Article

Learner and Parent Perceptions of Visible Rewards at two South African High Schools: An Inclusive Education Perspective

Shakira Akabor
https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0930-6084
University of South Africa
shakira.akabor@gmail.com

Abstract

The use of visible rewards presented at award ceremonies for academic achievement is a common practice in many South African schools. Although rewards are unique to each school, the use of badges, trophies, certificates, honour board listings and differentiated school uniforms are commonly accepted ways in which learners are rewarded for their academic achievements. Using a survey of 104 learner responses and 17 parent responses, this article reports on the quantitative data from the author's mixed methods doctoral study. Experiences of academic rewards at two Gauteng high schools from the perspective of grade 11 learners and their parents are presented here. A framework, including Social Interdependence Theory (Johnson and Johnson 2009) and the Participation Framework (Florian, Black-Hawkins, and Rouse 2017) was used to interpret the responses, revealing layers of meaning that indicated the problematic nature of rewarding learners visibly and publicly within an inclusive education system. The survey data revealed that learners desired recognition for their efforts and hard work but found the schools' reward systems restrictive in terms of recognising their efforts and talent. Parents felt more excluded from reward ceremonies than their children, and many did not believe in the benefits of public rewards; however, they did admit to feeling a sense of pride when their children won awards. Although South African schools are committed to inclusive education, the interrogation of visible rewards has uncovered a competitive environment unfeasible for inclusive education.

Keywords: inclusive education; visible rewards; participation

UNISA university of south africa PRESS
Commonwealth Youth and Development
https://unisapressjournals.co.za/index.php/CYD
Volume 19 | Number 2 | 2021 |#9089 | 29 pages
https://doi.org/10.25159/1727-7140//9089
ISSN 2663-6549 (Online), ISSN 1727-7140 (Print)

Introduction

Inclusive education has multiple definitions in multiple contexts (Akabor 2020). The common theme in these varied definitions is the idea that inclusive education goes beyond the discourse of incorporating learners with special needs—it is a movement that radically challenges current norms, it is embedded in social justice (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011) and it has gained momentum as a world-wide agenda (Ainscow 2005). Incidentally, Florian, Black-Hawkins, and Rouse (2017, 7) argue that "inclusive education was originally concerned with students previously excluded from mainstream schools, notably students with disabilities, but has evolved to become a broad rights-based concept that encompasses anyone who might be excluded from or have limited access to the educational system within a country." This is particularly relevant in the South African context that is underpinned by the need to address past inequalities. Volmink (2018) describes inclusive education as an interconnectedness between learners, educators and communities of learning, and providing a constructive environment that positively affects the self-worth, self-belief and achievement of learners. Inclusion is especially focused on those children or groups of learners who are "at risk of marginalisation, exclusion or underachievement" (Ainscow 2005, 119).

The provision of education in South African schools was unequal, fragmented and classified according to racial lines pre-1994, leaving the current post-apartheid government with the challenge of addressing multi-layered inequalities (Sayed and Soudien 2004; Walton, Hugo, and Muller 2009). These inequalities of the past are inextricably linked to the diverse needs of learners today. Meltz, Herman, and Pillay (2014) carefully demonstrate how the social model of disability, as used in South African policy documents, underpins the ideals of inclusive education, thus facilitating equity in education and society. In its broadest sense, the discourse of inclusive education incorporates the South African goal of extending quality education to the whole population (Engelbrecht, 1999). Furthermore, Engelbrecht, Oswald, and Forlin (2006, 121) believe that an inclusive education system is consistent with the democratic principles underlying South Africa's nascent democracy. Similarly, Makoelle (2012) argues that inclusive education works to promote a cohesive society. For this reason, Meltz et al. (2014) maintain that implementing inclusive education is heavily relied upon in terms of educational transformation in South Africa.

The available literature on the implementation of inclusive education in South African schools is not altogether positive. A variety of challenges, including funding constraints, lack of clarity in policy, poor teacher attitudes towards inclusion, inadequate teacher training and inadequate support, have been explored (D'Amant 2012; Makoelle 2012; Meier and Hartell 2009; Stofile 2008; Walton 2011; Wildeman and Nomdo 2007). Questions should be raised regarding the structures, practices and beliefs that continue to perpetuate exclusion in South African schools (Walton 2011) in addition to the

inclusive teaching strategies that are sorely needed (D'Amant 2012), and teachers should be willing to challenge outdated beliefs and practices that act as barriers to inclusive education (Donohue and Bornman 2014). While research in South Africa has focused on identifying factors that need to be interrogated regarding the challenging implementation of inclusive education, few have identified and called into question the specific ethos or particular cultural school practices that contribute to this challenging context (Meier and Hartell 2009; Walton 2013). In Majoko and Phasha's (2018) recent research report entitled "The State of Inclusive Education in South Africa and the Implications for Teacher Training Programmes" attention is drawn to implementation issues such as gaps in policy, the disjuncture between policy and practice, issues concerning the classroom environment, and the training of teachers. Physical access to school does not equate to equal access to learning opportunities, and there is still a risk of exclusion within an inclusionary framework (Majoko and Phasha 2018). In other words, not all learners obtain equal access to the curriculum. Equally, Walton (2013) notes that systemic school legacies, current policies and practices that give rise to and sustain marginalisation and exclusion in schools, need interrogation. Making schools more inclusive thus involves the painful process of challenging their own discriminatory practices and attitudes (Booth and Ainscow 2011). At its extreme, discrimination ends in the exclusion and marginalisation of learners (Graham and Macartney 2012; Grimaldi 2012). Learners who feel unworthy, unwelcome and unwanted can result in learners choosing to drop out of school (Majoko and Phasha 2018). As Slee (2011) recommends, inclusive education starts with identifying and dismantling exclusion. In light of Slee's recommendation, this article reports on a study that probed the tradition of rewarding learners visibly and publicly, examining the possibility that rewards may fall within discriminatory institutional practice, thereby hindering inclusion at schools.

What are Visible Rewards?

Rewards exist in a variety of forms at schools. The term "visible rewards" is what I have used to refer to the ways in which we reward learners tangibly as recognition for their scholastic achievement. These include badges, trophies, certificates, differentiated school uniforms, and listings on honour boards that are linked to academic achievement, usually presented at a ceremonious occasion attended by school staff, parents and learners. A review of the literature available on rewarding learners at schools for academic achievement indicates an area of scarce research. While an abundance of literature exists on the topic of rewards and motivation (Chong and Graham 2017; Deci, Koestner, and Ryan 2001; Kohn 1993; Kohn 2007; Walton 2014) there is a paucity of literature available on rewarding learners for academic achievement in general (Fefer, DeMagistris, and Shuttleton 2016; Jalava, Joensen, and Pellas 2014), and its relationship to inclusive education in particular. Reasons proffered for rewarding included learner motivation, recognition of academic talent, an expression of school culture, as well as a manifestation of the neoliberal world we live in. However, these reasons have not factored into account the achievements of learners outside of the narrow criteria set for academic achievement.

Much of the international literature on tangible rewards has been dominated by studies focused on its effects on motivation (Bettinger and Slonim 2007; Cameron and Pierce 1994; Deci, Koestner, and Ryan 1999; Jalava et al. 2001; Mueller and Dweck 1998). A considerable amount of literature reflects the negative effects of rewarding learners in terms of their intrinsic motivation to learn (in other words, to love and enjoy learning). However, this study aimed to shed light on the practice of visibly rewarding learners from an inclusive education perspective. Accordingly, a gap exists in the international literature regarding rewards and inclusion. In addition, a paucity was found of South African literature on rewarding learners for academic achievement. There are various types of rewards offered to learners at school, and the effects thereof that have been documented are dominated by motivation for learning.

Verbal Rewards

In their extensive work regarding the use of rewards by teachers and their effects on the internal motivation of learners, Deci et al. (2001) categorise rewards further into tangible or verbal, expected or unexpected, and controlling or informational. Verbal rewards refer to praise (Ryan, Mims, and Koestner 1983), such as praising the learner for a job well done, or praising the learner for being the best mathematics (or other) student. Distinctions are made between praise and acknowledgement, the latter usually not taking place in public (Deci et al. 2001; Porter 2015). Tangible rewards refer to the use of certificates, badges, trophies and other symbolic items for learners when they have met the set criteria for receiving the award.

Monetary and Non-monetary Rewards

Monetary rewards refer to financial rewards, such as winning money in the form of a bursary or scholarship, or cash prizes that will be awarded to the winner in school tournaments or competitions. A financial reward is one example of a variety of extrinsic motivators (Jalava et al. 2014). A number of studies show that paying learners results in better performance (Bettinger 2012; Bettinger and Slonim 2007; Eisenkopf 2011; Fryer 2011; Paola, Scoppa, and Nisticò 2012). Some developing countries, such as Kenya, Mexico and Colombia, have programmes in place with cash payments going to families in relation to school attendance and learner performance (Paola et al. 2012). In Kenya, one school provided financial awards to female students who obtained the highest test results (Kremer, Miguel, and Thornton 2009). However, financial awards did not affect all learners positively. Different results were noted for learners identified as being high ability and low ability, with the high ability learners showing positive effects on performance (Kremer et al. 2009). In South Africa, the use of monetary rewards has been found in the literature (Geduld 2017) to enhance motivation for learners at township schools. In Geduld's (2017) study, 14 secondary school teachers were interviewed to garner teachers' perceptions of the factors that influence academic success in learners. Reference is made of small monetary rewards from teachers' own money, together with stars and positive feedback. However, no distinction is made

regarding learners' expectations of these rewards, whether they are expected or unexpected.

