Journal of Education

ISSN 0259-479X Number 37 2005

Kenton Special Edition

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Journal of Education
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ISSN 0259-479X

Number 37 2005

A new series started at No. 23, equivalent to old series Volume 23, No. 1.

Contents

Editorial

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The road to Didima

This special edition of the *Journal of Education* derives from the Kenton Educational Conference for 2004, "Masikhombe phambili nomlando" ("Looking to the future with the past in mind"), hosted by the School of Education and Development and School of Adult and Higher Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Significantly, the theme also marks a decade of democracy in South Africa, and therefore marks an interesting moment in South African scholarship. The call for papers challenged educationists to look back and reflect on what has been achieved and learnt and at the same time question 'Where do we go from here?' and 'What is the role of research in transforming education?'

Interestingly, the conference was held in a beautiful physical environment, KZN Conservation Service's Didima Camp, within the Ukhahlamba World Heritage Site. The presence of the mountains and new, vibrant and lavish architecture formed an ideal ambience. Added to this, was a sense of abundance – the food, wine, company, talking at tables and laughing. In contrast, it was easy to forget the road to Didima – somewhat depressing, denuded hills, livestock, poverty and desolation. Along the road one passed examples of rural schools with minimal facilities, and overcrowded classrooms. The surrounding area has a long history of low intensity conflict, and very high prevalence of HIV infection and AIDS. Undoubtedly a high proportion of the youth and adults are out of school, unemployed and illiterate. In many ways, the disparity between the conference venue and its surrounds captures the typical landscape of South African life over the last ten years. But Didima is also the site of ancient rock art from some of the earliest inhabitants of southern Africa and highlights the fact that ten years is both a very long time for those that live through it, but also a rather short period within the wider scheme of things. And Didima has been built to cater primarily for international tourists, linking this corner of South Africa to a much wider world that shapes it.

The articles in this special edition examine this landscape by opening up debates for new conceptualisations of 'reform', 'transformation' and

'democracy'. They address variously the past and the future, the inner and the outer, the macro and the micro dimensions of education in South Africa and the wider world. They focus on all aspects of education, from childhood through to higher education, and from the intensely personal/biographical to the systemic. Thus, while this edition cannot provide a comprehensive review of the past decade, nor fully explore the trajectories into the future, it does capture, much like the road to Didima, the contrasts, contradictions, challenges and beauty of both the past and the future in South Africa.

The first paper is by **Nelly P. Stromquist** who delivered the keynote address at the conference. Stromquist provides a wider context within which the reflections on South Africa need to be located. Her focus on globalization and gender reminds us that, in reflecting on the first decade of democracy, we need to avoid the trap of assuming South African exceptionalism and focusing solely on race. This is a challenge that a number of authors have addressed through use of comparative data. Stromquist presents a cross-national analysis of the state of gender in education in the context of wider globalizing processes. She argues that the two concepts must be examined together in order to understand contemporary society – globalization processes shape the social world, and gender underpins most social relations. She provides an overview of different forms of globalization and then proceeds to examine how these affect education and gender. Her conclusions are not encouraging – the increasing marketisation of education is excluding the most marginal (people all over the world not unlike the rural poor around Didima). But she does point strongly to the role of the organic intellectual, non-governmental organizations and adult education as key sites for contestation of these trends.

This links directly to the second paper by **Astrid von Kotze** which reflects on the place and space of university adult education over the past two decades. Adult and non-formal education movements have had clear linkages with social movements and civil society more generally. Their space on the margins of universities has provided the opportunity for precisely the kinds of activities that Stromquist sees as holding potential for change. However, university adult education is subject to the same globalization pressures that have already been identified, and there is an increasing shift towards vocationalism and market values in much of their work. Von Kotze argues that adult and popular education is in danger of becoming divorced from the purpose and alliance that gave it meaning in the past. However, she argues that there are ways in which it can remain wedded to broader social justice agendas, and key amongst these is a commitment to activism within the academy.

Piet Naude and Elize Naude begin, like Stromquist and Von Kotze, with a focus on globalization. Unlike Stromquist, who distinguishes between technological and economic forms of globalization and focuses on the latter, Naude and Naude are interested in globalization as a powerful cultural force. They are concerned with the homogenizing force of globalization, and the violence this does to local specific identities. Naude and Naude's focus is also on higher education, and how this has become reshaped by the forces of globalization in ways that contribute to the homogenization, and thus is a player in the cultural injustice of 'forcing people to surrender the taken for granted'. Naude and Naude believe, with Von Kotze, that there are sufficient spaces for contestation, and they conclude with strategies for incorporating into the curriculum mechanisms for affirming local identities.

Hasina Ebrahim and **Nithi Muthukrishna**'s article draw on their research with children under four in two early childhood centres in KwaZulu-Natal. They signpost four sense making moves – the complexities of researching children as social actors, the potential of participatory techniques for researching children's knowledge, the tensions inherent in the altering of power relations between researcher and children and the challenges of working through situated ethics. As a way of transforming the landscape of research with young children they suggest the need for the practice of responsive research where multiple sense making moves are adopted in order to engage with the complex circumstances that shape young children's lives.

The next two papers focus in on classroom research and on pedagogy and learning more particularly. This is a critical area of research that has been desperately underdeveloped within South Africa over the past decades, where policy and critique have dominated. But these papers each open up possibilities for further research and question existing practice in our classrooms. **Cheryl Reeves** and **Johan Muller** focus in on the mathematics classroom, but they are asking a bigger question, namely whether pedagogic style or opportunity-to-learn (OTL) make the real difference? OTL is understood as the degree of overlap between the content of instruction and that tested, and has been shown in a number of cross-national studies to be the only significant variable in predicting performance. It is thus an issue of considerable importance in a country where curricular reform has often focused on pedagogic style. Reeves and Muller discuss the methodological challenges of researching OTL, and argue that it is possible to develop instruments that capture the dimensions of OTL, namely 'content coverage', 'content emphasis' and 'curricular pacing'. The paper then proceeds to

illustrate the usefulness of this framework through analysis of data from Grade 5 and 6 classrooms, and even this preliminary analysis yields results that suggest that the curriculum support given to teachers needs a far greater emphasis on pacing than is currently the case. Reeves and Muller provide an implicit challenge to the research community to focus more on the stuff of education, the teaching and learning.

The second paper that focuses on pedagogy and classroom issues is **David Rose**'s contribution. Like Reeves and Muller, Rose believes that the key challenge does not lie in changing pedagogic styles (learner centred vs teacher centred) but rather with the learners' capacity to engage with texts. He reports on a methodology, developed in Australia, which rapidly improves reading and writing for educational access. The model draws on Vygotsky, Halliday and Bernstein, and demonstrates the importance of theoretically informed practice. Borrowing policy or practice from other contexts is both widespread and often problematic, but Rose's work clearly addresses one of the greatest hurdles to access and success and thus deserves serious interrogation.

Moving away from the stuff of classrooms, **Kai Horsthemke** uses recent calls for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) on education in South Africa as a basis for a critique of much of the communalist emphasis in the literature on reconciliation. The TRC was a significant feature of the first decade of democracy and arguably led the process of confronting the past, but in this paper it is problematised rather than celebrated. Horsthemke argues that a TRC on education is dependent on it being linked to concepts such as ubuntu, communalism and the common good. He examines each of these 'partner concepts', and finds them wanting. Instead, he argues for a rights-based approach as the only way in which individuals can be safe-guarded, and thus proposes that this should be the backbone of redress and reconciliation. Horsthemke's approach is potentially controversial in a country where group identity remains a dominant frame for viewing the social world. It thus opens up spaces for dialogue (not least with other contributors) that signal an increasingly mature democracy.

The argument for the defense of individual rights over the collective is further developed in the next article. In her contribution, *In defence of minimalism: beyond a robust approach to citizenship education*, **Veerle Dieltens** argues the need for citizen education that takes seriously the development of individuality, while at the same time contributing to the democratic project that seeks the common good. Dieltens challenges the maximal account of

citizenship and argues that it is in an education towards a minimalist citizenship that offers a way of achieving both these educational objectives.

Two papers in this edition draw on personal narrative accounts, albeit in very different ways, that explore transformational possibilities. **Alette Delport** opens up the area of personal history that has generally been bypassed in the study of change of South African society. She uses Nussbaum's cognitive elements of emotions to examine the process of transformation of the inner, personal self within the context of a changing South African landscape. Her use of Nussbaum's assertions on emotion is perhaps necessary, as it pulls her away from a narrowly South African reading of the narrative. In contrast, **Yusuf Waghid** draws on a narrative account of his teaching and learning, to explore how education, imagination and forgiveness can be reconciled. Drawing on Hannah Arendt and Maxine Greene, Waghid argues that imaginative action in teaching and learning encounters in university classrooms not only prompts in people an awareness of the multiple voices and perspectives of others, but also urges them to focus on others' multiple realities and searching for possibilities of social justice and forgiveness.

Overall, the articles in this special edition collectively do flag the key issues of the past decade, and implicitly set out an educational agenda that is both a call to arms (to fight the damaging dimensions of globalization and discrimination), a call to work (to deepen the research that can examine the past, present and future), and a call to teach (literacy, numeracy, values). Like the road to Didima, education over the past decade has twisted and turned, and passed through a landscape that has the best and worst of this country. The challenge for the future is the harnessing of the ideas from the conference in ways that ultimately make a difference to lives of the people that live along that road. Hopefully this special issue of the journal can be a small part in that process.

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The impact of globalization on education and gender: an emergent cross-national balance

Nelly P. Stromquist

This article brings together globalization and gender, two unavoidable subjects in the analysis of our contemporary world. Globalization must be considered because "it is the underlying structural dynamics that drives social, political, economic, and cultural processes around the world" (Robinson, 2003). And gender because it is constitutive of most social relations and a common ground on which to construct power on a daily basis. Though gender might work as a contingent element of reality, it is present in all spheres of society and most moments of social life.

Gender and power go together, with masculinity holding a steady advantage under most circumstances. Gender, however, is proving to be an increasingly complex concept because it presents multiple forms as it intersects with other powerful social markers. It is clear that we need to analyze with greater specificity the linkages between gender and other forms of subordination such as ethnicity, race, and social class. The importance of their crosscutting nature is being recognized under the frame of intersectoral analysis or intersectionality, which was defined at the 2001 World Conference Against Racism (in Durban, South Africa), as "compound discrimination, double or multiple discrimination." Intersectoral analysis becomes crucial in these times of globalization for it enables us to see under what conditions the exclusion of women is deepened.

The meanings of globalization

Globalization is a concept that everyone uses and, consequently and not surprisingly, it has acquired multiple meanings. But two very different versions are emerging: one that emphasizes the technological aspects and another the economic and political aspects associated with it.

Technological globalization

Some observers focus on the interconnectedness among people and countries that is becoming ever wider, deeper, and faster (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt and Perraton, 1999; Castells, 2000; Friedman, 1999). Through technologies such as DVDs, laptop computers, storage media, Internet, satellite TV, cellular telephones, and videoconferencing, globalization creates spectacular opportunities for increasing the dissemination of information and dialogue. The increased communication contributes toward a more interactive world, one in which communication and transactions can emerge between people who may never meet. There is indeed a shift toward the compression of time and space with today's information and transportation technologies. The Internet, in particular, permits instantaneous personal dialogue and communication. This inexpensive means of communication has been particularly helpful to women activists from the South, who now are able to exchange ideas on a regular basis with colleagues from both the South and the North.

The considerable flow of information, however, does not equate communication with knowledge or wisdom. The information received through the Internet, for instance, must still be digested and put into an analytical framework. Often, the information received is neither complete nor accurate. Furthermore, exchanging information among people is not tantamount to *sharing* ideas, values, and objectives. The knowledge and ideas transmitted are not necessarily adopted by the recipients, who may, in fact, oppose them. Further, the world evinces inequality in the access to telecommunications. Although this may change over time, at present 20 percent of the world's richest individuals account for 93.3 percent of Internet access. The poorest 20 percent represent only 0.2 percent of the Internet access while the remaining 60 percent of the world represents 6.5 percent of the Internet access (United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), 1999). To call ourselves a 'network society' highlights the salience of technology and acknowledges the significant contributions of fast and inexpensive communication to needed social action but implies a much more even distribution of knowledge and access to technology than is the case at present.

Economic globalization

Globalization today is much more than technology. The advances in technology have both facilitated and been affected by new economic strategies – a position that strongly promotes market-led decision-making, or what we commonly term neoliberalism. Robinson underscores the economic side of globalization when he defines globalization as "the near-culmination of a centuries-long process of the spread of capitalist production around the world" (2004, p.6). The market-led ideologies that prevail today have resulted in a steady removal of the state from productive activities and in the vigorous defense of free trade as the key means to achieve greater economic growth.

Additional features of economic globalization are: (1) militarism, which now seems to call for acceptance of the principle of preemptive war, internationally changing the roles of countries that were supposed to be neutral following World War II (Japan now sends arms to Iraq and Indian Sea countries), and which makes defense a priority issue for countries, which then shift governmental investments accordingly, and (2) religious fundamentalism, as the notion of good and evil becomes expedient to distinguish countries and justify conflict among them. We are seeing higher levels of religious fundamentalism than existed 50 years ago, a fundamentalism that visibly affects Christians, Muslims, Jews, and Hindus (Correa, 2003). Fundamentalism is a major force today because people with strong religious beliefs or under the influence of religious leaders are shaping government action, particularly court decisions affecting women's rights in major countries, such as India and the U.S.

For many developing countries, the neoliberal model of the economy prevents the design and implementation of sectoral policies and inhibits regional development. Two permanent sources of tension pitting domestic needs against international obligations and pressures produce an ineffectual state. First, the amount of political power wielded by the private sector has grown tremendously: typically, a handful of transnational corporations control many national economies and often function as oligopolies in which one or two enterprises dominate any given sector. Second, the pressures generated by the external debt jeopardize the future of many countries in serious ways.

To ensure payment of the external debt, international financial institutions have promoted the design and implementation of major changes in the economies of debtor countries. There is consensus that these structural

adjustment programmes (SAPs) constitute the primary mechanism through which globalization has affected people in developing countries and, particularly, women's lives in the South (Desai, 2002). SAPs establish the economic priorities of countries and shape their government programmes for debt repayment in order to qualify those countries for new lines of credit. Such programmes usually call for opening national economies to global trade, engaging in government austerity, and engaging in privatization of state enterprises (Patel and McMichael, 2004). SAPs invariably call for reduced government budgets; consequently, few countries are able to honour redistributive welfare rights.

