with people allowed to 'buy' the houses for between R600 and R8 000); followed by further attempts to evict people who had settled the Freedom Park area in 2002, and further resistance (Hoag, 2009). By 2007, it was estimated that some 20 000 people were living in the area (Khanya College cited in Hoag, 2009). In late 2007, RDP houses started being built in the Mahala Park and Zimbabwe areas; these were larger than previous RDP houses in the township, and with interior toilets 'so as to limit backyard shacks from being built on RDP house stands' (ibid, p. 17). Nevertheless, many backyard shacks have been built, as well as those on still 'undeveloped' land (such as Siyaya and Lindela); and protests related to housing and the corrupt allocation of housing continue.

The protests suggest a fairly high level of organisation in the community. Hoag (2009) reports that the resistance to the 2002 evictions was organised by the South African National Civics Organisation (SANCO); but that in 2007, the Socialist Party of Azania (SOPA) became involved 'at the directive of the community' (p. 8) because many community members felt that SANCO 'was doing more to push the ANC's privatization agenda than the community's vision of development' (ibid). At around the same time (different dates are given), the Golden Triangle Community Crisis Committee (variously called GOLCCOM, GOLCOM and GTCCC) emerged. Hoag (and Khanya College – a Johannesburg-based NGO that had been working with activists in the area since 2005) consistently refer to this as a 'social movement'; but Hoag reports seven leaders and about 20 members, and it is clear that Khanya College's aim in working with GOLCCOM was to help build the organisation within the community (Khanya College in Hoag, 2009). As well as Khanya College, GOLCOM had links to SOPA, the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF), the Soweto Crisis Committee (SCC), the Freedom of Expression Institute (FXI) and the Social Movement Indaba, amongst other organisations (Hoag, 2009; Khanya College in Hoag, 2009). GOLCCOM was evidently the organising force behind the April 2007 protests, in which a community member lost an eye when police shot at the protesters. Fourteen others were arrested, but released after pressure from APF, Khanya College, FXI and SOPA (GOLCCOM, 2007). According to Hoag (2009), GOLCCOM primarily targeted government authorities, primarily those connected to the ANC, such as the local Ward Councillor for the area.

In 2008, the first comprehensive survey of Freedom Park was undertaken by Khanya College and GOLCCOM, using community volunteers (Hoag, 2009). The survey found very few facilities available to residents – no libraries, recreation centres, government clinics, and very few parks or sports facilities. Interestingly, it also found few civil society organisations, although most people surveyed said they belonged to some kind of organisation – generally a religious organisation, burial society and/or a stokvel. Only 3.3% of those surveyed said they belonged to a political party; and 0.3% to a social movement. Social movements mentioned included *Ikusasa Lethu*, GOLCCOM and SANCO. Only informal shops existed, and no government offices. The survey found 18 taverns operating in the area, and 9 churches. Whilst 26 formal and informal crèches existed, there was only one school – a primary school – which was seriously overcrowded; and many families surveyed said that a high school (and a clinic) were greatly needed, since children had to go to high school in Eldorado Park (Hoag, 2009). (Note that a second primary school was constructed shortly after, or possibly during, the survey, in 2007 (Baatjes, 2016).

The survey estimated a total population of around 30 540 people. Those surveyed had lived in the area for an average 9.3 years (although this varied across the different areas of Freedom Park). Children made up 43% of the population surveyed and most children attended school. The home language of residents was quite diverse, suggesting that people had come to the area from different places. Most of those surveyed were living in an RDP house (67%), but 31% were living in shacks, and 3% in backrooms or outbuildings. The average number of people per dwelling was 4.6.

Of those surveyed, 60% indicated that they were unemployed. Many of those that were employed were in insecure or temporary work and the majority held semi-skilled positions. It is thus not surprising that 63% of families lived on less than R2 000 per month; female headed households tended to earn less, or have more variable incomes. Over half (57.7%) of the families in Freedom Park received a social grant (many more than one). but 70% of these earned less than R800 a month from their grant/s. Thus, again not surprisingly, many families found alternative informal sources of income (such as laundry, recycling, sewing, mechanic, theft), bringing in an average of R664 per month.

In her commentary on the survey process, and the draft booklet which resulted, Hoag comments that a weakness in the booklet is a lack of personal stories. Such personal stories have been, on occasion, reported in the media. One early media story is that of Hans Nel, a

white Afrikaner who moved to the St. Martin area of Freedom Park in 1994. ‘Just one family among the hundreds that in the last few days have been part of an unprecedented urban land invasion around Johannesburg’ (Madlala, 1994). Nel and his family had moved from a flat in Berea, because he could no longer pay the rent. They moved after a friend in Soweto introduced them to the Freedom Park area, and he was allocated a piece of land on which to build a shack. ‘There is nobody at Freedom Park tonight that is not in need, but we are all united. I like Freedom Park because I am free here, and the people are very nice’ (ibid).

Another early media story is about Moffat Shwayimba, originally from Matatiele, who moved to Freedom Park from a backroom in Soweto in 1996 ‘after hearing that there was land available’ (Louw, 1999). He said, “When I first moved here, there were only a few shacks, and we had nothing, no water and no refuse removal”; but by the time of the story, in 1999, there were some 1 000 shacks, and water was being brought into the community daily. Shwayimba was attempting to set up a Community Policing Forum in Freedom Park, since the nearest police station was some 10km away (ibid).

Another media story is that of Nthabiseng Bunu, a 39 year old mother of two who came to live in Freedom Park in February 1994 (just two months before the democratic elections), building herself and her two children a makeshift shack and relieving herself in the open field until portable toilets were supplied by the government—which she was still using ten years later (Ndaba, 2004). Nthabiseng is one of the many Freedom Park residents who lived in Soweto in a ‘crowded house’ with her grandmother and came to Freedom Park seeking a place of her own (ibid). She had since been moved to another shack where they shared ‘a communal tap which previously belonged to a farm owner who sold his land to the government. A large part of the settlement still [had] no electricity and running water’ (ibid). (There still is a water truck that drives around the location providing water to certain communities even to this day). She still did not have a house, although she had applied for one in 1996 (Ndaba, 2004).

A more recent story is that of Mandla Yende and Mazharul Alam Khan, who own informal shops in Freedom Park. Yende was involved in the launch of the Greater Gauteng Business Forum in Freedom Park in February 2011, which targeted Asian, Somali and Ethiopian traders in the area. ‘We don’t like them, we don’t want them to be around our townships any more’ (Misago & Wilhelm-Solomon, 2011). Freedom Park had experienced xenophobic attacks of foreign traders in December 2010, forcing traders to close for almost three months.

They reopened after strong community support, at which point the forum was formed. Khan, a Bangladeshi trader in the area, said, 'Of the local people, 99.9% want us. They say foreign businesses are selling good stuff and we don't want you to move. When we closed for three months the local people said: 'Just open, we'll protect you' (ibid).

And then there is the story of Willy Dlamini, the ANC Ward Councillor for the area. In April 2013, residents gathered outside his house, demanding his removal. 'The residents accused Dlamini of corruption, lack of service delivery and development' (Mthethwa, 2013). Residents said that they experienced frequent water and electricity cuts, and complained about the lack of a high school in the area. They also claimed Dlamini was selling houses.

Since the survey of 2008, things have improved to some extent, in terms of the facilities available to the residents of the area. As late as 2011, this community still did not have a clinic. The only clinic they had was 'a three-room shack with no electricity, no running water and a pit toilet enclosed with corrugated iron' (Molosankwe & Mkize, 2011). The two 'nurses' only qualification was home-based care training. The community members complained about the long queues at the clinic, that they had to start queuing as early as 5a.m. for almost the whole day only to be told that there is no medication, as a result they 'wanted the government to build a new clinic' (Maphumulo, 2006). That clinic was forced to close after operating since 1996 because it was 'illegal' - to the devastation of those who frequented it and claimed 'their injections heal them' (Molosankwe & Mkize, 2011).

A new clinic and high school in Freedom Park were opened in August 2014. This school is 'the first proper high school in the informal settlement', has 25 classrooms, laboratories, a computer room and library, as well as sporting facilities (Macupe, 2014).

Prior to its opening, children in grades 8 to 10 were walking an hour to mobile classrooms whilst others were attending school in Eldorado Park, even further away (Macupe, 2014). The children have not always been welcomed at Eldorado Park; with some parents reporting their children being kicked out because they did not stay in the area (Mthethwa, 2013).



Figure 1: Freedom Park Secondary School being opened by the Gauteng Minister of Education (Macupe, 2014)

The clinic is said to be a state of the art clinic ready to take on the private clinics, boasting ‘nine consulting rooms, including a mother to child acute care, an adolescent centre and emergency room with all the equipment to stabilize a patient’ (City of Johannesburg, 2014).



Figure 2: Freedom Park Clinic being opened by Parks Tau, the then mayor of the City of Johannesburg (Joburg City Online Newsletter)

Meanwhile, the struggle not to be evicted has continued. Over time a group of activists who call themselves Abahlali baseFreedom Park (loosely translated, ‘dwellers of Freedom Park’) was formed. Abahlali, as they are known, have since taken upon themselves the struggle for land and the building of the new RDP’s houses, as the shacks keep proliferating; and they are

tasked with overseeing the overall development of Freedom Park (Baatjes, 2016).

According to an Eye Witness News Reporter, Mkhize (2014), there were allegations that there was corruption in the allocation of RDP houses in Freedom Park, and Abahlali had instigated a probe. The ANC members who were against the probe were assaulting members of Abahlali.

Abahlali went to court to demand a forensic investigation into the corruption in the distribution of RDP houses.



Figure 3: Abahlali outside Johannesburg High Court, April 2014 (Eye Witness News)

Abahlali have also mobilised other communities in the South of Johannesburg to fight for land.

1.3 Rationale for this study

As discussed above, I had specifically wanted to focus my study on a Freirean-inspired project, and had heard about the Freedom Park CLING. On the 19th of August 2017, I visited Freedom Park. On the day in question, Abahlali had organised a march to Eldorado Park to meet Parks Tau who was the mayor of the City of Johannesburg between 2011 and 2016 to 'force' him to account for the land he had promised the residents of Freedom Park during his tenure as mayor.



Figure 4: Abahlali baseFreedom Park, together with various other Gauteng communities, converged on Eldorado Park Stadium, August 2017



Figure 5: Abahlali pre-gathering before marching to Eldorado Park in August 2017

I participated in the march. During the march I interacted with the community members. This had a profound effect on my planned study for two reasons. Firstly, I was told that the Project was no longer running, but members of the Abahlali who had been involved with the CLING Project seemed to be driving an informal learning process, which they called ‘political classes’. This meant that although I could not study an actually existing Freirean-inspired non-formal education project, I could now look not only at the past project, but also its potential link to on-going informal learning. It was as a result of this that I constructed the third research question used in my study.

Secondly, during the march I stumbled upon Zipho, who had been one of the adult learners in the CLING Project but who had subsequently dropped out of the adult classes while they were still running. I asked him why he had dropped out. His response was

What we wanted to be taught was how to get out of our present problems, like living poor in the shacks, with no jobs, and the classes were not giving us that. (Zipho)

This, for me, raised very interesting questions about the project. His statement could be seen as a cry for learning that would give him skills to be employable. Based on this, one could argue that Zipho had not experienced the ‘conscientisation’ that is a necessary part of the problem-posing education that Freire advocates, and thus should have been an integral part of the CLING Project. A problem-posing approach should have enabled those involved to interrogate issues of their reality, asking questions about why they were ‘living poor in the shacks, with no jobs’. Another salient issue raised by Zipho’s statement spoke to the possible discord between the organisers’ perceptions of a Freirean philosophy and methodology and the learners’ experience thereof.

This made me reflect on Aronowitz (2012, p. 257) who argues that it is ‘not uncommon for teachers and administrators’ to proclaim to be using Freirean philosophy whilst what they essentially mean is a more learner-centred pedagogy, rather than the ‘altered power relationship, not only in the classroom but in the broader social canvas’ (p. 258). Thus according to Aronowitz, every ‘Freirean’ project should be interrogated to establish whether it really is consistent with Freire’s radical humanist project. That marked the beginning of my journey to do just that, in relation to the Freedom Park CLING.

In addition, since 1994 not many projects have been conducted in the South African context on Freirean-inspired non-formal adult education (although this is now a growing area of enquiry), thus presenting ‘a potential research area of a very interesting phenomenon of how people learn while struggling for social justice’ (Čubajevaitė, 2015, p. 150). It is also the objective of this study to understand the impact the CLING Project had on the self-directed learning of the Abahlali Group after the project closed. It will consider whether or not the CLING Project impacted on the self-directed informal learning of those who were involved in the project after the project closed officially. Very few studies have focused on self-directed informal learning in relation to non-formal learning.

1.4 Research Questions

This study therefore seeks to answer the following pertinent questions:-

1. To what extent did the CLING Project embrace the Freirean philosophy and methodology?
2. How did learners experience the CLING classes?
3. What kinds of self-directed informal learning have taken place since the project closed?

1.5 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

In light of my research questions, and the project on which I focused, I have used a Freirean framework to understand my study. The conceptual framework used in this study is formal, non-formal and informal learning, and Schugurensky's categorisation of informal learning.

1.6 Methodological Approach

Consistent with my worldview (and a Freirean frame), this study is framed by the critical paradigm. A key feature of the critical paradigm is its belief in the notion that if you want to come close to understanding social reality you have to use the lens of power.

Consistent with a critical paradigm, the study was conducted using a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach is used mainly to explore and understand the meaning groups or individuals attribute to a social problem or a social phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). A qualitative study 'seeks to explore, describe, and analyse the meaning of individual lived experience: how they perceive it, feel about it, judge it, remember it, make sense of it, and talk about it with others' (Patton, 2004, p. 104), which is what I was interested in doing. Because I framed the study within a critical paradigm, the issue of *whose* lived experience is being considered, and the issue of power relations within the research process, was important. In addition to considering the documents emanating from the project, I thus used participatory methods, focusing attention on members of the Freedom Park community who had been directly involved in the CLING project, and/or are currently involved in the Abahlali learning process. As discussed above, the difficulties I encountered impacted on the extent to which I was able to access participants, and to build a relationship with the participants to address the researcher-researched power imbalance, as is a usual feature of critical research; and this limited the extent of 'reflection-action' possible. I used snowball

sampling to identify my research participants; and a transect walk, photovoice, semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions to collect my data. I also observed one of the ‘political classes’ currently being run in the community.

1.7 Overview of Dissertation

This chapter has introduced the rationale of the study, presenting the background to the study and the questions that this study sought to answer, and how it sought to do this. The remaining chapters are structured as follows:

- ✚ Chapter Two focuses on Freire’s ontology and epistemology, and how this influenced his critical pedagogy. It reviews the literature related to Freire, considering the impact his work has had globally and in South Africa; critiques of his work; and considers concerns raised about how his work has been implemented. I also consider relevant studies on Freirean-inspired non-formal adult education projects. The chapter then moves on to consider self-directed informal learning and literature related to this.
- ✚ Chapter Three explains the research methodology, the paradigm that informed this study and how this has influenced the research design. I discuss the sampling process, and the data collection methods used, and discuss the reasons for these choices. The chapter also explains the data analysis process and considers issues of research quality and ethics.
- ✚ Chapter Four presents the context which the CLING Project sought to respond to through the themes that emerged from the inductive analysis of data.
- ✚ Chapter Five presents the data collected for this study through the document analysis, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, ‘political class’ observation, the transect walk and photovoice .
- ✚ Chapter Six presents my deductive analysis and discussions of the data in the light of the literature reviewed, conceptual and theoretical framework.
- ✚ Chapter Seven presents the summation of the findings derived from this study and conclusion.

1.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I presented the rationale, background and research questions, as well as the structure of this thesis. I also introduced the CLING Project in Freedom Park, South of Johannesburg; a project which, according to its founders, was founded on Freire’s work and

based on ‘a broad understanding of the term ‘literacy’ – which means discovering increasingly how to read the word and the world (Paulo Freire)’ (Gardiner, 2010). In the next chapter I will review the conceptual and theoretical frameworks which underpin this study. I will also discuss Freire’s ontology and epistemology as well as the literature which relates to Freire, the impact his work has had globally and in South Africa. Critiques of his work will be dealt with, as well as studies on Freirean-inspired non-formal adult education projects. Finally, I will discuss non-formal and informal learning, specifically self-directed informal learning, and literature around it.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I considered the background, focus and purpose of this study, and presented the research questions and the research design used to answer these. In this chapter I will review the conceptual and theoretical frameworks, as well as related literature, underpinning this study. I discuss how Freire's ontology and epistemology influenced his pedagogy. The literature related to Freire is reviewed as well as the impact his work has had globally and in South Africa; critiques of his work; and concerns raised about how his work has been implemented. I examine relevant studies on Freirean-inspired non-formal adult education projects. I will conclude by discussing the concepts of non-formal and informal learning, including specifically self-directed informal learning and literature related to this.

Any research has to be founded on a 'basic system of ontological, epistemological, axiological, and methodological assumptions' which forms the basis of that research (Vasilachis de Gialdino, 2009, p. 3). This means that the research has to be framed on an intelligible theoretical and conceptual framework. This chapter will discuss my theoretical and conceptual framework, and literature related to these, before considering other studies relevant to mine.

2.2 Paulo Freire

A theory, according to Brookfield, (2005) is 'nothing more (or less) than a set of explanatory understandings that help us make sense of some aspect of the world' (p. 3). Theories help us to frame how we see the world. According to Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2005), theories are 'interrelated sets of assumptions, concepts and propositions that constitute a view of the world' (p. 15). Ontology refers to one's view of reality, the assertions and hypotheses that are made about the nature of social reality and being. How one comes to acquire knowledge about this reality is referred to as epistemology; the relationship between 'the knower and what is known' and how we come to know that which we know and what is deemed to be knowledge (Krauss, 2005, p.759).

Since the study is specifically related to Freire, I am using Freire as my theoretical framework. I begin by discussing Freire's ontology and epistemology, and how these influenced his pedagogy. I then look at the impact his work has had globally and in South Africa; critiques of his work; and concerns raised about how his work has been implemented.

Paulo Freire, a Brazilian social theorist and adult educator, was born to a middle-class family in the North East of Brazil, in the city of Recife, state of Pernambuco, on September 19, 1921 (Freire, 1970; Facundo, 1984; Freire & Macedo, 1998). His family led a comfortable life until they were plunged into the 1930's depression (Freire, 1970; Beck & Purcell, 2010). Freire says he had a very happy childhood up to the point he moved (at the age of ten) to Jaboatão (a small town on the outskirts of Recife) and lost his father at the age of thirteen (Freire & Macedo, 1998; Darder, 2018). The pain of losing his father was coupled with the pain of seeing his mother's fight for survival in the bid to raise four children (Freire & Macedo, 1998). It was through this experience that he personally encountered poverty and social injustices (Beck & Purcell, 2010).

After completing his seven years of secondary schooling at the July 14 School he went to the secular School of Law from 1943 to 1947 (Freire & Macedo, 1998). In 1947 he started working at the Division of Education and Culture within SESI (Social Service of Industry), where he became educational director. This is where he came into contact with adult education 'and realized how badly adults and the nation needed to face the issues of education and, in particular, of literacy' (Freire & Macedo, 1998, p. 15). During the 1950s, as Coordinator of the Adult Education Project of the Movement of Popular Culture in Recife, Freire experimented with methods for teaching literacy (Freire, 2013).

Freire established himself and proved to be an adult educator to be reckoned with. As a Chief Writer in Theme Three of Pernambuco's Regional Commission in 1958, he confirmed that adult education in the State of Pernambuco needed to be founded in 'consciousness of the day-to-day conduct lived by the learners so that it could never be reduced to a mere knowing of letters, words and sentences' (Freire & Macedo, 1998, p.17-18):

He proposed an adult education that encouraged co-operation, decision-making, participation, social and political responsibility. Freire, focussed on that category of knowledge learned existentially, through the living knowledge of his own problems and those of his local community, already made explicit by his respect for popular knowledge, common knowledge. He spoke of social education, of the need for learners to discover themselves, as well as to know the social problems that afflicted them. (Freire & Macedo, 1998, p. 18)

Freire worked as a teacher and that is why he resonated easily and found interest in adult education and literacy. In Brazil, only literate people were allowed to vote; literacy was

therefore an instrument in the country's social reform. He believed that learning to read was the first step in understanding more about one's own social and political situation, especially in a country characterised by societal inequities and abject poverty.

When his literacy programme grew and spread to the entire country, so did the opposition against it which accused him of spreading revolutionary ideas and led the Brazilian military to deem his teaching as being radical and to exile him for almost 16 years after they overthrew the government in a coup in 1964 (Giroux, Freire & Steinberg, 2017; Gadotti, 1994).

At this time, Freire was arrested and imprisoned for 70 days. Upon his release he was exiled, living in Chile and in Geneva, Switzerland and returning to Brazil only in 1980 when Brazil regained democracy (Beck & Purcell, 2010; Gadotti, 1994; Giroux et al., 2017). While in Geneva, he worked as a Special Consultant to the Office of Education of the World Council of Churches. In this capacity, he spent a lot of time in Africa advising governments of newly independent African countries and national liberation movements (Freire & Macedo, 1998; Gadotti, 1994). On his return to Brazil, he played a significant role in the shaping and development of Brazilian educational policies until he died of heart failure on 2 May 1997 (Beck & Purcell, 2010; Giroux et al., 2017; Freire & Macedo, 1998).

Freire's philosophical perspectives and ideas were framed by the context which I have outlined above.

His second book, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (penned in his late forties) was first written in Portuguese in 1968 while he was in exile in Chile, and is considered his most famous book, and a classic text of critical pedagogy (Beck & Purcell, 2010; Giroux, Freire & Steinberg, 2017). This book has sold more than a million copies and has profoundly inspired many teachers and academics across the world (Giroux et al., 2017). He authored many other books, including the *Pedagogy of Hope*, which contributed significantly to the overall struggle for liberation (Darder, 2018).

The year 2018 marked 50 years since the publishing of the *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, and events in commemoration were held around the world including in South Africa, acknowledging Freire as one of the most significant radical voices of the twentieth century in the field of education. This suggests that Freire remains one of the prominent voices amongst adult educators and academics engaged in adult education. Freire will continue to occupy the

highest position amongst the great radical adult educators, thinkers and forefathers of critical pedagogy, with a rich heritage that has over decades helped communities ‘develop a consciousness of freedom, recognize authoritarian tendencies, connect knowledge to power and agency, and learn to read both the word and the world as part of a broader struggle for justice and democracy’ (Giroux et al., 2017, p. 152). I consider the profound influence he has had later in this chapter.

2.2.1 Freire’s ontology

Freire starts from a position of the ‘unfinishedness’ of the human person and that it is a human vocation to strive to be more fully human (Freire, 1970). Freire see the human being as potentially ‘good’, but argues that our ‘ontological and historical vocation’ to be more fully humanised (Freire, 1970, p. 44) is denied by oppression. Oppression dehumanises us – it makes us less than fully human, less than what we could potentially be; it hinders us from the process of becoming fully human.

For Freire, then, dehumanisation is both ‘an ontological possibility [and] an historical reality’ (Freire, 1970, p. 25) and, thus, oppression needs to be ended. He says that humanisation has always, ‘from an axiological point of view, been humankind’s central problem’ but has since taken on ‘the character of an inescapable concern’ (Freire & Macedo, 1998, p. 45).

Freire & Macedo (1998) argue that oppression dehumanises both the oppressed, and the oppressor:

As the oppressed dehumanize others and violate their rights, they themselves also become dehumanized. As the oppressed, fighting to be human, take away the oppressors’ power to dominate and suppress, they restore to the oppressors the humanity they had lost in the exercise of oppression. (p. 56)

As seen above, Freire & Macedo believes it is our ontological vocation to become more fully human and the oppressed will thus ‘yearn for freedom’, to attain their lost humanity. Freire argues that the work of ending oppression can only be done by the oppressed:

This then is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well. The oppressors who oppress, exploit, and rape by virtue of their power, cannot find in this power the strength to liberate either the oppressed or themselves. (p. 46)

To do this work requires acting by the oppressed who suffer at the hands of the oppressors:
the oppressed

Who suffer the effects of oppression more than the oppressed? Who can better understand the necessity of liberation? They will not gain this liberation by chance but through the praxis of their quest for it, through their recognition of the necessity to fight for it. And this fight, because of the purpose given it by the oppressed, will actually constitute an act of love opposing the lovelessness which lies at the heart of oppressors' violence, lovelessness even when clothed in false generosity. (Freire & Macedo, 1998, p. 47)

However, the oppressed do not always recognise that they are oppressed – in other words, they do not understand the nature of their dehumanisation. Thus the act of humanisation is impossible if the oppressed do not see themselves as oppressed.

If they do recognise that they are oppressed, they may be too afraid to tackle the oppressor. Freire suggests that oppression is an act of violence; violence begets violence in that the oppressed may respond to their oppression with violence in reaction to the violence of the oppressors. The oppressors deem this retaliatory violence or resistance as an act of criminal behaviour and compel the oppressed down in the name of keeping the peace.

If they overcome their fear, the oppressed may seek to simply replace the oppressor, since s/he is their model of what it means not to be oppressed (Freire, 1970). The transformation of oppressive realities is a difficult process because the oppressed have internalised the image of the oppressors and have become 'sub-oppressors' (Freire, 1970, p. 29). Thus, simply acting to end oppression does not necessarily lead to humanisation: 'exchanging places with the oppressor does not overcome the oppressor-oppressed contradiction, which colonises the hearts, minds, bodies and spirits of the people' (Darder, 2018, p. 97).

Freire makes it clear that the oppressed do not necessarily know that they are oppressed, because they cannot clearly see their reality. In order for oppression (and thus dehumanisation) to end, then, the first essential step is for the oppressed to recognise the true nature of their reality – i.e. that they are oppressed. Freire argues that they cannot clearly see their reality because the oppressors enforce a worldview that prevents them from seeing reality as it is, or prevent them from taking charge of their lives through convincing them that their plight is unchangeable without the ruling class (Freire, 1970).

As a result, the oppressed need to critically reflect on their lived reality. Freire called this conscientisation. However, simply becoming aware of their oppression is not sufficient – they must take action to end all oppression. The process of emancipation thus involves praxis comprising of reflecting and taking action.

Freire suggests that there are two stages to the process of regaining our humanity. The first stage is the realisation of the extent of the oppression by the oppressed and through reflection committing through action to transform their world (Freire, 1970). The second stage is wherein the oppressed are no longer oppressed and the oppressors have ceased to oppress (ibid).