Expected and Unexpected Rewards

Differences in motivation were noted when learners expect rewards, as opposed to rewards given unexpectedly. Rewards that are given unexpectedly to learners have no effect on their intrinsic motivation, while expected rewards could cause intrinsic motivation to decrease, especially when learners did not receive the expected reward (Deci et al. 1999; Jalava et al. 2014; Levitt et al. 2012). When expected rewards are given and later taken away, they are referred to as "losses." Rewards framed as "losses" were found to be more effective on primary school children but had little effect on older learners (Levitt et.al. 2012). In addition, findings showed that delayed rewards had no motivational power (Levitt et al. 2012). Anecdotal evidence suggests that rewards are often delayed till the end-of-year award ceremonies for many South African learners, thus lacking the motivational power mentioned in the literature.

Rewards by Gender

Many findings regarding the positive effects of rewards separated by gender were noted in the literature, and the majority of learners who respond positively to rewards are girls (Jalava et al. 2014; Kremer et al. 2009; Paola et al. 2012). While it is acknowledged that boys enjoy a competitive environment, the results showed that girls outperformed boys in each of the four test situations in their experimental study (Jalava et al. 2014). Combining this information with the number of high school dropouts that tends to be more male than female (Aronson and Steele 2005; Grimaldi 2012), there seems to be a trend that academic rewards within competitive high school settings are better suited to females than males. From the perspective of social justice and equity for both male and female learners, questioning the practice of academic rewards is necessary in terms of its consistency with the aims and ideals of inclusive education.

Rewards from an Inclusive Education Perspective

In an inclusive setting, learners should be given opportunities to work on their strengths and develop their abilities through full participation and active engagement, rather than focusing on working towards outstanding achievements that rank them higher than their peers. Kohn's (1993, 257) argument that "what matters is not how motivated someone is, but how someone is motivated" emphasises the importance of fostering meaningful participation as opposed to the disturbing trend of "teaching to the test" (Jalava et al. 2014), which results in high achievement on paper but minimal mastery of learning. Furthermore, Courus (2010) notes that students should know where their strengths are and what they need to work on, not how they fit into our magical grading system. Rewarding a small number of learners for excellence in academic achievement highlights that the emphasis of learning is not about engagement with knowledge or a deep mastery of the subject, as mastery is not rewarded (Deci et al. 2001; Jalava et al. 2014). Rather, a small number of predetermined awards translate into assessment

outcomes being a measuring task in which some learners' achievements have to be better than others in order to qualify for the reward. Hattie's (2009) meta-analysis of what works to promote achievement at schools demonstrates that programmed instruction, praise, punishment and extrinsic rewards were found to be the least effective forms of feedback for enhancing achievement (Hattie 2009). Of interest here is the use of extrinsic rewards and their weak relation to learner participation and achievement.

Rewarding Schools

Schools benefit in many ways from the achievements of their learners, among which is the school's image of providing excellence in academic achievement. Award-winning learners contribute to and are beneficiaries of the esteem carried by schools highly ranked for the number of A's produced at the matric level (Akabor 2019). At a broader level, schools and districts are rewarded by the Minister of Basic Education for excellent matric results. Although this topic has not been formally explored by the literature in South Africa, a look at newspapers in January (after matric results are released) provides evidence of the prestige associated with producing excellent matric results (Sobuwa 2020, January 7). Public recognition of the schools' achievements can, therefore, be seen as an incentive for schools to produce better results.

Methodology

This mixed methods study was carried out at two public high schools in Gauteng. After obtaining all the necessary ethical clearances, I used the pseudonyms School A and School B to maintain anonymity. Several categories of participants were involved in this study, namely grade 11 learners, grade 11 teachers, members of the SMT (Senior Management Team) and parents of the grade 11 learners; however, this article reports on the perspectives of the learners and parents only. The main research question guiding this study was:

- In what ways is visibly rewarding learners at high schools consistent with the aims and ideals of inclusive education?

This was followed by two sub-questions:

- How do the criteria, processes and procedures of visibly rewarding learners promote or hinder the participation and achievement of all?
- What are the attitudes and beliefs of key stakeholders at high schools that drive or challenge the practice of visible rewards?

Selecting a mixed method sequential explanatory design became clear at the outset. Choosing mixed methods was an ideal choice because it maximised the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative methods, and deepened understandings in ways that using mono-methods could not (Creswell 2015; Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie 2003; Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009). For example, qualitative methodology alone could not

have provided a large data source of participant values and attitudes the way the surveys did, and quantitative methodology alone could not have provided the richness and depth that I had gleaned from the interviews. The number of learners surveyed appears in the table below:

Table 1: School enrolment figures 2018

	School A	**School B**
Total enrolment 2018	1473	1325
Gr 11 learners in 2018	245	228
Number of surveys received	51	53
Location	Gauteng	Gauteng

Sampling was both purposeful and homogenous, allowing for a deeper understanding of phenomena (Macmillan and Schumacher 2010) and giving voice to "silenced" people (Creswell 2012). The two schools selected were deliberately sought for this study due to their student diversity with respect to gender, race and social class. Before handing out printed surveys to the respective schools, School A and School B, ethical procedures such as informed consent from parents and learners were followed. The learners' sample consisted of 104 learners altogether, 49% of learners were from School A and 51% from School B. The table below indicates the response rates of learners and parents.

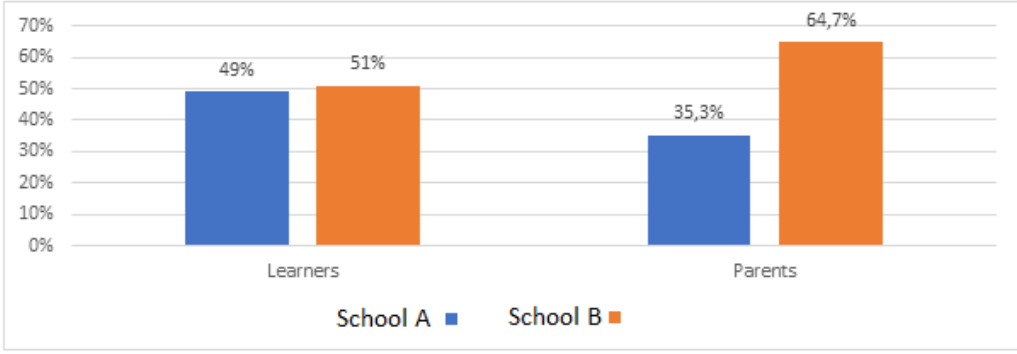

Figure 1: Distribution of respondents

The learner questionnaire data were then quantitatively analysed. Descriptive statistical analysis methods applied in the study are frequency analysis, where the number or percentage of respondents choosing a particular Likert Scale response was the main emphasis. Data were further analysed using One-Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA). The two demographic categories used in ANOVA were the grade 11 learners from School A and School B. ANOVA aimed at testing whether there was any significant

variance in the means of the respondents on the various statements they were presented with. In other words, did persons of different races, genders and locations respond to the statements in a significantly varying way. The independent variables for the tests were thus the location, the gender and the race. The statements that were presented to the sample were treated as the dependent variables. For ANOVA to produce trustworthy results, three major assumptions must be met by the data under analysis. These are normality, independence and homoscedasticity. A major assumption of ANOVA is that the data to be analysed must be parametric in nature or must conform to a normal distribution pattern. Wagner and Gillespie (2018) state that if the sample data falls in the below parameters, it can be classified as normally distributed.

- Kurtosis of up to 3.
- Skewness between scores of -1.9 to 1.9.
- Standard Deviation close to 1.

Table 2: Test for normal distribution (normality)

	Parents Sample		**Learners Sample**	
	Min	**Max**	**Min**	**Max**
Std. Deviation	0,800	1,004	0,725	1,290
Skewness	-1,320	0,654	-0,798	1,165
Std. Error of Skewness	0,550	0,550	0,237	0,238
Kurtosis	-.0,841	0.204	-1,049	1,864
Std. Error of Kurtosis	1,063	1,063	0,469	0,472

The assumption for independence was guaranteed through the sampling methods and procedures. Each case (i.e., each respondent, for both the parents and learners' sample) was randomly and independently selected. The selection of one case to participate in the study did not influence the selection of another. This assumption was therefore met.

The test for homoscedasticity (homogeneity of variance) for the two samples came out negative on some statements and positive on others when Levene's test was conducted to assess this assumption. Using Levene's test, any data with a significance level below the 5% level of significance ($p<0.05$) would have failed the test for homoscedasticity. This is because this test works on the null hypothesis that the independent variables (gender, race, location) across which the dependent variables have the same variance, which in this study, refers to the statements. Any significance level above 5% ($p>0.05$) results in the rejection of the null hypothesis and the assertion of the assumption homogeneity of variance. Responses indicated homogeneity of variance across independent variables as they had Levene's test scores of $p<0.05$. Data mostly met the assumption of homoscedasticity and could be analysed using ANOVA. The results of Levene's test are shown in appendix A (learners' responses) and appendix B (parents' responses) at the end of this article.