In the neo-liberal setting, there exists the belief that progress depends on individual effort and on individual solutions. Thus, it is assumed that state action is unnecessary and even harmful. With economic globalization, certain countries and certain groups of people (mostly in the North and some in Asia) have benefited greatly. In many other regions, the benefits have been uneven. In these, the majority of people have not gained; the clearest indicator of this is the increase in the numbers of poor people whose income has declined: between 1965 and 1980, 200 million people saw their income decline; in 1998, this figure reached one billion (UNDP, 1996). The polarization of income in Latin America, for instance, is increasingly severe: the richest 1 percent were earning 363 times the income of the poorest 1 percent in 1970; by 1997 the gap had reached 417 times (Kliksberg, 2001).

Further debilitating the potential of education is the pace of growth of the external debt, a pace outrunning the rate of economic growth in the developing countries. According to data from the primary creditor, the World Bank, the external debt of the Third World grew at an annual average of 5.7 percent between 1990 and 2000, from $1.5 billion to $2.5 billion. During the same period $2.6 billion was paid in interest by the developing countries. Vice-President Atiku Abubakar of Nigeria (*Newsletter*, 2004) noted that in the late 1970s his country, the largest in Africa, borrowed $2 billion from the international community. By 2004 it had paid about $28 billion and still has an outstanding debt of nearly $30 billion. The shift of funds from the South to the North means that fewer resources can be used at the country level, for either infrastructural investments or social welfare concerns. National budgets are currently defined first in terms of what must be assigned to the payment of the external debt.

Salient features of labour under globalization have been 'downward leveling' (or the cross-national search for lower production costs), deunionization, and 'ad hoc' and 'just-in-time' labour supply, all widely recognized to have created a new global underclass (Robinson, 2004). Knowledge workers – those with high levels of education and in the areas of finance capital, commodity markets, business, and expertise in certain areas of the economy – have benefited from high salaries and bonuses. There have been some gains for skilled workers in the periphery of the global economy, but the majority of workers today function on short-term contracts and face job uncertainty. As production becomes more technologically intensive, the prediction is that capitalists will seek not only countries with the lowest wages but also countries where taxation and environmental requirements are also the lowest. This strategy suggests that the educational component of countries will figure as merely one more factor – not necessarily the decisive one – in the complex calculation of the global production market.

The liberalization of the world's economy has enabled products to flood the global market and many of these products can be bought at costs lower than when national protectionist policies were in place, resulting in a stunting of the economic growth of some regions and a division of the economic pie across regions in very unequal ways. The GDP per capita in Africa increased from $1,500 to $2,000 between 1960 and 1980, but since then it has stagnated at that level (Artadi and Sala-i-Martin, 2003). By 2001, the GDP per capita for Sub-Saharan Africa (which includes all African countries except Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia) was $200 dollars less than it was in 1974, a decline of nearly 11 percent over 25 years (Artadi and Sala-i-Martin, 2003). We have increasing evidence that liberalization does not increase economic growth or social justice. World trade has increased 6 percent annually over the past 20 years, twice as fast as the world real GDP, indicating a deepening of economic integration. Developing countries today account for one-third of the world trade, up from one-fourth in the early 1970s. However, the economic growth has not been labour-intensive, it has produced small salaries, and increased inequality in the work place, but also of such assets as land and human capital.

The discourse of economic globalization has taken away attention from poverty, and the causes of poverty are not sufficiently attacked at present (Kliksberg, 2001). There is ample recognition of the importance of human capital and its two important components: health and education. Yet, little is invested in these sectors relative to the need. Health is a major detriment to

growth in Africa; the problem of malaria, initially the most severe, has been surpassed by AIDS in recent years. As Artadi and Sala-i-Martin observe, "At this moment, Africans have neither the resources nor the expertise to discover vaccines to prevent AIDS or malaria and rich countries have little incentive to invest in these lines of research because the discoveries will help people with little ability to buy the products" (2003, pp.17-18).

The economy-gender link

Globalization is having a visible impact on social and economic development. The structural adjustment programmes imposed by external debt and the economic and political crises that ensue have been shown to affect women and men differentially, with women assuming the larger costs. A key question to explore is, What is the overall balance for gender equality and equity?

Gender is present in all economic and social change. The division of labour and differential social expectations internalized by both women and men assign to women the role of main providers of caring labour, inexpensive labour, and unpaid labour at home. Women face not only symbolic penalties – lack of recognition of their multiple qualities and hardships – and the appropriation of their contributions with little or no remuneration, but also material disadvantages in their limited access to landed property, education, technology, and credit.

Globalization presumably gives everyone an equal chance if each individual just improves his or her educational levels. Overall, levels of education have increased throughout the world. But we are seeing that globalization is not eliminating the persistent oligarchic and patriarchal forces that prevent women from moving into spheres of economic and political power. The schooling that is provided in practically all countries addresses gender ideologies only marginally (if at all) and is thus not able to counter them. The prevailing norms, practices, rules, regulations do not permit serious efforts to use gender as a crosscutting theme and mechanism in public policy or in the labour market to provide attention to the redressing of inequalities between women and men and to the diminution of the femininity-masculinity polarity.

Liberalization has had negative consequences among low-level workers: by 2000, women constituted over 36 percent of the total global workforce, a growth of approximately 10 percent since 1970. However, the number of

women in unpaid work at home had also increased (Desai, 2002). With free trade and reduction of tariffs, many factories in the United States moved to Mexico, hurting the ethnic minorities and women that comprised the bulk of factory workers in the U.S. In developing countries women have gained access to remunerated labour, yet they encounter low wages, overtime requirements, and dead-end jobs (Desai, 2002).

Sex differentials in wages are still here, even in countries that are the 'winners' in the economic globalization process. In the U.S. in 2001 men without a high school diploma earned on average over $23,000 while similarly educated women earned $16,000; women with a high school diploma earned $21,000 while men earned $32,000 (Wood, cited in Culver and Burge, 2004). Research findings from industrialized countries also show the disadvantaged conditions of women's work. Australian women were found to earn one-third less than men in equivalent positions in 15 industries, across 350 jobs and from 55 companies; women in full-time positions earned 81 percent of their male counterparts' salary packages (Mallock, 2004). In Germany, women's wages and salaries range between 65 to 78 percent of men's. German women represent 42 percent of the labour force, but they represent 84 percent of all part-time workers (Moon and Jaesoen, 2001, cited in Kraus and Carter, 2004). In 1999 German women represented 9 percent of the positions in management and were not in leadership positions: they represented 75 percent of the total staff of hospitals but only 4 percent of the physicians (Kraus and Carter, 2004). The situation in Canada is also negative for many women. Clerical and technical workers, often women, are seeing their jobs become more complex but do not receive increased pay benefits, recognition of their contribution, and reduction in other duties (Fenwick, 2004b). Since many changes in the Canadian economy began in early 1980s, women are now earning less, have lowered their vocational expectations and are registering decreased access to learning and advancement opportunities; women also report experiencing greater work-family conflict than in the past (Fenwick, 2004a). Considered a very successful employment alternative, self-employment has been highly recommended for women. However, it has some undesirable features. Data from Canada reveal that women in self-employment are located in the lowest paying forms of service (piece-work, telecommunications, and tailoring) and end up isolated in their homes where sharply gendered labour divisions and traditional gendered role expectation create considerable burdens for them. Also in Canada, it has been found that women-owned enterprises tend to concentrate in gender-segregated, labour-intensive industries (clerical, retail, hospitality, and personal services) (Fenwick, 2004a).

China is considered in the popular and academic press as the most successful case of a developing country in the times of globalization. Yet, data from China's industrialization in rural areas (Dong, Macphail and Bowles, 2004) reveal that considerable gender segmentation is taking place, with women present only in certain types of production. Women were preferred for textiles, clothing, and food industries, while men were preferred for steel products and farm tools production. According to a survey of workers in 39 industrial enterprises in the provinces of Shandong and Jiangsu, women are reported to have less control over their work, not to receive an economic return to experience, to face less opportunity for skill development, and to be adversely affected by wage discrimination. Men workers in those industrial enterprises were found to have greater shares of ownership (a major benefit from the privatization process) of the new private firms. The researchers found that men owned almost double the number of shares of women and the average value of shareholdings for male workers was 3.32 times that of female workers. Dong *et al*. also found that there had been an increase in the gender wage rate gap, from 29 to 39 percentage points between the pre- and post-privatization periods. After controlling for relevant factors such as education and experience, researchers determined that between 82 and 94 percent of the wage gap could be attributable to gender discrimination (Dong *et al*., 2004).

Globalization has had a negative impact on micro and small enterprises, affecting both men and women, and thus causing an increase in migration flows. Women who remain at home or end up in *maquila* (assembly-line) production face low wages and unstable employment. Not surprisingly, organized women have taken positions against the agreements on free trade in Latin America and the Caribbean, accusing them of not addressing equity, justice, diversity and sustainability (International Seminar on Globalization and the Women's Movement, 2004). The available economic data, while not exhaustive, indicate that there is a significant interaction between gender and race: Afro-Brazilian women with 11-14 years of education receive hourly wages equivalent to 39 percent of their white men counterparts (CEPAL, 2004). Women in developing countries are also encountering a harsher ecological environment, so that they must work harder for fuel and water in certain parts of the world.

Neoliberal regimes have refrained from engaging in major wealth redistribution. Privatization (or denationalization to reassert market mechanisms) and liberalization have led to the reduction of the power of trade unions; not having a solid leverage position, workers are not able to increase

their wages. A major mechanism of wealth redistribution, land reform, is in the governmental agenda mostly in symbolic ways; this is so even in countries that have made a substantial progress toward democracy. In South Africa, for instance, by 1997, the government had redistributed the equivalent of only 0.3 percent of all land transfers (representing about 3 percent of all agricultural land, UNDP, 2003); all others were private transfers. Land is being allocated primarily by local/tribal authorities, which distributed 70.6 percent of the land in 2004. While the land is passing to communities rather than individuals, it is unclear how women are benefiting from the ongoing distribution.

Underlying these growing inequalities are not just market forces but also individual and group attitudes that accept those conditions. What changes are there in citizenship and rights by women now that they have entered the labour market in large numbers? Are women indeed crossing the boundaries between public and private spheres now that they have gained increased access to remunerated employment? What have been the consequences of male migration upon women's decision-making and roles? Apparently, the gains have been limited. As Walters (2004) argues, neoliberal capitalism includes the extraction of emotional and sexual resources by both privatizing and exploiting caring labour — tasks that mostly women continue to fulfill.

In short, the simultaneous increase in the incorporation of women in education and labour markets has not meant a change in gender roles; structural inequalities between men and women persist. Moreover, the prevailing image of the productive and optimistic worker has reduced resistance to gendered work and encouraged people to take advantage of the supposed opportunities of the New Economy (Fenwick, 2004b). In response to the economic challenges, women are presenting resistance both at the individual and collective levels. Individually, women in Germany are responding by limiting their reproduction, hiring household workers and marrying later (Kraus and Carter, 2004). Women in many countries are mobilizing and organizing themselves into non-governmental organizations (NGOs), groups that have an increasing political presence domestically and abroad.

Globalization and education

Globalization brings education to the front lines. In the prevailing discourse, education is expected to be the major tool for incorporation into the 'knowledge society' and the technological economy. In my view, these are

exaggerated expectations. Education is indeed being democratized as more people achieve higher levels of education. Yet, education is only one factor in economic growth, and the rewards from education are quite finite, being usufructed mostly by those with high levels of education. Two key questions to consider regarding education are: what is globalization doing to knowledge? and what is globalization doing to equity policies?

The short response is that knowledge, through schooling, is becoming a commodity: a service people buy according to their preference and economic means. When knowledge is a commodity, then schools and universities are market places, not terrains that contribute to redress inequalities. Equity policies are being relegated to second place. Dominant discourses about the "the new economy" emphasize individual opportunity, knowledge generation, and continuous learning, but at the same time, there is "widespread retraction of government funding and services related to both general education and training and gender equity" (Fenwick, 2004a, p.148).

The main impacts of SAPs in developing countries upon education have been: reduction in educational expenditures (states are required to keep a zero-deficit budget), the decentralization of educational systems (ostensibly to permit greater parental participation and the adjustment of curriculum to local contexts, but often to decrease central government costs in education), and evaluations to make educational systems internationally comparable and move them toward convergence in content and performance. However, the falling of per capita income of many nations has increased the opportunity costs of children, particularly those in rural areas, while simultaneously increasing the direct costs of education (fees, textbooks, uniforms, school transportation), and accelerating the migration of highly trained human capital to countries in the North (Bonal, 2002).

Three types of education provision are emerging: public, private non-profit, and private-for-profit. The hierarchies in which these types of schools function vary across nations, depending on their historical development. In Latin America, for instance, private non-profit carries more prestige than public and for-profit schools at all levels. In some parts of Africa, public education may carry more prestige than private; either nonprofit or for-profit. Below I discuss the salient impacts of technological and economic globalization in education. Because the dynamics affecting primary and secondary education present some clear differences from those affecting higher education, I discuss the Grades R-12 and higher education levels of education separately.

Primary and secondary education

Enrolment expansion. In the context of globalization, because of the workers' need to compete for the few good jobs globalization creates, the demand for educational expansion has increased. Parents realize education is an asset in modern society and invest, to the extent of their financial means, in schooling for their children. As a result, enrolments are rising, except in the poorest countries of Sub-Saharan Africa. The expanded access is also contributing to a sizable reduction in the gap between girls and boys. At the same time, expansion has been accompanied by the emergence of highly differentiated educational circuits, with children of different social classes being enrolled in different schools deemed appropriate for their status and with minimum social contact with each other.

User fees. Much of the expansion of education in several countries has taken place through increased parental share of schooling costs. In a number of countries, primarily in Sub-Saharan Africa, students at as low as the primary level of education must pay fees to attend even public schools – a measure totally contrary to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, whose Article 26 declares that basic education shall be free and compulsory. In other countries, where education is said to be free, there remain a number of expenditures that are contributed by parents either in cash or in kind. The provision of education, therefore, represents a cost for parents. Some of them can afford to make this investment that will take several years to generate a good rate of return. Other parents, especially those in rural areas, cannot afford to engage in long- or medium-term planning. Consequently, they keep at home whoever is needed most for domestic work or who is not expected to yield direct medium-term benefits to the household: daughters. School fees operate as a major obstacle to the universalization of primary education (UNESCO, 2003).