2.2.2 Freire's Epistemology

As I have discussed above, ontology refers to the nature of social reality and being. How one comes to acquire knowledge about this reality is referred to as epistemology. Freire's epistemology is integrally linked to his ontology, as I have presented it above. Thus, as seen, pivotal to Freire's argument is that we do not always recognise the nature of reality, because the oppressors enforce a particular worldview which conceals this.

One of the primary means used to do this, is education. Freire makes it resoundingly clear that education gets used as an instrument of oppression. He maintains that domesticating education or 'banking education' trains people not to question their world. Darder (2018) confirms that banking education 'expects that students be passive and willing recipients, accepting and altering themselves to whatever is presented as 'truth' (p. 109). In domesticating education, then, there is an 'expert' who has knowledge, which must be presented to the learner: 'education is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing' (Freire & Macedo, 1998, p. 68):

Learning becomes an act of depositing in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communication the teacher issues communiqués and 'makes deposits' which the students patiently receive, memorise and repeat. This is the 'banking' concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the student extends only as far as receiving, filing, and storing the deposits. (Freire, 1970, p. 52)

Obviously, what is 'deposited' is determined by the oppressor.

What is needed, then, is an education that helps to reveal, rather than obscure, the reality of oppression. Freire called this ‘education for liberation’, or ‘problem-posing education’. Liberating education enables the oppressed to discover the root cause of their daily lived problems through analysing their situation and then acting to change it (Freire, 1970). It is therefore not surprising that liberating education unequivocally

involves the constant unveiling of reality, strives for emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality...students are increasingly posed with problems relating to themselves in the world and with the world, will feel increasingly challenged and obliged to respond to that challenge. (p. 75)

In the process of learning, learners develop authority to critically perceive the way in which they exist in the world; but they also ‘come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation’ (Freire, 1970, p. 83). They come to see that it is possible to change their reality.

2.2.3 Paulo Freire’s Critical Pedagogy

Problem-posing education, according to Freire, requires an entirely different pedagogy from the ‘banking education’ method. He sees a different role for the learner and for the educator; a different curriculum; and a different method.

In problem posing education, learners are no longer docile in the process of learning but are ‘critical co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher’ (Freire, 1970, p. 81). Freire had a conviction that ‘every human being, no matter how “ignorant” or submerged in the “culture of silence” he or she may be, is capable of looking critically at the world in a dialogical encounter with others’ (Freire, 1970, p. 32).

Thus the locus of the learning process is shifted from the teacher to the learner. This shift is indicative of an altered power relationship, not only in the classroom but in the wider social context as well (Aronowitz, 2012). However, Freire still insists on an important role for the teacher. He referred to adult educators as ‘animators’, responsible for driving learning (Freire, 1970).

According to Freire, there are no differences between the teacher and a ‘revolutionary leader’ (Freire & Macedo, 1998, p. 69). A teacher will not be a good teacher unless s/he is a good ‘revolutionary leader’. However, Freire did distinguish between good revolutionary

leaders/teachers, and those who are authoritarian. The teacher's role is to encourage learners to think critically about their reality and be on their side in solidarity; and the democratic educator cannot avoid 'insisting on the critical capacity, curiosity, and autonomy of the learner' (Freire & Freire, 2004, p. 33). This is not what authoritarian left-wing leaders, who force their ideas and views on people, do: 'the scholarly types that come to visit as if they had revolutionary truth by the tail. You know, the ones who come looking for us to teach us that we are oppressed and exploited and to tell us what to do' (Freire, 1994, p. 53).

Intellectuals who memorise everything, reading for hours on end, slave to the text, fearful of taking a risk, speaking as if they were reciting from memory, they fail to make any concrete connections between what they have read and what is happening in the world, the country, or the local community. They repeat what has been read with precision, but rarely teach anything of personal value. They speak correctly about dialectical thought but think mechanistically. (Freire, 2013, p. 34)

Freire insists that true revolution 'must initiate a creative dialogue with the people...It cannot fear the people, their expression, their effective participation in power' (Harley, 2012, p. 280). For Freire, dialogue is absolutely key to becoming 'more fully human', and thus a pivotal responsibility of the educator is to encourage dialogue; but it is obviously far more than simply people speaking to one another:

Dialogue characterizes an epistemological relationship. Thus, in this sense, dialogue is a way of knowing and should never be viewed as a mere tactic to involve students in a particular task. ...In this sense, dialogue presents itself as an indispensable component of the process of both learning and knowing. (Freire, 1970, p. 17)

Freire defines dialogue as 'the encounter between men mediated by the world, in order to name the world' (Freire, 1970, p. 69). It is a process wherein problems are named and solutions offered. Thus emancipatory education must create a safe space for learners to share their experiences in a supportive environment. In this safe environment, learners are able to identify what they deem to be oppressive and then take steps to end that oppression. Dialogue also cannot happen unless learners engage in critical thinking – hence the need for problem-posing.

The dialogical method in which learning that is problem-posing happens is by presenting a problem to learners in the form of codes, known as codification. According to Freire, these

codes should be visual, dramatic but must represent problems that derive from everyday life or lived experiences (Freire, 1970). The 'co-ordinator must not only listen to the individuals but must challenge them, posing as problems both the codified existential situation and their answers' (Freire, 1970, p. 110). What therefore gets to be presented in the codification must be representative of the learners' generative themes. The generative themes 'cannot be found in men, divorced from reality, nor yet in reality, divorced from men; much less in no man's land' (Freire, 1970, p. 86).

Consequently, this dialogue around the generative theme has to be informed by the word to read the world. The word must be used such that its components (the parts that make it up) must be separated. It is through speaking their word that learners begin to name the world, transform the world through dialogue.

Fundamental to dialogue is critical consciousness, praxis, which means an act of reflecting upon the world in order to change it (Freire, 1970; Glass, 2001). Praxis is conscious action: the conscious action that is necessary to bring to the end the culture of silence bred by the oppressor. Freire makes it resoundingly clear that the root of praxis is 'a dialogical relationship that is fuelled by critical reflection and sustained intervention of the people in the fight for liberation' (Darder, 2018, p. 104).

Praxis involves the oppressed individuals themselves taking charge of their lives because emancipation, freedom and liberty cannot be handed down to them but must come from their own concerted efforts (Grundy, 2006; Thompson, 2001). Freire asserts that praxis is 'counter capitalist relations of production and colonialism, in that it is committed to a larger political project of societal liberation' (Darder, 2018, p.104). Praxis cannot therefore be divorced from critical consciousness. Newman (cited in Harley, 2012, p. 279) posits that

The two activities fuse into one dynamic process in which learners act on themselves and on their world, bringing about a change in their own consciousness and in the way they engage with other people, organisations, institutions and objects around them.
(Harley, 2012, p. 279)

It is very clear that Freire saw education as a political tool, either to bring about conformity to the current system or to facilitate the 'practice of freedom', which he describes as 'the means by which men and women deal critically and creatively with reality and discover how to participate in the transformation of their world' (Freire, 1970, p. 34).

The term 'critical pedagogy' was therefore used to define a teaching methodology which was fundamentally linked to the freedom of the oppressed as historic subjects within the framework of radical purposes (Aronowitz, 2012; Margonis, 2003). It propagates for 'a world that is more round, less ugly, and more just' (Freire, 1970, p. 26).

Freire's pedagogy, according to Aronowitz (2012), and as can be seen from the above discussion, is decisively aimed at 'breaking the cycle of psychological oppression' by empowering the oppressed to confront their own lives, by engaging in a dialogue. However, Aronowitz (2012) asserts, many projects claim to be using the Freirean philosophy and methodology while in fact they are not, or are using what he calls 'indeterminate' methods. What they perceive to be a Freirean method,

merely connotes that teachers try to be 'interactive' with students; sometimes it signifies an attempt to structure classtime as, in part, a dialogue between the teacher and students; some even mean to "empower" students by permitting them to talk in class without being ritualistically corrected as to the accuracy of their information, their grammar, or their formal mode of presentation. All of these are commendable practices, but they hardly require Freire as a cover. (Aronowitz, 2012, p. 257)

Aronowitz critiques such projects for ignoring Freire's radical humanism – i.e. the fundamental, ontological purpose of his method as I have outlined above.

2.2.4 Critiques of Freire's work

Freire's work continues to evoke and to stimulate debates and mixed emotions amongst many scholars. Although his work has been heralded by many as the work of the master, a lot of criticism has been levelled against it. Harley (2012) argues that some critiques of Freire's work have been 'hostile, some ambiguous, some ill-informed, and some constructive' (p. 282).

Whilst the most substantive critiques focus on his philosophy or pedagogy, some have focused on his writing, arguing that it is obscure, dense, and abstract and tends to use academic language (Facundo, 1984, p. 30). In terms of his philosophy, Freire has been criticised extensively for not considering in detail who the oppressor and who the oppressed are. It is argued that Freire takes the notion of the 'oppressor' as a given; as a result 'many other whites read the text and imagine themselves as Freire's oppressed' despite their social

and class standing (Allen, 2002, p. 4). Some critics believe that Freire failed to take into consideration the complexity of the nature of the oppressor-oppressed dichotomy and the fact that the roles could be interchangeable (Harley, 2012). This, it is argued, points to Freire's failure to consider the extent and the complexity of the nature of oppression which was further aggravated by the fact he assumed their roles (oppressor and oppressed) to be interchangeable. Whilst this could be attributed to the reader's own 'interpretive conflict', it is also as a result of Freire's 'vagueness on the subject of the oppressed-oppressor dynamic' (Allen, 2002, p. 4). Harley (2012) agrees that Freire's use of the term 'oppression' has been relegated to 'too vague' by many commentators (p. 283). Freire (1994) contends that this critique is a simplistic understanding of the oppressor-oppressed narrative. It is worthwhile to note that this critique to some extent was a result of the emphasis of identity, and in particular multiple, relative identities, of postmodernism.

In terms of his pedagogy, Freire has been criticised for proposing one that is a 'representation of one set of cultural styles, and it is surely in conflict with the cultural styles of many groups' worldview' (Margonis, 2003, p. 147). However, Freire, in his defence, argued that the dialogue and praxis he proposes emanate from the learners' and teachers' cultural beliefs, interests and specific circumstances (based on the 'generative themes' which emerge from their specific contexts), and should never be taken out of context (Freire & Macedo, 1998).

Some critics argue that the manner in which the problem-posing method is used is problematic, in that the users do not characterise and delineate what constitutes 'problem-posing' education. Many ideas can, as a result, be smuggled to unsuspecting learners disguised as problem-posing (Taylor, 1993). This critique, however, cannot be said to be a critique of Freire's pedagogy, or his idea of problem-posing education, per se, since it is rather aimed at those (mis)applying this.

2.2.5 The impact of Freire's work in South Africa and globally

Aronowitz (2012, p. 257) posits that Freire's work 'reached near iconic proportions in the United States, Latin America, and indeed many parts of Europe', whilst Glass (2001, p. 15) suggests that Freire's theories 'have been applied on every continent, in projects ranging from grassroots basic literacy programs to national educational policies'. Glass holds that

Many people engaged in progressive struggles for justice - teachers, students, community organizers, workers, movement activists, and citizens from every walk of

life - who read Freire found reflections of their own thinking; many who heard Freire speak found shape for their own words; many who studied his work discovered practices worth translating into their own contexts. (Glass, 2001, p. 15)

According to Freire, many of those who lived in Recife (where Freire was born) were descendants of Black slaves taken from Africa, and Freire felt he had a connection with Africa because of this. It is in this spirit that Freire visited several African countries post-independence to advise new governments on issues of education. Nduhura (2004) argues that Freire's pedagogy can still be applied to the African context because the concepts of freedom, liberation, conscientisation and praxis which are at the core of Freire's philosophy remain important and relevant in African societies:

Any reading of Freire in the context of African development leads to exhilarating insights about how education, communication and popular participation can be employed to provide true enlightenment and mass involvement with regard to such issues as political democracy, agriculture, health, gender, science and industrial development. (Nduhura, 2004, quoting Okigbo, 1996)

Freire was very influential in South Africa's anti-apartheid struggle more broadly, and not simply in terms of struggles around education. However, the apartheid era also saw the emergence of many Freirean projects specifically targeting adults. This is the era wherein education was in crisis (Harley, 2015). These projects were non-formal and led primarily by non-government organisations and workers organisations / trade unions.

Harley, Aitchison, Land & Lyster (1996) discuss at length the rise and fall of the NGOs that provided adult basic education. Two organisations became influential in adult literacy in the early period, Operation Upgrade and Project Literacy, whose teaching methods were based on those of Laubach (ibid). The materials produced by these organisations were widely used in teacher training, material development, and so on.

However, in the 1980's there was a rise in 'progressive' adult education NGOs with many of them using educationally and radically political methods and materials' (Harley et al., 1996, p. 273). These 'progressive' or 'alternative' agencies were those that had 'conscientization' as their agenda (Van Heerden, 1991). The 1980's also saw a rise in organisations that provided alternative radical education to a variety of audiences, such as NUMSA (in providing worker education), Khanya College (providing 'education for liberation' with a

view to giving access to universities deemed as white only); and in the 1990s, Workers Colleges were established in Cape Town and Durban (Gush & Walters, 1995).

In 1986, a number of the progressive agencies formed a network, the National Literacy Cooperation (NLC), which comprised of some 30 NGOs, which sought to co-ordinate their activities (Harley et al., 1996). The NLC described itself as non-aligned, but was generally regarded to be aligned with the UDF and COSATU (which were mass-based democratic organisations at the time) (ibid) (Later, both Operation Upgrade and Project Literacy joined the NLC). An alternative network, the South African Association for Literacy and Adult Education (SAALAE), which was greatly influenced by the tenets of Black Consciousness, was set up by organisation that did not want to affiliate with the NLC (Harley et al., 1996). It was later hindered by the lack of funding (Van Heerden, 1991).

The early 1990s saw the rise of ABE NGO in the form of local CBO's from specific communities who required ABE and were staffed by black activists. However, after the 'dawn of democracy' in 1994, Freire's influence waned, and even Freire reported that there was a sense that the 'Freire era [in South Africa] had come and gone' (Freire, 1994, p. 122). Aitchison (2003) posits that the momentum of radical education gained in the 80s and the work of the NGOs in adult education I discussed above, rapidly weakened. This situation was exacerbated by the fact that 'the donors who previously funded such work in the 80's and early 90's are now stating that they are funding via the government and it has become extraordinarily difficult to gain such resources' (p. 65).

The weakening can be attributed to the idea that with democracy nobody thought it necessary to continue with radical education programmes. This belief was presumably brought about by the idea that government 'for the people by the people' would bring with it the much-needed social justice. Freire himself argued that this was problematic, since oppression continued (now largely in the form of neoliberal capital) (Freire, 1994); and there has been a recent resurgence of interest in his work, as communities cease to 'accept as normal a world characterized by massive inequities and the systemic exploitation of the many by the few' (Brookfield, 2005, p. 2).

Baatjes and Mathe (2004) posit that the radical practice of adult education has significant relevance to the education of under-educated and illiterate adults in South Africa and is 'a tradition that is re-emerging as we continue to grapple with the social, economic, political and moral issues facing us in a complex, violent, unequal and rapidly-changing society' (p. 434).

Thus in South Africa, and globally, there continues to be much debate about how education should best serve the learners. Many scholars in adult education and literacy continue to advocate for a more socially conscious vision of adult education, the kind that will allow its beneficiaries to factor in approaches and methods that inspire ‘critical thinking and democratic participation’ (Harley et al., 1996), and that aims to challenge oppression and injustice. This kind of education is variously referred to as emancipatory education, radical adult education, popular education, and so on. What they share in common is a basis in Paulo Freire’s work (Aronowitz, 2012; Facundo, 1984; Foley, 1999, 2001; Kane, 2013).

Radical adult education is thus focused on helping adults to critically reflect on their lived experience, identifying the root causes of inequality and injustice, and then act on it to create emancipatory social change (Foley, 2001); whilst at the core of emancipatory education lies the need for the oppressed to understand and know the causes of their unacceptable circumstances and the desire to want to develop strategies to alter these (Aronowitz, 2012; Thompson 2001). Popular education, which arose from the radical adult education movement in Latin America that emerged in the 1970s (Kane, 2013), is ‘a form of adult education that encourages learners to examine their lives critically and take action to change social conditions. It is ‘popular’ in the sense of being ‘of the people’ (Kerka, 1997, p. 1). These forms of adult education also draw on Freirean methodology, such as a participatory and dialogical pedagogy which places a meaningful focus on people’s daily lived experiences and their struggles against inequity and all forms of social injustice (Foley, 1999). Critical thinking, conscientisation and popular education are brought together by the fact that its curriculum is born ‘in the struggles, life experiences and the material interests of those who are the least economically, socially, culturally and politically powerful in society’ (Thompson, 2001).

2.3 Formal, Non-Formal and Informal Learning

A conceptual framework refers to a logical tool a researcher uses in his or her study to make conceptual distinctions and organise ideas. It explores key concepts and constructs that are relevant to the study. The conceptual framework used in this study is formal, non-formal and informal learning, and Schugurensky’s categorisation of informal learning.

It is generally accepted in the literature that there are three kinds of adult learning, namely, formal, non-formal and informal (Merriam, Caffarella, & Baumgartner, 2007; Mocker & Spear, 1982). For the purposes of this study, as already explained, I am focusing on non-

formal and informal learning.

Non-formal education is defined as ‘all organized educational programs that take place outside the formal school system’ (Schugurensky, 2000, p. 1). These programmes are characterised by being generally short-term and voluntary (Mocker & Spear, 1982).

Schugurensky (2000) posits that non-formal education does not normally demand qualifications in terms of prior learning thus making it accessible to anyone as educational levels do not matter. Non-formal education may have educators (instructors, facilitators, and teachers) and some kind of a curriculum which may have various degrees and levels of flexibility (Schugurensky, 2000; Livingstone, 2001). According to Baatjes (2016), the content of non-formal education programmes are generally concrete and deal with the individual’s real issues of concern and will as a result change when their needs change. Knowledge and skills learned in a non-formal education environment can be applied immediately and the learning or the success thereof is measured by the learners’ experience of their own success (ibid). Thus, this kind of education is often characterised by learners having at least some say in what is to be learned; although not necessarily how they are taught (Mocker & Spear, 1982).

As discussed above, Paulo Freire argued that the formal system of education was often one in which teachers had the authority over their learners and what was deemed to be knowledge was from a set curriculum derived from a pre-established body of knowledge. He argued that such ‘formal’ education amounted to ‘banking’ education and served as education for domestication. ‘Education for liberation’, then, generally happens in non-formal spaces.

However, a growing number of ‘emancipatory’ adult education writers / thinkers have shifted from education to learning – and the possibilities of emancipatory informal learning in struggle, drawing on Freire’s arguments about how people think and learn through dialogue and critical reflection, and his concern about the problem of the ‘authoritarian Left’. Thus a focus on emancipatory self-directed (but collective) informal learning has been on the rise. Such learning is meant to liberate and allow people to take charge of their everyday lives; and, as Freire argued, it is rooted in their lived experience. Foley (1999) argues that the most interesting and significant learning is inferred and occurs mostly informally; is unplanned and often tacit, because ‘...people learn, as they live, through their experiences... learning in everyday life and popular struggle’ (Foley, 1999).

Schugurensky (2000) defines informal learning as everyday learning that is often learner-driven and self-directed; whilst Livingstone (2001) describes it as ‘any activity involving the pursuit of understanding, knowledge or skill which occurs without the presence of externally imposed curricular criteria’ (Livingstone, 2001, p. 5). Marsick and Watkins (2001) believe that informal learning includes incidental learning but is not classroom-based and concurs with the view that the control of learning lies with the learner. They argue that informal learning can be characterised by being able to be integrated with daily routines, triggered external factors, not highly conscious, random and prompted by circumstances, linked to learning of others and is an inductive process of reflection and action (p. 28).

There seems to be a consensus that the most significant learning that we acquire in our life is attained through informal learning (Livingstone, 2001; Merriam et al., 2007; Schugurensky, 2000; Harley, 2012; Mocker & Spear, 1982); however, we are often not even aware we have experienced this learning. Schugurensky (2000) identifies three forms of informal learning: self-directed, incidental and socialisation. What differentiates one form from another, Schugurensky argues, is the extent to which the learning is intentional, and the extent to which one is conscious of having learnt something. So we may not have planned to learn something, and we might not be aware that we did learn something. Speaking of this kind of learning, Harley (2012, p. 226, quoting Polanyi, 1966) argues that there are things we ‘just know’, knowledge we use but we do not deem as knowledge, knowledge which is ‘implicit’ and ‘unarticulated’. Sometimes, such ‘knowledge’ is the result of socialisation – and may be anything but emancipatory (for example, we may learn to be racist, or sexist, or xenophobic). We also may have learned, in a Freirean sense, how the world works and our place in it, without in any way recognising this as oppressive.

It is also possible that we may not plan to learn something but then we become aware that we did. Schugurensky terms this ‘incidental’ informal learning. If we become aware of our socialisation or oppression (or ‘conscientized’, to use Freire’s term) through our own thinking (rather than in a non-formal deliberate process of education), then this is incidental learning.

This study planned to focus on the third form of informal learning, self-directed learning, which Schugurensky defines as being ‘both intentional and conscious’ (p. 3). Mocker & Spear (1982) suggest that what makes learning self-directed is that the learner ‘makes all decisions regarding the what and how of learning’ (p. 2). ‘Self-directed’, they argue, is meant to portray the numerous responsibilities assigned and assumed by the learner in the learning

process and that learners take control of both the objectives and the means of learning (ibid). Their argument is centred on the learner having complete autonomy in their learning, in that they may choose, reject and change what goes into learning. Importantly, they can ‘decide to continue or terminate the project, and finally determine the satisfaction or adequacy of the outcomes’ (p. 11).

This kind of learning echoes that of Freirean education, wherein ‘no genuine learning occurs unless students are actively involved, through praxis, in controlling their own education’ (Aronowitz, 2012, p. 258). This therefore confirms the intentionality of the learning (i.e. self-directedness) as opposed to it being incidental. It is, however, collective. As discussed above, through the process of exchange and dialogue, learners get to share their interpretation and help one another construct meaning of their world.

It should be pointed out, however, that not all self-directed informal learning is emancipatory – it could include, for example, wanting to learn how to knit, and doing so; or, indeed, wanting to be able to build a bomb as an act of terror to enforce your (racist, xenophobic) beliefs, and doing so. In my discussion below, I confine myself to studies related to specifically emancipatory non-formal education and/or self-directed learning.

2.4 Studies related to emancipatory / Freirean non-formal and informal education and learning

I have included literature related to Freire and his work, and to informal self-directed learning, as part of my discussion above. In this section, I focus specifically on studies related to emancipatory non-formal or informal self-directed learning and which are directly relevant to mine. I selected studies within South Africa, or in contexts similar to this.

2.4.1 Studies in contexts other than South Africa

A study conducted in Botswana of the Literacy Pilot Project of the Botswana Extension College in 1976 (Gboku & Modise, 1999), considered the success of the project which sought to integrate a functional literacy approach with Freirean teaching methods. The findings of this study were that the project did not give teachers sufficient time (fifteen weeks) to allow for the conscientisation of the participants. As a result, participants did not have a feeling of the Freirean intervention giving them autonomy over their lives. The classes based on Freire's approach did not concentrate on issues that were easily recognisable by the participants (lived experiences) because the facilitators were involved in what had to go into their teaching.

More recently, Bartlett (2005) undertook a study among popular adult education NGOs in Brazil (João Pessoa) to show how popular educators interpreted and acted based on Freirean pedagogical theory. The study sought to understand how popular education educators understand the meaning of dialogue, how they incorporate local knowledge into the classrooms, and the student-teacher relationship in Freirean terms.

The study found that there were difficulties implementing a dialogical, problem-posing pedagogy which focuses on an equal relationship with students. Teachers, Bartlett argues, ‘reduced dialogue to a bland version of socializing, obscuring the politics of oral exchange and human interaction and defusing the dialectical elements of dialogue’ (p. 359). They also reduced the core of the Freirean pedagogy (its radical potential) by ‘emphasizing friendship over an analysis of conflict’ (ibid).

The two studies discussed above show the importance of the role of the educator in negotiating the learning program with the learners and the importance of locating learning in the lived experiences of learners.

Altman & De (2010) considered three case studies of educational initiatives with ‘underserved’ youth who were from poverty stricken and marginalised communities and were restricted from a variety of formal and informal educational experiences that had a potential to broaden their world. These youths lived in communities where they felt detached, neglected, and isolated from the society at large, and tended to internalise this isolation, which could in turn inhibit their personal and creative growth. All three projects, in very different parts of the world, were framed by Freirean critical pedagogy.

One of the projects, *Bringing it Back to the Bronx* (in the U.S.A) was based on an investigation into the experiences of elementary school students of natural environments in their urban neighbourhood and in the natural history museum, through the creation and exhibition of expedition portfolios. The project encouraged students to look beyond isolation into their neighbourhood, and critically reflect on the socio-historical context and develop a dialogical relationship with their neighbourhoods, the natural history museum, and themselves as important members of the community. The second project was called *Of Military Tanks and Barbie Dolls*, and took place in Coventry, in the United Kingdom. It was based on a project implemented after the London bombings of July 7, 2005. It explored the experiences of young British Muslim girls in engaging with a video project, which was used to evaluate learning outcomes from a previously engaged visual arts peace project. It

encouraged participants to look beyond notions of pre-conceived stigmatisation and tensions of ethnic minorities between the British Muslim and British non-Muslim communities. Altman & De (2010) found that the project encouraged participants to critically reflect on pro-peace socio-dialogical relationship with the community as active participants of the larger British society. The third and last project, called *Art Conversations and the Tree of Wishes*, involved children living in slum areas in New Delhi. It was based on the experiences of engaging with creating art works on a theme of a 'Tree of wishes' and conversing about their creations. It encouraged the children to imagine beyond their limitations of socio-economic deprivation and their marginalised worlds. It urged them to critically analyse any utopian possibilities of the possibilities to wish for. In so doing, they could re-position themselves in society beyond the peripheral of their deprived community. According to Altman & De (2010), the projects drew their insight from Freire's critical pedagogy and were able to show that children and youth have multiple capacities (critical and creative) to understand and interpret the world as they build towards their reading and writing skills. Altman & De argue that the projects illuminated the potential and transformative impact the arts have to transcend social isolation, disconnection and the stigmatisation of marginalised communities, as well as in giving voices and a new meaning of self and place beyond their peripherals of restricted social realities.