Quantitative Findings

As discussed earlier, this doctoral study was a mixed methods study. However, this article only reports on the quantitative findings of the study. Despite the complexity of the findings and the large amount of data generated from this study (both qualitative and quantitative), there was a clear indication that rewarding learners for academic achievement, in the manner in which it is done at the schools, is challenging at various levels.

Learner Responses by Race

By race, there were no statistically significant differences amongst learners on the intention and impact of visible rewards as school-wide practice in the two high schools. On all the 20 statements designed to measure learners' perceptions of the administration and impact of rewards, there were no statistically significant differences in the mean responses, i.e., all the noted differences were above the 0.05 significance level ($p>0.05$). This observation invites the conclusion that learners of all races represented in the two samples did not differ much in the ways they perceived the rewarding intentions, impacts and systems applied in the schools.

Parents' Responses by Race

By race, there were statistically significant mean differences amongst the represented races on the statement, "I believe that prizes, certificates, awards and badges provide a good indication of how well my child is doing in comparison to others."

Table 3: ANOVA by race: parents

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
I believe that prizes, certificates, awards and badges provide a good indication of how well my child is doing in comparison to others.	Between Groups	6,32	4,00	1,58	4,99	0,01
	Within Groups	3,80	12,00	0,32		
	Total	10,12	16,00			

The ANOVA test score of this statement was $F=4.99$, $P<0.05$. Table 3 above and table 4 below further analyse these racial differences. The highest mean on this statement was recorded amongst the Coloureds' racial group, with a mean of 4 and a standard deviation of 0 ($x=4$, $SD=0$). They were followed by Whites ($x=3$, $SD=.577$), Africans ($x=2.5$, $SD=.7$) and those who chose not to specify their race ($x=2.5$, $SD=0.707$). These results mean that Coloureds had the strongest view that prizes, certificates, awards and badges provide a good indication of how well their child was doing in comparison to others, followed by Whites and then Africans and those who had not specified their race. It must, however, be commented that only one person of the Coloured race was represented in the parents' sample, meaning that their opinion alone indicates a 100% view on this group.

Table 4: Further analysis of ANOVA by race: parents

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
I believe that prizes, certificates, awards and badges provide a good indication of how well my child is doing in comparison to others.	African	2	2.50	.707	.500	-3.85	8.85	2	3
	White	7	3.00	.577	.218	2.47	3.53	2	4
	Coloured	1	4.00	.	.	.	.	4	4
	Asian	5	1.80	.447	.200	1.24	2.36	1	2
	Not specified	2	2.50	.707	.500	-3.85	8.85	2	3
	Total	17	2.59	.795	.193	2.18	3.00	1	4

Learners' Variance: Award Winners and Non-award Winners

Using the statement, "I have won a prize/certificate/award/badge for academics at school during my years at high school" as an independent variable for the purposes of testing its variance with other statements, the statistically significant results of this test are shown in table 5 below.

Table 5: One-way ANOVA: I have won a prize/certificate/award/badge for academics at school during my years in high school

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Location	Between Groups	2.663	3	.888	3.805	.012
	Within Groups	23.327	100	.233		
	Total	25.990	103			
Gender	Between Groups	4.251	3	1.417	6.867	.000
	Within Groups	20.634	100	.206		
	Total	24.885	103			
The awarding of prizes is done fairly at my school and prize-winners deserve to be	Between Groups	15.227	3	5.076	5.141	.002
	Within Groups	98.735	100	.987		
	Total	113.962	103			
The same group of learners are always chosen to win prizes, certificates, awards, badges for	Between Groups	9.832	3	3.277	3.341	.022
	Within Groups	98.082	100	.981		
	Total	107.913	103			
I feel excluded by ceremonies/assemblies in which prizes, certificates, awards,	Between Groups	13.495	3	4.498	3.856	.012
	Within Groups	116.659	100	1.167		
	Total	130.154	103			

Statistical significance at a 5% level of significance $p<0.05$ was noted in the statements and variables shown in table 5 above. Further descriptive analysis of the above results was conducted to detect the key sources of these variances.

- Location ($F=3.805$, $p<0.05$).
- Gender ($F=6.867$. $P<0.05$).
- The awarding of prizes is done fairly at my school and prize-winners deserve to be recognised ($F=5.141$, $p<0.05$).
- The same group of learners are always chosen to win prizes, certificates, awards, and badges for top marks ($F=3.341$, $p<0.05$).

- I feel excluded by ceremonies/assemblies in which prizes, certificates, awards, and badges are handed out ($F=3.856$, $p<0.05$).

These variances are further discussed below.

Award Winners and Non-award Winners by School

There were statistically significant differences in the responses to whether one had ever won a prize/award or not. ($F=3.805$, $p<0.05$). Descriptive analysis shows that this difference stemmed from the fact that learners from School B had significantly higher frequencies on the "Yes, once" and "Yes, many times" responses: 30% and 51% respectively, while School A had very low frequencies on these responses comparatively, as shown in figure 2 below.

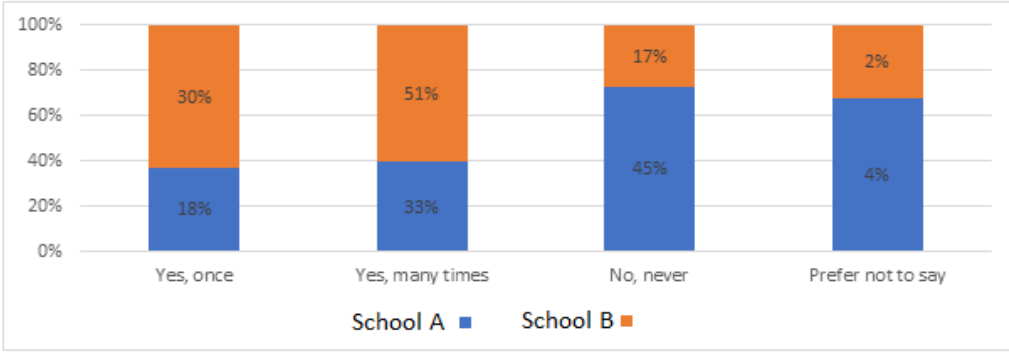

Figure 2: Descriptive analysis of School A vs School B variance

Learners from School B, therefore, had a higher chance of getting awards in comparison to those from School A. This was also confirmed by a comparison of the schools' reward policies: School A had a lower number of award categories than School B. Thus, learners at School B had more awards available to them, increasing their chances of winning an award.

Award Winners and Non-award Winners by Gender

The One-Way ANOVA tests also showed that there were statistically significant differences in the statement, "I have won a prize/certificate/award/badge for academics at school during my years at high school" by gender ($F=1.417$, $P<0.05$). The figure below explains this variance further.

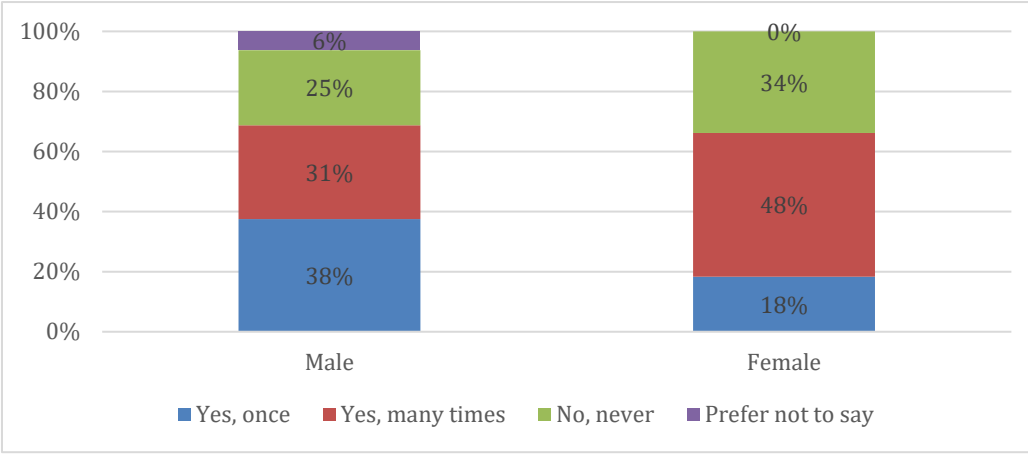

Figure 3: ANOVA by gender: "I have won a prize/certificate/award/badge for academics at school during my years at high school"

A comparatively high number of male learners (38%) had won awards once, compared to a low 18% amongst female learners. Female learners dominated significantly in the response category "Yes, many times." There were also more female learners (34%) who had never won awards/prizes compared to 25% of male learners. The variance can, therefore, be explained by the fact that more female learners are associated with winning awards/prizes more than once and not winning awards/prizes at all (respectively) than male learners.