At present, two global policies, Education for All and the United Nations Millennium Development Goals, call for the provision of universal education throughout the world and gender parity in the provision of all levels of education by 2015. Although it would seem that these global equity policies coexist with neoliberal policies, the fact is that countries prioritize the latter over the former. In the case of Sub-Saharan African countries, for example, social spending, including education, fell by 26 percent between 1980 and 1985 (Committee on Academic Freedom in Africa, 1992, cited in Rassool, 2004, p.136).

Privatization and liberalization of schooling. These mechanisms have been justified on the basis of producing greater efficiency, as now the 'customers' (the parents) can vote with their feet and are not bound to a state monopoly. Easing rules for the creation of schools facilitates a rapid increase of new service providers. The international financial institutions, notably the World Bank, have insisted on the introduction of user fees in health and of cost-sharing and privatization in educational services to reduce national budget deficits. Yet, privatization of education has also meant its treatment as one more commodity in the marketplace, leading to the loss of education as a major terrain for the construction of a nation-state based on values and norms of solidarity and respect for all.

Measures that have not been particularly successful in the United States, such as the provision of school vouchers and the creation of charter schools, have been strongly recommended to education systems in developing countries. In the few countries where these measures have been tried (vouchers in Colombia and Chile, and charter schools in El Salvador), they have not produced greater learning but have resulted in greater efficiency, defined as lower governmental costs and greater parental expenditure (except in Chile, as noted below).

Decentralization. This measure, like privatization, is expected to generate more efficient schools as they are able to establish a flexible and more efficient bureaucracy with parents able to participate in their governance, hence strengthening civil society. Central ministries of education, it is true, control most of the financial resources and the form and content of schooling, making their administration of rural areas incomplete and even inappropriate. While there is merit in the notion of tailoring schooling to local needs, the empirical evidence shows that only in very few cases (Chile being a good example), has decentralization been accompanied by increased monetary resources to regions or municipalities, training for the new roles at the local level, and the allocation of decision-making prerogatives to the new decentralized units. An economic condition that does not favour educational decentralization is the reduced national budget, which is now often controlled by ministries of finance and economics, whose overriding concern is the payment of the external debt.

Quality. Educational access with quality is very much part of the globalization discourse. Since sufficient resources are rarely available for improvements in the school infrastructure and teacher training, in practice, the most tangible form of quality is circumscribed to testing of students. Cross-national

comparisons of student performance based on standardized testing are becoming a regular practice. Sponsored by the international financial organizations and multinational bodies such as the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the comparisons that bring together industrialized and developing countries find that poor countries evince much lower levels of performance than rich countries and that poor students have lower performance levels than rich students within all countries. This wealth-based differential performance across and within countries is often used to criticize the shortcomings of the public school rather than to seek to correct and strengthen conditions in the public system, especially the problem of low-salaried teachers, which often dissuades the best of them from remaining in the system.

Quality, defined as an educational content that enables students to obtain the knowledge they require for the construction of an equitable social and economic world, is not provided by most schools, and such mechanisms as affirmative action to correct women's subaltern status is simply absent in educational public policies. The measures in place to enhance the 'efficiency' and 'productivity' of schooling have not been designed from a gender perspective. They have impacted on both boys and girls, with negative consequences on the education of students from poor families and rural residence. Given the confluence of gender, social class, and ethnicity, girls who are poor, indigenous, and rural are suffering more than boys.

Higher education

Expansion. Globalization has fostered considerable demand for higher education throughout the world, as greater levels of remuneration accrue at higher levels of education. Many countries are moving toward achieving mass higher education (defined as having an enrolment of 40 percent or more of the age 18-24 population). Data for 18 Latin American countries, covering 1977 to 1998, indicate that the rates of return to higher education increased during that period (Behrman, Birdsall and Szekely, 2003).

Much of the expansion is taking place through private provision or through the application of tuition fees within public universities. As tuition increasingly becomes a large proportion of the total income of universities, there is a trend for those fees to be high and increase over time. Since higher education is not independent of private resources, the rapid expansion of higher education has

not curtailed the impact of family background. Data from Chile (Donoso and Schiefelbein, 2004) indicate that few students from families with incomes below the national average are able to afford the entrance exam required for public universities, and even fewer students from poor families enrol in the commercial programmes that prepare students for the university entrance exam.

A considerable part of the expansion of higher education is also due to the sprouting of distance education programmes, which have low entrance requirements, and foreign universities operating in developing countries. Communication technologies such as the Internet and its Websites make it possible for higher education courses to reach individuals in distant places and at times convenient for them.

Diversification. The rapid expansion of higher education has taken place through the creation of programmes that address market and social needs in flexible ways and prepare individuals for multiple types of jobs. At the same time, diversification has meant the emergence of universities, colleges, and technical and vocational institutes with very different levels of academic emphasis, quality, and recognition. Diversification benefits society because there is a greater distribution of knowledge and this knowledge becomes increasingly accessible to a population that had not had this chance before. Simultaneously, diversification leaves unchallenged the polarization of the educational system, as elite universities remain at the top levels of social prestige and thus preserve the traditional hierarchies.

Quality. At the level of higher education, unlike K-12, student testing does not become the key indicator of quality.[1] Instead, rankings between universities (ironically, derived from non-academic sources), become the annual contest. In several countries, including China and South Africa, mergers of colleges and universities have arisen as mechanisms to enhance institutional quality.

The pursuit of quality works against equality at present. Current developments in South Africa illuminate this issue. Invoking the need to participate competitively in the global economy, the number of institutions offering MBA

[1] Efforts have been initiated in countries such as Brazil and Colombia, by which students are given tests at the end of their undergraduate studies that serve consequently to determine their university's ranking.

degrees in the country has been reduced. All of six fully accredited institutions are in the Gauteng or the Western Cape, two of the richest and most advanced provinces of South Africa. At the time of writing, the fully accredited institutions do not include any in KwaZulu-Natal, the most populous province (*Financial Times*, 28 June 2004). The call for quality in South Africa has also served to close a number of Black-only universities; an unintended consequence of this decision has been that the university as a centre for Black nationalism might be tamed and eventually disappear.

Knowledge as commodity. In the same way that individuals buy their education, business firms buy their research. While there is nothing unethical in the acquisition of ideas for profit, the growing nature of research for sale carries undesirable consequences. First, the university/enterprise ties foster instrumental knowledge – that which has a very clear and even immediate application. In this context, instrumental or problem-solving research, unfortunately, is not defined by society at large but by entrepreneurs seeking solutions to specific production problems. Second, problem-solving research of this nature gives greater importance to some fields, such as medicine (benefiting the wealthy or those who can buy medicines), engineering, and the natural sciences, with much less attention going to fields that promote appreciation and critical reflection of society such as the humanities and the social sciences. Third, knowledge as commodity favours the satisfaction of individual over social needs. Higher education institutions thus emphasize curricula that are more marketable, charging high fees for their students. Well-established or newly formed entrepreneurial universities from the U.S., the U.K., Australia, New Zealand, India, and South Africa, capitalizing on the marketability of English, offer programmes to many countries of the world. Recent negotiations within the World Trade Organization include education as another tradable good, subject to privatization and liberalization.

Unquestionably, the circulation of ideas and printed materials has increased through the privatized provision of higher education. It remains to be seen to what extent education for profit and its curricula addresses core social issues, including the formation of citizenship values and awareness of the need for social justice. Some observers argue that the presence of more higher education institutions at local levels will improve the efficiency of national higher education, as global knowledge will be made to harmonize with local knowledge and needs. But it is rather doubtful that this ‘harmonization’ will end with considerable local knowledge being respected and thus absorbed.

The entrepreneurial university. As universities become obliged to generate their own resources, they are shifting their character from academic to entrepreneurial institutions that are attentive to market possibilities to satisfy demand for both particular degrees and programmes as well as for particular types of research products (see Slaughter and Leslie, 1997, for case studies around this development). The generation of income thus comes accompanied by the creation of an entrepreneurial culture and changes in the organizational structure to provide constant assessment of the market and quick response to its needs and requests. Universities are therefore developing denser administrative layers and greater communication between the university and the industrial/commercial community. On the positive side, this promotes trends toward greater interdisciplinarity within the university; on the negative side, much of this interdisciplinarity focuses on solutions to existing production problems and considerably less on social problems.

Competition is leading universities to forget social aims. Even in California, one of the richest states in the U.S., the government eliminated its effective socially-evening affirmative action programme in 1995 (no longer allowing race, ethnicity, and gender attributes to influence admission to public universities) and, by 2004, was eliminating outreach programmes – instructional and counselling services that enable minority students to make a more effective transition into the demands of higher education – even though these programmes comprised at most 1 percent of the general state allocation to its public university system (Torres, 2004).

Competition across and within universities generates a search for excellence; therefore, no one wishes to acknowledge failure. As quality assurance becomes an omnipresent principle, concern is shown for ranking, sorting, scores, and league tables (Blackmore, 2004). Preoccupation with problems such as social cohesion, class stratification, and gender and racial inequalities is reduced to a minimum despite prevailing rhetoric about the university's concern with major social problems.

Creating profitable units within the university or generating financial resources for it becomes highly rewarded. In industrialized nations, the 'publish or perish' principle is gradually being replaced by 'produce funded-research or perish.' Academic research for which large sponsorship is unavailable is considered a thing of the past and even penalized in annual performance evaluations. Topics such as gender and adult education, are left to languish and professors engaging in them lose salary and academic standing.

Governance. Traditional faculty governance is losing to administrators' management, creating a climate in which decisions are based on profit margins and the ability to recruit fee-paying students rather than on the merit of the knowledge sought or distributed. Most high-level administrators are men and typically blind to gender issues. Along with the emergence of a new administrative approach, globalization has brought about a new professoriate, less protected by tenure, without even stable or full-time employment. Data from British higher education indicate that in 1997-98, of 17 000 academic appointments only 18 percent were to permanent contracts, in contrast to 40 percent in 1994-95. A similar decline in tenure-track professors is being reported all over the world.

All of the changes discussed above are altering the nature of the university. If in the past its mission included being a place that could support democracy and foster social critique, today it is giving way to serving mostly as an organization where the productive edge of the country can be made competitive. While expansion of higher education is taking place, the advantageous position of the wealthier social classes continues as before, with the added feature that now this advantage is no longer questioned. Researchers that have observed the continuous stratification of higher education, argue that the expansion of higher education to be truly democratic will require an increase in the quality and equality of primary and secondary schooling so that low-income students may be able to compete (Donoso and Schiefelbein, 2004).

Education and gender

Our socialization into the value of schooling is so effective that many of us fail to see educational settings as fundamental sites for the reproduction of societal norms, values, and ideologies, including gender ideologies. Despite having greater access to schooling than in the past, women are still being prepared for domesticity and subservience. This happens to a great extent by default, through the school's failure to question the current functioning of gender in society and by not introducing emancipatory curriculum and school practices to counter traditional gender messages in society at large.

In rural and illiterate areas in Africa and Asia, girls are perceived as even more inferior to boys. Speaking from the African context, Mlama (2001) holds that this leads parents to resist enrolling girls in school, to refuse paying their

school fees, to withdraw girls from school for early marriage, and to provide them with little encouragement to perform well in school. In many African countries, even if governments succeed in enrolling all the children in school, as seems to be the case at the grade one level, many girls will continue to drop out by the upper grades of primary school due to the costs of school fees, boy-preference by parents, and cultural norms that affect girls negatively: passive sexuality leading to pregnancy or HIV/AIDS, and early marriage (Mlama, 2001).

From a gender perspective, three key questions apply to educational systems regardless of globalization: Does the curriculum content promote gender equality? Does the learning environment foster assertiveness and empowerment in girls? Are teachers emotionally, socially, and pedagogically prepared to deal with gender issues in their daily practice? We have neither comprehensive nor recent data sets to answer these questions, yet the following can be said:

The gendered content of school knowledge. Textbooks throughout the world have improved a great deal in terms of gender, presenting today more references to women in important social and historical roles and more illustrations of women figures. Nonetheless, the depiction of women still tends to be in subordinated and passive roles. Teaching practices that demean girls are still prevalent in many educational systems. The efforts to train teachers in gender issues have not progressed very much; these measures are infrequent and overwhelmingly characterized by very short-time interventions.

Because of the school experience and the relentless mass media messages pushing youths toward careless sexuality, erroneous cultural attitudes about the innate differences between girls and boys prevail. These mentalities have also been detected in industrialized countries. A study of Canadian students in secretarial courses found that the women develop notions of femininity as associated with care and support, and less linked to technical skills (Gaskell, 1995, cited in Lakes and Carter, 2004). And correcting these stereotypes is not easy. The 'Break-Up' Project in Norway and Denmark, which attempted to place women in male-dominated occupations through apprenticeships and direct recruitment, concluded that a better strategy was not to bring women into male occupations but to "upgrade the traditional female occupations" (Mjelde, 2004, p.166). Policies in Norway today include the 'domestication of men' by providing them with time off their labour situation to take care of children and housework.

The discourse of globalization does not recognize that we still live in a gendered-world. To the extent that problems are now anchored in the individual and hence to be resolved through individual agency, the pervading power of gender ideologies and related structural conditions do not receive much attention either in governmental policies or in school initiatives. We know that citizenship calls for political negotiation and that rights are not given freely but must be won through hard struggle. But if citizenship is not just about awareness of rights but about exercising them, how does education prepare women to do so? How does education prepare men to promote an egalitarian world? How does the state foster the sensitization of parents to such issues such as their daughters' early marriage and occupational choices? How does the state enable poor parents to invest in their daughters' schooling? The empirical evidence of state action to correct negative cultural practices and beliefs indicates only perfunctory political intervention.

Education and sexuality. A pillar of women's empowerment involves their assertiveness *vis-à-vis* others and, as philosopher Hannah Arendt remarked, their conviction that "women have the right to have rights." Through various world conferences, notably the Conference on Population and Development (Cairo, 1994), progress has been made in the recognition of *reproductive rights* (which include making decisions on whom to marry, when to have children, how many children to have, the right to contraceptives, and the right to medical attention before and during childbearing). *Sexual rights*, which are essential to women's empowerment, are still far from being universally recognized. A declaration drafted by the World Association of Sociology in 1997 and endorsed by the World Health Organization shortly afterwards, identifies important areas in which to engage in educational work: the right to have a safe sexual life; the right to have sex education; the right to seek, receive, and provide information regarding sexuality; and the right to have consensual sexual relations. The introduction of this type of knowledge should be a priority agenda in the education of girls and boys.

New actors in education

Ongoing neoliberal policies in developing countries have generated new influential actors, notable among them the international financial institutions (IFIs) and nongovernmental organizations. They tend to pursue divergent objectives and it is precisely in this tension that possibilities for positive change may emerge for gender and education.