Whilst the projects targeted youth and children, all used critical pedagogy, were able to highlight how the educators have the ability of looking beyond and above the limitations posed by socio-economic and other forms of social divides, and the stereotypical assumptions associated with such divisions; and to explore new meanings, and provide new lenses to help children understand and interpret the world as they build and enhance their reading and writing skills.

Kerka (1997) considered a popular education project called *Casa en Casa* in an Hispanic health clinic, which sought to train community volunteers as health promoters in their neighbourhoods. Her study found that the volunteers did not take leadership roles or organise for collective action because they did not understand the purpose of the training, nor had they received any orientation. The training emphasised content knowledge at the expense of skills for community action, and the facilitators provide very little guidance to the volunteers, because they were so concerned about promoting their own agenda.

From this, and other literature Kerka considered, she identified the following insights for adult educators:

- Popular education needs to be informed by community needs and goals;
- Popular education requires that facilitators be trained in critical dialogue that seeks to blend political content with instructional practices and connects the issues with participants' immediate reality;
- Change cannot be attained without power; however this power must be owned by the group, but exercised by individuals on behalf of the group.
- Participatory learning methods do not in and of themselves enable people to challenge their internalised beliefs, and must help learners develop critical abilities.
- Facilitators need to have a clear vision for social change and how their work fits into the broader picture when dealing with issues of power.

2.4.2 Studies within the South African Context

As discussed above, Freire had a profound effect on the broader South African anti-apartheid struggle, as well as inspiring a number of non-formal adult education initiatives. Post-apartheid, there was an evident decline in Freirean-inspired educational initiatives, something which Freire himself was concerned about; there is some evidence, however, to suggest there has been a recent resurgence of interest in his work, or in emancipatory/radical/popular education more broadly.

A study conducted in Cape Town in the 1980s in the midst of a highly-charged political environment in South African history (Walters, 1989), is useful to consider, since, unusually, it considered both non-formal and informal self-directed learning. Walters sought to analyse the informal and non-formal educational practices within certain community resource and service agencies (now called NGOs).

The study was conducted through PRA (Participatory Research Approach), and focused on self-learned participatory democratic leadership skills within three community agencies involved in the anti-apartheid movement, the United Democratic Front. Self-education took the form of both informal and non-formal learning. The informal education was through the rotation of duties in the office whilst the non-formal learning took the form of specific programmes and workshops which were run for and by staff members. Using, *inter alia*, Paulo Freire as a theoretical frame, the study found that the essential components for the

practice and analysis of education for democratic participation was action, 'which can consist of either service delivery or political action or both; democratic participatory practices, which entail collective participation' (p. 290). This, Walters argued, was important especially if the organisation is to maintain an advocacy role in the community.

The study found that the term 'democratic participation' had various meanings and these meanings are continuously being negotiated and tested. These meanings are determined by a number of political, social, historical and ideological forces of that particular moment and time. Self-education in Cape Town in the early 1980s was evidently also influenced by the prevailing ideological, political, economic and social forces of that time, emphasising the importance of social and political context. An important feature of such self-education was a concern for leadership development amongst those groups and individuals who were perceived to be oppressed. However, the study found major contradictions within education for democratic participation and the participatory democratic processes: 'the relationships between internal and external accountability, between theory and practice, and between action and reflection, between consensus and conflict, and between individualism and collectivism' (Walters, 1989, p. 291). The organisations had difficulty developing a coherent theoretical analysis of the state or social change which is necessary for democratic education.

Walters also found self-education comprised of non-formal and informal educational strategies which have to be integral to organisations, organisational goals, structures and processes of community organisations. These structures are influenced by the broader social context. Self-education can therefore best be accomplished if undertaken within the organisational and social context. The study acknowledged how important and difficult it is to navigate the dialectical relationship between micro and macro organisational processes.

Nearly 30 years later, but also in Cape Town, Pottier (2011) chose to explore the theory and practice of one particular popular educator, Mike Abrams, over the period 2000 to 2010. Abrams had been involved in precisely the heightened anti-apartheid struggle Walters was discussing in her study; by 1994, he had become involved in a range of popular education initiatives. Like Walters, Pottier was interested in exploring the links that existed between emancipatory/popular education theory and practice, and current social justice issues in South Africa. Pottier's study found that

- Abrams' pedagogy defined popular education as an approach as opposed to a method that can be transferred from one context to another;

- His teaching and learning theory resonated with the traditional popular educators, such as Freire, Foley and feminist popular educator, Heng;
- Through his practice, he found persistent inequality that was supported by the global capitalist system; that civil society institutions, including trade unions and NGOs were not challenging structural conditions that are maintaining inequality; and that the South African government's approach to development would not eradicate poverty.

What is obvious from both studies is that critical pedagogy is an approach as opposed to a method, and is highly dependent on context. It remains clear that popular education can never be devoid of context in which it is used, and to which it is responding.

I was able to find one academic study directly related to the CLING project and indeed to the Freedom Park CLING in particular. Marta Čubajevaitė (2009) explored the CLING Project as part of her Masters study with the view to understanding whether and how conscientisation and individual transformation occurred in the CLING Community Researchers (facilitators) group. Her study assumed a multi-case study style and data were collected from the CLING sites in Freedom Park and Evaton North. She applied Mezirow's individual transformation and Freirean group conscientisation models to frame her study.

Čubajevaitė (2015) argues that 'the neoliberal restructuring' post-Apartheid has increased unemployment and inequality and poverty levels were on the rise thus 'making South Africa one of the most unequal societies in the world' (p.141.) (Pottier (2011) speaks similarly about the South African context in her study, and has a similar analysis). There was a general belief amongst many scholars that 'racial apartheid had been replaced by 'class apartheid' (ibid). As a result of this context, social movements were on the rise in response to the growing apathy from the government. Čubajevaitė (2015) argues that the CLING constituted a social movement cohering around literacy issues.

According to Čubajevaitė, 'the external education and training input [of the Community Researchers] was guided by the Freirean notions of critical consciousness, emphasizing the resourcefulness of the communities, outlining the dismal educational situation in the country and organizing for the quality education demands' (2009, p.32); but she does not refer to the adult education CLING classes in Freedom Park as being Freirean.

The study found that 'the engagement in the social movement challenged and changed learner-activists' [i.e. facilitators, community researchers] understanding of educational status

within their respective communities' (Čubajevaitė, 2015, p. 2). This, she argues, brought about transformative action to address the problems identified. At the individual level, some 'became more tolerant and willing to co-operate with those of different political ideologies' and thus able to access community resources (ibid). Group conscientisation, she concedes, did not necessarily result from their involvement in CLING, particularly given their level of activism prior to joining CLING.

2.5 Conclusion

As I discussed in Chapter One, the CLING Project was, according to the sources I initially consulted, based on the Freirean philosophy or methodology; teaching how to read the word and the world (Baatjes, 2016) in order to emancipate those who are oppressed. It was, like Freire's work, based on the notion of seeking to understand the relationship that exists between 'education, literacy, oppression, and liberation' (Margonis, 2003, p. 145). Like many Freirean, emancipatory, popular or radical education interventions, it was non-formal. However, as also discussed in Chapter One, my interaction with a former learner problematised the project; and I also discovered that the CLING project had ostensibly closed down, but a seemingly more informal, but self-directed, learning process had continued in the Freedom Park community. Thus, in this chapter I considered the hallmarks of Freirean education (or emancipatory / popular / radical adult education), looking at Freire's argument about the point of such education (his philosophy), and how it should be done (his pedagogy or methodology). I considered literature related to Freire and his work. I also looked at the concept of self-directed informal learning, and related literature. Finally, I considered studies that have been done on broadly emancipatory non-formal education and informal learning that are directly relevant to mine, concluding with one specifically on the CLING project.

In the next chapter I will explain the paradigm that informed this study, and how this has influenced the research design. I will discuss the sampling process, and the data collection methods used, and discuss the reasons for these choices. The chapter will also explain the data analysis process, and consider issues of research quality and ethics.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I reviewed the theoretical framework and conceptual framework that underpins this study, as well as the literature related to these. I also explored other studies on Freirean-inspired non-formal education relevant to my study. In this chapter I will explain the paradigm that informed this study, and how this has influenced my research design. I discuss the sampling process, and the data collection methods used, and the reasons for these choices. The chapter also explains the data analysis process and considers issues of research quality and ethics.

3.2 Research paradigm

A research paradigm is about methodological, epistemological and ontological assumptions a researcher makes pertaining the study. As discussed in the previous chapter, ontology refers to the nature of reality, which epistemological assumptions relate to presuppositions about the nature and theory of knowledge; both of these inform a practical enquiry (Harvey, 1990). Essentially, a paradigm is the ‘fundamental model or frame of reference we use to organize our observations and reasoning’ (Babbie, 2005, p. 32), forming the basis for the choice concerning the research design, the literature to review, and the data analysis methods. A paradigm positions and offers the ‘collection of logically related assumptions, concepts, or propositions that orient thinking and research’ (Mack, 2010, p. 5-6). This study’s thinking is orientated towards the critical paradigm or critical frame.

The critical frame has its origins in the work of Hegel and Karl Marx (Vine, 2009), but also Habermas, Adorno, Horkheimer, Fromm and Marcuse (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Critical pedagogy, of which as we have seen Paulo Freire is the key figure, is rooted in the critical paradigm (Vine, 2009).

The critical frame seeks to liberate the marginalised and the disadvantaged (Nieuwenhuis, 2007), ‘emancipate the disempowered and redress inequality’ (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 31) through using lived experiences to highlight oppression and eliminate injustices in societies (Vine, 2009), to ‘illuminate the ways in which people accept as normal a world characterized by massive inequities and the systematic exploitation of the many by the few’ (Brookfield, 2005, p. 2). It achieves this by unveiling what Cohen et al. (2011) calls the ‘false or fragmented consciousness’ that has led people to powerlessness and what Freire calls

breaking the culture of silence leading to conscientisation (Freire, 1970). This therefore makes conscientisation a compelling quality of the critical paradigm (Vine, 2009).

Within a critical paradigm, then, conscientisation should result from the process of research. This means that the product of research and how the research is conducted should bring about conscientisation of the participants and the researcher. I acknowledge that this process probably did not happen in my study, because of the particularly difficult dynamics as I alluded to in Chapter One. The process of this study cannot be said to have produced change as is hoped for within a critical paradigm because the process of the research did not result in conscientisation or action.

A key characteristic of the critical frame is its use of the lens of power. Issues around power relations within societies are invariably dealt with, such as ethnicity, race, class, gender, sexual orientation, disability, education, economy, religion and other social institutions that contribute to a marginalised social system (Asghar, 2013; Vine, 2009). This power play can even be experienced between the researcher and the participants who may deem the researcher as the 'expert' and be reluctant to open up freely and volunteer information generously.

Importantly, the critical paradigm is in keeping with the Freirean emancipatory theoretical framework which underpins this study. As a researcher using this paradigm, I am unapologetic about my stance because no research is value-free; all research is positioned (although not all research admits this) (Lather, 1986).

3.3 Research approach

The research approach I used in this study is qualitative research, which, in terms of its ontological and epistemological foundations, assumes that there are multiple perceptions of reality as opposed to just a single one; and that the best way to understand any human phenomenon is to view it in its context (Creswell, 2013; Krauss, 2005; Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter 2006).

The qualitative approach allows the researcher to explore and understand the meaning groups or individuals attribute to a social problem or a social phenomenon (Creswell, 2013). A qualitative study 'seeks to explore, describe, and analyse the meaning of individual lived experience: how they perceive it, feel about it, judge it, remember it, make sense of it, and talk about it with others' (Patton, 2004, p. 104). Because I framed the study within a critical

paradigm, the issue of *whose* lived experience is being considered, and the issue of power relations within the research process, was important. Within a critical paradigm, this approach allows the researcher to look into the lived experiences of the participants through the lens of power, with the view to eradicating social injustice, fighting inequality and transforming societies (Vine, 2009). Qualitative researchers have been criticised for the subjectivity of their research (Nieuwenhuis, 2007); however, within a critical paradigm, no researcher can lay claims to the neutrality of their research.

3.4 Research Style

A case study can be understood by studying the two words that make it up, namely ‘case’ and ‘study’ (Rule & John, 2011). Whether a ‘case’ is used to mean ‘a situation of a particular thing or person’ or ‘a circumstance or problem that requires investigation’, as used in law, or ‘a body of evidence that supports a conclusion’ or a ‘specific instance’ (p. 4), a researcher doing a case study is in the process of ‘investigating something’ and constantly ‘applying’ their mind to ‘acquire knowledge’ (ibid). A case study therefore is a ‘systematic and in-depth investigation of a particular instance in its context in order to generate knowledge’ (p.4). Case studies might involve a study of ‘a case in action’ (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 289) or ‘an in-depth study of a community or an organisation’ (Bertram, Fotheringham, Harley, Harley, & Aitchison, 2004, p. 60).

In this particular case, I was applying my mind to the CLING project (and in particular the adult education classes), and the relationship between the CLING Project and the self-directed informal learning after. The focus was therefore the CLING Project and its impact on adult learning in Freedom Park. This relationship was blurry at the start of my study, and it in fact remained fairly unclear up to the conclusion of the study.

Different writers categorise different types of case studies. Yin (1994), for example, identifies exploratory (for pre-studies), descriptive (narrative accounts), and explanatory (testing theories) within either a single case or a multiple-case design. Cohen et al. (2011, quoting Merriam, 1988) classify three types of case studies: descriptive (narrative account), interpretive (to examine initial assumptions) and evaluative (explaining and judging). What is agreed is that a case cannot be removed from, or seen outside of its context (Rule & John, 2011). The context helps the researcher understand and frame the case according to its social, economic and political environment.

A case study is distinguishable by what it purposes to 'study' or investigate. In this study I wanted to understand and gain in-depth insight into the Freedom Park CLING. Instead of doing a multi-site study of all the CLING Projects, I chose a single, descriptive qualitative case study. What makes this study a descriptive case study is that it describes a phenomenon and the real-life context in which it occurred (Yin, 2003, as cited in Baxter & Jack, 2008). I explored this phenomenon within its real-life context using various data sources to ensure that all facets relating to the phenomena and the case were not only exposed but understood in their setting (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Cohen et al., 2011). I also ensured that I captured the participants' lived experiences as well as their reality (Bertram et al., 2004; Cohen et al., 2011).

Depending on what the researcher sets out to investigate, the case study can allow the use of a variety of data collection methods (Rule & John, 2011). These choices are of course dependent on the paradigm, the method of enquiry and the ethics governing the study. In this study I wanted to do an in-depth inquiry within a critical paradigm. I therefore chose, inter alia, participatory methods which are in keeping with the critical frame. A case study and participatory research are bound together by the fact that they seek to investigate the relationship between the situation and its context (ibid).

3.5 Sources of Data

Sampling refers to the process of selecting one's sources for a study. I used snowball sampling to delineate participants for the semi-structured interviews, photovoice, transect walk and focus group discussion. Snowball sampling involves participants proposing other potential participants to be used in the study; it begins with one or two participants and spreads as more referrals are made (Cohen et al., 2011). As an outsider to Freedom Park, I realised that it would be difficult to access learners and facilitators who took part in the CLING Project, unless I used snowball sampling through the members of the Abahlali Group and the Abahlali Steering Committee (members selected from Abahlali to oversee the development of Freedom Park) with whom I was in contact.

My study involved learners and facilitators who were part of the CLING Project, as well members of the Abahlali Group and the Steering Committee who took part in the CLING Project. A member of the Steering Committee (who was referred to me by CERT) referred me to facilitators whom he believed had been hands on in the CLING Project and would thus be best placed to answer questions pertaining to my study, and who could in turn refer me to

other people who had been involved. As I discuss in my data presentation chapter, the process was in fact far more difficult than anticipated, and I needed to be increasingly proactive.

What I did was, in each interaction, be it interviews or focus group discussions, I listened for references to other participants name who were involved and followed these up, e.g. from the Abahlali FGD, I was able to follow up and access Gogo Moalusi.

The data I will present was collected from the following participants (pseudonyms used):

Table 2: Research participants

Name of participant	Profile/ Link to the CLING Project	Involvement in the study
Zipho Gwabeni	Zipho is in his late twenties or early thirties and was an adult learner in the CLING Project. He is unemployed, and stays with his grandmother in the Freedom Park area.	Semi-structured interviews
Gogo Moalusi	Gogo is in her late seventies and was an adult learner within the CLING Project. With her three grandchildren and daughter, she stays in a backyard with seven other households in the Freedom Park area.	Semi-structured interviews
Phakathwayo Gumede (PK)	PK was an adult learner within the CLING Project. He is about forty years old, is currently unemployed and is from the Freedom Park area.	Transect walk Photovoice
Nana Zulu	Nana was a CLING facilitator . She is currently studying and unemployed. She is about 50 years of age. She stays in the St. Martin area.	FGD
Khule Madida	Khule was a CLING facilitator and is 30 years old. He stays with his brother in St. Martin as a backyard dweller. He came to Freedom Park from Lesotho to live with his mother when he was 10 years old. He is a member of Abahlali and seems to have recently moved into a leadership position in SOPA. He also facilitates the political class.	Transect walk Photovoice FGD Semi-structured interviews
Phakimpi Zwane (Phaks)	Phaks is an unemployed forty year old male who was a facilitator in the CLING Project. He holds a leadership position in the Socialist Party of Azania (SOPA). He is also involved in the political classes. He was amongst the first to move to Freedom Park and currently stays in the Extension 35 area.	Semi-structured interviews

Noxolo Zulu (Nox)	Nox was an adult education facilitator in the CLING Project; she is in her early thirties. She is in the leadership of both SOPA and Abahlali. She stays in the Extension 35 area.	Semi-structured interviews
Jabu Mhlanga	Jabu was a facilitator in the broader CLING project in Freedom Park, and also an adult education facilitator . She is in her early thirties, studying and unemployed. She stays in the St. Martin area.	FGD
Christopher Dladla	Christopher was one of the Community Researchers who was instrumental in the founding of the CLING Project. He also was involved in the Khanya College/GOLCCOM. He was the co-ordinator of the Freedom Park CLING, and facilitated the adult education classes. He is unemployed, about forty years old. He holds a leadership position within SOPA and once campaigned to be its president. He is also involved in the political classes, as a learner and facilitator. He was amongst the first to move to Freedom Park, and currently stays in the St. Martin area.	Semi-structured interviews
Velaphi Zwane	Velaphi is a member of Abahlali and is also in the leadership of both SOPA and Abahlali, and involved in the political classes. He is over 50 years of age. He stays in the 71 Stands area.	Semi-structured interviews
Sarah Tshabalala	Sarah is a member of Abahlali . She is a 43 year-old single parent of two children who moved to Freedom Park from Molapo. She stays in the Extension 35 area.	Semi-structured interviews
Gladys Mbhele	Gladys is a member of Abahlali and a single mother. She is unemployed. She stays in a backyard in the Freedom Park area with her mother and three children.	Semi-structured interviews

There were thus six men and six women involved in this study, ranging in age from their late 20s to 70s. Some were amongst the first to move to the area, whilst others moved much later. They are from different areas within Freedom Park. They are all unemployed, with two currently studying on a part time basis. Nine of my participants were involved in CLING – one as the Freedom Park CLING co-ordinator; five as facilitators (three of whom were specifically adult education facilitators); and three as adult learners. Four were involved in Abahlali, one of whom was also involved in CLING. Four were involved in SOPA, three of whom were also involved in CLING, and two of whom were also in Abahlali. Christopher, Velaphi and Khule were involved in the political classes.

3.6 Data collection methods

3.6.1 Document analysis

The table below shows the documentary sources I collected and analysed for this study:

Table 3: Documentary sources used

Document title	Author	Date
Synthesis Report	EPC and CLING Researchers	Date saved on the digital report is August 2011
Report of the CLING Project	Baatjes, Kgobe and Sotuku	2012
CLING Project Findings and Methodology	Unknown	Date saved on the digital report is September 2014, nut no official date on document
CLING Policy Brief	Unknown	Unknown

This was the first method I employed. Document analysis, as a data collection method, refers to finding relevant documents which are related to the study phenomenon and the context in which the study occurred, in order to collect data and information from them (Bowen, 2009). Rule and John (2011) posit that it is always useful to start one's research with document analysis especially if the researcher intends on using other methodologies. Documents, Bowen (2009) argues, should be used with other qualitative methods 'as a means of triangulation' (p. 27)

In my study, I collected relevant documents related to the CLING Project and the Freedom Park context, to provide data and information about the context, the broader project, and the Freedom Park CLING. When using document analysis, it is important to understand and pay attention to the authors; the contexts in which documents were written; and their time in the life of the project (Rule & John, 2011). With regards to the CLING Project documents, only two had authors and could be placed in terms of when they were written. Because they were written largely by the same people (although one was also authored by the CLING facilitators) there was a tendency for these two to be quite repetitive. The other two reports collected (CLING Policy Brief and the CLING Findings and Methodology) did not have specified authors.

3.6.2 Participatory data collection methods: Transect walk and Photovoice

I chose participatory methods to conduct the study because of their fitness for the purpose. Participatory methods are known for giving a voice to the ‘oppressed, disempowered, underprivileged and exploited groups’ (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 37), with the view to confronting the societal injustices of the communities in question (Neuman, 2006). Merriam and Simpson (2000) argue that participatory methods are invaluable in the ‘empowerment of people through group participation in the search for and acquisition of knowledge and in addressing problems of social inequality’ (p. 125-6). They are often unconventional in that the researcher conducts the research with the community (Cohen et al., 2011), enabling local people to find their own solutions to their problems, exploring ‘local knowledge and perceptions’, and engaging participants as ‘active contributors’ (Cornwall & Jewkes, 1995, p. 1668). The participatory methods that I used in this study were the transect walk and photovoice (see Appendix 1 for transect walk and photovoice instrument).

Transect walk

A transect walk is an organised walk along a predetermined route (transect) through a particular community together with local people to study the context by asking, listening and allowing them to narrate things as they see and know them (Harley & Butler, 2009). It ‘allows participants to show the researcher issues of importance, concern, or pride, while explaining the history and impact of various landmarks, and developments in their lives and the immediate context’ (Rule & John, 2011, p. 69).

I conducted one transect walk of five-and-a-half hours early on in the data collection process in the community itself. We (PK, Khule and I) started the transect walk from the CLING container at about 9h00 am on a Friday morning and we returned back to the container at about 14h30. The culmination of the walk was the transect diagram or map representing the route (drawn by Khule) which then became the focus for further discussions and dialogue, in a focus group (see Appendix 1). These discussions helped to frame the context of the study. Having done the transect walk prior to the other methods I used, helped to shape these in that I at least had a sense and a clear picture of what the participants and areas they were refereeing to in discussions.

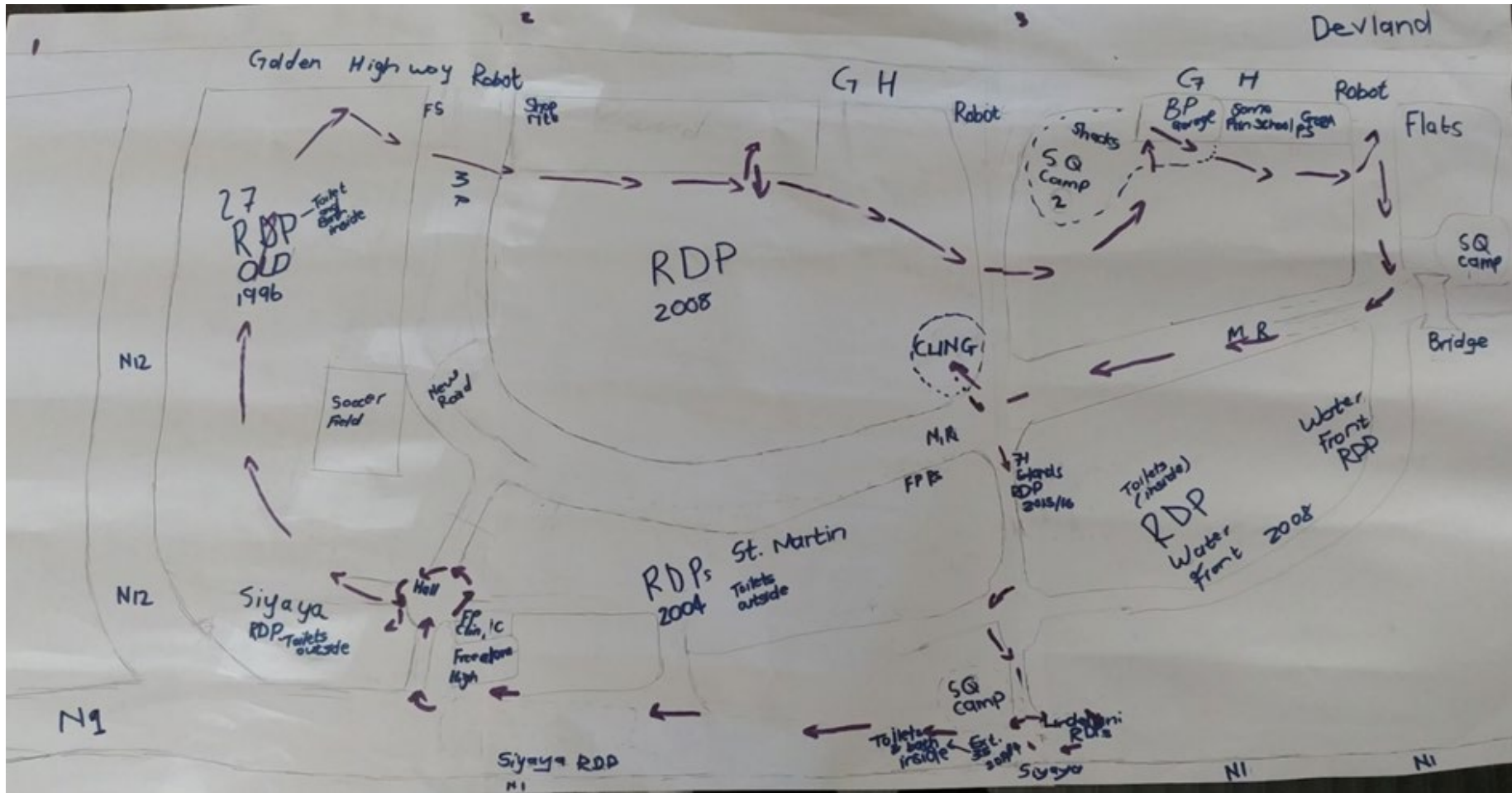


Figure 6: The map of the transect walk

I then asked the following questions:

1. What was it that they would like me to remember from the walk and about the walk? The response was that they wanted me to remember ‘ukungalingani kwedevelopment e-Freedom Park’. (That was the inequality in the development in Freedom Park). How some houses have toilets inside, some outside, some houses have tiled roofing, some not, some smaller than the others, and yet ‘we’ are all equal.
2. I then asked what was it that I would have seen had we done the transect walk six years ago, in 2012 that is. The response was that six years ago Freedom Park was not properly developed; namely, the container (where we were or where the CLING had operated from) was not on paving but was on the ground. It was not fenced either. Shoprite was not there. The flats were also not there. The huge building behind the container (as incomplete as it was) was not there, neither was the secondary school. The main road was there, but not as well tarred as it is now. It was gravel all the way to the flats.
3. Lastly, I asked if there was a reason why they had omitted the affluent area of Freedom Park that we had seen during the transect walk. Their response was that they had completely forgotten about it. Strangely, even after I reminded them of the affluent area, it still was not factored onto the map.