Award Winners and Non-award Winners' Perceptions

Taking the statement "I have won a prize/certificate/award/badge for academics at school during my years at high school" as an independent variable (award winners/non-award winners) and the other statements on the learners' questionnaires as dependent variables, One-way ANOVA results showed statistical significance between the independent variable and the three statements below:

1. The awarding of prizes is done fairly at my school and prize-winners deserve to be recognised ($F=5.141$, $P<0.05$).
2. The same group of learners are always chosen to win prizes, certificates, awards, and badges for top marks ($F=3.341$, $P<0.05$).
3. I feel excluded by ceremonies/assemblies in which prizes, certificates, awards, and badges are handed out ($F=3.856$, $P<0.05$).

Using descriptive statistics to further analyse the differences in responses between winners and non-winners, the following truths were revealed as shown in table 6 below:

Table 6: Comparison of means: winners/non-winners

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
The awarding of prizes is done fairly at my school and prize-winners deserve to be recognized	Yes, once	**25**	**3,32**	0,99	0,20	2,91	3,73
	Yes, many times	**44**	**3,95**	0,86	0,13	3,69	4,22
	No, never	**32**	**3,09**	1,17	0,21	2,67	3,52
	Prefer not to say	**3**	**3,33**	0,58	0,33	1,90	4,77
	Total	**104**	**3,52**	1,05	0,10	3,31	3,72
The same group of learners are always chosen to win prizes, certificates, awards, badges for top marks	Yes, once	**25**	**3,76**	1,05	0,21	3,33	4,19
	Yes, many times	**44**	**3,59**	1,04	0,16	3,27	3,91
	No, never	**32**	**4,16**	0,88	0,16	3,84	4,47
	Prefer not to say	**3**	**2,67**	0,58	0,33	1,23	4,10
	Total	**104**	**3,78**	1,02	0,10	3,58	3,98
I feel excluded by ceremonies/assemblies in which prizes, certificates, awards, badges are handed out	Yes, once	**25**	**2,80**	1,00	0,20	2,39	3,21
	Yes, many times	**44**	**2,30**	0,95	0,14	2,01	2,59
	No, never	**32**	**3,13**	1,29	0,23	2,66	3,59
	Prefer not to say	**3**	**3,00**	1,00	0,58	0,52	5,48
	Total	**104**	**2,69**	1,12	0,11	2,47	2,91

To the statement, “The awarding of prizes is done fairly at my school and prize-winners deserve to be recognised” ($F=5.141$, $p<0.05$), learners who had won prizes or awards many times scored the highest mean ($x=3.95$, $SD=0.86$). This shows that prize winners held the strongest perception that there was fairness in the awarding of prizes. Those who had never won prizes had the lowest mean ($x=3.09$, $SD=1.17$), indicating they had the least agreement with the statement.

To the statement, “The same group of learners are always chosen to win prizes, certificates, awards, badges for top marks” ($F=3.341$, $p<0.05$), learners who had chosen “No, never” to the statement, “I have won a prize/certificate/award/badge for academics at school during my years at high school” had the highest mean score ($x=4.16$, $SD=0.88$). This shows that this group of learners mostly agreed that prizes and awards are generally won by the same groups of learners. Learners who “prefer not to say” whether they had ever won or not had the lowest mean ($x=2.67$, $SD=0.58$), meaning they agreed least with the statement. To the statement, “I feel excluded by ceremonies/assemblies in which prizes, certificates, awards, badges are handed out” ($F=3.856$, $P<0.05$), learners who had never won a prize/award at school had the highest mean score ($x=3.13$, $SD=1.29$) indicating that they agreed the most with the statement. Learners who had won prizes many times felt least excluded with the lowest mean of $x=2.30$, $SD=1.29$. It can be concluded that whether a learner had won a prize/award/badge before or not, influenced their perceptions of the fairness of the awarding systems, the inclusivity of new prize winners and the inclusivity of awards ceremonies.

Parents' Variance: Award Winners and Non-award Winners

Taking the statement "My child/ren has/have won a prize/certificate/award/badge for academics at school during their years at high school" as the independent variables of interest, and taking all the other statements as dependent variables, One-Way ANOVA tests revealed statistical significance between this statement and following:

- Working together in teams is more useful for my child than competing with peers to win an individual prize, certificate, award or badge ($F=5.260$, $P<0.05$).
- I am extremely pleased/proud when my child wins prizes, certificates, awards and badges ($F=4.206$, $P<0.05$).
- I would prefer it if there were no prizes, certificates, awards, or badges at my child's school ($F=4.764$, $P<0.05$).
- I would prefer it if my child's school focused on recognising effort in a private, individualised way rather than publicly rewarding top marks with prizes, certificates, awards and badges ($F=7.332$, $p<0.05$).

These are shown in table 7 below.

Table 7: Comparisons of means: parents versus learners

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Working together in teams is more useful for my child than competing with peers to win an individual prize, certificate,	Between Groups	8.902	3	2.967	5.260	.014
	Within Groups	7.333	13	.564		
	Total	16.235	16			
I am extremely pleased/proud when my child wins prizes, certificates, awards and badges.	Between Groups	3.882	3	1.294	4.206	.028
	Within Groups	4.000	13	.308		
	Total	7.882	16			
I would prefer it if there were no prizes, certificates, awards, badges at my child's school	Between Groups	7.304	3	2.435	4.764	.021
	Within Groups	6.133	12	.511		
	Total	13.438	15			
I would prefer it if my child's school focused on recognizing effort in a private, individualized way rather than	Between Groups	9.982	3	3.327	7.332	.004
	Within Groups	5.900	13	.454		
	Total	15.882	16			

Further assessing the above variances, parents whose child/children had won many prizes/awards many times had the second highest mean score ($x=2$, $SD=.632$), indicating that they mostly agreed with the statement that they were proud or pleased by their child/ren's winning of awards. Only one parent from the sample had not specified their preference for the winners/non-winners' statement, thus pushing the mean score of this category to ($x=3$, $SD=0.00$). Parents with child/ren who had won awards were, therefore, positive, proud and excited about their child/ren getting such prizes, as indicated in table 8 below.

Table 8: Further analysis of parental response

						95% Confidence	
		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	Bound	Upper Bound
I am extremely pleased/proud when my child wins prizes, certificates, awards and badges.	Yes, once	5	1.40	.548	.245	.72	2.08
	Yes, many times	6	2.00	.632	.258	1.34	2.66
	No, never	5	1.20	.447	.200	.64	1.76
	Not specified	1	3.00	.	.	.	.
	Total	17	1.65	.702	.170	1.29	2.01
I would prefer it if there were no prizes, certificates, awards, badges at my child's school	Yes, once	5	4.20	.837	.374	3.16	5.24
	Yes, many times	6	4.33	.816	.333	3.48	5.19
	No, never	4	5.00	.000	.000	5.00	5.00
	Not specified	1	2.00	.	.	.	.
	Total	16	4.31	.946	.237	3.81	4.82
I would prefer it if my child's school focused on recognizing effort in a private, individualized way rather than publicly	Yes, once	5	3.60	.548	.245	2.92	4.28
	Yes, many times	6	3.50	.837	.342	2.62	4.38
	No, never	5	4.40	.548	.245	3.72	5.08
	Not specified	1	1.00	.	.	.	.
	Total	17	3.65	.996	.242	3.13	4.16

Parents who selected the response "No, never" to the statement, "My child/ren has/have won a prize/certificate/award/badge for academics at school during their years at high school" showed the strongest agreement and affirmation (x=5, SD=0.00) to the statement, "I would prefer it if there were no prizes, certificates, awards, badges at my child's school." While those who did not specify their response had the least agreement, judging by the lowest mean (x=2, SD=0.00). Parents whose child/ren had never won a prize or award felt strongly against the awarding processes and would prefer it did not exist.

Parents who selected the response "No, never" to the statement "My child/ren has won a prize/certificate/award/badge for academics at school during their years at high school" also showed the strongest agreement and affirmation (x=4.40, SD=0.548) to the statement, "I would prefer it if my child's school focused on recognising effort in a private, individualised way rather than publicly rewarding top marks with prizes, certificates, awards and badges." Those who did not specify their response had the least agreement judging by the lowest mean (x=1, SD=0.00). Therefore, it can be deduced that parents whose children did not win awards preferred individualised rewards rather than rewards given at public ceremonies.

Parents' ANOVA by School, Gender and Race

There were no statistically significant differences by location, gender and race of parents on the statement "My child/ren has won a prize/certificate/award/badge for academics at school during their years at high school."

Parents versus Learner Perceptions

The data collection tool presented five statements that were similar to both the parents' and learners' samples. These five statements were also subjected to ANOVA tests to determine the extent to which the mean responses varied between the parents and learner samples: in other words, how learner perceptions differed from those of parents. These five common statements were:

1. Rewarding learners for performing well in tests/exams motivates learners to work hard and put in extra effort.
2. The awarding of prizes is done fairly at my school and prize-winners deserve to be recognised.
3. Competing with other learners for prizes is a good thing at school.
4. I feel excluded by ceremonies/assemblies in which prizes, certificates, awards, and badges are handed out.
5. I would prefer it if there were no prizes, certificates, awards, or badges at my school.