The IFIs. Banks are becoming increasingly powerful in the educational arena, primarily through their influence on country compliance to SAPs and timely external debt payments. IFIs also shape significantly the bilateral agencies, which often fully endorse their recommendations. Not only are the IFS influential in the formal negotiation process and in informal contacts with national bureaucrats, but they are also expanding their action by establishing their own dissemination and training centres. The World Bank recently created the Global Development Network, which includes an Educational Policy Research Network. It organised a global conference to take place in April 2005 to examine "what accumulated research says about key policy issues and to discuss how obstacles to more and other research may be overcome." The Inter-American Development Bank now provides Internet courses for policy makers and university professors on a variety of educational administration subjects, including one on 'ethics and social capital'. These examples reflect a powerful deployment of external resources to shape domestic educational policy.

Making a broader observation, McMichael (cited in Robinson, 2004) reminds us that the World Bank shifted in the 1980s from project loans to policy loans, a step aimed at restructuring local economies and integrating them into the global economy. In addition, it must be noted that supranational organizations today are staffed by transnational functionaries who work with their transnational counterparts in the increasingly dependent national states. As the transnational cadre links with each other across countries, local state practices become increasingly harmonized with global capitalism (Robinson, 2004).

NGOs. There is great variety among NGOs in form, objectives, and performance. Opportunistic NGOs have emerged over time, and some observers critical of these NGOs complain that they have no accountability. On the other hand, there are many NGOs that are transformative and have had a discernable positive impact on society. At times acting as surrogate social service providers and at others as conceptualizers of new visions of society, these NGOs function as political change agents and contribute to the spread and strengthening of civil society.

Social movements are recognized as crucial elements in initiating and supporting social change. What is sometimes forgotten is that NGOs are the *organizational* forms through which social movements function. Thus, NGOs have played major roles in providing knowledge in response to major needs not covered by the state – on land, HIV/AIDs, and domestic violence, to name

a few – due to the privatization of basic services and to the lack of state response to major problems. NGOs have been active in adult education, offering non-formal education and providing *informal* learning. NGOs have also been active in the provision of formal schooling through the creation of rural schools, particularly in countries where the supply of public schools is very limited, such as in South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa.

Adult education provided by NGOs has had a major role in helping transformational movements for women, for Blacks in apartheid society, and for oppressed groups in colonial societies. These adult education efforts were guided by the spirit of collaboration and solidarity, not competition. Feminist NGOs are simultaneously educational and political forces and have They have tended to focus on three areas of work: human rights, citizenship, and empowerment – distinct yet mutually supportive elements. Feminist NGOs have been extremely important in reducing the negative impacts of globalization by pressing governments to retain their social welfare obligations. Many of these NGOs have not worked in areas connected to formal schooling, but their work on adult women has led to important action regarding the social, economic, and political rights of women – which, of course, has an impact on women's identities.

In these times of increasingly centralized control of the school curriculum through accountability measures that are heavily dependent on student testing, work with adults constitutes one of the few spaces both for a wider conception of accountability and for liberatory action. The connection between working class aspirations, civil society, and popular education is being currently weakened by globalization trends (Rubenson, 2004). Therefore, all the more need for targeting adult and popular education for alternative knowledge and methodologies that foster agency. To be sure, agency is not an inherent quality of particular entities, but some promote it more than others. Unfortunately, during these times of globalization, support for NGOs is declining, particularly support for women NGOs. Funding agencies usually favour support of short-term training on such issues as health, family planning, and income generation and, while this knowledge is important, it is no substitute for knowledge that leads to contestatory action. Italian thinker Gramsci believed it is unrealistic to look to schools for a radical, counter-hegemonic education. In his view, "the burden of such an enterprise lies squarely in institutions for adult education, especially in those political associations dedicated to social change and in economic associations where workers are involved in productive relationships that have their own educational imperatives" (cited in Entwistle, 1979, p.176).

Emergent social policies

With economic and technological globalization a new kind of state, one more aware of social distinctions and needs, is emerging. Advances in the area of human rights, through international conferences and conventions, are rendering democratic concepts not only acceptable but inevitable. Some victories, although little noticed, are of great significance. For instance, the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (ICERD), adopted by the UN in 1965, had defined discrimination as: "any distinction, restriction, exclusion or preference based on race, colour, descent, national or ethnic origin that aims at or results in eliminating or undermining the recognition, enjoyment, or exercise of human rights and fundamental liberties in equal conditions in the economic, social or cultural spheres of public life". However complete this definition was, it was also gender-blind. It was modified to include gender through Recommendation No.25 to ICERD in the year 2000, thanks to vigorous pressure by the women's movement. In addition to the regular holding of World Social Forums, which congregate thousands of progressive thinkers who can envision alternative realities, similar meetings are being held at regional levels. The First Social Forum of the Americas was held in Quito, Ecuador, in July 2004. It was attended by 10 000 persons, from 814 organizations and 44 countries. It took positions against neoliberal economic policies, intellectual property regulations, and free trade agreements. These massive meetings build a transnational citizenship focused on gender and race equality.

At the same time, we are encountering a state that has much less power than in the past. External agencies and groups are able to exert pressure on the state to modify its governance priorities. The enormous role that foreign direct investment has today as the key means for national development signals unquestioned attention to the private sector and to the production of goods and services rather than a wider framing of social problems and solutions. With a growing segment of weak workers and excluded adults, who are also unable to benefit significantly from the increased production of goods and services, it is unlikely that an altruistic reasoning oriented to equality and social justice may emerge. And yet, we must remember that it was the explicit pact between labour and capital that gave solid support to the establishment of democratic regimes in the twentieth century.

Social policies today are not used as an instrument of social change. What we find instead throughout the world are specific programmes targeted at extreme

poverty. These programmes tend to be unidimensional: food support, monetary transfers to extremely poor families, emergency jobs, or childcare in poor communities. Focalized projects for women aim at helping only the most disadvantaged groups of women, giving them direct assistance in basic needs (nutrition, health posts, water and sewage, electricity, roads, small irrigation works). These projects attend to basic and survival needs; they do not foster empowerment. They function at local levels but with narrow parameters set in central ministries. Given the characteristics of these programmes, it is very unlikely that the social inequality due to income differentials, let alone wealth differentials, may be significantly curtailed.

Countries need to go beyond civic and political citizenship to provide social citizenship: access to employment; a decent salary; health services; provisions in case of unemployment and disability; public education of high quality; equality of opportunity without gender or race discrimination; and prompt and fair justice. In some countries, with large numbers of landless people, as is the case of South Africa (with 19 million landless out of a population of approximately 42 million in 1995), looking at the question of land reform is urgent and unavoidable if inequalities in wealth are to be modified. And ownership of allocated lands will have to be given regardless of marital status.

The most important set of global policies in effect today are the UN Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which were ratified by 189 member countries in September 2000 at the UN Millennium Summit and are endorsed at present by all 191 UN member countries. An important goal of the MDGs (Goal No.3) addresses women's empowerment. While it is certainly a victory for the women's movement to have the concept of empowerment recognized as an important political issue, it must be remarked that empowerment in the global governmental agenda has little to do with women's rights, whether civil, political, economic, or reproductive. This can be ascertained from the four indicators selected to monitor attainment of the empowerment goal:

- the ratio of girls to boys in primary, secondary, and tertiary education;
- the literacy rate among the 15-24 year-old group;
- the proportion of women as non-agricultural workers; and
- the proportion of women as political representatives.

The first indicator assumes that access to formal education will inevitably generate among women assertiveness and critical understanding of their immediate world. The second indicator not only automatically equates literacy

with power, but centres on young women. And the other women? The third indicator assumes, rather erroneously, that the simple presence of women in commercial and industrial sectors of the economy will lead to salaries or status equal to those of men. These assumptions have shortcomings that undermine the goal of empowerment. The fourth indicator comes close to some measure of power as political office signifies women's presence at decision-making locations. According to informal accounts, UNDP – the agency in charge of overseeing MDG implementation – has issued guidelines to countries for the preparation of their national reports that reduce the entire empowerment goals to education enrolment at the three levels. In short, women's empowerment is crucial but has yet to be defined in a way that can indeed significantly transform power relations. Questions of land redistribution, salary comparability, access to credit and technology, and legislative changes to alter inheritance, marriage, and women's right to control their own bodies need to be included.

Shaping the future

This article attempted, on the basis of admittedly incomplete comparative data, to present the wide array of changes affecting education in a rapidly expanding technological and economic globalization process. New practices, dynamics, and rationales shape current individual and collective choices. Several of these changes pinpoint the diffusion of human rights and the endorsement of equal opportunity principles. Others generate considerable inequalities and game rules that render any attention to equity issues, and to gender equity in particular, difficult to sustain. All three levels of education are facing trends of expansion and privatization; quality, however, emerges as a scarce resource, severely diluted by other financial priorities. Higher education is being challenged by narrow productivity criteria that detract from collective and emancipatory efforts. In this context, gender equity, as urgent now as at any time, risks being treated as a marginal concern.

Observing the performance of Latin American governments, Weyland (2004) concludes that they have two distinct constituencies: the domestic citizenry, voters, and interest groups; and the foreign and domestic investors with strong transnational links and often greater influence than the national constituency. Weyland finds that often the two constituencies pull in different directions. Trade unions, which in the past used to be significant social actors, today have fewer members and command lower political influence than before market

reforms. Similar observations can be made of other developing regions of the world. Globalization can be said to be inherently asymmetrical for it generates a two-tier world economy between developing and developed countries, and domestically, between the wealthy and the poor groups.

Foreign investments have become the prime source of energy for national development in the Third World, yet it is also clear that, despite the increasing technological improvements that reduce the need for human labour, investments also require cheap labour and thus follow foremost low wages. They also seek friendly environments in which low taxes, limited ecological constraints, and a stable legal order prevail. Very little viable latitude is left to national governments, and formal education functions as only one variable among others that determine a country's 'competitiveness'.

Regarding education, specifically, it is demonstrable that high levels of education generate high wages. But economic data for many countries show that at medium and low levels of education very low wages are obtained. Education, despite the current rhetoric of access for all, is a social invention characterized by fierce competition among unequal players. Further, as Navia and Velasco contend, "However much politicians may like to talk about a 'crisis in education,' no such thing exists from the perspective of the immediate political costs of not reforming. And reforming these sectors involves large redistributions of income, with the losses being . . . concentrated among relatively few [but powerful] people and sectors" (2003, p.276).[2]

Given the current political and economic rationales in most developing countries, the possibility of a fundamental alteration of educational provision in favour of disadvantaged classes is remote. It is not surprising, therefore, in these moments of weak state structures and functions, and scarce will by dominant groups to invest in public education, that the prevailing educational discourse expressed by governments masks this situation by making constant reference to quality education. In practice, there exists scant evidence that

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2 Navia and Velasco go on to explain that in the first-generation reforms – budget cuts, trade and foreign liberalization, state retrenchment, and privatization – the people affected were spread out in the population or too poor to be politically significant. In contrast, the second-generation reforms will go against well organized and influential groups such as teacher and judicial unions, upper echelons of civil servants, state and local governments, owners and managers of private monopolies, and the medical establishment.

states will take action to accomplish this aim. Actual allocation of educational budgets to meet this objective lags considerably. Salaries of teachers, infrastructure of schools, and educational materials are issues constantly postponed.

A gender perspective on ongoing developments complicates this picture. The nature of knowledge and the type of schooling experience are central and they must be altered to promote gender equality. Yet, reality shows that suitable knowledge is not enough either. Public measures are needed that provide equal opportunities for men and women. Legally, both sexes have the same opportunities in terms of formal rights and equal access to benefits in education; actual implementation of these intentions must follow. Women also need access to material benefits – property, credit, access to technology – legal protection against violence, discrimination, sexual harassment, and the right to exercise control over their own bodies. In these areas, public policies are weak and many yet to be enacted.

The resolution of inequalities will have to address multiple dimensions. A four-step sequence is proposed by Kliksberg (2001); the physical wellbeing of the poor and their connection to the environment is a fundamental issue to be addressed. Then comes the question of human capital and the strengthening of public schools. Next, explicit steps must be taken to create social capital: partnerships with like-minded groups, participation in social networks, and the generation of confidence and rules for cooperation between citizens. Finally, steps must be taken to create employment.

A market economy generates a market society, where marketing and individual consumerism prevail. As a result of globalization, we are facing a state of crisis in which concerns of social justice, including the imbalance of gender in society and the means to correct it, are simply not in the public policy agenda. What is to be done then? What paths provide the capacity to counter current trends?

To decide on common objectives in any society, it is crucial to create shared experiences and agreed cultural meanings. But how does one create them? Measures such as a common educational experience (preferably a single public school system), intercultural understanding including learning the language of the ‘Other’, a supportive mass media, wide communication and dissemination of information (a role in which the Internet is already important), and voting rights according to residential density loom promising.

The private/public divide in most educational systems will not help. But there exists the possibility of introducing critical pedagogies in public schools through the presence of organic intellectuals. These educators more likely will be formed through nongovernmental group initiatives rather than by public teacher training institutions or teacher unions. These educators are also more likely to come from university programmes led by progressive academicians. Since alternative and emancipatory measures will not be initiated by weak governments, it is up to civil society to engage in them. To do so with minimal funding in a social context that challenges solidarity is the democratic challenge of the twenty-first century.

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Putting ourselves into practice: popular education at/and universities

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Abstract

This paper looks at different ways in which popular education has been played out in South African university adult education (UAE) since the 1980s. It traces the changing relationships between UAE and sections of civil society, notably social movements, within the context of shifting socio-political dynamics. It suggests that today, there is a tension: UAE is asked to pay allegiance to vocationalism, market values and individualism. Adopting the old struggle language of 'empowerment', 'participation', and 'people-centred education' seems to signal that the old freedoms adult education as non-formal education utilised, are still alive. However, popular education is in danger of becoming a technology, divorced from the purpose and alliances that gave it meaning in the past. The paper asks what role does popular education have to play, today? It outlines some ways in which UAE can still make itself accountable and useful to struggles for social justice. These are proposed as a model of good practice – encapsulated by Collins' (1991) suggestion that rather than putting theory into practice, we should put ourselves into practice.

> I find myself suddenly in the world and I recognise that I have one right alone: that of demanding human behaviour from the other. One duty alone: that of not renouncing my freedom through my choices (Fanon, 1986, p.229).