Photovoice

Photovoice is a qualitative and participatory research technique that is founded on Participatory Action Research methodology (PAR) (Liebenberg, 2018). It gained popularity in the early 1990s when it was used in the promotion of research theories such as critical theory and research involving social justice (ibid).

It uses photography and group discussions or dialogue as a way in which ‘marginalized individuals deepen their understanding of a community issue or concern’ in order to reflect on their daily realities (Palibroda, Krieg, Murdock, & Havelock, 2009, p. 6). I used photovoice with the two participants who had accompanied me on the transect walk; the use of photovoice allowed the participants to share their world through words and photographs as a way of reflecting on the current realities in their community. Through the photovoice method, the participants were able take different photographs which allowed them to interact with the daily lived experiences and those of their subjects. The instruction for the photovoice

was to take a picture of something they had learned. They were specifically asked not to take pictures of people unless express permission was granted.

Photovoice enabled new knowledge production through photos, which became a part of the study's research process to 'produce data that was authentic to community experience and action' (Liebenberg, 2018, p.2). The photovoice method was meant to allow me to probe the kinds of learnings that had taken place and when, in order to trace the origins of the learning and whether it was related to the CLING classes, the political class, or broader personal experience (i.e. informal learning). Participants presented the photographs of things they had learned and were asked to explain how and when they had learned them (see Appendix 1). This methodology enabled the learners to answer questions pertaining to things they learned non-formally or in an informal self-directed manner.

In retrospect, I realised what Rule and John (2011) meant when they posited that 'photovoice can overcome language barriers while tapping into the unconscious and unquestioned domain of experience and belief' (p. 71). Through the exercise I was able to tap into experiences and views which they otherwise would not have shared.

3.6.3 Focus Group Discussions

A focus group discussion (FGD), according to Rule and John (2011), is a discussion that engages six to 12 participants with a view to creating a forum for them to interact with one another and to share their views. I planned to hold a FGD with Freedom Park CLING facilitators (including those involved in the adult education classes). Due to the problems I encountered in securing participants, I was unable to get more than three participants for the FGD; I was however able to gain diverse views on a variety of issues affecting the participants, and supplemented the FGD data with semi-structured interviews with other facilitators.

The focus group discussion proved to be an invaluable tool that assisted me by widening the scope of responses by participants (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). The presence of other participants served to enhance the level of debate and thus helped with data generation (ibid). The focus group also served to offer a safe and conducive space (in keeping with a critical paradigm, and Freirean/popular education principles) for the participants to articulate their views so that even the shyest of participants was able to express their views.

I used focus group discussions to explore issues that emanated from the transect walk and the photovoice exercise, as well as to explore the extent of conscientisation and praxis that took place as a result of the CLING Project (See Appendix 2).

3.6.4 Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews proved to be an invaluable [fitness of purpose] in that they allowed me enough scope to probe further specific lines of questioning and understand participants' answers (Nieuwenhuis, 2007). These interviews helped me access valuable information about the learners' experiences and the facilitators' views of the CLING Project. They lasted on average between forty five minutes to an hour, and were based on the interview schedule (see Appendix 2).

The questions the learners and facilitators were asked were around how their lives were before the classes, and tangible changes that they may have seen or perceived as a result of the classes, pedagogy used, content etc. to allow me to gauge whether or not they were problem posing, there was dialogue, and conscientisation.

3.6.5 Political Class Observation

The political class observation was the last of the methods I used, and had not been part of my original research design. I decided on this method because it became evident very quickly that the classes were an important current adult learning experience in the community, and it was clear that observing the class would give me in-depth data and 'hands-on' experience of the issues that were discussed and how they were discussed. It had become clear by this stage that the CLING adult classes had stopped; but it was not clear whether the classes had been born out of the CLING classes, and this needed to be explored. I also thought being in the class might open up the possibility of more participants through people that attended the class.

Rule and John (2011) contend that observation, especially in a case study, provides rich useful data. The shortcoming of observation, they argue, is that the participant is expected to play a dual role - researcher and participant. In this case, being an outsider, I was decidedly an observer.

In the table below, I summarise the data sources and data collection methods I used to answer my research questions.

Table 4: Summary of data sources and data collection methods

Research Question	Data Generating Method	Data Source
To what extent did the CLING Project embrace the Freirean Philosophy and Methodology?	Document Analysis Semi-structured Interviews Transect walk	Documents from the CLING Project Learners and facilitators
How did the learners experience the CLING Project classes?	Semi-structured Interviews	Learners
What kinds of self-directed informal learning have taken place after the CLING Project ended?	Photovoice Focus Group Discussions Interviews Political Class observation	Learners and facilitators Abahlali Committee members Community members involved in the political classes

3.7 Data Analysis Methods

In qualitative research, data analysis is a process where data is identified and organised into classifications, forms and relationships in order to make meaning thereof ‘in terms of the participants’ definition of situations’ (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 537). According to Creswell (2013) qualitative researchers start with specific data which leads to classifications by categories, patterns which result in more general themes and conclusions (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Using thematic analysis, I separated my data into themes, which involves working with codes to identify themes that emerge and group them by similarities (Rule & John, 2011).

3.7.1 Document Analysis

Document analysis required ‘finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of) and synthesizing data contained in the document’ (Bowen, 2009, p. 27) that related to the CLING Project. Through document analysis, documents were ‘examined and interpreted in order to elicit meaning, gain understanding, construct, and develop meaning’ from the content of the documents (ibid).

A comparative analysis into the context and the facts presented in all the documents was crucial in order to gain insight into the events of the CLING Project from start to finish.

3.7.2 Data Transcription

Transcribing oral data from the individual and group interviews is core to qualitative data analysis (Cohen et al., 2011). It is unfortunate that transcriptions do not include the key non-verbal cues which took place during the interview (ibid) thus leaving out crucial information about the demeanour, body language, gestures, facial expression, and all other non-verbal

cues. I found that paying attention to the non-verbal cues and the mood was important and helped me decide, for example, to end an interview even though I knew I might not get a chance for another interview.

With the transcription of the FGD, I translated directly into English as I listened. Whilst I understand isiXhosa and Setswana, I cannot claim to understand the communal intricacies best understood by the first language speakers. I later realised that some of the statements did not make sense (interviews were in isiXhosa, Setswana and isiZulu and a mix of English) and had to go back and listen again to ensure that I had captured the gist of the interview correctly. This proved to be cumbersome and time consuming (but helped immensely with trustworthiness). With the later semi-structured interviews, I decided to transcribe verbatim then translate into English from the verbatim version. That made better sense and ensured I did not lose valuable information in the process due to first, second or even third language interferences and language switching. The photovoice presentations were also transcribed. My extensive notes from the transect walk were written up into a lengthy report, as was my observation of the political class. The data were thus comprised of interview and FGD transcripts, the photovoice 'stories' about the photographs, and my transcript walk and class observation reports.

All participants were given pseudonyms in the transcriptions to protect their identities.

3.7.3 Theme Coding and Theme Identification

I used inductive and deductive analysis. Inductive thematic analysis involves looking for themes that emerge organically from the data, whilst deductive analysis involves looking for themes that are drawn from a theoretical or conceptual framework (Rule & John, 2011).

In my inductive analysis, I looked for common phrases and words and then coded them into common concepts in order to make meaning of data (Cohen et al., 2011). I used open coding i.e. examining and dividing data into various categories based on similarities and differences (Henning et al., 2005), until themes that enabled me to find common trends and patterns (from the interviews, FGDs, photovoice and transect walk transcripts) emerged (Cohen et al., 2011; Neuman, 2006). I then coded the data based on the identified themes for interpretation and analysis.

In my deductive analysis, I began by identifying specific themes and codes from my Freirean theoretical framework, such as conscientisation, dialogue, reflection, action, and organised

these themes into practical elements using my research questions.

These themes proved to be crucial to the analysis because they enabled me to use the exact words of the participants (Rule & John, 2011), helping significantly in ensuring that I remained true to what was actually being said, and thus keeping my bias in check.

3.8 Ethical issues

Ethical sensitivity has to do with the considerations and concerns that the researcher has to think through in order to ensure that the study is conducted ethically. It has to do with the responsibility and obligation placed on the researcher to behave ethically at all times regardless of whether or not the participants are aware of this (Neuman, 2012). I had a professional and moral obligation to ensure no physical harm, psychological abuse or any jeopardy to the participants through the study.

I obtained consent to conduct the research from all parties concerned, i.e. Abahlali Group, the Steering Committee, the facilitators, and the adult learners, and the community activists; and all participants were told that they were free to withdraw for any reason should they feel a need to do so. The purpose and research methodology were explained to all participants and I assured them of upholding their confidentiality, privacy, and identifiability (Cohen et al., 2011) and that their anonymity would be protected at all time (Creswell, 2013). To this end the names of the participants have been changed and in certain instances certain personal information has been removed to ensure that their identities are not revealed and that they will not be traceable.

Another ethical dilemma I faced specifically because of my use of the critical paradigm was power relations. The critical paradigm places an emphasis on ensuring that the researcher should not dominate, and participatory methods are founded on the notion that power should be shared and equal between the researcher and the participants (Cohen et al., 2011). The reality is that in this study as the research progressed, the power balance shifted increasingly towards the participants. I felt powerless whilst the participants exercised their power to take part or not take part in the study, to meet with me as planned, or not to. I learned that participants hold the power to make or break a study.

Ethical behaviour means taking into consideration the effects of research on the participants (non-maleficence, to do no harm) and to act in a manner that considered their dignity as people. The participants in this study were adults who were asked deeply personal and

probing questions about their social circumstances and experience thus the importance of treading carefully.

I had a particular set of ethical considerations to contend with because of my choice of data collection methods, since I used photovoice; the crucial ethical issue being the possible invasion of participants' privacy through the shared images (Wang & Redwood, 2001). Photovoice as a research method has well-established ethical guidelines and through these, I endeavoured to ensure that participant privacy was not violated. I specifically asked participants not to take pictures of people; and although they did, they confirmed having asked for permission from the people in the pictures and in most cases the faces of the people they took are not directly facing the camera.

I ensured that the consent forms included a clause that spoke to no violation of their privacy, non-disclosure of any facts that may be embarrassing, ensuring that the participants were not viewed or perceived in any dishonest light. I committed to being honest and trustworthy in my dealings with them at all times (Wang & Redwood, 2001). I also committed to giving them access to the transcripts and that they may see a copy of the research once completed.

3.9 Trustworthiness

In qualitative research trustworthiness and credibility are used to refer to the extent to which the data collected is dependable. Within a critical frame in which the researcher is 'openly ideological' (Lather, 1986), additional issues arise, such as ensuring that the findings and analysis are not distorted by the researchers positionality. I was therefore always consciously aware of my bias, and tried to keep this in check whilst still maintaining my 'openly ideological' stance (ibid).

With regards to transcribing, playing and replaying the recorded interviews and the focus group discussions over and over again and reviewing my notes were instrumental in ensuring that the data was conscientiously interpreted and analysed. I immersed myself in the data, to ensure that I was as true to the data as possible.

In this study, I used different methods and data sources (facilitators, learners and community members). The usage of different data collection methods (document analysis, interviews, FGD, photovoice, the transect walk and observation) allowed me compare and identify where data were complemented, corroborated and validated, or where discrepancies could be identified. The FGD validated the interviews or raised points of contradiction which could

then be further explored. When in the interviews they spoke of certain areas they were moved from, this could be checked against the transect walk transcript. However, since answering some of my research questions relied on a single source or data collection method, triangulation did not contribute to trustworthiness in all cases.

During the focus group discussion, in order to ensure that correct responses were captured, I checked my understanding with the participants, and also audio-recorded the FGD and interviews for the purposes of trustworthiness. Using the actual words from the interviews and discussions held with the participants also helped to ensure that the data presented was trustworthy. This process was to prove to have been invaluable in ensuring trustworthiness and to ensure that I had captured the data correctly. I had, in the planning stages of the study, intended to take the data back to my participants upon completion for member-checking; I ended up being unable to honour that intent because of their reluctance to be involved and the political tensions in the area.

3.10 Limitations

The CLING Project, as mentioned in Chapter One, was run in three areas in Gauteng, namely, Freedom Park, Evaton and Sebokeng. This study is a single case study focussing specifically on the Freedom Park CLING and its impact on adult learning in Freedom Park. This poses a limitation to this study, because a case study cannot be generalised (Rule & John, 2011). The findings herein are therefore not meant to and cannot be generalised to the entire CLING Project, but relate to the Freedom Park CLING specifically.

The other limitation was my being an outsider in the area (Freedom Park) and the low level of comfort that the participants found with me and thus their relative unwillingness to share information generously with me, as I discuss in some detail in Chapter Four.

The evident tensions concerning the project amongst the Freedom Park CLING facilitators was echoed in a general sense of reluctance around the sharing of the CLING Project reports. One of the reports I was given I was asked to keep confidential (something with which I have, of course, complied). Fortunately, a lot had been recorded about the project online and this helped to answer the questions for this study. There was also a sense of unwillingness to share class-related documents, e.g. attendance registers, class reports, examples of work done in classes, booklets produced during the CLING Project tenure. Promises were made to make those documents available to me, but they were not delivered. As a result I was not

able to verify the names of the people (learners) I interviewed against the attendance registers or the work they did against class work produced.

3.11 Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the basic ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions which underpin this study; and the effects of this on my overall research design. In the next chapter I present the data related to the context of the case: the context in which the Freedom Park CLING Project took place, to which it was seeking to respond and attempting to help community members 'read', with the view to changing it

CHAPTER FOUR: CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I gave an account of the paradigm that informed this study, and how this has influenced the research design. I examined the sampling process, and the data collection methods used, and discussed the reasons for those choices. The chapter also explained the data analysis process, and considered issues of research quality and ethics.

In this chapter, I will present the context which the CLING had identified as the reason for their (Freirean) intervention. I will do this through discussing themes that emerged through the inductive analysis of the data, viz. displacement, resistance, poverty and unemployment, corruption in the allocation of RDP houses, party politics and overcrowding in schools. The documents I analysed, namely, the CLING Project Findings and Methodology report (n.d.) is in agreement with some of the themes found by this study, viz, high illiteracy levels, unemployment and scarce job opportunities. These themes are arguably indicative of a context of oppression, a context which the CLING Project identified as the reason for their (Freirean) intervention.

4.2 Theme 1: Displacement

As is clear from the data from the documents and data from the participants, Freedom Park residents are mostly people that relocated as backyard dwellers from Soweto to in the hope of attaining homes of their own without needing to continue renting. The CLING Project Findings and Methodology report (n.d.) posits that ‘families from the nearby township of Soweto began occupying this land in the hope that with political victory they could create new lives with a piece of their own land’ (p. 1). As reported in Chapter Four, Phaks (who was a facilitator in the CLING project, and is also in SOPA and involved in the political classes) prides himself on being one of the first people who came to ‘invade’ the area in 1990. He said that ‘*we told ourselves that this (securing land) was going to be our freedom*’. He and another 20 people settled in the area where a BP Garage is now built. Phaks maintained that they were evicted daily and would come back and erect plastic houses which would later be demolished.

This raid rendered them homeless yet again; but he and other residents went back and erected more plastic homes. He kept being shunted around, which was difficult because by then they had children. He contends that for the longest time he did not have a proper home; Phaks only

moved into his RDP house in 2014. For twenty four years, he and his family were constantly displaced.

Gogo, an adult learner who is a backyard dweller and was an adult learner reported that

At the time we were not staying here. We were staying in one of the backyards before they kicked us out when I got sick.

Sarah, who is also a backyard dweller and a member of Abahlali, also reported that,

I stay in people's backyards. I keep being moved, being moved, being moved. When the landlord tells you they are building rooms you have to move your shack with your children.

Gladys, another backyard dweller and member of Abahlali, said:

Last year they threw me out because my mother was sick and they said they did not want a corpse in their yard... So, we have been moving around, from one backyard to another.

It seems not only were people moved, but facilities as well. Christopher reported that;

The venue where the classes were being conducted had to shift and move when they started to build the houses. They moved into a faraway venue...

Displacement became recurring as most of the participants told stories of how *'the municipality police removed us and took our shacks but then we would resist and fight* (Christopher). Velaphi, another member of Abahlali, was unapologetic about how *'bebehisusa sibuyele. Basisuse sibuyele (They would remove us and we would go back, and they would remove us and we would go back).*

4.3 Theme 2: Resistance

Another theme which is closely linked to the theme of displacement is the theme of resistance. Freedom Park is generally known as a community that is prone to protests: 'it is often the site of service delivery protests' (CLING Project, n.d., p. 1). From the moment the community raided the area to the moment the government 'acknowledged' that the community was there to stay, resistance was recurrent:

Sangena sathi siyashintsha lendawo angeke nenze ama-industries thina singenayo indawo yokuhlala (We occupied the land and said we are changing things, they were not going to have industries while we did not have a place to stay). (Christopher)

This marked the beginning of a series of resistance actions to stay and own the land. Khule reflected on this when we reached the spot (during the transect walk) he remembered as a site of resistance. Christopher also recollected incidences where they resisted and fought the municipality:

It was a struggle also because at that time they would send the municipality police to remove us and take our shacks but then we would resist and fight... Bayasisusa sibuyele. Basisuse sibuyele (They would remove us and we would go back. They would remove us and we would go back).

From fairly early on, one of the strategies used to resist the government was blocking the N1 or N12 or the Golden Highway. According to Velaphi, *'the very first vala (road closure) I can remember was in 1995'*. Khule reported that the government recently gave in and gave them 48 000 stands also known as Southern Farms: *'This happened because we took to the streets and shut down the Golden Highway'*.

Velaphi relayed that back in 2003, when they had problems with the contractor who was brought to build their RDP houses, the RDP houses were eventually built because *'we started protesting, we closed the freeways and everything. We closed the Golden Highway, the N1, etcetera'*.

Sarah stated that they invade land whenever they need the government to 'listen' to them. Christopher also saw this as way of resolving issues, and it seemed he believed it has worked because Freedom Park has influenced other communities in the South of Johannesburg because of this:

Our way of resolving the issue of land is to occupy - direct occupation of the land. So we campaign for the occupation of land throughout Gauteng. Maybe ezindabeni (in the news) you may have seen that people have occupied the land and are fighting with the police and so on, that was the influence of Freedom Park in the other communities with regards to the issue of land... In other areas like Vlakfontein and so on, we have really succeeded even though a lot our people were killed in the process by Wozani Security Forces and SAPS.

The recent road closure (N12 and Golden Highway) and picketing outside Luthuli House (22 October, 2018) bear testimony to that fact that resistance has been made part of the strategy to get the government to make good on their promises.

4.4 Theme 3: Poverty and unemployment

I mentioned in Chapter Three that all the participants in this study are unemployed. The documentary data also notes the high rate of unemployment in the area: the CLING Project Findings and Methodology Report (n.d.) observes that ‘the socio-economic situation in Freedom Park is dire’ (p. 1), quoting the local councillor as saying ‘unemployment – you pick it up everywhere; you pick it up at any gatherings’ (p. 6). The report stated that ‘unemployment, job shortage and illiteracy are amongst some of the challenges facing the community particularly amongst young men and women’ (ibid)

While doing the transect walk, I noticed that there were a number of adults of employable age who were at their homes because they are unemployed. It was during the transect walk that we came face to face with poverty, in the form of a place named Ekuhluphekeni which translates to ‘a place of poverty’. The issue of unemployment also came up in the FGD. I found that that the word ‘money’ dominated the conversation, which I understood it to come from a place of lack, a place of needing income and a place of being unemployed:

We were volunteers, we helped with the recruitment of learners hoping that our efforts would be rewarded, but it never happened! (FGD)

In 2016 we again received some money from the department only for a few months.... such that at the beginning of 2013 there was nothing left of the money.... They said the money was eaten by the banks and the banks had been broken into. (FGD).

The problem only started with the money. That money issue broke the project! The one we were promised by the DoE to be paid for five years. (FGD)

When I was angry about the money issue, there was a parent who paid me, I will not lie. He did pay me. (FGD)

The fact that in the adult classes, as will be seen in Chapter Six that some learning revolved around whether or not SASSA grants could be deposited at the bank is indicative of a dependency on the social grant system which is synonymous with poverty and unemployment. The documentary data supports this. The CLING Project Findings &

Methodology Report (n.d.) says that ‘with unemployment being rife in the area most households depend on social grants’ (p. 2). According to the report, 57% of families receive at least one social grant each month (ibid). The theme of poverty also came up strongly in the photovoice pictures and discussion. The pictures presented a story of people who are poor and are lacking basic services like water and toilets, and thus have to walk across the road in order to access something as basic as a toilet and water.

4.5 Theme 4: Corruption in the allocation of RDP houses

The data presented in Chapter Six, will highlight a lot of disgruntlement around the distribution and the allocation of RDP houses. Most of the participants for this study had a story to tell about these RDP houses, many about corruption around, and/or about the long process of waiting and fighting for an RDP house. Zipho, a 28 year old man who used to be an adult learner in the CLING Project and currently stays with his grandmother, stated that

My grandmother hopes that her name will go up in the list so that she can get her own RDP because if I were to go and register (my name) we will (only) get that [RDP] house in 2030. (Zipho)

This statement speaks to Zipho’s innate yearning to own a home, but is also indicative of how long people think they will need to wait between getting onto a list, and receiving a house.

Sarah, a member of Abahlali who is a backyard dweller, also spoke about waiting:

I registered for a house and when the houses were allocated I did not get one. What happens is, each time we go to the housing department, they keep telling us that we are on the waiting list, we are on the waiting list...nothing is happening. When the houses are to be distributed, we keep missing out... then we go and occupy the land. (Sarah)

Another participant, Gladys, who is also a member of Abahlali and a backyard dweller, related that,

I registered for a house in 2010 but young children, who registered for the houses as late as 2014, now have their own houses. These old ladies (pointing at the two elderly ladies, about 75 years old or so, who were there) have been on the list since 1996 and still do not have houses. (Gladys)

Gladys believes that she and her mother had been cheated on their RDP because *'one girl at the Housing Department told me that my mother's house had become available, but she still does not have a house ...to date. They sell them (or they sold it)'* (Gladys).

This trend (of being allocated a house, but not being notified of this, or actually receiving it) it seemed, was not uncommon. Velaphi, another member of Abahlali, confirmed that the only way he got his RDP house was because he was applauded by other community members for having received his RDP house, when in actual fact he had not:

I eventually got my house... by default. I was congratulated by people for having been allocated a house and yet I knew nothing about such allocation. I went to the Housing Department and was told my papers (deeds) have not come back. I told them I wanted my house because they knew they had given it to their friends. They were then forced to give me my house.

As will be seen in Chapter Six, many participants believe that there has been corruption in the allocation process, and this is why they have waited so long, or that their allocated house has not in fact been given to them. Many see this as specifically politically motivated. A group of Abahlali who are SOPA members were adamant that *'we fought for this place for 11 years! And when the house list came we were shocked'*. The reason for the shock was because

When the houses were distributed, only eight SOPA members got houses because the ANC claimed to have led the fight and the councillor was theirs so there was nothing we could do. (Phaks)

This state of events was corroborated by Velaphi who reported that:

In 2013, in the last allocation of RDPs, we watched as those houses were built by which time the government had indicated that people will be moved from their shacks to their RDPs, this, however did not happen - only seven people from Abahlali got allocated houses. (Velaphi)

Christopher also confirmed this when he reported that:

We won that development, but the people who are in charge are not SOPA, they are ANC. When the houses were allocated, abantu (people) that were involved in the occupation and fought for the land were not allocated. Abantu (people) that were allocated abantu be-ANC (are ANC people)... What made it more worse and painful

was to see people coming from outside being allocated izindlu (houses) simply because they are members of the ANC, yet our people, including old age people, were excluded in the process. (Christopher)

Christopher confirmed that the level of corruption was so deeply entrenched that ‘we demanded the forensic investigation’.

4.6 Theme 5: Party Politics

It is clear that some of the discussions cited above lean towards the theme of party politics; however, there were instances in the interviews where this was even more pointed, as were my own experiences in the area. Christopher, in speaking about the community, said

The community was not really united. They were divided along political lines, some were ANC, others SOPA, others that and others that, you know...and different political currencies here ekuhlaleni (in the community).

According to CLING project documents I analyzed, the division according to ‘political’ lines was always there and ‘threatened the survival of the project’ (CLING, n.d., p. 3).

Christopher believes that of all the parties in the area ‘*the ANC was the dominant party, the one that was in control and then you know that when the ANC is in control it does things in its own way*’. Khule corroborated this fact when he mentioned that ‘*most of our problems are created by the ANC*’ (Khule).

An incidence of how ‘when the ANC is in control, it does things in its own way’ was narrated to me during the transect walk. When we walked past Freedom Park Primary School, which is a beautiful school, PK was quick to tell me how the community through SOPA (Socialist Party of Azania) had had to fight for this school to be made a public school. He continued to mention that the ANC government wanted this school to be a private school. However, SOPA fought tooth and nail such that it was now a no-fee public school and the community have access to use it for community activities.

Although Abahlali was claimed to be non-party political, Velaphi, who is in the leadership of Abahlali, acknowledged some element of discrimination: ‘*Even when we have meetings, we reiterate that people must not take our information to these people (ANC) because they come back and beat us with our own weapons*’.

As is clear in Chapter Six, party political tensions have always been an issue in the Freedom Park CLING, according to the project documents. Baatjes et al., (2012) reported that

Tensions were evident which related to CLING members' different political affiliations and presented great difficulty to the CRs. These tensions remained throughout the lifespan of the CLING and created barriers to participation. (p.31)

When I narrated an the issue of a young man who did not wish to speak to me and was blatantly hostile, Christopher responded,

Maybe I should give you some information. He is a member of the ANC. They have their ANC meetings there, they are involved in tenders and so on in the community... and we (SOPA) are not involved in the tenders. They run the computer literacy in theirs (container) and we did the CLING in ours. They have electricity while we do not have. We never had electricity but we continued to work. So because they are the ruling party, they are in control of everything. (Christopher)

Another participant I recounted the similar incident to (of the hostile young man) confirmed the incident as being common.