Table 9 below presents the test results of the One-Way ANOVA Welch's test conducted to meet the above goal.

Table 9: ANOVA: learners versus parents

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Rewarding learners for performing well in tests/exams motivates learners to work hard and put in extra effort	Between Groups	66.579	1	66.579	119.834	.000
	Within Groups	66.115	119	.556		
	Total	132.694	120			
The awarding of prizes is done fairly at my school and prize-winners deserve to be recognized	Between Groups	17.921	1	17.921	16.394	.000
	Within Groups	130.079	119	1.093		
	Total	148.000	120			
Competing with other learners for prizes is a good thing at school	Between Groups	13.625	1	13.625	13.445	.000
	Within Groups	119.575	118	1.013		
	Total	133.200	119			
I feel excluded by ceremonies/assemblies in which prizes, certificates, awards, badges are	Between Groups	14.218	1	14.218	12.112	.001
	Within Groups	139.683	119	1.174		
	Total	153.901	120			
I would prefer it if there were no prizes, certificates, awards, badges at my school	Between Groups	50.474	1	50.474	70.474	.000
	Within Groups	85.229	119	.716		
	Total	135.702	120			

In all the five statements, the above test statistics and levels of significance show that the differences between the parents' sample and the learners' sample were statistically significant across all the statements, i.e., they had a significance level $p<0.05$. Post Hoc tests through the comparisons of means further show how these differences came about.

Learners had a larger mean score of x=4.13, SD=.72 on the statement, “Rewarding learners for performing well in tests/exams motivates learners to work hard and put in extra effort.” Parents had a lower score of x=2, SD=.87 on the same statement. This shows that learners hold a much stronger view that rewarding learners for performing well in tests and examinations worked as a motivational factor in academic performance than the view held by parents. Parents, therefore, believe that there are other latent factors that can motivate learners to work harder in school, such factors being stronger than rewarding systems. These are shown in table 10 below.

Table 10: Comparison of means: learners versus parents

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Rewarding learners for performing well in tests/exams motivates learners to work hard and put in extra effort	Learner	104	4,13	0,72	0,07	3,99	4,28
	Parent	17	2,00	0,87	0,21	1,55	2,45
	Total	121	3,83	1,05	0,10	3,65	4,02
The awarding of prizes is done fairly at my school and prize-winners deserve to be recognized	Learner	104	3,52	1,05	0,10	3,31	3,72
	Parent	17	2,41	1,00	0,24	1,90	2,93
	Total	121	3,36	1,11	0,10	3,16	3,56
Competing with other learners for prizes is a good thing at school	Learner	103	3,44	1,03	0,10	3,24	3,64
	Parent	17	2,47	0,87	0,21	2,02	2,92
	Total	120	3,30	1,06	0,10	3,11	3,49
I feel excluded by ceremonies/assemblies in which prizes, certificates, awards, badges are handed out	Learner	104	2,69	1,12	0,11	2,47	2,91
	Parent	17	1,71	0,77	0,19	1,31	2,10
	Total	121	2,55	1,13	0,10	2,35	2,76
I would prefer it if there were no prizes, certificates, awards, badges at my school	Learner	104	1,79	0,82	0,08	1,63	1,95
	Parent	17	3,65	1,00	0,24	3,13	4,16
	Total	121	2,05	1,06	0,10	1,86	2,24

On the statement, “The awarding of prizes is done fairly at my (or my child’s) school and prize-winners deserve to be recognised” learners also had a higher score of x=3.25, SD=1.05 in comparison to the parents’ x=2.41, SD=1.00. Learners, therefore, have a stronger view that the rewarding and awarding system in schools is fairer than what the parents think. Based on the Likert scales applied in the data collection process, parents are more on the “Disagree” option, which was recoded with a 2, while learners are more on the “Somewhat agree” level or response option.

Learners also scored a higher mean than their parents on the statement, “Competing with other learners for prizes is a good thing at school” with a mean score of x=3.44, SD=1.03 compared to the parents’ score of x=2.47, SD=0.87. This finding points to the conclusion that parents and learners differ on the benefits of competition amongst learners. Learners have a stronger perception that such competition is good for their performance, while parents seem to share a weaker view on this aspect. This particular test can be read in conjunction with the score from the statement, “I would prefer it if my child’s school focused on recognising effort in a private, individualised way rather

than publicly rewarding top marks with prizes, certificates, awards and badges." The parents' total mean score on this statement was recorded as x=3.65, SD=0.996 compared to x=3.30, SD=1.06 on the statement "Competing with other learners for prizes is a good thing at school." This shows that parents value individualised rewarding in comparison to public ceremonies.

Parents felt more excluded than learners at prize and award giving ceremonies, as shown by the mean score on the statement, "I feel excluded by ceremonies/assemblies in which prizes, certificates, awards, badges are handed out." They scored a lesser mean score of x=1.71, SD=0.77 compared to x=2.69, SD=1.12 of the learners. The results show that learners felt excluded from the award and prize giving ceremonies if they themselves were not getting honoured, but their parents felt the exclusion more strongly than the learners did. The negative sentiment of being left out had a much stronger impact on the parent than on the child or children, even if the latter also felt left out.

Both the parents and learners were presented with the statement, "I would prefer it if there were no prizes, certificates, awards, badges at my school." Parents had a higher mean score of x=3.65, SD=1.00 and learners x=1.79, SD=0.82. This shows that parents have a stronger positive sentiment that there should be no awards and prizes that are publicly distributed at schools than the learners. The learners who seem to agree with this view are very factional, hence the low mean of 1.79 (SD=0.82). This came as no surprise since, in the tests above, parents showed stronger negative perceptions and sentiments on the fairness of the rewarding system, its exclusionary effects, and its effects on motivating learners to work harder. Parents seem to prefer individualised and private rewarding to public rewarding and recognition ceremonies, hence, their strong negative views on public ceremonies.

As a cautionary note, the results of the ANOVA comparisons between parents and learners might have been affected by the difference in sample sizes. The parents' sample had 17 participants, compared to the learners' sample which had 104 participants. A unique view by a single parent could easily represent a 100% frequency, and this would drive the mean of such a view upwards.

Discussion of ANOVA Findings

The data analysis showed that learners were positive that rewarding systems motivated them to work harder. Parents, on the other hand, were mostly negative about the view that public rewarding systems provided a good incentive for learners to perform well. A greater number of learners were positive about the fairness of rewarding systems at their schools. In contrast, most parents were overall negative about the same fairness issue.

At first glance, it appears that most learners seemed to disagree that rewarding systems made them feel excluded at prize awarding ceremonies. However, this must be read in the context that the majority of the participants (66%) identified themselves as award

winners and they would thus be invited to award ceremonies. Similarly, the data showed that most of the parents did not feel excluded from reward ceremonies. However, there was a sizable number of parents that felt excluded from such ceremonies. Of the parents, 64.7% had identified their children as being award winners.

Learners shared the sentiment that award winners and non-award winners were not treated equally. Learners felt that award winners got more attention on school media than those who did not. Learners indicated that teachers showed a greater preference for and gave more attention to learners who won prizes and awards. Learners also indicated that teachers also rewarded individualistic work and did not give any recognition or rewards to successful group work. Teachers were, however, reported by learners to be tolerant of mistakes during the learning process and they encouraged comprehensive learning rather than just the memorisation of learning material.

The results show that a significantly large proportion of learners would prefer prizes, certificates, awards, and badges at their schools. On the other hand, parents had a stronger preference for seeing the rewarding system depart than the learners. Overall, parents, especially those whose child/children had never won an award/prize, did not agree that there were important life lessons that were learnt from competition among learners. Parents also did not feel that learners who won awards worked very hard and deserved the recognition they received. The parents believed that learners could get rewards they did not deserve and that that prizes, certificates, awards and badges did not provide a good indication of how well a child was doing in comparison to others. Parents preferred private recognition to public recognition and they preferred the recognition of group efforts.

On ANOVA, the views and perceptions of parents did not differ by location (School A or B) and gender. The results showed that male learners had a stronger view that competing with other learners for a prize was a good thing, in comparison to females. Male learners also believed that their teachers used learners who achieved well academically as examples, as opposed to female learners. By race, Coloureds had the strongest view that prizes, certificates, awards and badges provided a good indication of how well their child was doing in comparison to others, followed by Whites and then Africans and those who had not specified their race.

Discussion on Findings without Statistical Significance in ANOVA

Not all questions in the learner questionnaire were statistically significant in ANOVA. The following findings were not statistically significant in terms of variance within learners (School A/School B; award winners/non-award winners). However, insight is provided into the rewarding and participation of learners within the classroom. Three questions, numbered 16, 17, and 18 in the learner questionnaire, are discussed below. In order to facilitate reporting, I have collapsed the 5-point Likert scale into three options. “Strongly Agree” and “Agree” were collapsed into “Agree”, “Strongly

Disagree" and "Disagree" were collapsed into "Disagree", and I used the "Somewhat Agree" to describe learners who were "not entirely sure."