Introduction[1]

In *Adult Education as Vocation* Collins (1991, p.46) argues that it is problematic to consider competent performance as the result of a process in which we familiarise ourselves with theories, and then put these into practice. The notion that a particular theoretical model can faithfully represent a particular order of reality is seen as overly deterministic and not borne out in

[1] This paper is a review of my experiences in university adult education (UAE) at what is now the University of KwaZulu-Natal, and in particular the relationship between the theory and practice of popular education and UAE since the mid-1980s. It is based on extensive dialogue with activists and activist-academics, that is, people who share a history of engagement with education and/in action, and on documents such as publications, pamphlets and visual materials. Various drafts of the paper were circulated and the feed-back and critiques received were incorporated into the final version.

the roles we perform in our lives. Instead, he proposes we should work towards a thorough understanding of theoretical constructions and then put *ourselves* into practice: "Serious engagement with theoretical models improves our potential as reflective practitioners, which in turn manifests itself in actual performance".

The paper is in three parts: I begin by establishing a working definition of popular education as education aimed at promoting and strengthening organisations that are overtly political and in opposition to a status quo (Prajuli, 1986; Crowther, Martin and Shaw, 1999). In the main part I describe the changing relationship between UAE and popular education since the 1980s. I suggest some shifts: firstly, in the 1980s, popular education was primarily in the service of the struggle against the apartheid regime and capitalism without much attention paid to theoretical considerations. Its link to UAE at that time was tenuous and functional. Secondly, in the early to mid-nineties as the link between UAE and popular education became closer, we began to put theory into practice. The writings of Freire, literacy campaigns particularly in Latin America, feminism, and the increasing prominence of dependency theory in community development all insisted on a bottom-up approach to working with excluded people and inspired what was thought of as praxis. Thirdly, with the increasing focus on process rather than content since the development of education policies and legislation in the later nineties, and the focus on process, popular education came to be reinterpreted primarily as access for the 'disadvantaged'. Both inside universities and outside in 'the real world' the principles of popular education were truncated into technologies of participation. At the same time, however, popular education as a counter-hegemonic discourse also resurfaced hand in hand with oppositional action. Its links to UAE today, however, are sporadic and individual.

In the third part of the paper I ask whether the underlying political purpose of building a more democratic and just society and world for all is still served well through aligning UAE to social action. Finally, I propose that there are still ways in which university adult educators can put themselves into practice, in the best tradition of popular education.

What is popular education?

Popular education, in the sense of populous as being 'of the people', has always been there, guiding people and helping them make sense of their world and give meaning to their lives. As 'people's education' it defines itself clearly as an alternative to the dominant system in terms of the process, content, context and, importantly, purpose of provision. The term has come to be associated particularly with Paulo Freires' work, first in Brazil in the early 1960s, and later in other Latin American countries. It has strong resonances in the radical tradition of adult education, and, currently, with promoting democratic access to the exploration of ideas and the debate about what counts as worthwhile knowledge (Crowther *et al.*, 1999).

While different sources and claims about popular education centre on it as a means to challenge traditional education that turns learners into passive recipients of knowledge, and hence its overtly political stand for social change (Arnold and Burke, 1983; Grossi, 1983; Hammond, 1998), there are different views on what constitutes social change and similarly, the interpretation of what would make up the basic ingredients and defining features of popular education.

Arnold and Burke (1983) suggest that the starting point of popular education is the concrete experience of the learner, and that the process is highly participatory and active; it is a collective effort in which everyone teaches and everyone learns in the course of creating new knowledge. Hammond (1989) describes how poor people who educated themselves and their children during the war in El Salvador created popular education. He outlines as defining features of popular education

- conditions of scarcity and limitations of poverty
- a vision rooted in material conditions and the need to change these
- the aim to achieve personal development
- the close link between education and other practices and
- the development of political consciousness.

More recently, introducing a book on popular education and social movements in Scotland, Martin (1999, p.1) asserted that popular education "is always contextual and contingent, reflecting and responding to changing circumstances and, in particular, the changing relationship between the formal politics of state and the informal politics of social movements in civil society".

As an education that is "rooted in the interests, aspirations and struggles of ordinary people", popular education "is overtly political and critical of the status quo" and committed to "progressive social and political change" (Martin, 1999, p.4).

Similarly, Kane (2001, p.8) reminds us while 'popular' may simply communicate the idea of 'the people' or popular classes and organisations, it also carries the connotation of 'in the interests of' the people, the unemployed, peasants, the poor. He furthermore suggests that the political commitment of popular education is underpinned by a "radical vision, or dream, of a much better world" (2001, p.10), and that this utopia is thought of not simply as desirable, but indeed possible to achieve.

It is in this combined sense that I define popular education for this paper. Popular education, then, is

- self-consciously located within struggles of power and dominance
- overtly oppositional aiming at addressing the asymmetrical relations of power as inscribed in socio-political and economic structures and systems, and
- it asserts the potential of people to build on their own experiences and knowledge not just to change consciousness, but to transform institutions and relations of power towards a more equitable, democratic society
- inspired and guided by a utopian vision.

Popular education practice

My path to adult education began in the 1970s through cultural activism in the independent trade union movement. Like many people working in adult education at the time I did not think of my activities as education, but rather as action in defiance of the state and in support of the struggle against apartheid. The worker plays of the 1980s aimed to raise awareness about trade unions, build consciousness of class relations in the audiences, and advocate for and support action. They also carved a space for workers' performances and creative powers, asserted in a strategic document prepared for the FOSATU Education Workshop in July 1985.

> We are a movement which announces a real democracy on this land – where people like you and me can control for the first time our productive and creative power (. . .) because, even if we are culturally deprived as workers, we demand of ourselves the commitment to build a better world (Sitas, 1986, pp.68-69).

Participants in the workers cultural group wanted to "create space in our struggle – through our own songs, our own slogans, our own poems, our own artwork, our own plays and dances" (Sitas, 1986, p.60). Unionised workers all over the country had begun to perform at public spaces, at union meetings, shop-steward seminars, in church halls and at mass rallies – wherever people met to organise, mobilise and inform. After the performances songs re-linked the reality of the story to the immediate present, and the performers engaged with the audience in debates around the causes of their misery, drawing parallels between the story and the audience's lived experience.

Despite the overtly educational dimension of this work the practice was rarely considered in terms of theories of (popular) education. Instead, I saw it as rooted primarily in oral culture and theatre traditions such as Grotovskis 'Poor Theatre' and Boals 'Theatre of the Oppressed' and shaped by Marxist reading groups rather than educational literature. Workshops were the forum for collectively constructing stories and enacting these in often highly improvised ways, using found objects as props and tools and drawing in the audience as co-actors (or as Boal called them, spec-actors). Such work on projects with a common purpose and living through the implementation of ideas established trust. Accumulated trials and triumphs in creating and performing plays, music, art and writing forged solidarity. A passionate belief in the possibility and necessity of change towards social and economic justice and mutual care and caring provided the fuel. And, while the regard for what each had to contribute, based on different knowledge and ways of knowing, needed to be constantly renewed, this happened through action rather than rigorous reflections on either the practice itself, or the theoretical underpinnings of the work. As Chambers (1983) suggests, in the 1980s there was a difference between what practitioners and academics did: the one was concerned with results, the other with understanding.

The link of this work to the academy was mainly instrumental. The university provided access to resources such as books, materials for making pamphlets, telephones and safe spaces for meetings and rehearsals. Generally, activist academics went about their political business knowing that this work was not deemed part of an academic's job description, but that the nature of their

employment with its flexible time schedules afforded the opportunity and flexibility to take the gap.

Towards praxis

When the South African government declared a state of emergency in June1986, as a way of further repressing insurgency and protests, the doors of the academy were forced open. Many activist-academics brought their work with grassroots organisations, unions, support agencies, literacy programmes, community health advocacy units and the like *physically* into the space of the university, as a way of securing them a base for operating safely. As political attacks and assassinations escalated, universities provided important sanctuaries for social action initiatives linked to 'the struggle'. Projects were generally funded by outside (international) donors and in some cases the university finance division provided some of the book-keeping infra-structure. Physically, projects were squeezed into a corner office in some corridor; organisationally, they functioned much like non-government organisations. Ideologically, they were informed by the interests of poor people, women, workers.

Outside the academy, in the formal education sector, People's Education called for an end to any education that "divides people into classes and ethnic groups", and that is "essentially a means of control to produce subservient, docile people", that "indoctrinates and domesticates" and that is "intended to entrench apartheid and capitalism" (SASPU, 1986). The language of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and 'Peoples Education for Peoples Power' revealed the inspiration derived from popular education struggles in Latin America, and in particular the works of Paulo Freire whose *Pedagogy of the oppressed* had been passed from hand to hand in the Black Consciousness movement and in discussion groups in the 1970s. Some of this work may undoubtedly have put pressure on UAE to respond to challenges by members of the NECC to contribute to the development of People's Education, as Motala and Vally (2002) have suggested.

Increasingly, an alternative development discourse in opposition to the top-down modernist notion of development was articulated and translated into new forms of practice. Participatory research (also in the developing world) became accepted as a more democratic form of knowledge production (Chambers, 1983; Fals-Borda, 1991; Pretty, Guijt, Scoones and Thompson,

1995; Tandon, 1998). Processes and tools invented to include 'the voice-less' were the subject of much experimentation and reflection, and adult education and the emerging field of community development expanded energies thinking about ways of valorising experiential knowledge in order to bring it to bear on and be recognised as 'official' knowledge and part of formal curricula. Feminist writers challenged the dominance of rationality as the exclusive domain of learning. Reflections on livelihood practices as embedded in political structures and power dynamics gave rise to visions of alternative societies in which people would live more sustainably with each other and the increasingly fragile environment. Freire's writings, Chambers' (1983) work with Participatory Rural Appraisal, health sector books like Werners' *Where there is no doctor* and the teaching companion *Helping health workers learn* (Werner and Bower, 1982) are examples of what came to be thought of as good praxis, that is, a constant moving between reflection and action and reflection on practice (Von Kotze, 2003).

Within these broad tensions I began to theorise and contextualise my practice and formulate it as praxis (Freire, 1983). Like others, I worked at both popularising formal knowledge and drawing popular 'lifeworld' knowledge into formal curricula.

Changes in university adult education

In 1990 I left my job in a mainstream academic department and began to design and run a university programme that would be accessible to all those education and training practitioners who did not have the necessary qualifications for enrolling in formal university study, and in particular the 'Diploma' programmes offered by a number of English-speaking universities. The 'Certificate in Adult Education' and other such initiatives (Walters and Loza, 2000) were new in so far as they provided access by creating pathways into the academy, and by being accessible through experience-based, participatory and learner-centred ways of teaching.

The Certificate attracted students who, in the main, were Black adult activists who were working in voluntary organisations, trade unions, non-government organisations, support agencies and movements like the Workers Cultural Local. Most of them had found themselves in positions of educational leadership as a result of their organisational abilities, rather than specific demonstrated skills as educators and trainers. Often their only experience of

education had been schooling in the Bantu Education system; learning, for them, happened outside institutions in the 'school of life'. They were organic intellectuals, articulate leaders who had a wealth of understanding of how the dynamics of power and interests are played out. What they may have lacked in terms of academic reading and writing skills they made up for with understanding of 'how society works'. Participants valued the time out from the harsh realities of daily struggles, and a space dedicated to reading, reflection, critical investigation and creative imaginings.

Although run at university, the course was not formally accredited. It was recognised by social networks and NGOs, but not by government departments and rarely by private sector employers. At the time this did not matter as the underlying purpose was to further the aims of progressive movements – not individual credentialism. As Millar has pointed out:

> University-based adult educators – in contrast to academics in mainstream education departments servicing the schooling system – found their field of practice authorised by The Struggle – as alternative education with the capacity for social transformation. They operated with considerable legitimacy in the project world of small organisations with a field of practice lying between educational and organisational work – a field that maximised their process and strategic skills. Such engagement ensured the flow of donor funding into university departments of adult education: they were resourced, in fact, through demonstrated distance from the university (1993, p.150).

Participants' commitment to learning together was high: frequently, factory workers arranged to go on night shifts in order to attend classes during the day, and NGO employees dodged political violence during the height of the KwaZulu-Natal civil war, on their way to university. In many cases participants attended classes at the university with the expressed and financial support of their organisations. In return for time off to study, they could be expected to feed whatever they had learnt back into the work of the organisation and in this way multiply their personal learning. The slogan of 'each one, teach one' was taken seriously both as a way of practising accountability, and stretching resources.

The experiential knowledge of participants became the core of curricula, and personal and informal theories were negotiated with formal theories, in particular the writings of Freire. His critique of 'banking education' and advocacy of problem-posing struck a cord amongst participants. Much of the process of learning and teaching drew on local oral cultural traditions, both in

terms of the epistemological focus and with regard to methodology. There was a great emphasis on process, rather than outcomes, as we worked in processes reminiscent of drama workshops that demanded collectivity, connectedness, creativity and criticality. Drawing on different perspectives, participants analysed strategies and rehearsed arguments, made sense of the South African situation by contextualising the local struggle within larger socio-political, economic and environmental developments, constructed new meanings and understanding and formulated clear ideas and suggestions that would inform future action. Interactions in the classroom would create models of changed power relations between educators and students, book-based 'imported' knowledge and local oral knowledge, across disciplines, based on shared interests and common purpose.

At the same time, the mounting pressure to open up the resources of the academy to people and communities outside led a range of academics (not just in adult education) to popularise curricula and to make information more readable and attractive for people whose first language was other than English. Non-formal adult education programmes abounded: Street Law, shopstewards' courses, workshops in meeting skills and basic financial management for youth groups and community-based organisations, industrial health and safety courses, literacy classes, drama and writing workshops and the like, were run both on and off campus. All saw themselves as part of serving and supporting the struggle of the mass democratic movement. Conversely, academics also drew on popular participatory research to foreground local, indigenous knowledge and self-consciously began to include more experience-based knowledge into formal curricula.

Using theory for practice

After the first democratic elections in 1994, educators like myself with experience in popular education continued to use a participatory methodology for the work of building democracy and civil society through voter education campaigns and train-the-trainers workshops for census workers. Women and gender workshops became part of the training programme of many institutions. 'Marginalisation' was to give way to social and economic inclusion: all people should be given the opportunity to participate in the building of the new democracy – and hence access and recognition of prior/ other learning developed into an important area of research.

However, when popular education and participatory techniques came to be understood as synonymous, the mainstreaming of 'participation' in adult education and community development discourses created the impression that choosing to work in a particular way is not a political choice, but simply a matter of methodology. If we consider the link to social action and counter-hegemonic movements as definitive to the definition of popular education, as suggested above, the impression of radicalism created by the rhetoric was turning out to be increasingly a veneer (Field, 2003).