That is the treatment we receive from the ANC members. You may not know this but they went as far as cutting off electricity going to the CLING container. When we need to use the container for our meetings in the evenings and we need electricity, they make us pay R100. And that is the reason we moved the political class to Freedom Park Primary School. (Phaks)

Phaks insisted that

He (the person in question) probably thought you were asking for Comrade Christopher, so, that already brings hostility to the opposition. That is the treatment we receive from the ANC members.

Another participant confirmed that 'it's not a good thing but you have got to experience the role of party politics in Freedom Park' (Nox).

With regards to why the CLING classes stopped, 'it seems everything we do as SOPA gets hijacked by the ANC' (Nox). Phaks confirmed this to be true because one of their (Abahlali through SOPA) victories was the Southern Farms land; however the ANC had 'created' an

informal settlement (Ekuhluphekeni) so that they (ANC) have a power base and have members when people move to Southern Farms:

That is the place just behind Lindelani. The place came about because the ANC wanted to destabilise the SOPA struggle for houses and land. They deployed the ANC members to recruit people that would stay there. Our people do not stay in shacks. When we (SOPA) start erecting shacks the government evict us. So we are currently waiting for Southern Farms to be released. Most tenants there paid to erect their shacks. Those things are not even stands. (Phaks)

Christopher confirmed the assertion made by Phaks about the ruling party:

People who have advanced that area are the people of the ruling party, the ANC. They are doing that at the point wherein the state has given us concessions that we are giving you Southern Farms, we are going to give you these 48 000 stands and so on. Now nabo (they) want to build their own base politically so that when that development happens they also have a base and their people there.

The participants' experience of party politics in Freedom Park resulted in them concluding that *'in order to survive and continue with life and move forward or upward, you needed to be an ANC member. If you were not part of them, they will exclude you or side-line you'* (Christopher).

The EPC & CLING Researchers report (n.d.) recommended that when dealing with issues of participation in projects like CLING, the issues of 'power and politics on the whole should be avoided' because they are 'divisive and obstructive'(p. 5). This, it could be said, was based on their reflection of the role the party politics and political tension played within the CLING Project.

4.7 Theme 6: Overcrowding in Schools

During the transect walk, we walked passed Freedom Park Primary which had a few containers surrounding the school premises in order to accommodate the many learners the school has. The two participants conceded that the schools were indeed overcrowded. This overcrowding was also witnessed in Freedom Park High School, which happens to accommodate children from the three primary schools which are already overcrowded.

As I will allude in Chapter Six, before Freedom Park High School was built parents used to take their children to Eldorado High School or Soweto for their high school education. With the new school being built, parents are likely to have de-registered their children (from schools in Soweto and Eldorado Park) so they could attend school closer to their homes. This is the reason Freedom Park High School as known as Brown's (probably because of the colour of the uniform) is so seriously overcrowded.

4.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I presented the Freedom Park contextual factors using the key themes that emerged from inductive analysis of the data collected. This I argued, is the context which the CLING Project took place in – in a Freireian frame, the context to which the project was responding to, aiming to help community members to 'read' it in order to change it.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CLING PROJECT AND ITS IMPACT ON ADULT LEARNING IN THIS CONTEXT

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I presented the contextual factors related to Freedom Park through my interpretation of the themes that emerged through inductive data analysis. I showed how these themes served as evidence of a context of inequality, injustice and oppression that was prevalent in Freedom Park at the time. This, I argued, was the context which the CLING Project had identified as the motivation for the Freirean intervention. In this chapter I will present data related to the CLING Project adult classes. I also present the data related to, Abahlali and the political class. Instead of presenting each set of data (document analysis, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, 'political class' observation, the transect walk and the photovoice), I will present my findings by weaving in data from the various sources or methods.

5.2 The data collection process in practice

I set out to conduct this study with much excitement and anticipation; little did I know the challenges I was to face in the course of its journey. All I knew and believed about researchers sailing smoothly to collect data was put to the test as I was confronted with situations wherein a number of people refused to be interviewed, or, having agreed, did not meet me as planned, or made promises they did not keep. Nothing could have prepared me for what I went through.

As soon as I heard about the CLING project as a potentially Freirean project I could use in my study, I went to CERT to find out more about the project and if they had more information by way of documents that they would share that were produced during the project tenure. A CERT staff member who had been involved in the project clarified that Christopher would be best placed to help me because he was in charge of the Freedom Park CLING.

Upon contacting Christopher he advised that the Abahlali Group were to march to Eldorado Park for land related issues; if I came through on the day, he would be able to refer me to other 'comrades' who were more hands on in the project compared to him and would thus help me. (It was also on this day that I met Zipho, the former adult learner in the project, who made me rethink my study focus slightly).

The FGD with project facilitators was the first methodology I applied. I found it strained in that there seemed to have been an expectation of payment for participating in my study, and also some negative feeling towards CERT and the CLING Project. Nana (one of the facilitators) wanted me to know before we could begin with the discussion that she did not want to come for the interviews; she did not want anything to do with CLING or CERT. Her feeling was that they (as facilitators) gave so much to the project as volunteers. They had helped with the recruitment of learners hoping that their efforts would be rewarded, but it never happened. When Christopher asked them to talk to someone who wanted to know about CLING, she was not very pleased. She only came out of respect for him and the fact that she did not know me and actually wanted to tell me this in person.

On a couple of occasions when I came through to the CLING container to meet participants, while waiting for participants, I had tried to strike up conversations with people who had come to the container adjacent to the CLING container. For some reason I could not understand, these people had been hostile. Christopher explained their hostility by saying '*you see, in Freedom Park, you will always be guilty by association.*' Nox, another participant confirmed this as part of the treatment they receive from ANC members. It thus became increasingly evident that there were also party political tensions related to the study (I deal with this extensively in Chapter Six).

During the FGD, I spoke about the other methodologies that were part of this study. Two facilitators stated that they were busy with the exams, and as a result would not be able to assist. Khule, however, offered to help with the transect walk, and the photovoice process. The transect walk was the next data collection process I did. Khule brought with him, PK who had been an adult learner. We started the transect walk around 9h30 from the container where the CLING project had been housed. We finished it at around 14h30, after which the map was drawn, after which I asked them questions related to some of the things we had seen. We then discussed the photovoice exercise, which was about collecting pictures of things they had learned and when they had learned them. I expressly warned against taking picture of people and Khule and PK acknowledged that they understood the ethics of photovoice and were not going take pictures of people, or, if people were to be in the pictures, they would seek their permission and or ensure they were not identifiable. PK, who participated in the transect walk and the photovoice exercise, did not want to be interviewed.

The difficulty in obtaining willing participants has obviously impacted on the data I was able to collect. I decided to include other methodologies like the observation of the political class hoping a) to get a sense of what happens in the class and b) secure further interviews from people attending the class who may have been involved with the CLING Project.

Unfortunately, none of the 'learners' who were in that class had been part of the CLING.

In September, I decided to attend the '50 years of Freire' Conference organised by the University of Johannesburg. I had gone to the conference with the hope of talking to people who might have been involved with the CLING Project. I met a few Abahlali who then invited me to the Abahlali meeting to see how they conducted their business. I took up the offer, and after Velaphi (one of Abahlali) had introduced me to the meeting there was a marked change in how I was received. However, after attending several Abahlali meetings I still could not find people who had been adult learners in the CLING Project other than the ones I had already spoken to. It would appear that they could have been displaced or were part of the group that gave in and moved to Vlakfontein or people did not know one another well enough back then to recognise who was or was not in the CLING adult class.

5.3 Freedom Park

As discussed in Chapter One, many accounts of Freedom Park history suggest that it came into existence in 1993 after the liberation organisations were unbanned and shortly before South Africa's first democratic elections in April 1994. However, some residents of Freedom Park who were part of this study seem to remember the events slightly differently. According to the CLING Project Findings and Methodology report (n.d.), these families 'began occupying this land in the hope that with political victory they could create new lives with a piece of their own land' (p. 1).

Phaks asserted that the first occupants (mostly Soweto backyard dwellers) 'raided' the area as early as 1990 and occupied different parts of the land. According to him they had to contend with various evictions and removals between 1990 and 1993. The early residents used black plastic and tents as their homes until they could erect shacks around 1993 (Christopher; Phaks). According to Christopher, the number had grown significantly by then because they kept going back to Soweto to recruit more backyard dwellers into the land struggle.

Christopher, who came to Freedom Park in 1993, gave a brief background of how his journey to Freedom Park began:

Well singabantu...ngingomunye wabantu abaqala iFreedom Park. (I am one of the people who started Freedom Park). We came here in 1993 around September or somewhere around September. So, we were all recruited into the land struggle at that time by the shop stewards that were retrenched, who were members of the NUMSA, the Metal Workers Union. Most of them stayed in the flats in town, so they were no longer able to pay rent for the flats; some could not afford rent in the hostels. So they started to organize and mobilise on land education. I also nami-ke actually not me, but my parents got involved in that process. They were also activists of the Black Consciousness Movement, my movement, imovement engibuya kuyo (the movement I am from). My parents stayed in Pimville. (They were backyard dwellers in shacks) beqashe kubanikazi bezindlu (renting from homeowners).

Their recruitment campaign was ‘Freedom is coming in 1994; when it comes you need to have a place of your own’ (Christopher). Their recruitment hailed the imminent freedom which ultimately became the name of the place. However the dawn of democracy and freedom was not as colourful and as rosy as they thought it would be, as ‘we were evicted daily azange siphela amandla (we never gave up) but we would go back and erect more black plastics!’ (Phaks). According to Christopher, ‘the government kept sending the red ants to remove us and we would go back, they would remove us and we would go back and then more and more people would come through’.

The ‘red ants’ are the South African private security company which specialises in the eviction of ‘illegal invaders’ from unauthorised land and property. The name ‘red ants’ derives from their red uniform.

During the transect walk, we got to a place where Khule remembered an event where the community had fought the red ants. Khule recalled that it was a school day and word had gone round the day before that there was going to be a total shutdown – no-one was to leave Freedom Park. *The red ants were coming to dismantle and demolish all the shacks and move everybody to Vlakfontein. The red ants were stationed where Shoprite and the Fire Station now are (see transect walk map below). The red ants had left their vehicles near the Fire Station. They walked towards the shacks with crowbars and other materials that they were going to use to dismantle the shacks. It was like a red sea. The red ants kept coming down and the community kept going back up to where the Primary School is. At some point it seemed like the community had ambushed the red ants. There was pandemonium. The red*

ants were speaking on a loud speaker telling the community that they needed to move because the area was not zoned for residence. They said they could demolish the shacks but they suggested the community dismantle the shacks on their own in order salvage the material in order to be able to re-use it to rebuild their shacks in Vlakfontein. The community members were burning tyres, had knobkerries and stones, and were singing 'asiyindawo' (we are not going anywhere) and toyi-toying. The red ants were also aggressive.

PK confirmed the events as per Khule's recollections. He confirmed that a phone call saved them and stopped the eviction. Neither is sure who was at the other end of the line, but they believe it must have been the Housing Department. They were *'ready to die rather than move to Vlakfontein'*, PK added bitterly. The community spent the rest of the afternoon dismantling some shacks and moving them one shack at a time to the designated area. They moved to a different land, but still within the Freedom Park settlement.

Their strategy was to recruit more people so that through the numbers they could resist the government removals, which *'as soon as they saw that the numbers were growing would evict us'* (Phaks). Christopher contended that they were resisting apartheid and its laws since *'the rules were not clear around evictions, there were only apartheid laws'*. It was only around 1994 that the government toned down the evictions by which time the numbers had grown considerably, thus posing serious threats for the government (Phaks).

The dwellers negotiated with the Roman Catholic Church for the land around St. Martin, an eleven year struggle (Nox, Christopher). A number of the participants remembered that the Catholics had legitimate concerns around the issues of hygiene and sanitation, since the dwellers were using the veld to relieve themselves. The Catholics, on behalf of the community, requested portable toilets from the municipality and gave them the land with the proviso that the government would be responsible for its development. The other piece of land they had fought for belonged to the 'Boers' (Afrikaans speaking farmers) and had been set aside for industries in the Devland area. Through the community's resilience, the 'Boers' also started to leave, thus opening the land up to the community. That is when Freedom Park saw the proliferation of shacks as the community began erecting shacks since, prior to 1993, people were using plastic or tents as shelter (Velaphi; Christopher; Phaks).

According to Christopher, as the community grew, there were political conflicts amongst them, resulting in some community members moving to St. Martin which was the area where development in the form of RDP houses started, although the first land to be 'raided' was

Devland, the land originally zoned or designed for industries. The government did not just give in; it built RDP houses in Vlakfontein (in Orange Farm about 22km from Freedom Park). This, according to Christopher, was the government's ploy to remove them from the prime land designated for 'posh' houses, (referring to the land around St. Martin) since their being at the entrance of Johannesburg South was an embarrassment to the government. Some residents went to stay in Vlakfontein (in the RDP houses that the government built for this community) and some remained in Freedom Park and argued that Vlakfontein was too far from everything (Baragwanath Hospital, schools, Southgate Mall, Johannesburg CBD) (Christopher). The ones that remained continued the fight not to be evicted which led to many people being hurt when they were accosted by the police during one of the many evictions (Christopher, Phaks).

After the land that belonged to the Catholic Church (St Martin) and the private land zoned for industries was won, the government began building RDP houses. That, according to Velaphi, brought yet another struggle. The contractor who was meant to start building these RDP houses, Epic Dimension, claimed not to have received a 'subsidy' from the government to build the RDP houses and wanted the residents to pay a portion (a 'subsidy') towards the building of their houses. This, according to Velaphi, led to a protest in which the major highways (N1, N12 and the Golden Highway) were blockaded. This was in 1995. The protest was meant to expose the corruption that the contractor was embroiled in; the fact that residents had to pay a 'subsidy' in order to get their RDP houses erected. The corruption was so deep that the owner of Epic Dynamic offered to build houses for the SOPA leadership as a bribe and so that they could stop the protests, Velaphi contended. This, he believed, was one of the ways in which the government wanted to blindside them and cheat them out of building their RDP houses.

However, according to Velaphi, the government only eventually started building RDP houses in St. Martin in 2002 (12 years after some had come to the area). That was the beginning of yet another struggle: the struggle for the allocation of RDP houses, Velaphi remembered. According to a number of participants, the ANC was in charge of the distribution of the RDP's as a result '*the house distribution list favoured the ANC members*' (Phaks) and the houses were distributed to ANC card-carrying members. Sarah, a member of Abahlali Group, asserted that

When these houses at Ext 35 were allocated, when you went to check when your house would be allocated, they would tell you that if you do not have an ANC membership card you will not get a house. We would be told that the houses were built for the 'ANC children' that were born in 1994; the born frees. (Sarah)

A number of participants confirmed the assertion that people needed ANC membership to be allocated houses (Velaphi; Sarah; Gladys; Christopher). Even with the membership the allocation was not just automatic, they said. It depended on a whole lot of factors. According to Christopher,

You needed to buy an ANC card for you to benefit in the development process that was happening; as a result people bought ANC cards. A lot of people, even those that bought those cards... it depended on how well you were known or maybe your level of activism within the community. If you are not that much active or are not well known then you will be excluded from the process. Even though you had a card it depended on your activism; how active you are, do you attend meetings? do you do things that are being done, etc? ... who are you connected with, who knows you within the ANC... Things like that...

Sarah corroborated that the corruption in the allocation of the RDP houses was rampant. She reported that she arrived in Freedom Park in 2001 from Molapo in Soweto, and registered for a house in the same year; however, people she registered for houses with (and had no IDs) received their houses in 2005 and are now residents of Extension 35. She is still a backyard dweller. Khule, who confirmed having lived in a shack for twenty years, lost out on the RDP house because his mother was from Lesotho and therefore did not have a South African ID. Velaphi, a member of Abahlali, said he was 'robbed' of his house, in that he was congratulated by folks on the streets for having finally made it to the top of the list and thus to an RDP house; and yet he knew nothing about such house. He fought with the Department of Housing until he got it. Another participant, Phaks, only got his house because he referred the Housing Department to the list (MSS1) that used to be circulated and signed by night back in the days of the plastic houses. When the Housing Department found his name they had no choice but to allocate him his house, he said. Some people, according to Velaphi, had to 'sleep' with the officials to get houses, especially the younger folks, and that according to him, amounted to rape.

There is a general belief that some RDP houses were sold to people who were from outside Freedom Park. Gladys claimed that *'They sell them, especially if you were to check all the houses around Freedom Park Primary School, a great many of those people are not from here'*.

According to Velaphi, it seemed that even though *'you had money, they checked who they sold the RDPs to and how you were related to the ruling party'*. Velaphi, who claimed to know everybody and appears to be well-known and liked by everybody in Freedom Park (because he is always helping people and has helped a lot of people), confirmed that some people who came from outside Freedom Park were given houses, thus cheating the rightful owners of their RDP houses.

In an attempt to avert this corruption, Abahlali took the matters into their own hands:

We lodged a complaint with the Housing Department because we suspected the ANC of corruption and of having sold the RDP houses. What raised the alarm was the fact that we saw children born in 1994 getting RDPs and old women of 1960 still without houses. We then requested for a forensic audit. The forensic audit is still not done. One of our demands was that whoever was robbed of being given an RDP [house] be compensated by being giving their own land. We do not think they will do the audit. We have given this condition because we are tired of the corruption with the distribution of houses. They may still cheat us on the distribution of the land but hopefully it will not be as easy as it has been with the RDPs. (Phaks)

In 2014 an Eye Witness News (EWN) reporter reported that Abahlali went to the Johannesburg High Court to demand a forensic investigation (Mkhize, 2014). According to one of the Abahlali members interviewed by EWN, their members had been attacked by the members of the ANC who were against this probe. This member argued that the ANC was involved in corrupt activities in handing over housing so he was approached with the offer to 'jump the queue'; when he refused he became the enemy.

The RDP houses are clearly very contentious. A 'malume' (a man who drives school children to and from school) whom we met during the transect walk, argued that the government specifically wanted to instigate conflict and sow seeds of division amongst the community through the RDP houses. He argued that the community had fought together for those houses but now, some RDP houses have inside toilets while others do not, some have geysers whilst

others do not, some are well partitioned whilst others are not, some have showers whilst others have both, some have corrugated iron roofing while others have tiled roofing or 'asbestos'. Some have iron doors while others have wooden doors, and the list goes on. He was clearly unhappy about this.

The area certainly has an assortment of RDP houses as shown in the pictures of the different RDP houses I collected during the transect walk:



Figure 7: RDP house with inside toilets, in Extension 27 area



Figure 8: RDP house with outside toilets and 'asbestos' roofing, in Siyaya area



Figure 9: Omasxhawulane ('shaking hands') with a shared wall and yard, in Lindelani area

As can be seen, some RDP houses are free standing; others are semi-detached. These latter RDP houses are called omasxhawulane (known as omasxha) to denote that they are joined together such that the dwellers 'feel' they are literally shaking hands. The residents of these RDP's have to share the yard with the neighbour unless of course the neighbour has means to erect a wall or a fence. They also have geysers. The latest, 'modern', RDP houses have an inside bath and shower.



Figure 10: The latest ('modern') RDP house, with a bath and shower, in Extension 35 area

Freedom Park is currently a combination of these RDP houses as shown above: ‘bonded’ houses (bonds have been taken out to improve them), flats, shacks and what the participants call ‘squatter camps’.



Figure 11: The bonded section, in Matlapeng area

Within the locality, there are four blocks of flats built by Joshkor a Johannesburg-based contractor. PK, one of the adult learners in the CLING Project, and one of the transect walk guides, said that they were for low-income groups; they are on a rent-to-buy basis. All four blocks were, however, empty, it is not clear why. PK thought it was because it is difficult for ‘squatter camp’ folks to move into areas where they have to pay for services, because they are not used to paying for services.



Figure 12: One of the four blocks of flats built by Joshkor, Mountain View area



Figure 13: Backyard shacks

Whilst the residents of Freedom Park mostly stay in RDP houses, or in the informal settlements, there is a significant number of residents who are backyard dwellers. These residents are mostly renting yards from RDP house owners. Each yard may have eight to ten (or even more) households.

The CLING Project Findings and Methodology report (n.d.) acknowledged that one of the challenges the area faced was ‘a critical shortage of housing’. This report argued that ‘a glance at Freedom Park’s many tin and cardboard informal structures reveals that housing is clearly a need’ (p. 2).

The issue of land has continued to be contentious even in recent times, and there is evidence that the population has continued to grow, leading to a growing number of backyard shack dwellers. Land invasions and evictions have continued throughout. In, 2007, Phaks recollected, he and other residents invaded another area which Abahlali had earmarked as being a high crime area since that was where women were raped. Within four hours of the ‘invasion’, *‘the police raided the area and took our shacks’*.

In 2014, thirteen years after she moved to Freedom Park, Sarah and a group of Abahlali decided to invade the land in the area called Nkompone (in another part of Freedom Park). She remembered that just days after they got to this land,

They [police] came and removed us. And from there we had to go back to being backyard dwellers here in Freedom Park. In 2015, we did it all over again, went back to camp in Nkompone. This is something we do from time to time because we want the government to listen to us. (Sarah)

The transect walk also took us to an area called Lindela or Lindelani. Lindela means to 'wait'. Some of the inhabitants of this area have been 'waiting' for longer than others whilst others are still new as evidenced by the freshly-dug soil. A conversation ensued between my two guides about the whole concept of waiting. The locality has electricity, but because you are said to be waiting you do not have access to it unless you do 'izinyoka' or 'people's electricity'. I asked where they got their water from. There was a consensus that the residents of Lindela walked to the RDP houses across the road or down the road to ask for water; but when the owners are not at home, they simply take it. This was more of a problem to the folks who have no fencing around their RDP houses. It seemed there have been complaints about this because the RDP folks felt that the Lindela folks were inflating their water bills. In one of my visits, I saw a water truck in the area, hopefully to try and resolve this issue.

Another area we walked to is, according to its dwellers, called Ekuhluphekeni.

Ekuhluphekeni is an IsiZulu word which translates to 'a place of destitution' or 'a place of



Figure 14: The enclosed 'squatter camp', Ekuhluphekeni

poverty'. The shacks in this area were marked E1 to E350 with red paint. They were fenced into a camp with one access and exit point. Some were newly built, while some it seemed had been erected for a while. One striking thing about these shacks was the size, which was largely uniform although some were slightly smaller than others. They were all consistently single shacks. There seemed to be a consensus between my transect walk guides that those shacks mushroomed this year (2018). It was also not clear where the residents came from.



Figure 15: Lindela/Lindelani

I asked one of the residents what the area was called because I still could not believe Ekuhluphekeni could be the legitimate name. He responded in isiZulu and said that if I looked around long enough I would be able to give it a name. I asked why he said that. He said ‘Sisi, siyahlupheka la, nawe uyazibonela’ (My sister, you can see for yourself that we are struggling / we are destitute / we are poor here...). One of my guides confirmed that they knew the place as Lindela or Lindelani or the extension thereof because the folks living in the area are supposed to be waiting for their RDP houses and would be moved once these had been built and he had never been in the area and was seeing it for the first time. We confirmed that the area had no electricity, no water taps, no toilets, no roads other than paths created by cars or usage. It was evident in the conversation with one of the inhabitants of Ekuhluphekeni that there were shack lords who demanded a fine of R23 from the inhabitants for allegedly missing meetings.

5.4 The CLING Project

The CLING Project Findings and Methodology report (n.d.) states that the CLING Project was conceptualised in 2007, and brought to the community of Freedom Park by a Community Researcher (CR) who worked for the EPC (Education Policy Consortium). This he did by bringing in ‘various stakeholders including political parties, civics, churches, government department, businesses and schools to bring the project to the community of Freedom Park’ (p. 3).



Figure 16: The CLING container

Christopher reported that:

The CLING started in 2007. When it started... it was because between us there were two people who worked for the EPU as researchers. The EPU (which stands for Education Policy Unit) was based at the University of Johannesburg at that time. They were working there at that time. Well, what they did was to bring together all the stakeholders and organisations that existed here in Freedom Park at that time; from different levels and different aspects of Freedom Park life, be it CBOs, NGOs and political organisations, civic and social movements. They brought them together and ...with the view of continuing with their research. The research was mainly on the issues of numeracy and literacy. From that discussion, different stakeholders and so on from here in Freedom Park, it was then agreed that we needed to form this group. A group that will mainly focus on the issues of literacy and numeracy. So that is how CLING was formed.

There seems to be a general unanimity amongst the participants that the CLING Project started in 2007. However, it is evident from the CLING documents that the Freedom Park CLING had its fair share of problems during its inception phase. According to one of the reports, it took time before it was fully functional. Although the discussions around the formation of the CLING Project began in 2006, it was implemented in 2007 in some areas (Baatjes et al., 2012), although

At Freedom Park a more formal CLING was only established in 2009 as an elaborate structure with various roles and responsibilities. Whilst the structure remained unrepresentative of the community, it had a management committee constituted of the chairperson and deputy, secretary and deputy, treasurer and co-ordinator. Each of these positions was occupied by elected people, and a constitution which outlined the roles and responsibilities of each position was written. The establishment of the CLING at Freedom Park was a difficult process and required enormous efforts by the EPC researchers. Tensions were evident which related to the CLING members' different political affiliations and presented great difficulty to the Community Researchers who were recruited from the community. These tensions remained throughout the lifespan of the CLING and created barriers to participation, hindrances to community organising and the effective mobilisation and participation of the community. The CLING was inactive for an eight month period (September 2009 – May 2010) due to the tensions. (Baatjes et al., 2012, p. 31)

As discussed in Chapter One, the CLING Project focused on the 3Rs, but within a broader conceptualisation of 'literacy': that literacy 'is not an end in itself' but is about observing the importance of the relationship between learning to read and write and the attainment of true liberation (Baatjes et al., 2012, p. 11). The CLING Project sought to probe the effects as well as the importance of 'participatory citizenship and the development of democracy, and a recognition that the struggle for literacy and numeracy requires agency and active participation' (Baatjes, 2016, p. 12).