Table 11: Question 16 learner questionnaire

Question 16	**My teacher recognises us for trying hard, by rewarding us with small rewards in class, not just in assemblies (e.g., extra time outside, parties end of term, no homework for the day).**							
	Award Winner		Non-Award Winner		Did not specify		Total %	Total n=
	%	n=	%	n=	%	n=		
Agree	17%	12	28%	9	0%		**20%**	**21**
Dis-agree	61%	42	50%	16	33%	1	**57%**	**59**
Not sure	22%	15	22%	7	67%	2	**23%**	**24**
Grand Total	100%	69	100%	32	100%	3	**100%**	**104**

The first question to be discussed is "My teacher recognises us for trying hard, by rewarding us with small rewards in class, not just in assemblies (e.g., extra time outside, parties at the end of term, no homework for the day)" as indicated in table 11 above. For this question, 57% of learners disagreed with the statement, 20% agreed, and 23% of learners were not entirely sure. This indicates that a significant number of learners did not believe that teachers recognised their efforts with informal, smaller rewards. Given that 20% of learners agreed, it could also indicate that smaller, informal rewards were experienced by a small number of learners, and not commonly experienced by the majority of the learners. This finding sheds some light on how learners are rewarded out of the formal visible rewards framework. It appears that informal rewards are not commonly experienced by the learners. In addition, learners showing their disagreement could be expressing their feelings that only certain achievements are valued and rewarded. However, the Participation Framework (Florian et al. 2017) indicates that valuing and rewarding a range of achievements encourages learner participation within the classroom. The Participation Framework (Florian et al. 2017) also indicates that learner participation can be compromised when certain forms of achievement are more highly valued than others. The data indicated that learners were aware that certain forms of achievement were more highly valued than others, and that not all efforts were recognised and rewarded. According to the literature (Booth and Ainscow 2011; Florian et al. 2017; Väyrynen and Paksuniemi 2018), this would have a bearing on the level of learner participation within the classroom.

Table 12: Question 17 learner questionnaire

Question 17	**My teacher encourages us to work in groups often, and he/she rewards the whole group when we work well**							
	Award Winner		Non-Award Winner		Did not specify		Total %	Total n=
	%	n=	%	n=	%	n=		
Agree	9%	6	16%	5	0%		**11%**	**11**
Disagree	74%	51	59%	19	67%	2	**69%**	**72**
Not sure	17%	12	25%	8	33%	1	**20%**	**21**
Grand Total	100%	69	100%	32	100%	3	**100%**	**104**

For the question, "My teacher encourages us to work in groups often, and he/she rewards the whole group when we work well" as indicated in table 12 above, 69% of learners disagreed with the statement, 11% agreed, and 20% were not entirely sure. This indicates that most learners did not believe that they were given group work often, and that rewards were not given to groups of learners. In terms of the significance to the inclusive education literature, this finding shows that collaboration in groups is seldom a technique used by teachers. It also indicates that rewards are not given to groups of learners, suggesting that rewarding at school is reserved for individualistic efforts. Thus, it can be deduced that classroom participation also does not commonly take the form of group interactions. In terms of the literature on inclusive education and collaboration, it is widely agreed that learners should be seen as resources for learning (Booth and Ainscow 2011; Florian et al. 2017; Väyrynen and Paksuniemi 2018). Therefore, encouraging group interactions within the classroom where learners share ideas, work and discuss together, increases participation. Similarly, the Social Interdependence Theory's collaborative model, or positive interdependence, emphasises the use of group learning activities (Johnson and Johnson 2009), thereby promoting group participation and more positive learning outcomes for all. This finding sheds some light on the dynamics of the classroom and the way in which learners participate in the lesson.

Table 13: Question 18 learner questionnaire

Question 18	**My teachers tells us how we compare with other learners in the class in front of everyone and I look forward to the time she gives us to shine in front of our friends**							
	Award Winner		Non-Award Winner		Did not specify		Total %	Total n=
	%	n=	%	n=	%	n=		
Agree	4%	3	19%	6	0%		**9%**	**9**
Dis-agree	64%	44	53%	17	33%	1	**60%**	**62**
Not sure	32%	22	28%	9	67%	2	**32%**	**33**
Grand Total	100%	69	100%	32	100%	3	**100%**	**104**

For the third question, "My teacher tells us how we compare with other learners in the class in front of everyone, and I look forward to the time she gives us to shine in front of our friends" as indicated in table 13 above, 60% of learners disagreed with this statement, 9% agreed, and 32% were not entirely sure. Given that a large proportion of learners disagreed with the statement, it can be concluded that learners did not enjoy being compared to their classmates publicly, nor having their marks called out publicly. A significant number of learners (32%) were not entirely sure, perhaps not willing to admit that they do, in fact, enjoy the public comparison, but feeling that it might not be appropriate to admit it. Given that 67% of respondents identified themselves as award winners, it could explain the number of learners that agreed to an extent, but were not entirely sure about how they felt regarding comparisons made publicly. The data indicated that most of the learners did not enjoy public comparisons. These could be associated with negative feelings such as inadequacy and a lack of privacy. This finding can be associated with the Participation Framework (Florian et al. 2017), where maintaining the dignity and respect of all learners is imperative to encouraging participation within the classroom. Since a large number of learners disagreed with this statement, it can be concluded that their dignity could be infringed upon by public comparisons of their abilities.

Conclusion

Overall, the findings arising from the quantitative strand of the study indicated that visible rewards did not result in positive effects for all learners, even amongst award winners. Using multiple perspectives, this study found that rewarding learners visibly is inconsistent with the aims and ideals of inclusive education in a number of ways, using the Participation Framework (Florian and Black-Hawkins 2011) and Social Interdependence Theory (Johnson and Johnson 1989) to understand the prevalence of competition over cooperation and collaboration. While learners believed that the reward system should remain at their schools, they did not believe that the current system of academic rewards and awards was flawless. Issues raised by the learners such as public comparisons, unequal treatment of award winners, and no opportunities for group

rewards, with only a narrow band of achievements worthy of recognition and value. The practice of rewarding learners thus perpetuates discriminatory beliefs and attitudes, which are known barriers to inclusive education. Parents, on the other hand, were happy to see an overhaul of the academic reward system, and did not believe that the system was fairly conducted. Therefore, not all learners were deserving of recognition for their achievements, nor did they regard the competitive schooling environment as an opportunity for learning valuable life lessons. However, parents did admit feeling a sense of pride when their children received awards, and also admitted feeling excluded when they did not receive invites to the academic awards ceremony. The issues raised by the learners and parents indicate a disparity between the schools' competitive learning environment and the inclusive ideals of social justice, equal opportunity, and participation for all. The way we academically award and reward learners thus needs to change. It is hoped that by reducing academic competitiveness at our schools, we can enhance the implementation of inclusive education. In doing so, we can focus on the achievements of all learners.

References

Ainscow, M. 2005. "Developing Inclusive Education Systems: What Are the Levers for Change?" *Journal of Educational Change* 6 (2): 109–124. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10833-005-1298-4.

Akabor, S. 2019. "Are Visible Rewards Congruent with Inclusive Education?" *Inclusion in Education: Perspectives on Inclusive Education in South Africa* 2 (1): 22–29. http://www.included.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2019/07/Inclusion-in-Education-Vol-2.pdf.

Akabor, S. 2020. "The Intention and Impact of Visibly Rewarding Learners in two Gauteng High Schools." Doctoral thesis. University of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg.

Aronson, J., and C. M. Steele. 2005. "Stereotypes and the Fragility of academic Competence, Motivation, and Self-concept." In *Handbook of Competence and Motivation*, 436–455.

Bettinger, E. P. 2012. "Paying to Learn: The Effect of Financial Incentives on Elementary School Test Scores." *Review of Economics and Statistics* 94 (3): 686–698. https://doi.org/10.1162/REST_a_00217.

Bettinger, E., and R. Slonim. 2007. "Patience among Children." *Journal of Public Economics* 91 (1–2): 343–363. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jpubeco.2006.05.010

Booth, T., and M. Ainscow. 2011. *Index for Inclusion: Developing Learning and Participation in Schools*. Centre for Studies on Inclusive Education. Bristol: CSIE.

Cameron, J., and W. D. Pierce. 1994. "Reinforcement, Reward, and intrinsic Motivation: A Meta-analysis." *Review of Educational research* 64 (3): 363–423. https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543064003363.

Chong, P. W., and L. J. Graham. 2017. “Discourses, Decisions, Designs: ‘Special’ education Policy-making in New South Wales, Scotland, Finland and Malaysia.” *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 47 (4): 598–615. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057925.2016.1262244.

Couros, G. 2010. *The Impact of Awards*. http://georgecouros.ca/blog/archives/1079.

Creswell, J. W. 2012. *Educational Research,* fourth edition. Boston: Pearson.

Creswell, J. W. 2015. “Revisiting Mixed Methods and Advancing Scientific Practices.” In *The Oxford Handbook of Multimethod and Mixed Methods Research Inquiry,* Sedited by N. Hesse-Biber and R. B. Johnson. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199933624.013.39.

D’Amant, A. 2012. “Within and between the Old and the New: Teachers Becoming Inclusive Practitioners.” *Perspectives in Education* 30 (1): 53.