By 1997, two years after the promise that the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) would reverse the fortunes of people through a radical redistribution of land, access to jobs and loans and education and training, it was replaced by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR). Changed funding policies and lack of foreign donor support, the exodus of leadership into the ranks of government and the private sector, blatant opportunism and corruption, swapped priorities as new opportunities presented themselves, and the sense that the democratically elected government would take over many of the functions previously performed by non-governmental organisations, lead to the collapse of a wide range of NGOs and support agencies. Maslamoney (2000) suggests, that civil society became depoliticised.

The paradoxical relationship between power and social transformation is evident in the ranks of policy makers and within the academy. Many of the old leadership within and outside universities moved away from direct contact with communities into national and local government, or into lucrative jobs in the private sector. The empowerment experienced as a member of a social movement had been power *with*, rather than power *over* people. Now that individuals and groups participated more fully and effectively in the political functioning of our new order they became part of that system: "By gaining power, they have a stake in maintaining that power. In other words, they buy into the larger configuration of power relationships and become co-opted." (Schapiro, 1995, p.41)

Units and organisations that had found refuge in the university in the late 1980s were given a choice: be incorporated into mainstream academic work regulated by the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) and outcomes-based education (OBE), or join the market place outside the academy and become independent self-financing businesses. Generally, organisations that survived into the late nineties often did so only by

succumbing to the pressure to adopt more cost-efficient management systems, cuts in staffing, design of operations of scale, and delivery of tangible (countable) development outputs.

Alternative courses such as the Certificate Course were subjected to sustained pressure to become a university-recognised qualification linked to the emerging National Qualifications Framework. The formalisation of these courses had an inevitable impact on curricula which were no longer designed in consultation with and response to the expressed interests and needs of movements, action groups and organisations. Instead they submitted to the pressures of outcomes-based education and came to be defined in keeping with competencies that respond to market-driven imperatives. Popular educators who were once called upon to assist the process of transition from capitalism to socialism in the interests of all, were beginning to be expected to prop up the new order through 'capacity-building' and 'empowerment programmes' for 'clients' and 'stakeholders'. Increasingly, student intake had to conform to generic entrance criteria and the new learners were/are expected to pay the fees commanded by university study. Popular education at universities became de-linked from social movements and re-configured as a methodology of team-work.

The profile of participants reflected these changes: despite the rhetoric of 'community empowerment' participants seeking admission to university adult education came to have personal life trajectories and as 'portfolio shifting' individuals (Gee, 2000). Many of them were teachers from the formal school system who were hoping to branch into an alternative area of work. Their trajectories were underpinned by aspirations for individual professional advancement rather than a passionate desire to contribute to the well-being and survival of poor people and communities, human rights, gender equality. Political vision appears to have given way to personalised economic planning. In 2000 the Certificate course on the Durban campus of the then University of Natal ran for the last time; it gave way to and was incorporated into a formal undergraduate degree programme in Community Development.

Meanwhile, the language of popular education is still used as if the meaning of terms rooted in opposition politics has remained the same in neo-liberal times. In 1999 the education minister Kadar Asmal outlined the key priorities for education as guided by 'participation', 'social empowerment', 'empowerment partnerships' (Asmal, 2000). Unlike emancipation which preserves the edge of critical challenge and the potential for critique and acts of opposition,

empowerment has become inclusion into mainstream agendas (Inglis, 1997). Popular educators who serve these agendas are in danger of becoming what Brecht described as instructors in the school of sharks (Brecht, 1967): facilitators who employ the participatory methods and jargon of popular education in order to advance market driven agendas. The idea that everyone can be a facilitator of do-it-yourself learning (Kane, 2001) as long as she or he is equipped with the right manual that is written in terms of pre-defined unit standards and measurable performance indicators has become wide-spread.

Engaging civil society

Not surprisingly, after the second democratic elections, and simultaneously with moves towards assimilation and incorporation or 'inclusion', conditions of disaffection and deprivation generated the emergence of new grassroots struggles in opposition to what Desai has called "the frontlines of the establishment's 'undeclared war' on the poor" (Desai, 2000, p.7). As the gap between the rich and the poor increases, so does the determination of the poor, the landless and the sick: "Civil society is now beginning to move from a sense of powerlessness to a situation in which it is tentatively but increasingly asserting itself" (Motala and Vally, 2002, p.189). Again, the praxis of collective campaigns and actions is the site of learning. Learning in social movements helps ordinary people to understand how their own personal troubles and struggles for survival are related to larger public issues. Deliberate educational efforts within the movement can build and draw on solidarity networks across areas, regions and countries. Strategic teaching can help them to alert people in positions of power to their ability not just to mobilise support but also critically analyse the structures and mechanisms that entrench the status quo. Impromptu plays performed by members of the Treatment Action Campaign (Von Kotze and Endresen, 2004) inform about ways of tackling stigma associated with HIV/Aids; songs learnt on the march or picket line help to mobilise support for the campaigns of the Landless People's Movement; discussions at teatime are rehearsals for people to argue the link between the lack of social grants with economic globalisation.

This raises the challenge of trying to identify new spaces for supporting the work of such groups and movements, and inventing new forms of engaging what is now a university in a democratic country with struggles of people from popular movements, in opposition to the ravages of global capitalism. In the following, I want to suggest ways in which like-minded colleagues in current

university adult education try to help students, action groups and communities to build crucial knowledge and skills to improve the new democracy. This work is very much informed by the principles of popular education in that it aligns itself to the interests of poor, excluded groups, but it rarely translates into popular education in the sense of "systematic efforts by working class people to develop their own independent forms of education" (Martin, 1999, p.31). It asserts that educators should assume leadership and bring their organisational skills to bear on educational undertakings rather than just 'letting them learn'. It advocates a move away from laissez-faire facilitation of adult learning where educators supply the means for self-directed projects, towards suggesting that education must involve a political analysis of knowledge, and requires the educator to assume agency and to commit her/himself to ethical moral practice.

Putting ourselves into practice: popular education-like adult education

How do the principles of popular education translate into current everyday realities of research, teaching and community outreach – the core functions of academics at universities? Below I will look at research, teaching and outreach in turn while relating how each 'feeds' (on) the other as they are deliberately integrated with each other.

Firstly, as researchers in education we are expected to focus on knowledge and learning/teaching. And so we may ask: What have we and are we still learning from our experiences of political struggle, and what knowledge and ways of knowing for building a deeper democracy have we accumulated in that process? The fight against poverty and capitalism, against environmental degradation and the AIDS pandemic are now fought at a more geographically localised level. We can research and encourage students to research with people and groups engaged in social, economic and political struggles. The nature of this research requires us to draw on the lessons from feminist research, and learn how to "read knowledge expressed in often quite different forms than what she has been trained to recognise (and validate) as knowledge"(Hart, 2000, p.35). Thus, the insights we build will be both contributions to knowledge discourses and to understanding how education and learning can strengthen social action and the practices of particular interest groups. This research may also call on us to become active members of the

groups engaged in action and get involved further than in our researcher roles, taking on educational campaigns both within a movement, and of a movement. In this way, we can take a stand, as researchers, teachers and as citizens.

Like academics elsewhere, we are called upon to increase the number of fully paid-up full-time students for whom the university can claim full-time-equivalent points and money, to upscale publication quotas in accredited journals, and to compete for prestigious and lucrative research funding (Crowther *et al*., 2000). And yet, we have the freedom to research and write in support of progressive social action initiatives, instead of channelling our energies solely into refereed journal articles.

Secondly, as teachers, we can choose to act as "the sand, not the oil in the works of the world" (my translation) (Eich, 1973, p.88) instead of as instructors in the school of sharks. By designing and leading processes of true dialogue, the purpose of which is the production rather than transmission of knowledge, we model more democratic knowledge production. By initiating and guiding reflections in which complex theories are collectively negotiated and translated into useful ideas, we engage in re-thinking and re-connecting values and purpose with agency. By asking questions that smoke out agendas we make the dominant discourse appear less natural and neutral, and by scrutinising what is presented as 'diversity' amongst 'stakeholders' we throw light on conflicting interests as imbued with advantage, and difference. Students are also citizens who require an acute understanding of how social control is maintained and changed. Our education in the formal classroom as much as in non-formal gatherings in which people come together to plan for action can strive to serve the interests of people, rather than those of corporations, it can aim at supporting life rather than worshipping commodities.

Universities have old-established assumptions about where knowledge is located, and sending students (and ourselves) out into communities through various community-based learning requires them (and us) to re-connect knowledge and ideas with life and living. "Respecting people's knowledge means understanding the context of people's lives, respecting the specificities of their histories and their systems of knowledge" (Hawthorne, 2001, p.79-80). Indigenous knowledge is characterised by its embeddedness in the cultural web and history of a people including their civilisation, and forms the backbone of the social, economic, scientific and technological identity of such a people. Among the most important aspects of indigenous and traditional

knowledge is its depth of understanding about a particular place, a particular environment and its ecology. This situatedness can be invaluable in determining what works and what does not work in terms of sustainable survival. Horton has pointed out that people learn democracy by acting democratically. Through engaging with civil society students learn about how power dynamics and interests really play themselves out. This is not the kind of knowledge listed in the shopping lists of 'module competencies'. But it is the kind of knowledge that helps to question, and challenge and re-make.

Thirdly, community-outreach requires that we do work that supports local communities. Collins has charged that "Critical practice calls for direct engagement in definable concrete projects for social change without which talk of justice, emancipation, and equality becomes hollow rhetoric" (Collins, 1991, p.119). How can we hope to understand the people with whom we align ourselves politically, without interacting and working with them, 'out there'? We must go outside the safe walls of the institution and align ourselves with social action groups and movements, directly. We can act in opposition to forces that entrench patriarchal, hierarchical and authoritarian ways of working and decision making.

Residents of Glasgow who were involved in local campaigns to improve housing and health described how they began to make connections between their own struggle and that of people elsewhere. Drawing on Nelson Mandela's autobiography, Cathy McCormack explained that his struggle, as that of Paulo Freire, was much like their own, and that it involved insight into how

> the oppressed will never be free until their oppressors are liberated. (. . .) Through analysing my community struggle, I have come to the conclusion that for the first time in history the survival of the rich is dependent on the liberation of the poor. Poverty is not only costing us our lives, it is costing us all the earth!' (Martin and MacCormack,1999, p.262).

Poor and oppressed groups are often so busy coping with the struggle for daily survival that they do not take time out to reflect critically and learn from their actions. As educators we can again provide the space and the tools that will support groups involved in struggles for justice to think for themselves. At the same time, this dialogue can help us as educators to re-root our ideas and ideals in the material world with its clashes between modes of production and competing interests. This will improve our practice and our actions as citizens.

Conclusion

Living and working as an activist-academic with one foot in popular education, the other in the world of the academy creates peculiar tensions and excitements. We may dodge and dive competing agendas and expectations in order to find that space that allows us to live with integrity, contributing to the struggle for social justice, and along with others, becoming more fully human in the process.

> A recognition that the subjectivity of the adult educator is central to any critical practice of adult education will prepare the way for a reception of more careful accounts about our counter-hegemonic pedagogical projects in which we reflect upon the practices themselves and on our own (reflexive) experiencing of these practices (Collins, 1991, p.117).

Universities as sites of popular education would be a contradiction in terms. However, academics who believe in the principles of popular education can put pressure on academic institutions to become more democratic epistemologically, politically and socially. We might model a way that re-directs funding to collective forms of research and publishing, we can record and teach active engagement with unearthing and valorising progressive indigenous knowledge, we can work more democratically with students and communities outside. We can mobilise others who believe that consistency and integrity should be at the root of our practice and insist that universities allocate resources to work that is explicitly aligned to a social justice agenda. We can make the academy more accountable to progressive forces in civil society, *substantively* (Murphy, 2001). If we don't, our work reproduces and helps to entrench what is. Putting ourselves into practice means living and working with integrity and as educators, researchers, citizens, sustaining the vision of the world how we want it by working for it.

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"We must recover our own selves. . ."[1] Cultural justice as ethical issue in Higher Education

Piet Naude and Elize Naude[2]

> *When those who have the power to name and to socially construct reality choose not to see you or hear you, whether you are dark-skinned, old, disabled, female, or speak with a different accent of dialect than theirs, when someone with the authority of a teacher, say, describes the world and you are not in it, there is a moment of psychic disequilibrium, as if you looked into a mirror and saw nothing.*[3]

Abstract

In discussing the ethical challenges related to 'cultural justice' below, we take as assumptions the moral agency of higher education institutions individually and collectively as a system, as well as the implicit social contract between universities and the societies in which they function. We first argue that globalisation is a homogenizing cultural force to which higher education is subjected, but to which it also contributes. Thereafter we highlight two broad ethical challenges emanating from this, namely globalisation as cosmological narrative of identity formation, and as constituting cultural injustice by forcing people to surrender what is taken for granted. We then translate these two challenges into the context of Higher Education, and close with a brief outline of a curriculum project that attempts to address at least some of these issues.

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1 A quotation from a paper by Tinyiko Sam Maluleke, Professor of African theologies at UNISA, on cultural identity shortly after the first democratic elections in South Africa in 1994 (see reference in Balcomb, 1998).

2 This paper forms part of a larger project in the Centre for Ethics at the NMMU (formerly UPE), relating cultural justice to various societal domains. Papers have been delivered on cultural justice and its implications for African business ethics, tourism studies, internationalisation of Higher Education and religion. The first part of the paper is primarily the work of the first author, whilst the example and analysis of Rodriques and the Sharing Cultures Project stem from the work of the second author. We take collective responsibility for the whole, and acknowledge the constructive criticism by this journal's independent reviewers.

3 Adrienne Rich: *The feminist classroom* (New York: Basic Books 1994) as quoted by Musil 2000, p .91.

Globalisation as force of cultural homogenization

The predominant focus of literature on globalisation has been on the ethical challenges related to the impact of a globalising **market economy**. An emerging theme – and the focus of this paper – is the issue of globalisation as powerful **cultural force**, shaping personal and national identities, social cohesion and human coherence ". . .at the intersection of transnational forces, cross-cutting the local and the global" (Chidester 2003, p.vii). Whereas the economic face of globalisation calls forth issues related to distributive justice, the cultural-technological face calls forth issues related to cultural justice and identity formation (see Kwenda, 2003).