The project as a whole thus used the following model to guide its approach, showing the link between working at the school level and the broader community:

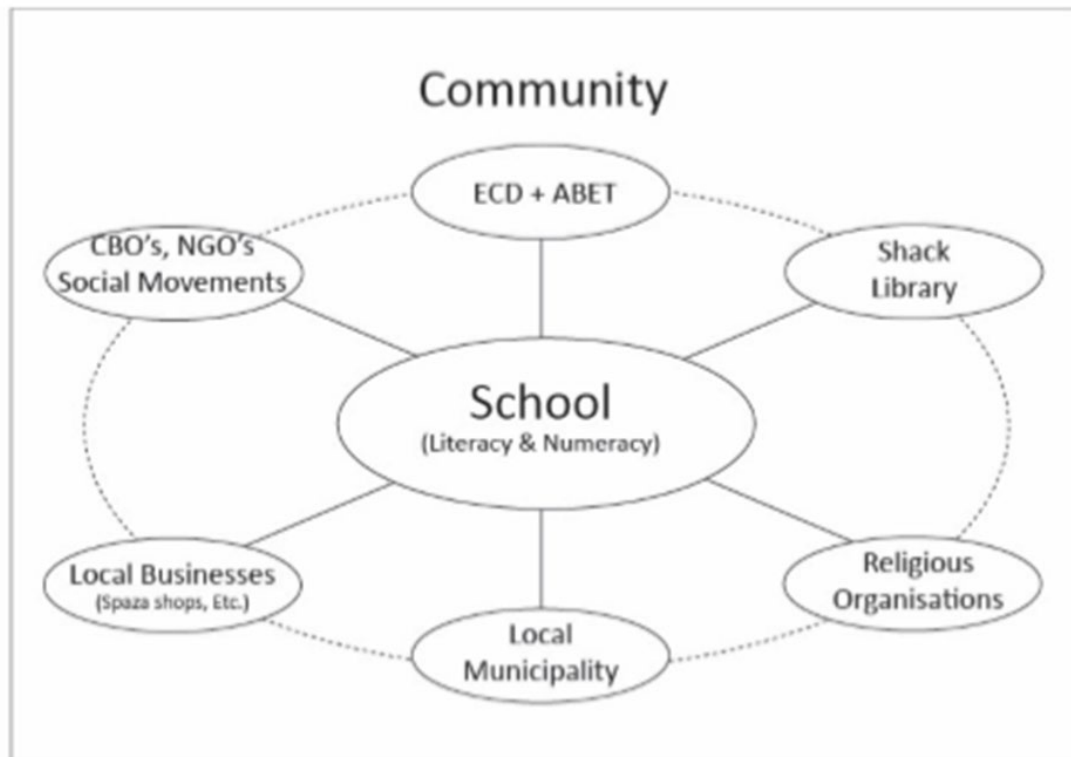


Figure 17: The CLING approach to community action and education (Baatjes et al., 2012, p. 33)

The CLING project was thus always a response to a particular community context. In Freedom Park, this was a context of unemployment and high illiteracy levels. At that time, there were two primary schools in the area, namely Goza and Somelulwazi Primary Schools. The two primary schools are located next to each other. PK mentioned that Goza Primary School is where the Secondary School was located and only moved when the new bigger (Freedom Park Secondary) structure was built.

A discussion about the schools was sparked when during the transect walk, we passed Freedom Park Primary which seemed to be overcrowded. This was evidenced by a number of prefabricated structures or containers as they are called around the school premises. We could not help but notice that there was a lot of garbage around the school. There were comments about how the kids were supposed to study in such a filthy environment. PK commented that it would be easier to get the kids to pick up the garbage as opposed to waiting for the municipal workers to pick it up. Khule mentioned that this was but the reflection of the entire Freedom Park; it was generally dirty.



Figure 18: Prefabricated structures or containers, Freedom Park Primary

Another school we walked towards was Freedom Park Secondary School, which is also known as Brown's because of the colour of the school uniform. This school was built after Freedom Park Primary School. Before that, parents used to take their children to the schools in Soweto or Eldorado Park for their secondary education. It is an enormous school, but it is also overcrowded, as was evident in the throngs and throngs of children that came out as the school closed. I have never seen so many children in one school in one day! PK conceded that it was understandable for this school to have so many learners because it was the only secondary school in Freedom Park. It accommodates learners from the three primary schools, all of which are also very overcrowded.

One of the key objects of the CLING Project, as the documents and participants make clear, is to deal with the issue of schooling, and, according to one of the participants, getting the children of school-going-age off the streets. This was because the parents were unable to take them to schools because they were unemployed, and could not afford school fees, uniform and transport. As Phaks, one of the facilitators, said, *'We...realised that most parents were unemployed, so some children started schooling later than their school-going age because parents could not afford to send them to school'*.

According to Christopher, who co-ordinated the Freedom Park project, the CLING project in the area initially focussed on helping primary school kids with their homework. In the FGD, Nana, one of the facilitators gave an account of what the CLING Project accomplished:

We were even known at the schools. The schools were happy with our work. One of the teachers remarked that she was surprised by how good the learners were becoming. Because we were helping them with homework. We were helping the parents because there were cases where parents were not as involved with their children's work, they drink and do not care, some come late from work and are tired and the children would be pressured at school when the teachers demanded homework because they did not have it. This is what was making the teachers happy. The children would read stories and would take books from here thereby improving their reading and writing skills. We would also teach them to write. We also did our research on them. Some would be dull and be sitting at the back and not participating much. We would follow up in order to understand the situation. Some would be scared to speak. We would give them papers and they would end up writing on these papers what their problems were. We also tried in these cases to meet with the parents.

The facilitators in the focus group reported that in the first years the CLING Project was doing really well...

It [CLING] worked fast and very well. This room used to be filled by learners and was very busy. We would be helping them with homework, storytelling and reading. The problem only started with the money. That money issue broke the project! The one we were promised by the DoE to be paid for five years. From then people stopped coming and found better things to do with their time. We continued and hoped for the best. We are still together even now. (Nana)

The CLING Project Findings and Methodology report (n.d.) corroborated the FGD in that the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) had made stipends available to 'incentivise' the CLING facilitators; however, 'the relationship between the GDE and the CLING Freedom Park was not formal and it could not be sustained, leading to the GDE stopping the stipends a few months after they introduced them' (p. 3). However, according to Phaks, the CLING Project was unfortunately brought to a close by the fact that they did not have resources to offer the children food when they came straight from school. The facilitators reported that it became increasingly difficult for them to sustain the classes with school children even after trying to support them with their own monies: '*whenever we got money we used to buy food for the learners so that they did not starve because for some we knew their situations at home*' (FGD). Phaks confirmed that '*it was unfortunate that because they (parents) were also*

unemployed they could not help us with the resources'. Phaks and Nox said that they hoped to continue with the project as soon as they could find a funder to sustain it.

However, it is actually not clear what the status of the CLING Project is even now. The three facilitators in the FGD contended that the project was on hold while they were studying. Christopher on the other hand argued very strongly that the CLING is still in operation:

CLING is still around even though it is struggling. The kids that we started with who were in primary school at the time in 2007 are now in universities – they are the ones who are holding it and trying to push it. (Christopher)

As mentioned above, it is also clear from some of the project documents that the CLING Project in Freedom Park had a lot of problems to contend with. According to the CLING Project Findings and Methodology report (n.d.), 'CLING-Freedom Park has not always been smooth sailing, given the different political affiliations of some of its founding members, there were always tensions that threatened the survival of the project...' (p. 3).

These tensions, it seemed, were exacerbated by the fact that

The relationship between the CRs, EPC and CLING were always fraught with contradictions and tensions to the extent that, at some point, Freedom Park CRs were suspended from undertaking research work because the CLING (Freedom Park) was inactive. Following some discussions amongst the three parties, the project was reinstated and a revived CLING ensured the successful implementation of its activities. (Baatjes et al., 2012, p. 39)

However, CLING problems, it seems, were broader than only Freedom Park. Baatjes et al. (2012) state that 'Experiences across the sites suggest that the CLINGs experienced enormous challenges in establishing themselves over the five-year period' (p.33):

Most of the CLINGs were not fully functional as envisaged in the project plan. Most of the sites experienced significant difficulties in mobilising stakeholder representation and participation for a long time. For instance, in Freedom Park, teachers have shown interest, but did not live in the community and have become frustrated at meetings which they considered to be endless discussions with insufficient action. (p. 29)

The EPC & CLING Researchers in their report (n.d.) also acknowledged the trials and tribulations the CLING Project underwent:

The implementation of the activities at each site differed given the dynamics and contextual realities within each of the communities ...sites such as the urban / semi-urban communities of Evaton-North and Freedom Park presented their own contextual dynamics which impacted on the project. (p. 27)

What is evident from both the documents and the participants is that the 'contextual dynamics' of the Freedom Park CLING included party politics, and this issue appears to have deep roots. From its inception, there seems to have been a link between the Freedom Park CLING and a couple of 'socialist' organisations, which according to some of the participants came to their rescue in time of need. These organisations were ILRIG (Nox) an NGO based in Johannesburg, and Khanya College, which according to Phaks offered them books for the learners. Nox reported that 'Jonathan' (someone from ILRIG), with the help of CERT organised training for them and also helped them with the food for the learners.

There also seems to be a general belief amongst the participants who are members of SOPA that the CLING in Freedom Park was specifically the initiative of the SOPA: '*the CLING was initiated by myself and my comrades from SOPA*' (Phaks); '*all CLING facilitators are members of SOPA*' (Christopher); '*I knew about the CLING because it was formed by SOPA*' (Velaphi).

As is clear from the data presented above, tensions between the ANC and SOPA in Freedom Park have continued for a long time.

5.4.1 The Adult Education Classes

As the project grew, according to Christopher, it started to get involved with the broader issues of the community and the specific issue of adult basic education came to the fore. The adult education classes, according to Christopher (the CLING Project co-ordinator), were based on the notion that literacy was not about learning to read

and write words but was about people wanting to read so that they are able to understand how things look or stand in the world, ukuthi izinto zime kanjani emhlabeni (how things look like or stand in the world). So it was more about the world and the environment, what is happening around you.

There is sufficient evidence to suggest that there were two different adult basic education classes. Christopher reported that '*the adult classes were done in consultation with an NGO*

called *Ikusasa Lethu, an HIV and AIDS based organisation*'. On the other hand, Nox ran some classes from her home for learners who could not walk to *Ikusasa Lethu*. She reported that

For those who stayed next to my area, there was a suggestion that we run the classes from home. They agreed. We agreed that my home was closer since going to the CLING container was far so those that were close by agreed to come to my home. So they came. (Nox)

Both of these adult classes offered food to the learners. Christopher confirmed that the centre wherein the classes were held '*attracted a lot of people including abantu abadala (adults), because they were giving them...they had a soup kitchen for adults*'. An adult learner, Zipho, confirmed that he went to the classes because '*there was a benefit (to going to classes) that one was going to get something to eat*'.

Nox, the facilitator who was running classes in her home, gave the following explanation of why her adult learning classes began to collapse:

So, our learners dumped us because we had no food to offer them. It also became difficult for me because personally I knew that most of them came for the food before they could take the HIV medication. So some stopped when there was no food but I also felt we needed to stop when there was nothing to offer.

She argued that the *Ikusasa Lethu* adult classes (headed by Joey) were offering food while they could not: '*We were overpowered by Joey because she was offering them food. So they would ask if we had food or tea because if we did not have any [food] and Joey had, they left*' (FGD). Joey Manana, according to the CLING Project Findings and Methodology report (n.d.) sat in the SGB (School Governing Body) of one of the schools and was also a facilitator at *Ikusasa Lethu*. This report stated that *Ikusasa Lethu* was 'CLING's local partner' (p. 17). In one of the meetings, according to the report, Joey raised financial issues faced by CLING. Her concerns were:

It is not funded by the government or any other funder as far as I know; as such CLING facilitators are not motivated. CLING facilitators are quite good and have a good education but because of these challenges there is a high staff turnover (p. 17).

Another facilitator admitted that the reason the classes collapsed was ‘*I think that it was the fact that we did not have the food*’ (FGD).

However, Nox also gave the issue a political spin. She claimed that the adult classes which were started as part of the CLING were ‘*hijacked by the ANC because it seems everything we do as SOPA gets hijacked by the ANC*’ (Nox). According to Nox, the ANC, through the Sincedeni Community Centre took their learners because they as CLING could not afford to offer them food.

During the transect walk we walked past the Sincedeni old age centre. This was where, according to PK, some of the CLING facilitators (Jabu and Nana) used to come and teach. It was a day-care centre that took care of the elderly during the day in cases where the caregiver has to be out for the day. It offered them skills such as knitting, sewing and, for those interested, reading and writing.



Figure 19: Sincedeni Centre, where the CLING adult education classes were run

Zipho, who became an adult learner, reported that,

I used to take my grandmother to the centre. She used to go to the centre to get food; I just can't remember the name of the centre now. My grandmother used to go so she could get food before she drank her tablets. So, they used to check them for diabetes and high blood pressure, do some exercises and then go to the classes. Then my grandmother told me that there are people that come through and teach, and maybe I could also benefit. She never told me what was taught. She just told me that there are people that come to teach and maybe I would find them useful.

Gogo, another adult learner, confirmed that she used to be part of the old-age programme where they would *'make us do exercises and we would play sport, then pray and come back home'*.

Both Zipho and Gogo left the classes while they were still in progress. Although food was given as a reason for attending, neither of them suggested that the lack of food was the reason why they stopped attending. According to Gogo, the classes collapsed when one of their teachers who was from Orange Farm confided in the class that *'she was coming from far and she had to take her children's money to come to Freedom Park and still not get paid. And we said she was right, that was not fair on her. After that we stopped going'* (Gogo).

By this point, Gogo appears to have been feeling fairly disaffected in any case:

They told us that they were going to bring machines to help teach us how to sew and that never happened. They tried to keep us in the classes by making promises which they never kept, besithembisa amanga (they were promising us lies). They even promised us that they were going to help us increase our pension. (Gogo)

When I asked the facilitators what kind of content was included in their teaching, the response was, *'Learners asked for specific things, e.g. some wanted us to teach them how to knit and others wanted to learn handwork, e.g. sewing'* (Nana). Some learners wanted to be taught whether or not they are allowed to deposit the 'SASSA money'. Nana related that

Some (learners) were saying SASSA says they must not deposit their money, so we also taught them how to do deposits. Some said they were not allowed by SASSA to deposit their money. So we will teach them that no money is better than any other, you are the one who decides on your expenses and save the rest of your grant. (Nana)

Nox, another facilitator, reported, *'We taught them how to write their names; that the X was not good. So we taught them how to sign their names and how to count'*. This is all that Gogo and Zipho remember learning:

They taught us to count...one, two, three...and signing our names. There were others who had never been to school in their entire lives, but we were made to sit in the same class with them. That put me off because even my grandchild can do counting. So when they started teaching us a, e, i, o, u, I would say I do not know how to write and just sit there. (Gogo)

How to read, how to write your name, and signing. You see I already knew how to write my name. Initially, it was fun but as time went by I lost all hope that anything would change but I continued to go just so that there was something I was doing and also getting something to eat. (Zipho)

Zipho stated that he stopped attending these classes because he had hoped to gain skills that would make him employable. When that did not happen, he decided to quit.

5.5 Abahlali baseFreedom Park

Abahlali baseFreedom Park (hereafter referred to as Abahlali) is, according to Christopher, a non-political, non-partisan social movement that was formed by the Freedom Park Community in 2011 to deal with issues that were affecting the community, e.g. the corruption in the distribution of RDP houses, landlessness and joblessness.

According to Gladys who is a member of Abahlali,

Abahlali is made up of a group of many people who stay in Freedom Park, who do not own houses, who are backyard dwellers. There are some people in the group like Velaphi over there who have their own houses, but the great many of us, do not have houses and are backyards dwellers.

Christopher argued that Abahlali was a product of engagement between the community and the CLING facilitators as an intervention to deal with the issues that were affecting Freedom Park at the time. According to most of the participants, it does not matter what political party you belong to, Abahlali welcomes all parties. According to Christopher, they also encourage people to belong to political parties but, when they deal with the issues of the community, they deal with them as a community because they have since learned that '*politics most of the time divides us*'.

Abahlali, according to Velaphi, came into being after they realised that SANCO was only dealing with housing issues emanating from members of the ANC. Prior to Abahlali, there was GOLCCOM (Golden Community Crisis Committee), which according to Christopher was responding to the fact that there was no organisation that dealt with community issues:

Well what we did then from that observation, we were doing that observation as CLING facilitators; we then decided as CLING facilitators to organize the community and mobilise and organise and also unite the community around the program of

development across party politics, things like that. So, we started and organised. At that time it was GOLCCOM. It's GOLCCOM - Golden Triangle Crisis Community Committee. So it was a crisis committee based on the communities that were in the Golden Highway Triangle. Because when you look at the mapping we saw that we are in the form of a triangle. So these are the communities that we targeted; communities that are in this triangle are the ones that are here and are in the crisis.

Thabo (one of the SOPA and Abahlali leaders who did not wish to be interviewed) said GOLCCOM was a Freedom Park community-based organisation which in its tenure led the housing struggles in Freedom Park before it got 'hijacked' by the ANC around 2010. After the death of GOLCCOM, Abahlali was formed in 2011 (Velaphi).

GOLCCOM targeted communities that were in the triangle, according to Christopher.

We targeted different communities all in this triangle. We wanted to organise all of them with the view of addressing the issue of leadership, because we realised that there was no leadership for the community. We wanted to raise leaders also that would advance the development of the community.

Abahlali has since its formation led and 'won' struggles for the land, one of which was the Southern Farms (which I alluded to earlier). According to the members of Abahlali whom I interviewed (Velaphi, Sarah, Gladys), Abahlali were leading the land campaigns in the South of Gauteng (since they had joined forces with other communities in the South of Johannesburg), promoting direct land occupation as a way of resolving the land issue. They have led marches to Eldorado Park with their communities to address the issue of land with the government officials.

During the year in which this study was conducted, Freedom Park saw a few protest marches around the issue of land. I had intended to start my data collection in May 2018; however, this is the scene I was greeted with on the Golden Highway when I came through on 4th May 2018:



Figure 20: Golden Highway, May 2018

According to Phaks, *'many people are still living in shacks'* and this is indicative of a chronic shortage of housing, necessitating land mobilisations. In recent times, the government had been, according to the Abahlali meeting I attended, *'stalling'* on delivering the land (Southern Farms). This is the land that the backyard dwellers are waiting upon, as land on which to build shacks of their own. This has necessitated Abahlali continuing with the land struggle. The struggle they were waging at the time was for the Southern Farm Land which consisted of 48 000 stands and which, according to Abahlali, the government had promised to release, but was for some reasons *'playing political games'*. This is the reason that on 22 October 2018 they went to picket outside Luthuli House while others remained behind and barricaded the N12. Outside Luthuli House, they were seen carrying placards with the following inscriptions *'Sikhathele ubuxoki, sifuna i-Southern Farms Ngoku hayi Ngomso'* (*We are tired of your lies, we want Southern Farms Now, Not Tomorrow*). Another one read: *'We want Southern Farm. Stop these political games'*.



Figure 21: Abahlali protesting outside Luthuli House, October 2018 (picture by Abahlali)

5.6 The Political Class

When the CLING Project officially concluded, the Freedom Park community, and Abahlali specifically, decided to continue to work in their communities and as result still met informally to learn and discuss pertinent social issues (Baatjes, 2016). This learning was achieved through the political class. The political classes, according to Khule, discuss ‘*our current living conditions, like the stands (sites) at 48 because some of us are still living in shacks*’. He narrated that these classes

start at 18h00. They used to be on Tuesdays, then Thursdays, but other comrades complained that sometimes they take long so it is better to have them on Fridays when no one has to worry about going to work the next day.

Most participants believe that the political class offers a platform wherein ‘political’, ‘real’ education happens because

We learn about burning political issues. When the subject is on the land for example, we all go and read on what has to go into the discussion. The teachings are dependent on what is burning at the time; some topics get carried over. (Phaks)

Velaphi contended that the political classes were important because,

In the Friday classes we teach people about umzabalazo womuntu omnyama (the struggle of the black person). There are people who are knowledgeable about the whole notion of black power so they teach that. You see, the government of the day is teaching lies, so in these classes we correct those lies. They (the ANC) are now adopting the concept of Black Consciousness as their own, we go back to what it is, what it means, we help them separate the truth from lies. (Velaphi)

The political classes are facilitated by ‘CLING facilitators who are also members the political organisation...the Socialist Party of Azania which is people that belong to the Black Consciousness’ (Christopher). Christopher, who described himself as both a learner and a facilitator of the classes, contends that

Dominant issues get to be discussed in these classes. Like this Friday we will discuss State Capture. What is our understanding of state capture, how does it impact our life as ordinary people. So we discuss different issues and concepts like socialism, capitalism, understanding of the state, power, power relations between genders. Things like that we call political education, black consciousness, what is Pan-Africanism, what is Marxism, different ideologies and theories that are prevalent and developed politically and the economy how it is going? What is this market economy that is being talked about? What is Marxist economy? So we engage with different concepts. (Christopher)

Khule, another participant and facilitator in the political classes (I only discovered on my ‘observation’ day that he also facilitates) thought that there is a problem with the political class in that ‘each time there are new people and this requires that the facilitator Ntate Mabasa starts all over again and starts with black consciousness’. I believe this was the case on the day I went to observe this class. Below I present my notes on what I observed:

The lesson was held in one of the classrooms at Freedom Park Primary School. Khule waited at the door, hopefully waiting for more participants to come, it seemed. He then stood in front of the class and waited for everybody to take their seats and settle down. I am not sure who was more surprised between me and him when it dawned on me that he was actually the facilitator for that evening! It seemed as if this is not something he had anticipated, he hoped someone else (it seemed, while waiting at door) would come and when they did not he had to take the lead.

There were a total of ten members in the group. They were mostly young, the youngest being around fifteen or sixteen (Carla) and two elderly women (pensioners around seventy years or so). There were only three males including the facilitator. The group started off with eight people, some kept coming in until there were ten people. The two elderly women did not talk much, not to the facilitator nor to the other members of the group. The discussion was predominantly in English for the benefit of Carla and Cleo (who are both coloured folks) with some isiZulu and a bit of Sesotho. Cleo spoke a bit of isiZulu and Sesotho. Cleo and Carla, I learned later, were Freedom Park residents. Cleo is also a member of Abahlali. Carla was the youngest I was not sure if she was accompanying Cleo but from her later engagements, it seemed she really was enjoying the class. The rest of the group like Muzi (joined in later, but seemed like a regular member) really struggled to speak English but continued nonetheless. The facilitator spoke both English and isiZulu.

The 'facilitator' started off by asking the 'learners' if they remembered what they had to research as the subject for the day's discussion. They did not seem to remember, so he isolated those that were not present and therefore could not know what was to be researched and paid attention to those that were present in the previous session. One of the class members (Zoleka) remembered that they were supposed to do research on socialism. He then reiterated that socialism was indeed the subject that was meant to be discussed for the day. The interaction was that of the teacher and his students.

As the class progressed, he asked them to share what their research had discovered socialism to be. One of them (Carla) responded that socialism has to do with the social media where one says what they want to say without fear. Another (Cleo) said it referred to the system where the means of resources are shared. The facilitator then said he had looked the word up in the dictionary and then proceeded to read out the dictionary meaning. He read, 'socialism is a political and economic theory advocating that land, transport, natural resources and the chief industry should be owned and managed by the state'. He asked if everybody understood that meaning. Cleo asked for the definition to be repeated. He repeated it and continued to mention that according to his understanding this means that the land, which they live in, should not be owned by anyone, but it has to work for everybody who lives in it. He continued to mention that the economy should also belong to the people and the people should suggest how they want it to work. When it came to industries, he continued, like Devland (the industrial area across the Golden Highway) it must support them; the profit that Devland makes on the land must be shared amongst them as the people living in the surrounding area. He also made another

example of Coca-Cola (not far from Freedom Park) that when they buy a two litre bottle of Coke for R20, it must be sold for R11 so that the profit (R9) is shared amongst them [the buyers]. That would be how the system of socialism would work; the state would be us and with 'us' being the people. Nobody will have the power over the money but the people.

Cleo raised the issue of state capture and asked how the people will own resources in view of the events around state capture and how the minority is taking hold of the state. Sonto (who had been sitting quietly and minding her business) argued that the state could not be all of us; but a few of us even though they are part of us, how then do they ensure that once they have power it does not corrupt them? Sonto asked how the sharing of resources would work because not so long ago teachers went to courses to learn to teach in outcomes-based manner but what they did was to teach the same way as they had always taught because that is the only way they knew how to teach - in an authoritarian manner. Her question, she said, had to do with people not doing the same thing which they have seen work just like the teachers as opposed to embracing the new concept.

After a lot of shuffling and chair dragging, Cleo responded that what they could do to address the issue of power corrupting people, is that they could all decide to have a co-operative and run it in the socialist manner; everyone would work for the same salary. So, she continued, it cannot be true that people could ever be part of the state because the state is on another level and they are the majority at the bottom. The facilitator, who was now part of the circle, urged the class to talk and said he did not want this to be a conversation between himself and Cleo but a discussion amongst all of them. He continued to remind them that they had agreed to do research on socialism and BCM (Black Consciousness Movement). He, however, did not do his research on BCM and will only do it next week. He then thought to stick with the definition that he had found in the dictionary and work with it to gauge how much they understood socialism. He reminded them to take things seriously so that whenever they had asked people to do research on a certain topic they did that i.e. disciplining them.

Muzi said he understood socialism to be inclusive no matter what, from the means of production to everything, everything must be shared. 'Such that there is nothing for anybody...all of us we are equal and we equally share everything'. He was therefore not sure how socialism worked when it came to defence and security services, would they also belong to the state? The facilitator asked the group to respond. Cleo asked Muzi to elaborate. Muzi said what he was saying was that, as mentioned, socialism is about sharing everything, means

of production, loss, profits, everything get to be shared, what he failed to understand was where soldiers and security services like policemen, fitted under socialism.

Muzi commented that at the core of socialism there was Black Consciousness, therefore they should have started the discussion with a brief recap of Black Consciousness because that would have reminded them that they are the same by identity and as people. That discussion would have reminded them that when you are black, by nature you are a socialist because as black people sharing is in our nature. He went on to make an example of Libya and said when a person is getting married the country gives them fifty dollars to buy an apartment or as a form of start-up capital. With regards to oil price profits, the country shares them amongst the citizens. Muzi went on to say socialism is therefore not easily accepted by capitalists; when one speaks about socialism 'the capitalist will kill you because you will be pulling meat out of their mouths'.