Deci, E. L., R. Koestner, and R. M. Ryan. 1999. “A Meta-analytic Review of Experiments Examining the Effects of Extrinsic Rewards on Intrinsic Motivation.” *Psychological Bulletin* 125 (6): 627. https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.125.6.627.

Deci, E. L., R. Koestner, and R. M. Ryan. 2001. “Extrinsic Rewards and Intrinsic Motivation in Education: Reconsidered once again.” *Review of Educational Research* 71 (1): 1–27. https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543071001001.

Donohue, D., and J. Bornman. 2014. “The Challenges of Realizing Inclusive Education in South Africa.” *South African Journal of Education* 34 (2): Article 806.

Eisenkopf, G. 2011. “Paying for better Test Scores.” *Education Economics* 19 (4): 329–339. https://doi.org/10.1080/09645290903546330.

Engelbrecht, P. 1999. “A Theoretical Framework for Inclusive Education.” In *Inclusive Education in Action in South Africa,* edited by P. Engelbrecht, L. Green, S. Naicker, and L. Engelbrecht, 3–11. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Engelbrecht, P., M. Oswald, and C. Forlin. 2006. “Promoting the Implementation of Inclusive Education in Primary Schools in South Africa.” *British Journal of Special Education* 33 (3). 121–129. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8578.2006.00427.x.

Fefer, S., J. DeMagistris, and C. Shuttleton. 2016. “Assessing Adolescent Praise and Reward Preferences for Academic Behaviour.” *Translational Issues in Psychological Science* 2 (2): 153–162. https://doi.org/10.1037/tps0000072.

Florian, L., and K. Black-Hawkins. 2011. “Exploring Inclusive Pedagogy.” *British Educational Research Journal* 37 (5): 813–828. https://doi.org/10.1080/01411926.2010.501096.

Florian, L., K. Black-Hawkins, and M. Rouse. 2017. *Achievement and Inclusion in Schools*, second edition. New York, NY: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315750279.

Fryer, Jr R. G. 2011. “Financial Incentives and Student Achievement: Evidence from Randomized Trials.” *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 126 (4): 1755–1798. https://doi.org/10.1093/qje/qjr045.

Geduld, B. 2017. “Personal and Contextual Influences on Township School Learners’ Motivation and Self-regulated Learning.” *Africa Education Review* 14 (2): 122–139. https://doi.org/10.1080/18146627.2017.1291279.

Graham, L. J., and B. Macartney. 2012. “Naming or Creating A problem?” In *Teaching in Inclusive School Communities,* edited by S. B. Carrington and J. MacArthur. Milton: Wiley and Blackwell Publishing.

Grimaldi, E. 2012. “Neoliberalism and the Marginalisation of Social Justice: The Making of an Education Policy to Combat Social Exclusion.” *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 16 (11): 1131–1154. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2010.548105.

Hattie, J. 2009. *Visible Learning*: *A Synthesis of over 800 Meta-analyses Relating to Achievement.* Milton Park: Routledge.

Jalava, N., J. S. Joensen, and E. Pellas. 2014. “Grades and Rank: Impacts of Non-financial Incentives on Test Performance.” *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 115: 161–196. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jebo.2014.12.004.

Johnson, D. W., and R. T. Johnson. 2009. “An educational Psychology Success Story: Social Interdependence Theory and Cooperative Learning.” *Educational Researcher* 38 (5): 365–379. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X09339057.

Kohn, A. 1993. *No Contest: The Case Against Competition*. San Diego: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.

Kohn, A. 2007. *Against “Competitiveness.” Why Good Teachers Aren’t Thinking About the Global Economy.* Educational Periodical. www.alfiekohn.org.

Kremer, M., E. Miguel, and R. Thornton. 2009. “Incentives to Learn.” *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 91 (3): 437–456. https://doi.org/10.1162/rest.91.3.437.

Levitt, S. D., J. A. List, S. Neckermann, and S. Sadoff. 2012. “The Behavioralist Goes to School: Leveraging Behavioral Economics to Improve Educational Performance,” (No. w18165). National Bureau of Economic Research.

Macmillan, J. H., and S. Schumacher. 2010. *Research in Education: Evidence-based Enquiry,* seventh edition. New Jersey: Pearson.

Majoko, T., and N. Phasha. 2018. “The State of Inclusive Education in South Africa and the Implications for Teacher Training Programmes.” Research Report, December 2018. British Council South Africa.

Makoelle, T. M. 2012. “The State of Inclusive Pedagogy in South Africa: A Literature Review.” *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology* 3 (2): 93–102. https://doi.org/10.1080/09766634.2012.11885569.

Meier, C., and C. Hartell. 2009. “Handling Cultural Diversity in education in South Africa.” *SA-eDUC Journal* 6 (2): 180–192.

Meltz, A., C. Herman, and V. Pillay. 2014. “Inclusive Education: A Case of Beliefs Competing for Implementation.” *South African Journal of Inclusive Education* 34 (3):1–8. https://doi.org/10.15700/201409161049.

Mueller, C. M., and C. S. Dweck. 1998. “Praise for Intelligence can Undermine Children’s Motivation and Performance.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 75 (1): 33. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.75.1.33.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., and C. Teddlie. 2003. “A Framework for Analyzing Data in Mixed Methods Research.” In *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research,* edited by A. Tashakkori and C. Teddlie, 351–383. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Paola, M., V. Scoppa, and R. Nisticò. 2012. “Monetary Incentives and Student Achievement in a Depressed Labor Market: Results from a Randomized Experiment.” *Journal of Human Capital* 6 (1): 56–85. https://doi.org/10.1086/664795.

Porter, L. 2015. “Guiding Children’s Behaviour.” http://federalccc.com.au/new/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Louise-Porter-developing_responsible_behaviour.pdf.

Ryan, R. M., V. Mims, and R. Koestner. 1983. “Relation of Reward Contingency and Interpersonal Context to Intrinsic Motivation: A Review and Test Using Cognitive Evaluation Theory.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 45 (4): 736. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-3514.45.4.736.

Sayed, Y., and C. Soudien. 2004. “Decentralisation and the Construction of Inclusion Education Policy in South Africa.” *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 35 (2): 115–125. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057920500129916.

Slee, R. 2011. *The Irregular School.* London: Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203831564.

Sobuwa, Y. 2020, January 7. “Angie Motshekga Congratulates ‘Best of the Best’ from Class of 2019.” *The Sowetan*. https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/ news/2020-01-07-angie-motshekga-congratulates-best-of-the-best-from-class-of-2019/.

Stofile, S. Y. 2008. “Factors Affecting the Implementation of Inclusive Education Policy: A Case Study in one Province in South Africa.” Unpublished Doctoral thesis. University of the Western Cape.

Teddlie, C., and A. Tashakkori. 2009. *Foundations of Mixed Methods Research: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches in the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. London: Sage Publications.

Väyrynen, S., and M. Paksuniemi. 2018. "Translating Inclusive Values into Pedagogical Actions." *International Journal of Inclusive Education,* 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2018.1452989.

Volmink, J. 2018. "Foreword." *The State of Inclusive Education in South Africa and the Implications for Teacher Training Programmes,* edited by T. Majoko and N. Phasha. Research Report, December 2018, 9–10. British Council South Africa.

Wagner III, W. E., and B. J. Gillespie. 2018. *Using and Interpreting Statistics in the Social, Behavioral, and Health Sciences*. London: Sage Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071814284.n2.

Walton, E. 2011. "Getting Inclusion Right in South Africa." *Intervention in School and Clinic* 46 (4): 240–245. https://doi.org/10.1177/1053451210389033.

Walton, E. 2013. "Inclusion in a South African High School? Reporting and Reflecting on what Learners Say." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 17 (11): 1171–1185. https://doi.org/10.1080/13603116.2012.742577.

Walton, E. 2014. "Working towards Education for All in Gauteng." In *Twenty Years of Education Transformation in Gauteng 1994 to 2014,* edited by F. Maringe and M. Prew, 210–227. Johannesburg: African Minds.

Walton, E., N. Nel, A. Hugo, and H. Muller. 2009. "The Extent and Practice of Inclusion in Independent Schools in South Africa." *South African Journal of Education* 29 *(*1): 105–126. https://doi.org/10.15700/saje.v29n1a234

Wildeman, R. A., and C. Nomdo. 2007. "Implementation of Inclusive Education: How far Are we?" IDASA-Budget Information Service.