There are as many definitions of culture as there are social scientists. For the sake of our discussion here, two notions of culture will be put forward:

The first is by Clifford Geertz who espouses a semiotic view based on his interpretation that "man (sic) is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun (and) I take culture to be those webs". Culture is therefore an "interworked system of construable symbols" in which social events can be intelligibly described (Geertz 1975, pp.5, 14). These symbols form – through their inter-relation – a cultural map within which people negotiate their identities. In a recent publication on social cohesion, Chirevo Kwenda takes a shorter route and sees culture merely as "our way of life" and "what people take for granted". In other words: "It is that comfort zone within, and out of which, we think, act and speak. If it is our 'mother culture', we do all these things without having to be self-conscious about what we are doing" (Kwenda 2003, pp.68, 69).

Both culture and identity are fluid and hybrid notions: On an individual level, we live in overlapping social territories and migrate amongst different social roles constructed on the basis of who we are and who we are becoming. On a group or national level, this is equally true: cultures and identities are constantly negotiated between 'what is taken for granted'; between what is an assumed network of significance, and a changing environment that might seek to disarrange our symbolic cultural maps.

In an ideal world, such identity negotiations may occur peacefully, in a symmetricity of power, and over an extended period, so that natural assimilation enrich this 'meeting of cultures' and evolving of identities. But we have ample examples in history and the contemporary world that such

processes more than often derail. "We know that for these four words, 'our way of life', people are often prepared to kill or be killed. In such instances, it becomes clear that there is a very small step from 'a way of life' to life itself. Thus, a threat to a people's culture tends to be perceived and experienced as a personal threat" (Kwenda 2003, p.68).

The dichotomies represented by Jewish versus Palestinian, Hutsis versus Tutsis, Catholic versus Protestant; Serbian versus Croatian, America versus Islamic fundamentalists are the violent results of derailed identity negotiation coupled with cultural acts of threats and resistance.

These regional cultural negotiations are both intensified and mondialised (*le monde*: French) by the Janus face of cultural globalization. Like all globalisation processes, this one is equally ambiguous and even contradictory: **The globalisation of culture is on the one hand a huge homogenization process, whilst at the same time fostering a celebration of cultural difference and fragmentation.**

The romantic idea of multi-culturalism is betrayed by a globalising process that creates a mirage of differentiation, but in fact is an encompassing force toward "Vereinheitlichung"[4] (Raiser 1999, p.37). This creates a depersonalised mass society typified by "mass communications, mass consumption, homogeneity of patterns of life, mass culture" (De Santa Ana 1998, p.14). Here the economic, technological and cultural intersect in a deadly asymmetrical negotiation: "You can survive, even thrive, among us, if you become like us; you can keep your life, if you give up your identity". With reference to Levi-Strauss, "we can say that exclusion by assimilation rests on a deal: we will refrain from vomiting you out (anthropoemic strategy) if you let us swallow you up (anthropophagic strategy)" (Volf, 1996, p.75).

Globalisation – seen in this way – acquires an ideological nature as *la pensee unique*, aspiring to be the only valid view, ". . .imposing itself as the paradigm to which all other cultures should be adjusted" (De Santa Ana, 1998, p.16).

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4 Conrad Raiser (1999, pp.32ff) points out three central challenges for humanity in the 21st millenium: a life-centered vision (*lebenszentrierte Vision*) to replace a destructive anthropocentrism; the acknowledgement of plurality, and facing the inner contradictions of globalisation. He verbalises one of these contradictions as the simultaneous process of "Vereinheitlichung von Lebensstilen und kulturellen Formen" and the "Anstrengungen" caused by a defence of "einheimische Kulturen, religiöse Traditionen (und) ethnische und rassische Identitäten" (Raiser 1999, p.37).

Where previous forms of cultural subjugation (like colonialism) were spatially confined and time-bound, the commercial homogeneity of a consumerist culture expands itself with the aid of the newest and fastest technological communication.

Higher Education institutions (in this case universities) are obviously not exempt from globalisation as "the insistent metaphor" (Muller, 1997, p.196) or "the new master-signifier" that shifts the world and its arrangements (Cloete and Muller, 1998, p.540). Universities are both 'object' and 'subject' of exclusion/co-option by assimilation:

As 'objects' these institutions fall within the ambit of commodification and are increasingly forced to adopt a consumerist attitude to knowledge: Headed by CEO's they are to 'produce' knowledge of an applied nature for 'clients' who need to be instantly ready for the 'real world of industry'.[5] As 'subjects' and drivers of globalisation, the more privileged institutions harbour both the power of dominating epistemological paradigms (presented as **the** canons of science that serve as benchmark and ideal for all others) and are powerful carriers of Anglophone culture that on the surface seems to be tolerant of differentiation, but in fact requires homogenisation (and cultural injustice) for the sake of efficiency.

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5 There are many examples of this world-wide. For the situation in the Commonwealth, see Lund (Ed.), 1999, and for a general view of reengineering universities in terms of 'production' and 'distribution', see Tsichritzis 1999. Look at the poignant quotation from *Finance Week* (22 Oct 1999): "The University of the Free State has a new entrepreneurial philosophy – which implies fresh thought on course composition. Private sector partnerships and international links are now deemed vital. Perhaps most important of all, the student is now treated as a client." Heidegger and other language ontologists make the vital point that "die Sprache ist das Haus des Seins": If you change the language, you change the very nature of the institution. This is not to deny the legitimacy of so-called entrepreneurial universities, but merely to point out that their very development may be linked to the fact that "the global finance markets now constitute the centre, in relation to which all other activities. . . occur on the periphery" (Cloete and Muller, 1998, pp.540-541).

The ethical issues

What are the ethical issues, one might ask. Enough work has been done on the ethical issues related to the casino economy[6] of digital capitalism. In this paper, we wish to argue the case for **cultural justice** and outline the ethical issues in the following two broad themes: First the moral significance of cosmological stories in shaping identity and values; second the unequal burden of suspending or surrendering 'what is taken for granted'.

Cosmological stories and narrative moral identity

Various narrative ethicists (from Richard H Niebuhr to Stanley Hauerwas) have argued for the dictum: *Agere sequiter esse*. What we do, is a result of who we are. And who we are, is determined by the narrative communities in which we are formed.

The mass culture of a globalising world is a powerful narrative agent that contributes significantly to moral formation. Its values become **the** values, the way things **are**; the way **everybody** acts. The mass culture of a globalising world is a powerful narrative agent that contributes significantly to moral formation. Its values become **the** values, the way things **are**; the way **everybody** acts. From a moral perspective "it is possible to argue that the real challenges embedded in globalisation concern not so much what we **do**, but who we **are**, who we are becoming. . ." (Smit, 2000, p.15, emphasis original).

Let us accept with Ninian Smart (1973), and David Tracy (1981, p.159) that the role of religion is to construct a comprehensive view of the world by framing parts of reality in the context of that which transcends reality (i.e. ultimate reality). Let us accept with Larry Rasmussen that "we are incorrigible storytellers" (Rasmussen, 1994, p.178) and concur with Thomas Berry that religious cosmologies are designed to answer identity questions like: Who am I? Who are we? Where are we going? "For peoples, generally, their story of the universe and the human role in the universe is their primary source of intelligibility and value" (Berry, 1998, p.xi).

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6 "Like any casino, this global game is rigged so that only the house wins." Fidel Castro in a speech to the South African parliament. See Chidester, 2003, p. 10.

On these assumptions one could argue that **globalisation in its cultural garb usurps and misplaces the role of religion by constituting its own cosmological narrative**.[7] What is at stake is not merely the physics of our information age, but its metaphysics, ". . .its significance to individual and social morality. . . and its consequences for the formation, maintenance and alteration of personal identity" (Arthur, 1998, p.3, see Smit 2000, p.15). Homogenization takes on the proportions of an autonomous force governing the lives of individuals and communities (De Santa Ana, 1998, p.19).

The notion, for example, that what Africa (or Eastern Europe or Latin America or Iraq and Afghanistan) needs, is only more development aid and physical infrastructure, is fatally flawed and may in practice result in the intensification of resistance and loss of hope in 'democracy'. What needs to be restored and cultivated, is a **culturally mediated reconstruction of the self** in a personal and collective sense. In political terms, the African Renaissance for example is as much about economic development as it is about a post-colonial restoration of cultural pride and selfhood ". . .to counter the excesses of European modes of being-in-the-world" (Comaroff, 2002, p.80).

The crucial insight – missed by most development agencies – is that restoration of being not only precedes economic restoration, but – at least in an African situation – is **the precondition** for economic survival. Being precedes bread (Balcomb, 1998, p.71). Why? Because in a situation of scarce resources, you need a view of identity that resists economic greed and self-referential individualism**. What you require is a notion of identity as identity-in-community which undergirds redistribution patterns that in turn guarantee physical and economic survival. You need the survival of (the) community in stead of the survival of the fittest.**

But then you need a cosmological story that builds on local narratives and express 'what is taken for granted' to exactly sustain such communities in

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7 To a certain extent globalisation as encompassing cosmology reflects the moral tendencies of both modernity and post-modernity. According to Zygmunt Bauman, globalisation - as autonomous force against which you apparently can do nothing but to be swept along - does "shift moral responsibilities away from the moral self, either toward a socially constructed and managed supra-individual agency, or through floating responsibility inside a bureaucratic 'rule of nobody'" (Bauman 1995, p.99, see Volf 1996, pp.21ff). But like post-modernity, globalisation creates a climate of evasion of moral responsibilities by rendering relationships "fragmentary" and "discontinuous" (or should we say "virtual"?), resulting in disengagement and commitment-avoidance (Bauman 1995, p.156).

which moral formation can take shape. If not, globalisation in the name of 'development aid' will do the job for you.

Perhaps the following case study – based on actual events – conveys this journey of identity and life 'in between stories' in a way that arguments are unable to do:

> *My brother Sipho and I grew up in a rural village in the Limpopo province of South Africa. My father was a farm labourer and my mother a domestic worker. They were both functionally illiterate, but had a keen sense that the education of their children was of paramount importance. By the time we reached high school age, the whole extended family contributed to send the two of us (one year apart) to a former model C school in Pretoria. After matriculation we both attended university – again with the material and emotional support of the family. This support was not so much a contractual than a familial, moral issue. It was is a form of 'donation' that everybody tacitly knew would one day return – though in no exact manner like in written contracts – to assist parents in their old age and make the same possible for other siblings after us.*
>
> *The eventual graduation festivals were huge family affairs with praise singers, pap and slaughtering of goats.*
>
> *We both were excited to land our first jobs – I with my degree in humanities in the academic administration of the university in Port Elizabeth; Sipho with his B Com. at an international consulting firm in Johannesburg. We never openly spoke, but took it for granted that we send a monthly amount 'back home', and visit at least once a year.*
>
> *After about eighteen months Sipho's contributions dried up. The next year he did not return for his annual visit. What is more: When my grandfather passed away, he did not attend the funeral. I took the courage to talk this over with him and soon realised that he had embraced the yuppie life-style of Egoli, the City of Gold: designer clothes (from Carducci to Billabong and Man about Town), a red BMW 318i and a townhouse in Fourways.*
>
> *He now traverses a different world. He has embraced different values. We feel not so much a sense of betrayal, but of sadness to have lost him. He has become a different person. Though, in the eyes of most, he is a highly successful person; a sign that the new South Africa is really opening opportunities to create a new black middle class.*
>
> *And I am not sure that he would ever want to return to our village. Due to its location in the mountains, it is called Tshilapfene, 'the place of the baboons'.*

Surrendering what is taken for granted

In a perceptive essay referred to several times above, historian of religion, Chirevo Kwenda (2003, p.70), explains the notion of cultural (in)justice as follows:

> Where people live by what they naturally take for granted, or where the details of everyday life coincide with what is taken for granted, we can say there is cultural justice – at least in this limited sense of freedom from constant self-consciousness about every little thing. Cultural injustice occurs when some people are forced, by coercion or persuasion, to submit to the burdensome condition of suspending – or more permanently surrendering – what they naturally take for granted, and then begin to depend on what someone else takes for granted. The reality is that substitution of what is taken for granted is seldom adequate. This means that, in reality, the subjugated person has no linguistic or cultural 'default drive', that critical minimum of ways, customs, manners, gestures and postures that facilitate uninhibited, unselfconscious action.

The injustice lies in the unequal burden and stress of constant self-consciousness that millions of people carry on behalf of others without gaining recognition or respect. In fact, they are objects of further subjugation and humiliation that vary from physical violence to subtle body language that clearly communicate that you are stupid and do not know 'the ways things are done or said here'.

On a regional and national level, these forms of exclusions (Miroslav Volf reminds us) range from domination and indifference to abandonment and ultimately elimination. From the 'inside' this exclusion results from being ". . .uncomfortable with anything that blurs accepted boundaries, disturbs our identities, and disarranges our symbolic cultural maps".[8]

The 'fall of the Berlin wall' or 'end of the apartheid regime' are designations of many societies that moved from oppressive political systems to greater civil liberties after 1989. What is sometimes underestimated, is the massive identity renegotiation processes in the 'post-liberation' period, often leading to an upsurge in ethnic violence and loss of social stability. Like we saw in the previous section, questions of culture and life-in-community then arise with

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[8] Volf 1996, p.78, and note the interesting debate about the wearing of Muslim head scarves in European schools, as well as the heated debate about 'European identity' in the light of Turkey's possible entrance into the EU. Talk about disarranging cultural maps!

great urgency. Because it takes tremendous courage and political wisdom to (for the first time?) assert 'what we take for granted' and to act unselfconsciously after decades of identity- suspension and -suppression.

Shortly after the first democratic elections in South Africa that ended 46 years of minority rule, African theologian Tinyiko Sam Maluleke, made the following incisive observation:

> Issues of culture are again acquiring a new form of prominence in various spheres of South African society. **It is as if we can, at last, speak truly and honestly, about our culture.** This is due to the widespread feeling that now, more than at any other time, **we can be subjects of our own cultural destiny**. . . .The reconstruction of structures and physical development alone will not quench our **cultural and spiritual thirst**. On the contrary, the heavy emphasis on the material and the structural may simply result in the intensification of black frustration. We do not just need jobs and houses, **we must recover our own selves** (Maluleke in Balcomb, 1998, p.70, emphases added).

Whereas the struggle against apartheid or communism or imperialism or Americanism forced and still force a kind of uniformity of resistance, and is aimed at **the right to be 'the same'**, the post-liberation struggle aims at a restored subjectivity and agency with **the right to be different.** In the ethical terms of this section: **the right to live unselfconsciously.**

This has been echoed three years later from a different perspective by Miroslav Volf:

> In recent decades the **issue of identity** has risen to the forefront of discussions in social philosophy. If the liberation movements of the sixties were all about equality – above all gender equality and race equality – major concerns in the nineties seem to be about identity – about the **recognition of distinct identities** of persons who differ in gender, skin color, or culture (Volf, 1996, p.23, our emphasis).