Carla said her understanding of socialism was that it focused on people that have money; how was it going to be possible to make people on social media change this and make the world see that they also wanted security and food. Cleo said to help Carla understand she was going to go back to the poisonous definition of the dictionary about the land belonging to the state. She said socialism was on a different level and there was socialism as a government system and socialism on the social media level. The socialism as a government system is thus totally different from what Carla was saying in that it did not focus on people who have money and is totally against maximisation of profits. She then reiterated the need to go back and do research because clearly they did not do it.

Muzi had a question and wanted to know why, if socialism was such a good thing, was it only practiced by a few countries. The facilitator responded that it was because people do not want 'us' and 'we' but want 'I'. He made an example that it is better for people to say this is my phone not this is our phone. He said people hated socialism because of greed.

Sonto had a question about how they were to curb the need to discriminate which is in all of them. Solo (member of Abahlali) apologised for being late, and said it was only then that he got back from work. Solo said there was a need to return ubuntu to the people. He said that the root of the problem was that as a nation they had essentially taken over other people's cultures and were now failing because what they were now doing was foreign to them. Muzi said the language had been central to the 'colonisers' fight. They fought through dividing the black nation with (or through) language. At this point I had to leave as it was getting dark.

The other issue Khule raised about the political class when we conducted the semi-structured interview (which happened before the class observation) was that there was no guarantee of the next class happening as scheduled, because it depended on the availability of electricity and whether or not it was cold. He thought that on the day of the semi-structured interview (it was a Friday) they were supposed to have a class, but since there was no electricity, there might not be a class if the electricity did not return. He also raised another fact that the ANC is not part of these classes ‘*since most of our problems are created by the ANC*’ (Khule). He argued that the discussions in the class would expose the ANC members as they may have to speak ill of their organisation. They are, however, part of the protests because when they protest, they protest as a community (Khule). Both Khule and PK had shared what they had learned in the political classes in the photovoice exercise. The photovoice exercise was when they discussed the photographs they took. From their comments, it is clear that the classes have influenced their understanding of the community. I discuss this further in Chapter Six.



My name is Khulekani Madida (Khule). I live in Freedom Park. I came to Freedom Park to live with my mother when I was 10 years old. We used to stay in a shack. I am now 30 years old. I still live in a shack that my brother and I are renting. We use this toilet which is across the road from where we live. Not far from the shack there is a Jojo (water tank) that we draw water from. You can see the Jojo next to the toilet. When I came from the Eastern Cape I was thankful to have a shelter and water but since I have joined the political classes I know that

this only happens to us black people. These classes have taught me that we black people have the power to fight for our dignity and demand dignified places to live at. These classes have taught me to have pride in my being black and to refuse to be treated as a sub-human.



This is my brother. He lives in Freedom Park in a place they call Ekuhluphekeni. This is a place meant for black people. I say this because no other race can agree to stay in such a place. This place has no water, no electricity, no road, no toilet, nothing. We are going to fight the government for a decent place. How do some black people allow other black people to live like this? My brother says he is happy to have a place to stay in Johannesburg and that one day he will have his own RDP [house]. But I know that as a black person he needs to demand good living conditions like other races. What makes me angry is that not far from where my brother stays, there are beautiful houses of other black people, the ones who act like they are not black. (Khule)



I am Phakathwayo but most people call me PK. I asked Mkhulu's permission to take this picture. Mkhulu is known to many as Mkhulu. No one knows who he lives with. I have surely seen him a couple of times at the Jojo. This could mean that he lives alone. And I know for a fact that he lives in the dodgy shack above. I know this because I have seen him slip a couple of times on those rocks. What kind of a country treats its old citizens like this? If uMkhulu has not been able to get his RDP by now what are the chances that he ever will? I am happy for the politics classes for making me see that this is an injustice.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter I presented the data collected during this study relating specifically to the Freedom Park CLING Project adult classes, and the relationship between CLING and the 'political classes'. I discussed the dynamics that plagued Freedom Park, the CLING Project, and the adult education classes that were part of CLING, Abahlali, and the political classes. I explored the relationships that existed between these. In the next chapter I will present my deductive analysis of the data presented and discuss this in the light of the literature reviewed and my conceptual and theoretical framework.

CHAPTER SIX: DEDUCTIVE ANALYSIS

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I presented the intertwined data collected through the documentary analysis, semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, ‘political class’ observation, the transect walk and the photovoice exercise. I will, in this chapter, present my interpretation and analysis of the data collected in the light of the literature reviewed and the conceptual and theoretical framework (Chapter Two).

I want to start by stating that the study found a lot of factual inconsistencies. These inconsistencies related to things that happened, when they happened and how they happened, and to both the CLING Project and to Freedom Park. This must not be read to mean that people deliberately went out to tell ‘untruths’ or to report ‘untruths’; rather, it had to do with whose ‘truth’ had to be told. Using a critical frame as the paradigm in which this study is located allowed these ‘truths’ to be interrogated through the lens of power. I considered the different players and their power in the CLING Project – those who wrote the documents and shaped the overall CLING project, the Freedom Park CLING co-ordinator, the facilitators and Community Researchers, and the adult learners. I also considered the power related to Abahlali and SOPA.

The study set out to answer the following questions:-

1. To what extent did the CLING Project embrace the Freirean philosophy and methodology?
2. How did learners experience the CLING classes?
3. What kinds of self-directed informal learning have taken place since the project closed?

This chapter uses these questions to frame the discussion.

6.2 Research Question 1: To what extent did the CLING Project embrace the Freirean philosophy and methodology?

As discussed in Chapter Two, Freire's epistemology is integrally linked to his ontology. According to Freire, we are dehumanised by oppression, although it remains our 'ontological and historical vocation' to be more fully human (Freire, 1970, p. 44).

However, Freire posits that the oppressed are not always aware that they are oppressed because the oppressors enforce a particular worldview which conceals this reality by, *inter alia*, using education as a tool of oppression. According to Freire, this education renders the learners as objects in the process of learning or knowledge transfer, in which the learners are passive recipients. He calls this type of education, 'banking education' or domesticating education.

Freire therefore proposes problem-posing education or liberating education as an essential component of emancipation. In contrast to banking education this emphasises the importance of dialogue and learner-participation and horizontal relations between learners and educators (Gboku & Modise, 1999). Bartlett (2005) sees dialogue 'as a pedagogical process, in which teachers and students actively pursue learning through discussion and debate of socio-political realities, processes that entail a particular theory of knowledge' (p. 346). The process of reflective dialogue leads to 'conscientisation' – and awareness of oppressive relations of power – which in turn must lead to action to overcome oppression.

In Chapter One, I stated that according to what I had heard and read, the CLING Project was broadly Freirean and this was the reason I chose it as the focus for this study. In my first visit to Freedom Park, I had met and spoken to Zipho who had been one of the adult learners in the CLING Project, and his comments raised issues I wanted to explore regarding the manner in and extent to which the CLING Project embraced the Freirean methodology and philosophy in its adult education classes.

As discussed, the documents I initially consulted strongly suggested this. The National Co-ordinator of the CLING Project, Michael Gardiner, confirmed that the Project was based on the 'broad understanding of the term 'literacy – which means discovering increasingly how to read the word and the world (Paulo Freire)' (Gardiner, 2010, p. 1). Baatjes (2016) who also worked with the CLING Project, confirmed that the Project's definition of literacy was based on the 'broader definition of literacy which is about **critical consciousness**, participation in

activities that lead to action and change for the better, and **emancipation**' (p. 11; author's emphasis).

There is sufficient evidence from the other CLING Project documents that I collected during this study to suggest that the CLING Project did embrace the Freirean philosophy. The 'CLING final report' (Baatjes et al., 2012) presented the findings and experiences of the CLING Project. The report was written by Ivor Baatjes from CERT (based at the University of Johannesburg, and, as discussed, the lead agency in the Freedom Park project), Madumetja Kgobe, who was with the Centre for Education Policy Development (CEPD), and Namhla Sotuku, who was with Education Policy Unit (based at the University of Fort Hare). In this report, they posited that the CLING Project was created on a vision that 'located literacy ideologically and theoretically as integral to participatory citizenship and the development of democracy' (Baatjes et al., 2012, p. 1). The CLING Project, they argued, propagated that literacy must relate to speaking the word to transform reality, and to humankind's role in this transformation (p. 11). Importantly, its research methodology 'was based on Freire's notion of praxis (critical reflection and action) and the development of deeper understandings of the social reality and seeking actions that foster greater possibility for change' (p. 15). The project, they argued was aware and acknowledged the challenges of implementing this research approach and methodology.

Baatjes et al. (2012) confirmed that through the project they sought to effect some level of conscientisation in keeping with the Freirean methodology and principle on which the project was founded. They believed that

The implementation of the CLING activities provided for the development of awareness (or conscientization). As Heaney and Horton (1990:88) argue: conscientization can occur only when "learners experience and reflect". The collective experience and involvement in CLING activities forms the basis for critical reflection leading to increased awareness. This increased awareness of the poverty of education in their schools is captured in the statements of CRs and members of CLING (p. 56)

According to Baatjes et al. (2012) it became obvious through the implementation of the CLING Project that it needed to be reviewed to ensure that it remained aligned to what it sought to achieve. What seemed to have posed serious challenges, according to Baatjes et al. (2012), was that 'the research was based on a conceptual framework which only became clearer in the latter stages of the project' (p. 56).

Although the CLING project encouraged participatory ways of work throughout the five-year period, PAR was only explicitly introduced later in the project. Greater emphasis needed to be placed in getting the CLINGs to view their work as a reflective learning process with specific reference to the range of activities selected as part of their community mobilisation strategy (p. 46).

They are also willing to acknowledge the trials and tribulations the CLING Project underwent in its five-year tenure,

The implementation of the activities at each site differed given the dynamics and contextual realities within each of the communities ...Similarly; other sites such as the urban / semi-urban communities of Evaton-North and Freedom Park presented their own contextual dynamics which impacted on the project (p. 27).

The report writers conceded that the Freedom Park CLING was particularly problematic and tensions due to CLING members' different political affiliations presented great difficulty to the Community Researchers. The tensions, according to Baatjes et al. (2012) 'remained throughout the lifespan of the CLING and created barriers to participation, hindrances to community organising and the effective mobilisation and participation of the community' (p.31). As a result the project in Freedom Park was inactive for an eight month period (September 2009 – May 2010) (ibid).

Whilst a level of conscientisation was achieved according to Baatjes et al (2012), the question is the extent to which it resulted from the Freirean intervention.

The second report I dealt with was the 'Synthesis Report of the Community Literacy and Numeracy Group (CLING)' written by the EPC & CLING Researchers. The report does not specify nor give a list of the names of its authors. It seems to have been written in about August 2011, but no actual date is given on the report.

The EPC & CLING Researchers are even more explicit about the Freirean connection:

The methodology is based on Freire's notion of praxis (critical reflection and action) and the development of deeper understandings of the social reality and seeking actions that foster greater possibility for change (EPC & CLING Researchers, n.d., p. 6).

To this end, according to the report, the CLING Project used PAR to 'interrogate the conditions of oppression and surface leverage for resistance and change' (p. 6.). The PAR

was implemented because the organisers realised that

It represents a radical epistemological challenge to the traditions of social science. PAR assumes that those who have been most systematically excluded, oppressed, or denied carry specifically revealing wisdom about the history, structure, consequences, and fracture points in unjust social arrangements,... It propels into prominence the role of the oppressed as the architects of critical enquiry – the originators of knowledge for social change and collective revolutionary praxis (p. 6).

The CLING Findings and Methodology report (n.d.) does not make any claims about the CLING Project being Freirean; it does however, paint a vivid picture of the context that the CLING had identified as the reason for the intervention. The tense used in the report suggests that it was written while the project was still in operation, but no actual date is given. Whilst it does not have the name of the author it seems that one of the writers had intimate knowledge of Freedom Park. The report does acknowledge that ‘Thami Hukwe, the coordinator continues to offer input into the writing’ (p. 4). Thami Hukwe is one of the leading activists in the area.

The report is on the work of the CLING Project as a whole, but with a special focus on the Freedom Park CLING. It starts by giving the history of Freedom Park as well the socio-economic state of the area. It outlines the high unemployment rate and high levels of illiteracy as some of the challenges the area faces. It further mentions that Freedom Park is often the site of service delivery protests.

The CLING Freedom Park according to this report has not always sailed smoothly because of the different political affiliations of some of its founding members, and reports that these tensions threatened the success of the project resulting in its inactivity between September 2009 and May 2010.

According to this report, the CLING Project only gained traction around 2012 when a group of highly motivated youth became involved and revived it. That was when the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE), through a local ABET Centre, offered stipends to the facilitators with a view to motivating them. This relationship was short-lived (because it was not formalised) resulting in the stopping of these stipends a few months after they were introduced. This saw facilitators leaving the CLING Project.

The report says that during its tenure, the CLING Project was able to identify certain social issues affecting school children, e.g. gangsterism, drug abuse, sexual abuse, child neglect and child-headed households. It states that, because of lack of evidence, no claim can be made that the project had any significant impact in the literacy and numeracy levels of children, there is evidence that the children who were part of the CLING Project performed better. The report also discusses a number of challenges to the project, over and above the political issues, including financial support, a lack of toilets and water, the high turnover rate of facilitators, and, critically, hungry learners.

According to this report, the CLING facilitators tried to support the Project by using their stipends to buy food for the learners, but when the stipends stopped this affected the classes and to this end they had to 'suspend' the Saturday classes. They tried to send out letters for donations in vain; Ikusasa Lethu, a local ABET Centre, helped but could not sustain it. This report clearly acknowledges a context of injustice and inequality that prevailed in Freedom Park. It does not however, use the language of oppression; nor does it mention Freire. It appears to focus on technical aspects and challenges that the CLING Project experienced, and is thus quite different from the other two, and does not seem to have been written by the same people.

The Community Literacy and Numeracy Group (CLING) Policy Brief does not have the name of the author and is not dated; based on the language used, one can assume it was written at the end of the project. It says that the CLINGs were made up of small groups of concerned citizens from marginalised communities who took it upon themselves to address the failures in the education system by focussing on literacy and numeracy while acknowledging the importance of learning in one's mother tongue. The CLING's initial focus was children and improving their literacy and numeracy, but over the years the project grew to include adult education, amongst other activities. According to this report, the Freedom Park and Evaton North CLINGs continued to work in their communities even after the project had officially ended.

For some time the GDE offered stipends to the adult education facilitators with the help of the local ABET centre in the community, however, they were stopped because 'they were 'for adult literacy only' and the CLING fell 'outside' of this stipulation' (p. 2). The learning that happens within the CLING is non-formal and informal and some of it falls within 'the hard skills paradigm, such as crocheting, knitting, food gardening, etc.' (p. 4).

This report maintains that

The CLING example points to how unemployment in working class and poor communities could be addressed. The CLING groups are largely made up of young people - youth unemployment is 54, 5% (Stats SA, 2016) - and most members are female. If the volunteers were recognised as community development workers and remunerated accordingly, it would go some way in addressing the high unemployment rates within the communities in which they live and work (the same goes for similar groupings in other communities) (p. 5).

This report seems to be claiming a high level of autonomy especially in its mention of “who took it upon themselves” but, like the CLING Project Findings and Methodology report, seems different from the first two and they cannot be said to have been written by the same people. There is no usage of any radical language synonymous with Freire.

It is clear from the documents that at least as far as the National Co-ordinator and the 3Rs consortium partners who conceived of the project are concerned, the CLING Project was conceived and perceived to be based on the Freirean philosophy and methodology.

The Freedom Park CLING co-coordinator also appears to have seen the project in this light, although he, too, suggests that there was a degree of involvement in this:

It also got involved now in the issues of the community and the issues of adult-based education because the understanding was that as we engaged in the discussions and so on...literacy was broadened. Initially the understanding was that literacy was learning how to read and write words but as we engaged the understanding was deepened; that you want to read and write so that you can be able to understand ukuthi izinto zime kanjani emhlabeni (how things look or stand in the world). So it was more about the world and the environment, what is happening around you, things like that.
(Christopher)

This approach, though, is not evident in what the Freedom Park CLING facilitators said. Some facilitators seem to have become involved with the CLING Project through a local ABET provider, *Ikusasa Lethu*.

The problem with the elderly people was the eye-sight hence we had to take them to the local clinic to have their eyes tested and get them spectacles and we realised that it was

becoming too time-consuming... We actually got them from Joey, one of the NGOs around here that deals with elderly people. We would go there and Joey would give us those hours to teach them. (Jabu)

On the issue of that which was taught in the classes, the facilitators said that,

The people we had mostly wanted to learn how to write and count. We would even take them to the ATM so that they knew how to do that for themselves. We would also read stories for them. Others were saying SASSA says they must not deposit their money, so we also taught them how to do deposits. Some said they were not allowed by SASSA to deposit their money. So we will teach them that no money is better than any other, you are the one who decides on your expenses and save the rest of your grant. (Nana)

Another facilitator I interviewed (Nox), said ‘*We taught them how to write their names; that the X was not good. So we taught them how to sign their names and how to count*’.

According to the co-ordinator this is what went into the adult classes:

The newspapers (Learn with Echo) that we were receiving from the University of KwaZulu-Natal, were designed of course for that purpose of teaching adults. We would read those newspapers with them and there would be some exercises and different topics that are discussed with them and izingane kwane (folklore). Bayazithanda izingane abantu abadala (Adults love folklore).

Čubajevaitė (2015) referred to some kind of training that was attended by the Community Researchers, when she reported that ‘CLINGs learning stance in Gauteng started with the recruitment and initial training of CRs’ (p. 152). She seems to suggest that the facilitators were trained in the Freirean methodology or approach (whilst conceding that there does not appear to be much data related to this):

From the limited information available, it is visible that the external education and training input was guided by the Freirean notions of critical consciousness, emphasizing the resourcefulness of the communities, outlining the dismal educational situation in the country and organizing for the quality education demands. (p. 151)

There is no evidence, however, from the interviews I had with the facilitators or FGD or documents to suggest that there was any concerted attempt to ‘cascade’ the Freirean philosophy down to the facilitators. The facilitators spoke of different types of training they

attended, but none referred to having attended training that was meant to help them with Freirean notions of ‘critical consciousness’. The co-ordinator spoke of 12 week training that the facilitators attended and ‘*ukufacilitator: ubafundisa kanjani abanti abadala*’ (*were trained on adult education: how you teach adults*), and Phaks and Nox went to an unspecified training ‘*in the Vaal organized by Jonathan [from ILRIG] ...with the help of CERT*’.

It is not clear from the above quotations what the content of this training was, and the kinds of skills it sought to impart, except for ‘*how you teach adults*’ (as mentioned by Christopher) and ‘*planning workshop*’ (Khule).

Kerka (1997) recommends that communities’ needs and goals should inform the basis for popular education provision. She maintains that facilitators have to be trained ‘in critical dialogue that blends political content with instructional practices and connects the issues with participants’ immediate reality’ (p. 4). With regards to the CLING, it not clear what training was done, but from the available data it does not seem to have been on ‘critical dialogue’. The data from the facilitators about what actually happened in the classroom certainly does not show much evidence of a Freirean pedagogy. I discuss this further in relation to the learners’ experiences under my second research question below.

There is nothing in the interviews with the two learners to suggest that they saw the project in this light – indeed, their data suggests they couldn’t see anything like this in the classes they had; and what Zipho says about the classes not helping him get a job suggests that the classes certainly did not conscientise him, if they ever intended to. I will discuss the learners’ view in more detail in my discussion related to my second research question.

As is clear from the discussion in Chapter Two, Freire’s pedagogy is derived from his ontology and epistemology. His ‘pedagogy of the oppressed’ requires a different role of the teacher and the learner; a different curriculum; and a different method, within which dialogue is central.

Within the overall CLING Project, as discussed above and in Chapter Four, PAR appears to have been an important methodological element (although there is some evidence that this was not the case from the inception of the Project). Freire (Horton & Freire, 1990) argues that when there is a need for organising and mobilising, it should become a learning process for those who are organising and mobilising, which should be reflected in their changing language – i.e., as they organise and mobilise, their speech, and the contents of their speech,

should change because they are learning from the people.

In an analysis of the process we call mobilizing and organizing – which implies organizers getting more and closer contacts with groups of people – the organizers are engaged, if they are good, in a kind of participatory research... And if they are good in being involved in participatory research, they necessarily are grasping some issues that have to do with the expectations and frustrations of the people. (p. 122)

In the CLING Project, the Community Researchers/facilitators and possibly the Freedom Park co-ordinator, were precisely supposed to be involved in mobilising and organising. According to the CLING Draft Report (2014), the CLING Project in each site began with the Community Researchers recruiting learners and supporting community mobilisation; and Baatjes et al. (2012, p. 31) spoke about “hindrances to community organising and the effective mobilisation and participation of the community” in Freedom Park.

It is thus not that surprising that, given the Freirean influence, Baatjes et al., (2012) reported that PAR was essential for learning within the Project in that ‘people research (learn about) and construct knowledge about their social reality, apply knowledge to change that reality and develop agency to produce change’ (p. 15). They deemed participatory methods to be ‘most relevant for the project which sought to examine the effects of mobilisation and participation on education reform’ (p. 18), because of PAR’s ‘long history and increasing success with pedagogical projects concerned with bringing about change within marginalised communities’ (Baatjes et al., 2012, p. 46). They are willing to concede that ‘although the CLING project encouraged participatory ways of work throughout the five-year period, PAR was only considered later in the project’ (p. 46). However, neither the co-ordinator nor the facilitators provided any sense of having known about PAR, or used it.

Čubajevaitė (2009), in her study in Freedom Park, argues, in relation to the Community Researchers/facilitators, that ‘with the CLING groups having been established over five years, it allows presuming that the group conscientization process has occurred’. She is, however, quick to mention that ‘one needs to be careful in making such claims especially taking into consideration that the group is receiving external support such as the small amount of money (seed money)’ and she argues, ‘this could have been motivation to maintain the group structure’(p. 32-33). She believes that ‘reflection-on-action’ did happen with the CR’s, but did ‘notice the absence of locating the origins of local community problems in the larger framework of neo-liberal policies’ (p. 36).

Čubajevaitė (2009) posits that ‘learners-activists (the facilitators) brought in their multiple experiences from the previous community activism into the learning process that also affected the learning in the CLING’ (p. 34). Čubajevaitė (2009) writes:

In the process of consciousness raising and provoking the critical reflection, the importance is attributed to the individual reality instead of ‘analyses and theories produced elsewhere’ (Hart, 1990:35). Thus, though debilitating effects of the apartheid system, high numbers of illiterate adults, growing disparity between schools in rich and poor communities might have been known to the learners-activists (brief information on the external input provided suggest that some aspects were discussed there), they would not be sufficient to mobilise for the process of conscientisation (Hart, 1990). Moreover, the context of the community, in which the learners-activists find themselves, facilitates their learning as conscientisation occurs among the oppressed / marginalised groups implying that with no context of oppression, challenging the held assumptions, critical consciousness would not occur. (p. 34)

Čubajevaitė (2009) argues that whilst some level of conscientisation took place, in that whilst ‘the core of the FP CLING is made up mostly of SOPA members’ (p. 42), the activists claimed to now be able to work with members of other political groups. In the previous chapter, I dealt sufficiently with this to show that tensions still exist between different political parties, specifically between the ANC and SOPA; and the data suggests that Čubajevaitė’s claim may have been premature.

In Freire’s methodology specifically related to the teaching of literacy, the teacher’s role is to present a problem to learners in the form of codes. This is known as codification. These are visual codes presenting problems that derive from learners ‘everyday lives or lived experiences’ (Freire, 1970). The teacher is expected to challenge learners, whilst offering a safe space for dialogue. What the facilitator presents in the codes, through dialogue and discussion, results in a ‘generative theme’.

The generative themes are key words from the learners’ lived experiences derived from a dialogical process in which learners engage with their social issues. The words are then used as the basis for learning to read, being divided into syllables, which are then used to create new words, for new discussion - thus reading the ‘word and the world’ (Freire, 1970).

In the literature I reviewed in Chapter Two, there were various instances of challenges experienced in embracing a Freirean philosophy when facilitators had not been trained in the Freirean methodology or did not understand the purpose or the content of the training. Bartlett (2005) argued that ‘insufficient understanding of Freire’s intent contributed to the difficulties these adult literacy teachers faced in integrating students’ knowledge, [and] limitations in Freire’s theory of knowledge production were also factors’ (p. 360). Some of these difficulties included but were not limited to teachers’ failing to consider learners’ lived experiences and maintaining the student-teacher approach. Kerka (1997) cited an instance wherein teachers had not received orientation regarding the purpose of training. The teachers in this instance ended up emphasizing the knowledge of the content instead of the skills required by the community, resulting in ‘project facilitators abdicating their responsibility to guide the learning process’ (p. 3).

A number of the studies I reviewed suggest that there is a detachment between the philosophy/intent, and the actual practice; resulting in learners not having a “sense of control over their lives” as anticipated’ (Gboku & Modise, 1999, p. 166). Kerka (1997) argued that this disjunction failed the learners in that they were unable to ‘discuss political issues in class and the type of political discourse they engaged in [in] daily life’ (p. 3).

This brings home the argument made by Aronowitz (2012) that it is not unusual for teachers and administrators of programmes to say and think that they are ‘using’ and embracing the Freirean methodology; when what they mean by this is being ‘indeterminate’ (p. 257). What he deems to be indeterminate is a methodology that

Sometimes merely connotes that teachers try to be ‘interactive’ with students; sometimes it signifies an attempt to structure class time, as, in part, a dialogue between the teacher and students; some even mean to ‘empower’ students by permitting them to talk in class without ritualistically correcting them...All these are commendable practices but hardly require Freire as cover (p. 257).

The point of Freire’s methodology is emancipation - through firstly conscientisation through reflection on daily lived experience, and secondly action as a result. Aronowitz (2012) contends that often it is the methodology that gets adopted without the emancipatory intention. With the CLING Project, it appears to be the opposite - the project seems to have embraced the philosophy, at least at the level of the national co-ordinator, Freedom Park co-ordinator (although to a lesser extent) and the 3Rs partners, but then not to have translated

this into the community or the classroom.

6.3 Research Question 2: How did learners experience the CLING classes?

I will start the discussion by declaring that whilst I have sufficient data to answer this question, it is derived from only two adult learners, and is thus compromised in terms of trustworthiness, as discussed in Chapter Three. However, there certainly is a degree of convergence between what these two learners say, and data collected from other sources.