Appendix A: Learners' Responses

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound	
Rewarding learners for performing well in tests/exams motivates learners	School A	51	4.18	0.74	0.10	3.97	4.38	2
	School B	52	4.08	0.71	0.10	3.88	4.27	2
	Total	103	4.13	0.72	0.07	3.98	4.27	2
The awarding of prizes is done fairly at my school and prize-winners dese	School A		3.25	1.16	0.16	2.93	3.58	1
	School B	52	3.75	0.86	0.12	3.51	3.99	2
	Total	103	3.50	1.05	0.10	3.30	3.71	1
The same group of learners are always chosen to win prizes, certificates	School A	51	3.92	0.91	0.13	3.66	4.18	2
	School B	52	3.62	1.11	0.15	3.31	3.92	1
	Total	103	3.77	1.02	0.10	3.57	3.97	1
Competing with other learners for prizes is a good thing at school	School A	51	3.65	0.96	0.13	3.38	3.92	2
	School B	52	3.23	1.06	0.15	2.94	3.53	1
	Total	103	3.44	1.03	0.10	3.24	3.64	1
I feel excluded by ceremonies/assemblies in which prizes, certificates, a	School A	51	2.78	1.08	0.15	2.48	3.09	1
	School B	52	2.63	1.16	0.16	2.31	2.96	1
	Total	103	2.71	1.12	0.11	2.49	2.93	1
I feel that learners who win prizes, certificates, awards, badges are treate	School A	51	2.47	1.08	0.15	2.17	2.78	1
	School B	52	2.79	1.33	0.18	2.42	3.16	1
	Total	103	2.63	1.22	0.12	2.39	2.87	1
I feel that learners who win prizes, certificates, awards, badges get more	School A	51	3.90	0.92	0.13	3.64	4.16	2
	School B	52	3.67	1.08	0.15	3.37	3.97	0
	Total	103	3.79	1.01	0.10	3.59	3.98	0
I would prefer it if there were no prizes, certificates, awards, badges at m	School A	51	1.61	0.78	0.11	1.39	1.83	1
	School B	52	1.94	0.83	0.11	1.71	2.17	1
	Total	103	1.78	0.82	0.08	1.62	1.94	1
My teacher points out those learners who get good marks as an example	School A	51	3.24	1.21	0.17	2.90	3.58	0
	School B	52	3.58	1.29	0.18	3.22	3.94	1
	Total	103	3.41	1.26	0.12	3.16	3.65	0
My teacher thinks mistakes are okay as long as we are learning	School A	51	3.84	0.88	0.12	3.60	4.09	2
	School B	52	3.44	1.09	0.15	3.14	3.75	1
	Total	103	3.64	1.01	0.10	3.44	3.84	1
My teacher lets us know who gets the highest marks on a test in front of	School A	51	2.73	1.27	0.18	2.37	3.08	0
	School B	52	3.48	1.20	0.17	3.15	3.81	1
	Total	103	3.11	1.28	0.13	2.86	3.36	0
My teacher wants us to understand the work, and not just memorize it	School A	51	3.82	1.05	0.15	3.53	4.12	1
	School B	52	3.73	1.03	0.14	3.44	4.02	1
	Total	103	3.78	1.04	0.10	3.57	3.98	1
My teacher recognizes us for trying hard, by rewarding us with small rew	School A	51	2.51	1.16	0.16	2.18	2.83	1
	School B	52	2.37	1.28	0.18	2.01	2.72	1
	Total	103	2.44	1.22	0.12	2.20	2.67	1
My teacher encourages us to work in groups often, and he/she rewards t	School A	51	2.25	0.87	0.12	2.01	2.50	1
	School B	52	2.21	1.05	0.15	1.92	2.51	1
	Total	103	2.23	0.96	0.09	2.04	2.42	1
My teacher tells us how we compare with other learners in the class in f	School A	51	2.18	0.91	0.13	1.92	2.43	1
	School B	52	2.40	1.00	0.14	2.13	2.68	1
	Total	103	2.29	0.96	0.09	2.10	2.48	1
My teacher gives us time to work together with other learners who know	School A	51	2.73	1.11	0.16	2.41	3.04	1
	School B	52	2.69	1.08	0.15	2.39	2.99	1
	Total	103	2.71	1.09	0.11	2.50	2.92	1
My teacher makes sure that we do not feel left out or unsure during the l	School A	51	3.24	1.09	0.15	2.93	3.54	1
	School B	52	3.15	0.89	0.12	2.90	3.40	1
	Total	103	3.19	0.99	0.10	3.00	3.39	1
My teacher always calls on the smart learners more than other learners	School A	51	2.78	1.27	0.18	2.43	3.14	1
	School B	52	2.87	1.24	0.17	2.52	3.21	1
	Total	103	2.83	1.25	0.12	2.58	3.07	1
I feel that I am allowed to readily explore and suggest new ideas in the cl	School A	51	3.14	0.96	0.13	2.87	3.41	1
	School B	52	3.02	0.98	0.14	2.75	3.29	1
	Total	103	3.08	0.97	0.10	2.89	3.27	1
I believe that all learners do really well in my class and get good marks, a	School A	51	3.04	1.13	0.16	2.72	3.36	1
	School B	52	2.94	1.36	0.19	2.56	3.32	0
	Total	103	2.99	1.25	0.12	2.75	3.23	0

Appendix B: Parents' Responses

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Minimum	Maximum
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Publicly rewarding learners at school for performing well in tests/exams provides a good incentive to increase academic achievement for my child	Not sure	6	1.67	.516	.211	1.12	2.21	1	2
	Yes	2	2.50	.707	.500	-3.85	8.85	2	3
	No	9	2.11	1.054	.351	1.30	2.92	1	4
	Total	17	2.00	.866	.210	1.55	2.45	1	4
I believe that the awarding of prizes is done in a manner that is fair and just at my child's school	Not sure	6	1.83	.753	.307	1.04	2.62	1	3
	Yes	2	3.00	1.414	1.000	-9.71	15.71	2	4
	No	9	2.67	1.000	.333	1.90	3.44	1	4
	Total	17	2.41	1.004	.243	1.90	2.93	1	4
Working together in teams is more useful for my child than competing with peers to win an individual prize, certificate, award	Not sure	6	2.83	.983	.401	1.80	3.87	1	4
	Yes	2	2.50	2.121	1.500	-16.56	21.56	1	4
	No	9	2.33	.866	.289	1.67	3.00	1	3
	Total	17	2.53	1.007	.244	2.01	3.05	1	4
Competing with other learners for prizes and awards is a good thing and teaches my child beneficial life lessons	Not sure	6	1.83	.753	.307	1.04	2.62	1	3
	Yes	2	2.50	.707	.500	-3.85	8.85	2	3
	No	9	2.89	.782	.261	2.29	3.49	2	4
	Total	17	2.47	.874	.212	2.02	2.92	1	4
I feel excluded by ceremonies/assemblies in which prizes, certificates, awards, badges are handed out and we	Not sure	6	4.33	.516	.211	3.79	4.88	4	5
	Yes	2	3.00	1.414	1.000	-9.71	15.71	2	4
	No	9	2.78	1.202	.401	1.85	3.70	1	5
	Total	17	3.35	1.222	.296	2.72	3.98	1	5
I feel that children who win prizes, certificates, awards, badges work very hard and deserve recognition for their hard	Not sure	6	1.33	.516	.211	.79	1.88	1	2
	Yes	2	2.50	.707	.500	-3.85	8.85	2	3
	No	9	1.78	.833	.278	1.14	2.42	1	3
	Total	17	1.71	.772	.187	1.31	2.10	1	3
I am extremely pleased/proud when my child wins prizes, certificates, awards and badges.	Not sure	6	1.33	.516	.211	.79	1.88	1	2
	Yes	2	2.50	.707	.500	-3.85	8.85	2	3
	No	9	1.67	.707	.236	1.12	2.21	1	3
	Total	17	1.65	.702	.170	1.29	2.01	1	3
I would prefer it if there were no prizes, certificates, awards, badges at my child's school	Not sure	5	5.00	.000	.000	5.00	5.00	5	5
	Yes	2	3.00	1.414	1.000	-9.71	15.71	2	4
	No	9	4.22	.833	.278	3.58	4.86	3	5
	Total	16	4.31	.946	.237	3.81	4.82	2	5
I feel that the level of academic competitiveness at my child's school is rather low and would prefer a greater level of competitiveness.	Not sure	6	4.33	.516	.211	3.79	4.88	4	5
	Yes	2	4.00	.000	.000	4.00	4.00	4	4
	No	9	3.67	.866	.289	3.00	4.33	2	5
	Total	17	3.94	.748	.181	3.56	4.33	2	5
I believe that prizes, certificates, awards and badges provide a good indication of how well my child is doing in comparison to	Not sure	6	2.17	.753	.307	1.38	2.96	1	3
	Yes	2	2.50	.707	.500	-3.85	8.85	2	3
	No	9	2.89	.782	.261	2.29	3.49	2	4
	Total	17	2.59	.795	.193	2.18	3.00	1	4
I would prefer it if my child's school focused on recognizing effort in a private, individualized way rather than publicly	Not sure	6	4.33	.516	.211	3.79	4.88	4	5
	Yes	2	2.50	2.121	1.500	-16.56	21.56	1	4
	No	9	3.44	.726	.242	2.89	4.00	2	4
	Total	17	3.65	.996	.242	3.13	4.16	1	5
It is extremely important to me and my family that my child wins prizes, certificates, awards and badges.	Not sure	6	3.33	1.211	.494	2.06	4.60	2	5
	Yes	2	3.00	.000	.000	3.00	3.00	3	3
	No	9	3.67	.500	.167	3.28	4.05	3	4
	Total	17	3.47	.800	.194	3.06	3.88	2	5