In terms of the content of the adult education classes, Zipho stated that they were taught *'how to read, how to write your name, and signing... you see I already knew how to write my name'* (Zipho), whilst Gogo reported that, *'When they started teaching us a, e, i, o, u, I would say I do not know how to write and just sit there'*. (Gogo)

The teaching of a, e, i, o, u represents a particular method of teaching literacy, based on learning the letters of the alphabet, consonants versus vowels. Whilst it is feasible (although unlikely) that this could be integrated into a broader social theme or problem, from what Gogo is saying, it was isolated and not linked to any lived experience; Gogo said she would just 'sit' there. Gogo seems to suggest that something was wrong with this kind of teaching, otherwise why would she 'just sit'? It seems she wanted something more, especially when they taught her how to count; *'that put me off because even my grandchild can count'*.

Zipho, it seems, had a pretty clear idea of what he wanted to be taught:

In all honesty my sister, what we wanted to be taught was how to get out of our present problems, like living poor in the shacks, with no jobs, and the classes were not giving us that. One could not live on hope, that one day they will eventually teach us knowledge that was going to open job opportunities for us. Hope is not edible, a man had to do what he had to do to make things happen and also help my grandmother.
(Zipho)

Zipho's statement above suggest that their *'present problems'* which are *'living poor in the shacks, with no jobs'* were not discussed.

The Freirean approach to education suggests that teachers and learners negotiate what is to become the content of learning (Freire, 1970); and as discussed in relation to Research Question 1, advocates a very specific method for teaching literacy. If the educators and learners had engaged in this exercise, the educators would have known what learners wanted

to learn. From what Zipho and Gogo say, the content was not derived from either their lived experience, or broader community needs and goals. As discussed in Chapter Two, what sets popular education apart is that it 'is based on the belief that all people possess important knowledge arising from their own particular experiences and that education should consist of dialogue between different sets of knowledge' (Kane, 2010, p. 277). In the discussion on Research Question 1, I discuss how research literature on Freirean interventions emphasizes the need for facilitator training to include the necessity of starting from lived experience.

From what the adult learners say, there also does not seem to be any suggestion that this teaching was dialogic – learners were clearly not asked what they wanted to learn, or engaged in discussing what they were learning – so Gogo just sat there.

There is a sense that the learners did not derive any value from attending these classes. When asked if there was anything they could remember from the classes, Gogo said,

Nothing, I hated being taught 1,2,3 and a,e,i,o,u, something I was teaching to my grandchild. And the fact that everything they promised never came to pass. So for me that was a waste of time and that is why Lizzie and I decided to stop... Basithembise amanga (they promised us lies or they were selling / or sold us dreams) and that is the only thing I remember from those classes, instead of going there it would have been easy for me to gather those women here at home and teach them what I can do with my hands. (Gogo)

The facilitators, as we have seen in the discussion on Research Question 1, suggested that the learners did have some say in what they wanted to be taught and the skills they deemed necessary for their survival. They say this was the reason they taught reading and writing, and also how to use an automatic teller machine (ATM). According to the facilitators, the learners told them what they wanted to learn, and the facilitators actively tried to help with this:

Learners asked for specific things, e.g. others wanted us to teach them how to knit and other wanted to learn handwork, e.g. sewing. While we were planning how we will help them, we were actually thinking we will take from our stipends and buy material like wool, etc. and teach them. Like we said, we were taking from our money to buy the learners food because we understood their home circumstances. We were also going to buy the material for them. (Nana)

We have already established that the Freirean approach to education advocates for educators to negotiate the content or curriculum with the learners. Whilst there are conflicting accounts of whether this happened or not, there is certainly no evidence of incorporating the context of oppression into the teaching. It is therefore apparent that ‘the reading and writing of words’ did not ‘come by the reading of the world’. As a result the learners missed out on ‘the critical exercise of reading and re-reading the world, which is scientifically, politically, and pedagogically crippled’ (Freire, 1994, p. 68). Zipho’s statement that ‘*one could not live on hope, that one day they will eventually teach us knowledge that was going to open job opportunities for us*’ also suggests that the classes that he attended did not critically reflect on the high unemployment in Freedom Park, as a problem-posing approach would require. Zipho’s understanding of the relationship between education and jobs falls solidly within the current dominant neoliberal discourse. No ‘conscientisation’ is evident.

As would seem apparent from the above discussion, the shift in roles of the learner and teacher, as required in a Freirean approach – to a dialogic relationship based on equality, in which the teacher is also a learner and the learner is also a teacher – did not occur.

In the learners’ experience of the CLING adult classes then, there seemed to be a disconnect between what was taught (curriculum) and the manner in which it was taught (methodology), and a Freirean approach.

From the data collected from the two adult learners, then, it could be argued that the education that was on offer at the CLING Project was marked more by what Freire calls education for domestication or the banking model of education, than by education for liberation/problem-posing education (Freire, 1970). It propagated domestication because it did not help learners interrogate existing economic and social structures in Freedom Park; structures which the CLING Project itself identified as oppressive. This kind of teaching tends to interfere with the learners’ ‘creative, formulative, investigative capacity’ (Freire, 1994, p. 68).

6.4 Research Question 3: What kinds of self-directed informal learning have taken place since the project closed?

As discussed in Chapter One, I went to Freedom Park to meet the co-ordinator of the CLING Project in August 2017, and participated in the march which was taking place when I arrived. It was then that I learned that the Project was apparently no longer running in Freedom Park,

but that members of the Abahlali Group who had been involved with the CLING Project were driving an informal learning process, which they called ‘political classes’. Baatjes (2016) also referred to Abahlali base-Freedom Park as continuing the work of CLING in the community, meeting informally to learn and discuss pertinent social issues. It would appear that Baatjes was referring to these ‘political classes’. As a result, I formulated a research question about the kinds of self-directed informal learning that had been happening since the CLING Project ‘concluded’, and could now look not only at the past project, but also its potential link to this on-going informal learning.

In my research, I found conflicting evidence about whether or not there was any relationship between the political class and the CLING Project or whether or not the political class was the product of the CLING Project. One CLING Project participant (Khule) who facilitated the political class on the day of my observation confirmed having initially been invited to the classes by a fellow SOPA comrade, suggesting some degree of separation between CLING and the political classes. The Freedom Park CLING co-ordinator, however, suggested that the political classes, CLING, and SOPA are all basically the same thing:

Many people who are CLING facilitators are also members of the political organisation...the Socialist Party of Azania which is people that belong to the Black Consciousness Movement, so they organised political classes which they attend every Friday in the evening from 17h00 to 19h30... As Abahlali base-Freedom Park, as Black Consciousness Movement, we are one and the same thing. We are one...we all worked together, working together under CLING. This is part of political education under the CLING. (Christopher)

In Chapter Two, I discussed my conceptual framework, looking at the concept of non-formal education and informal learning, and the different kinds of informal learning, including, specifically, self-directed informal learning, which related to my research question. In my discussion, it became clear that self-directed learning is characterised by the intentionality and consciousness by the learner of the learning process (Schugurensky, 2000). What sets self-directed learning apart from other forms of learning is that the learner has autonomy in deciding what goes into the learning process and how the learning process unfolds (Mocker & Spear, 1982). This autonomy means that learners can choose, change, and reject the content of learning and ultimately terminate the learning process if they deem it not to meet adequately or satisfy the learning outcomes (ibid). Learning is therefore deemed to be self-

directed when learners take charge of their learning needs, set goals thereof, choose and implement the requisite learning intervention.

I also mentioned in Chapter Two that for the purposes of this study the focus would be on non-formal and informal learning. Non-formal learning refers to educational programmes that take place outside the formal schooling system, do not normally demand qualifications in terms of prior learning, may have educators and some kind of a curriculum which may have various degrees and levels of flexibility (Schugurensky, 2000). They are generally short-term and voluntary (Mocker & Spear, 1982).

Informal learning on the other hand refers to everyday learning that is often learner-driven and self-directed (Schugurensky, 2000). Livingstone (2001) describes it as ‘any activity involving the pursuit of understanding, knowledge or skill which occurs without the presence of externally imposed curricular criteria’ (Livingstone, 2001, p. 5). It includes incidental learning, is not classroom-based and the control of learning lies with the learner (Marsick & Watkins, 2001). Schugurensky (2000) puts forth three types of informal learning, viz. self-directed, incidental and socialisation. What separates one form from another is the extent to which the learning is intentional, and the extent to which one is conscious of having learnt something (ibid).

The political class, based on the data I collected, could be argued as being more non-formal than informal. There appears to be some level of organisation, and there is a teacher, or facilitator, who (at least in the class I observed) plays a fairly directive role. Learning appears to be both intentional (learners choose to go to the classes in order to learn something) and conscious (there is some evidence that learners are aware they have learned something from the classes), which are Schugurensky’s criteria for self-directed learning. In terms of what I was told, and what I observed, attendance in the classes is voluntary because learners choose to go, or not (although obviously some are not particularly welcome because of their political affiliation). Whilst much of the language I heard from the participants of the classes was about ‘teaching’ rather than ‘learning’, in the photovoice discussion, Khule repeatedly used the term ‘*these classes have taught me ...*’.

However, the classes did not seem to be very self-directed in terms of content, because there seemed to be a pre-existing curriculum. It was not clear though who determines what is to be learned. Some of those involved seemed to think they decide what is to be learned, while others spoke of a ‘knowledgeable’ person who shapes the content:

In the Friday classes we teach people about umzabalazo womuntu omnyama (the struggle of the black person). There are people who are knowledgeable about the whole notion of black power so they teach that. You see, the government of the day is teaching lies, so in these classes we correct those lies. They (the ANC) are now adopting the concept of Black Consciousness as their own, we go back to what it is, what it means, we help them separate the truth from lies. (Velaphi)

Velaphi's statement above suggests that somebody other than the learner determines what has to be learned and this person is deemed to be more 'knowledgeable' than the learner. There were other interesting versions of what gets taught as seen below:

Ama-issues akhona (dominant issues) get to be discussed in these classes. Like this Friday we will discuss State Capture. What is our understanding of state capture, how does it impact our life as ordinary people? (Christopher)

Whilst state capture is clearly a topical issue, Christopher speaks of it rather as a macro issue impacting on ordinary lives, rather than something emerging organically from the lived experience of people in Freedom Park.

Another participant reported:

They teach us about being black. They tell us to be proud of being black. You see wena Sisi, when we grew up everything that is bad even now, everything that is bad is associated with being black. So, in the classes they tell us to be proud of who we are and of being black and to accept ourselves first. (Khule)

As discussed in Chapter Three, photovoice was one of the methodologies I employed in order to understand learning in the Freedom Park community. I asked participants to take pictures of things they had learned and then explain how and when they had learned those things. One of the participants specifically spoke about the political classes:

These classes have taught me that we black people have the power to fight for our dignity and demand dignified places to live at. These classes (political) have taught me to have pride in my being black and to refuse to be treated as a sub-human. (Khule)

Khule's choice of words is an interesting one, in that it links with Freire's notion of dehumanisation. Freire argued that oppression dehumanises both the oppressor and the oppressed. It also seems from what Khule says that these classes may have taught him about

class and social status. He tended to make reference to *'black people who act like they are not black'*. He mentioned this fact while referring to the *'beautiful houses of other black people, who act like they are not black'*. In this sense, Khule seemed to be struggling to reconcile the analysis he was learning in the class (to be proud of being black, and reject the dehumanising of racist oppression) with what he was actually experiencing in the community (i.e. black people acting as oppressors or sub-oppressors).

The political class was never suggested to be a Freirean-inspired education project, as I mentioned earlier; however, in the light of Khule's statement above, and given my choice of theoretical frame and the discussion about the nature of the CLING project, and its link to the political classes, it is interesting and useful to consider the political classes through a Freirean lens.

My observation of the class suggested some level of 'banking' education, in that there was a facilitator who kept trying to bring the learners back to the 'line' he seemed to want to follow. There was a sense of the lesson having been planned and learners being reprimanded for not having done what they were supposed to i.e. research into socialism.

In my observation of the class, it started with participants sitting in a manner that is in keeping with the banking model of education - them behind the desks and the facilitator standing at the front – making it clear who has the power and the knowledge. It is only after a while that *'Cleo suggested that they change the seating arrangement and form a circle such that the facilitator is not the one dominating as this was supposed to be a discussion. At that point they moved to the front of the class where the facilitator had been standing and sat in a circle. Cleo continued to say she feels as if the class is dominated by three people only; the facilitator concurred and said he also did not want to dominate the discussions'* (Excerpt from my observation notes). The facilitator who had been dominating the discussions up to this point agrees with Cleo that he also does not want to dominate the conversation; but in fact he continued to do so.

Cleo, as if she saw through the facilitator's authoritarian tendencies, tried again to get the conversation to move towards a co-operative, practical action that could be taken at the community level; but the facilitator brought the conversation back to the 'theory' and the dictionary by saying *'he, however, did not do his research on BCM and would only do it next week. He then thought to stick with the definition that he had found in the dictionary and work with it to gauge how much we understood socialism'* (Excerpt from my observation

notes). This is a clear cut example of how a political party ‘line’ can take over and ensure that the discussions are kept within the tenets of the party – in this case, the Socialist Party of Azania. He took the stance of what Freire called the ‘authoritarian left’ by ‘forcing’ his ideas and views on people as if he ‘had the revolutionary truth by the tail’ (Freire, 1994, p. 53).

It becomes interesting to note the facilitator’s attempt at disciplining the participants: ‘*He reminded them to take things seriously so that whenever they had asked people to research a certain topic they did that*’ (Excerpt from my observation notes).

Kane (2010, p. 277) argues that popular education is characterised by the fact that ‘all people possess important knowledge arising from their own particular experiences and that education should consist of dialogue between different sets of knowledge’. This did not seem to be the case in the political class; rather, there was a sense of the conversations being redirected to the tenets of the party (SOPA), i.e. socialism as opposed to lived experience. This could be attributed to the fact that the political class appears to have clear links with SOPA, as discussed above, and to be framed by the tenets of the Black Consciousness Movement to which SOPA subscribes, and which the classes clearly emphasise:

See the problem is this...each time there are new people and this requires that the facilitator, Ntate Mabasa, starts all over again and starts with Black Consciousness. Now I remember that the only organisation we are linked with is BCM for Black Consciousness Movement. (Khule)

The political party line of the class is further captured in Khule’s statement that ‘*When we talk about those (he was referring to the RDP houses built by the ANC government), the ANC government is at the centre of our discussion*’. (Khule)

It could thus be argued that the intention and the direction of this political class is to promote the interests of the Socialist Party of Azania and that explains why

A member of the ruling party would not want to be a part of such discussions that speak ill of their party. When we talk about the land and the RDPs that are not being built, the ANC is the government; in that case the discussions move to the party of black people which is oppressing other black people and that we must not just take anything they give us, just like those RDPs that are just an empty hall with a toilet. (Khule)

Kerka (1997) argues that the purpose of popular education is to ensure that people's capacity for social change is developed through collective problem solving while encouraging 'participation, reflection and critical analysis of social problems' (p. 2). The political classes, as I have discussed above, whilst encouraging critical analysis of the South African (state capture) and local (RDP housing) context via a Black Consciousness and Socialist lens, do not seem to be doing this in a particularly participatory way, so collective problem solving is not really evident. Indeed, in the class I observed, the attempts made by some of the learners to debate actual possible collective action (a co-operative) were quite quickly shut down, probably because this did not fit the 'party line' of state socialism.

Freire's concern with the authoritarian left appears well-founded in the light of what I observed in the interaction between the facilitator and Cleo. When the facilitator asked what socialism was, Cleo's response was '*it referred to the system where the means of resources are shared*'. The facilitator said he had looked the word up in the dictionary, thus stifling Cleo's attempt at initiating an engagement on a lived understanding of socialism was thwarted by the facilitator's referring to the 'authoritative' definition as per the dictionary. This is reminiscent of what Freire refers to in his caution against left authoritarianists who 'memorise everything, reading for hours on end, slave to the text, fearful of taking a risk, speaking as if they were reciting from memory, they fail to make any concrete connections between what they have read and what is happening in the world' (Freire, 2013, p. 34).

6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I provided my deductive analysis of the data collected as part of this study. In answering the three research questions I showed that the CLING Project was consciously conceptualised at a macro level as a Freirean intervention to respond to the context of oppression that was prevalent at Freedom Park; but at the level of the Freedom Park facilitators, this was not evidently the case. In terms of the extent to which the project embraced Freirean methodology, even at a macro level this is not very clear, since the PAR method appears not to have been consciously included from the inception, but to have been brought into the Project later; and neither the Freedom Park co-ordinator, nor the Community Researchers / facilitators speak about it as a specific methodology used. There is no evidence that the adult education classes adopted a Freirean methodology. Thus, although the documents which were written by the Education Policy Consortium researchers had at that level conceptualised the CLING Project to be Freirean, there does not seem to have been a

concerted effort on their side to cascade the Freirean ‘thought’, by way of training, to the facilitators. In terms of my second research question, there is no evidence that the learners experienced the CLING Project adult classes as being Freirean; a finding which is reinforced by the data from the adult education facilitators. It seems clear that the CLING Project does not seem to have actively aimed to help adult learners identify their context as one of oppression (i.e. conscientisation). As far as my third research question is concerned, there is evidence to suggest that the classes were non-formal as opposed to informal. The data provide conflicting evidence in related to the level of ‘self-directedness’. Seen from a Freirean perspective, whilst the political classes specifically aimed to encourage critical analysis, they show a strong tendency towards the authoritarianism of the left of which Freire was so critical.

In the next chapter I will present my conclusion.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, as I conclude this study, I give a brief overview of my reasons for undertaking it, what came out of it, my personal reflections as well as possible areas for further investigation that emerged from this study.

7.2 Overview of argument

For this qualitative study, I set out to find a project that was overtly Freirean. This, as I explained in Chapter One, had been my long-standing interest. This study was framed within the critical paradigm and aimed to find out how the CLING Project, and in particular the Freedom Park CLING adult classes, embraced Freirean philosophy and methodology. I set out to speak to the adult learners, those that stayed and those that dropped out of the CLING classes. I also wanted to speak to the adult educators or facilitators. The learners were to talk about how they had experienced the CLING classes as being Freirean whilst the facilitators were to talk about that which went into the teaching that made the classes Freirean. However, when I went to Freedom Park, I spoke to Christopher and other members of the Abahlali Steering Committee (responsible for ‘development’ within Freedom Park) who not only told me that the CLING non-formal classes had ceased, but that Abahlali baseFreedom Park had begun an informal learning process, which they called ‘political classes’ after the CLING Project had ended, which led to a third research question.

Through this study I thus wanted to answer the following questions:

1. To what extent did the CLING Project embrace the Freirean philosophy and methodology?
2. How did learners experience the CLING classes?
3. What kinds of self-directed informal learning have taken place since the project closed?

To answer these questions, I used snowball sampling to gain access to as many CLING adult learners and facilitators as possible to participate in semi-structured interviews and/or focus group discusses, as well as other more participatory methodologies like a transect walk and photovoice. However, it proved difficult to get people to open up to me about their CLING experiences, primarily because of deep political tensions within the community which led to mistrust of me. I included everyone who was available and keen to be part of this study; but

ultimately only three CLING adult learners agreed to participate. I also drew on CLING-related documents in my data collection, and conducted interviews/focus group discussions with members of Abahlali base-Freedom Park and those involved in the ‘political classes’.

For the first research question I found that at the macro level, the CLING Project was intended to respond to the context of oppression that was prevalent at Freedom Park, and was consciously conceptualised as a Freirean intervention at a *philosophical* level; however, for the facilitators and the learners this was not obviously the case. The extent to which the CLING Project embraced Freirean methodology was problematic, at both the macro level (i.e. the CLING Project as a whole) and at the level of the Freedom Park Community Researchers and the adult education facilitators - none made reference to it. It would appear that at the macro level, the (Freirean) PAR method was only introduced at the later stage and even then it is not clear how this was done; whilst there is simply no evidence from the programme documents or the adult education facilitators that any Freirean-influenced methods were used in the adult classes.

With regards to the second question, consistent with the data collected from the facilitators, I found no evidence to suggest that the adult learners experienced the classes as being Freirean. It was apparent from the study that the CLING Project in Freedom Park did not appear to have aggressively aimed to help adult learners identify their context as one of oppression (i.e. conscientisation), and act to change this.

In relation to the third research question, it was evident that the ‘political classes’ currently being run in Freedom Park are non-formal, rather than informal; and the level of ‘self-directedness’ remains unclear. Whilst the political classes were explicitly meant to encourage critical analysis, they show a strong tendency towards what Freire perceives as the authoritarianism of the left of which he is vehemently critical.

7.3 Reflections on findings

There is a phrase that I got to hear very often in the Abahlali baseFreedom Park gatherings and that is ‘Nothing about us without us’. It made me reflect on my findings, in that the reports which clearly articulated that the CLING Project was Freirean were written primarily by the academics from the universities that conceptualised the CLING Project. It would seem that the same sentiment (about the project being Freirean) was not shared with the facilitators in that there does not seem to have been any concerted effort to filter this understanding to

those involved, apart from a mention of training of adult educators possibly using a Freirean-inspired pedagogy. It seemed like it was something about them but without them.

Freire warned about a disconnect and the power imbalance that could be caused by the separation of 'knowledges' between parties involved: 'Freire was well aware of the power imbalance between students' local, experiential knowledge and teachers' academic knowledge, derived from and certified by official educational institutions' (Bartlett, 2005, p. 346). This same disconnect also seemed evident in the 'political classes'.

7.4 Reflections on the research process

For my research methodology I decided to use participatory research because of its fitness for the purpose. According to Cohen et al. (2011) participatory research is premised on the fact that research can be conducted by 'everyday people' and that 'ordinary people are entirely capable of reflective and critical analysis of their situation' (p.37). I found that if one intends using participatory methods, a lot of time needs to be invested in getting to know the participants and attaining a certain level of comfort with them such that they are comfortable with sharing their stories.

My experience in Freedom Park also leads me to reflect that a researcher who wants to use participatory methods needs to know the context of the research area and must have invested time in knowing the local politics and the context they have chosen as a site for their study, especially if they are not from the area. It was only towards the end of my study that I saw a marked change in the people's reception, because they had seen me so many times and had begun associating with me as one of their own.

7.5 Possible areas for further investigation

Earlier in this conclusion I mentioned that I found the political class I observed to be leaning towards the authoritarian left. It would make for an interesting study to find out the extent to which this is really the case, as well as the extent to which, and how, the party (SOPA) inserts its ideologies into the learning content. Abahlali baseFreedom Park were adamant that they are not linked to any political party and yet found themselves saying things to the contrary. It would thus also be worthwhile to find out how other community members perceive the role of Abahlali and their political stance.

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APPENDIX 1: TRANSECT WALK AND PHOTOVOICE

Good Day and welcome to our focus group discussions. Thanks for taking the time to join us to talk about your experiences regarding the CLING Project.

As you know, I am Zamalotshwa Thusi. I am a Masters student from the School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) Pietermaritzburg, and I am trying to find out more about the CLING project and the classes you were part of; and also your learning since the project ended.

Guidelines

There are no right or wrong answers, only differing points of view,

I will record the session only if you allow me to,

You can call me by my first name,

You don't need to agree with others, but you must listen respectfully as others share their views.

I would like to ask that you turn off your cell phones. If you cannot and if you must respond to a call please do so as quietly as possible and re-join us as quickly as you can.

The transect walk

Thank you for taking this walk with me and showing me all the interesting things you have showed me. We will start by drawing a picture/map of the transect walk and everything we saw. I will then ask you a few questions about the walk.

What is the most important thing you want me to remember from the walk and why?

What would I have seen if I had come here 6 years ago?

[I will then probe, based on the walk, and picture/map drawn – eg. Is there a reason why you did not include X in the transect picture/map?]

The photovoice process

[The pictures taken by the participants will be prepared beforehand – i.e. printed onto A4-size paper]

Thank you for taking all these pictures for me. Please note that they will be treated in the strictest confidence. I would like to ask you a few questions based on the pictures.

What does the picture show?

Why did you take this particular picture?

How does this show your learning?

When and how did you learn this?

Who did you learn it from?

Thank you ever so much for your time.

APPENDIX 2: SEMI-STRUCTURED AND FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS

Semi-structured/Focus Group interview: Facilitators

My name is Zamalotshwa Thusi. I am a Master's Student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am conducting a study on the CLING Project that happened here in Freedom Park. The title of my study is **Critical Learning? An exploration of Non-formal and Informal Learning in Freedom Park, Johannesburg**. Please introduce yourself by telling me a bit about yourself.

1. How did you become part of the CLING Project?
2. Can you tell me more about the classes?
3. How many learners did you have?
4. How often did you have the classes?
5. What issues or problems were raised in the classes?
6. What was the duration the classes?
7. What was the content of the lessons?
8. Were there learning support material? Would you still have them? Would be able to let me see them?
9. What was the method of teaching you used?
10. Tell me a bit about what you saw as the purpose of the Project?
11. Did the Project achieve this purpose? Why do you say so? Was the Project a success?
12. Did you have any issues with drop-outs? If, so what would you say was the cause thereof?
13. What will you say is your overall impression of the CLING Project?
14. Tell me about what you consider to be long term effects of the CLING Project?
15. What would you say was the impact of the CLING Project?
16. What did you personally learn from the Project?

Thank you for your time and support.

Semi-structured interview: Learners

My name is Zamalotshwa Thusi. I am a Master's Student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am conducting a study on the CLING Project that happened here in Freedom Park. The title of my study is **Critical Learning? An exploration of Non-formal and Informal Learning in Freedom Park, Johannesburg**. Please introduce yourself by telling me a bit about yourself.

1. How did you become part of the CLING Project?
2. What was your role in the CLING Project?
3. Can you tell me more about the classes?
4. How many learners were there?
5. How often did you attend the classes?
6. What issues or problems were raised in the classes?
7. What was the duration thereof?
8. What was the content of the lessons?
9. Were there learning material? Would you still have them? Would you be willing to let me have a look at them?
10. What was the method of teaching that was used?
11. Tell me a bit about what you saw as the purpose of the Project?
12. Did the Project achieve this purpose? Why do you say so? Was the Project a success?
13. Did any learners drop out? If, so what would you say was the cause thereof?
14. What will you say is your overall impression of the CLING Project?
15. Tell me about what you consider to be long term effects of the CLING Project?
16. What would you say was the impact of the CLING Project?
17. What did you personally learn from the Project?
18. What do you remember learning in the CLING classes?
19. Who decided what you would learn?
20. Was this useful for you? How / Why?
21. What can you remember about your teacher? How did you feel about him / her?
22. Can you tell me a bit about how the classes actually ran? When and where were classes held? What actually happened in the class?
23. Is there anything you think you have learned since the class ended? What? How did you learn this?