Let us make this argument about culture and distinct identities more concrete. It is quite remarkable to see how much emphasis is placed on **language** in the process of identity re-negotiation. For the sake of the broader argument in this paper, 'language' should be read as metaphor for 'culture' in its various symbolic expressions.

On a first level, language itself plays this exclusivist role. To this we will turn in the next paragraph. On a second level, a 'language of exclusion' is created

by naming or labelling the other in a manner that takes the other outside "the class of objects of potential moral responsibility" (Zygmunt Bauman as quoted by Volf, 1996, p.76). This does not only justify exclusion, but in fact necessitates it. "The rhetoric of the other's inhumanity **obliges** the self to practice inhumanity" (Volf, 1996, p.76; original emphasis). Like supporters of the linguistic turn, one could state that exclusion is equally language-sated. Words do kill.

But in a more subtle way , language itself – as in 'mother-tongue' and 'foreign' language – plays an exclusionary role. In a remarkable essay,[9] *Aria: A memoir of a bilingual childhood*, Richard Rodriguez recounts how he grew up in Sacramento, California, in a Mexican immigrant home in a predominantly white suburb. During his first few years in school, he struggled with English, but managed to move between the language of the public (English) and the private language of the home (Spanish). "Like others who feel the pain of public alienation, we transformed the knowledge of our public separateness into a consoling reminder of our intimacy" (Rodriguez, 1982, p.23). He eloquently spells out life in two linguistic and social worlds:

> But then there was Spanish: **espanol**, the language rarely heard away from house, the language which seemed to me therefore a private language, my family's language. To hear its sounds was to feel myself specially recognised as one of the family, apart from **los otros** (the others). A simple remark, an inconsequential comment could convey that assurance. My parents would say something to me and I would feel embraced by the sounds of their words. Those sounds said: I am speaking with ease in Spanish. . . I recognise you as somebody special, close, like no one outside. You belong with us. In the family. Ricardo. (Rodriguez, 1982, pp.22-23)

But this juxtaposition of a double identity was shattered by a simple request from the teachers (nuns at the Catholic school) that, in order to improve their academic performance, English should be spoken at home. This led to a ambivalent outcome: a growing confidence in public, but a devastating silence at home:

> There was a new silence at home. As we children learned more and more English, we shared fewer and fewer words with our parents. Sentences needed to be spoken slowly . . . Often the parent wouldn't understand. The child would need to repeat himself. Still the

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9 This essay has been used with great effect in the Sharing Cultures Project. See discussion below.

> parent misunderstood. The young voice, frustrated, would end up saying, "Never mind" – the subject was closed. Dinners would be noisy with the clinking of knives and forks against dishes. My mother would smile softly between her remarks; my father, at the other end of the table, would chew and chew his food while he stared over the heads of his children.

What followed was first a "disconcerting confusion" (29). Then, as fluency in Spanish faded fast, a feeling of guilt arose over the betrayal of immediate family and visitors from Mexico (30). Thereafter followed an understanding that the linguistic change was a social one where the intimacy at home was traded for the gain of fluency and acceptance in the public language. "I moved easily at last, a citizen in a crowded city of words" (31).

But the ambiguities remain. This is evident from the end of the essay where Rodrigues describes the funeral of his grandmother:

> When I went up to look at my grandmother, I saw her through the haze of a veil draped over the open lid of the casket. Her face looked calm – but distant and unyielding to love. It was not the face I remembered seeing most often. It was the face she made in public when a clerk at Safeway asked her some question and I would need to respond. It was her public face that the mortician had designed with his dubious art (35).

It was – in the terms set out above – the burdensome face of someone who constantly had to surrender what is taken for granted. You can keep your life, if you give up your identity. You can keep your culture, as long as you hold its values and customs, its 'things taken for granted', with diffidence. This cultural diffidence is a disposition that causes people either to be ashamed of their culture or to simply ignore it as irrelevant in the modern world (see Kwenda, 2003, p.71).

These powerful images from a single life and immigrant family is a metaphor, a simile, a parable of national and trans-national processes of cultural injustice. In *The political economy of transition* Tony Addy and Jiri Silny (2001) reflect on the changes that occurred in the ten years from 1989-1999 in Central and Eastern Europe. They make the interesting observation that the 'market Bolsheviks' (economic advisors who advocated the move to a full market economy in one jump) not only harboured a blind faith in policy prescriptions from 'the West' to be applied unaltered to 'the East', but also showed "little respect for indigenous knowledge and practice" (2001, p.503). The rapid privatisation of former industries was carried out "in a way which did not

respect positive cultural and ethical values within the region. Under conditions of globalisation, the process tended to block creative responses" (2001, p.505).

In a bizarre example of exclusion by elimination, the application of rigid market rules meant the literal closure of what Addy and Silny call "cultural industries": "For example, rich traditions of film-making were lost and historic theatres, orchestras and other artistic companies were decimated. It would take a great deal of time and money to rebuild such industries and cultural assets" (2001, p.505).

In the context of homogenizing globalisation, this elimination process is condoned in the name of economic advancement.

The challenges for higher education

We commenced this paper by referring to the moral agency of higher education institutions and the implicit social contract between, for example, universities and their respective societies. In the light of the exposition above, we can now provisionally translate the ethical issue into challenges for higher education:

Insofar as universities are **moral agents**,[10] they form an integral part of the "narratives" that shape identity and moral character in individuals and communities. In this regard they have a duty to be an exception in post-industrial societies, to resist a narrow economist definition of relationships, and to be "the sort of institution where relationships are subject to definition in terms which include reference to values". In other words: "What would it profit a Vice Chancellor if he (*sic*) were to fulfil the highest performance indicators and lose his university's soul?" (Sutherland, 2000, pp.40, 42).

Universities' social obligation is therefore to foster and cultivate local symbols, indigenous knowledge and difference, whilst promoting reflection on the complex process of identity negotiation on the edge between the local and

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10 This has nothing to do with cheap moralism or the revival of the old notion of Christian-National education. Universities are institutional agents in the narrative of moral identity, and the pursuit of knowledge must be subject to the "central human reality that people are at root valorising agents in quest for the greatest possible well being. . ." (Prozesky, 2000, p.47).

the global without surrendering to the luring power of the latter, nor to idealise (idolize?) the former to the point of ideology.[11]

Obviously the issue of 'diversity' has – in South Africa at least – an apartheid baggage and is always open to political misuse. "At the same time, if we push too hard for national unity by attempting to minimize the real differences that do exist, we will be ignoring the impact of class, economic status, gender, ethnicity, religion, urban prejudice, language, and age on a student's sense of identity. . ." Whilst we dismantle 'separate development', we need to move forward, ". . .building upon the richness of the country's diverse human and national potential" (Badsha and Harper, 2000. p.23).

Insofar as universities are **cultural agents**, they have the social obligation to facilitate 'unselfconscious living' in at least two ways:

First, by creating campus communities (and sub-communities!) that overtly advance high differentiation of cultural expression to both confirm and challenge existing cultural identities. The "range of insecurities created for minorities" will only be addressed if a campus culture is created that overcome "a sense of embattlement and marginalization" (Badsha and Harper, 2000, pp.24, 25).

The ideal of unselfconscious living by the 'things taken for granted' does in no way imply static identities or unchallenged living by the customs of yesterday. This is perhaps the weakness and even danger of Kwenda's view, as it may in fact deny the complex processes of identity formation where an element of 'self-consciousness' is required. But the radical asymmetrical structure of such negotiation process needs to brought into fairer and more open spaces.

Universities should aspire to be such spaces. Where else will the 'leaders of tomorrow' actually experience the journey beyond the self and the own toward 'the other' in a more symmetrical and enriching way, without giving up the ideal of the self in an attitude of diffidence and frustration that might later form the basis for a violent defence of 'the own'?.

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11 There are many examples of how intellectuals and universities designed and served ideologies in the name of "own identity". This ranges from Nazi-Germany to liberal English and sectarian Afrikaans universities.

Second, by seriously addressing issues of 'culture' in the academy. What we have in mind is not merely 'the study of culture' like in anthropology, sociology or cultural studies, but other institutional issues related *inter alia* to languages of instruction and official communication, the promotion of indigenous languages as languages of science, curriculum[12] design (who ask the questions and who determine content?), assessment methods, teaching strategies and exploring new methodologies and topics in research (see Badsha and Harper, 2000).

These issues are complex and fraught with many pitfalls when it comes to practical implementation. But theoretical analyses need to be 'tested' by some form of curriculum and teaching practice. Whilst acknowledging that more integration and reflection are required, we nevertheless venture in giving a short outline of a project that attempts to address at least some of the questions raised here.

The Sharing Cultures Project (SCP) at the University of Port Elizabeth

'Sharing Cultures'[13] is an international online reading and writing academic programme that provides an opportunity for cultural interaction between students from (South) Africa and the USA. Funding for the project was approved by the American Fulbright Organization in August 2001 and officially commenced in January 2002. A total of 60 students identified with academic development needs, but potential for success at university, were selected at UPE and Columbia College in Chicago. They were linked via the internet to an academic curriculum specifically developed around the theme of culture and identity in a global context.

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12 For interesting work on curriculum transformation, see the contributions in Naude and Cloete (Eds), 2003, and the very instructive volume, *Knowledge, identity and curriculum transformation in Africa* edited by Cloete and others (1997) with special attention to the concluding section written by Muller. He concludes as follows: ". . .curriculum transformation in the new global/local order is not simply about insertion of some local and global content; but involves. . . **a rethink of citizenship and the identity of the learner**. . ." (Muller, 1997, p.199, our emphasis). See also the short reference to Nussbaum's seminal work below. This paper is not able to follow any of the specific issues in more detail.

13 This project is the subject of an MEd –research degree by EC Naude at UPE (NMMU).

To ensure that the programme is taken seriously, the issue of academic credits was negotiated up front via agreements between the UPE Advancement Programme (UPEAP) and relevant faculties. The SCP is an adaptation of an existing compulsory reading and writing module (14 academic weeks) for students in the Advancement Programme to ensure greater internationalization and cultural awareness. This is in line with one of the 'evidences' of an international curriculum outlined by Brenda Ellingboe: "Revising courses to include international, comparative, or cross-cultural elements. . ." (1998, p.207), and Martha Nussbaum's strong argument to develop curricula of a "multicultural nature" (1997, p.70, see discussion below).

The philosophical rationale for this project relates to the academic debate about the ideals and key elements of 'graduatedness'. There are obviously different answers to this question, depending on the philosophy of the writer or mission of the relevant institution. Two examples will suffice:

It is interesting to note that the generic citizenry skills listed by Johan Muller as being "at the heart of 'graduatedness', of what higher education should be providing" are political (negotiational or democratic skills); **cultural (skills of navigating difference)** or economic (productive, problem solving skills) (see Muller, 1997, p.197 in his summary of the arguments put earlier in that volume; our emphasis).

The well-known Martha Nussbaum in her *Cultivating Humanity* argues for a liberal education in developing 'world citizenship'. The latter implies – in an inescapable multicultural and multinational world – three capacities: First the capacity "for critical examination of oneself" in the Socratic tradition on the "the examined life". This often means "a lonely business" and a "kind of exile – from the comfort of assured truths. . ." (Nussbaum, 1997, pp.8). Second is "the ability to see (yourself) not simply as citizens of some local region or group but also, and above all, as human beings bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern" (1997, p.10). Third there is the narrative imagination which means "the ability to think what it might like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story. . ." (1997, pp.10-11).

How are some of these ideas translated into the curriculum of the SCP? First, the very constitution of the groups were deliberately designed to be highly diverse, representing at one time 12 different languages apart from English. This creates for some students the first opportunity to transcend identity tied to

the narrow confines of the local region. The web-interaction for some who never had any exposure to computers is in itself a 'self-transcending' experience.

Second, part of the very delivery entails a substantial sharing of life-stories. This cultivation of 'narrative imagination' fosters both discovery of the self[14] in its relativity to others, and a growing ability to be an intelligent interpreter of 'the others' story.

Third, as this is a reading and writing course, the very texts[15] read together are carefully selected so that questions of language, identity, and negotiating a way of life in a global context, are implicitly and explicitly brought to the fore. The joint reading-and-response increase critical interaction with the text, critical self-examination and the questioning of others, clearly transcending earlier rote learning patterns in the direction of "intelligent citizenship" (Nussbaum, 1997, p.11).

Conclusion

We hope that our argument above was able to accomplish three aims: 1. That cultural justice (in distinction from procedural and distributive justice) is indeed a crucial dimension of the globalisation process. 2. That higher education has a moral obligation to address cultural justice in a variety of ways. 3. That the heart of the matter is a serious and radical rethinking of the curriculum, including its underlying philosophy, content, and delivery modes.

We need to understand the complexities of 'world civilization' if we indeed wish to contribute to civilizing the world.

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14 One student from a previously advantaged background in South Africa wrote: "I now know I also have a culture." This is an ambiguous statement that might be interpreted as cultural chauvinism, or as positive process of self-revelation.

15 The Rodriques text discussed above, Mandela's *Long walk to freedom*, Martin Luther King's speeches, and work by Bessie Head and Nora Hurston , are examples.

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Research *with* under fours: some sense making moves

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Abstract

Internationally, the understanding of children as social actors and the belief in children's rights – in particular, the right to be heard and to participate in their lives has led to inclusion of children's voices in research. South Africa was party to the African Charter on the Rights and Responsibilities of the African Child (OAU, 1994), and ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNICEF, 1989) which advocates strongly for a recognition of children as persons in their own right, capable of acting on their social world, and articulating their experiences in different ways. Whilst there are a growing number of studies in South Africa that include the voices of school age children (for example, Griesel, Swart-Kruger and Chawla, 2004; Children's Institute, 2003; Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005; Van der Riet, Hough, and Killian, 2005), there is a paucity of South African research that includes the 'tellings' of young children, in particular the under fours[2] In this article, a sociological lens is used to explore some sense making moves in doing research *with* under fours as people in their own right. The article draws on a study that investigated under fours as social actors doing childhood in two multi ethnic early childhood centres in KwaZulu-Natal. Four sense making moves are highlighted, namely, the complexities of researching children as social actors doing childhood; the potential of participatory techniques for researching children's knowledge; the tensions inherent in the altering of power relations between researcher and children; and the challenges of working through situated ethics. An examination of these issues suggests the need for the practice of *responsive research* where multiple sense making moves are adopted in order to engage, firstly, with complex circumstances that shape young children's lives and secondly, with the particularities of young children as people shaping their lives.

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1 The first author was the researcher in the study described in this paper.

2 The youngest child at the beginning of the research was 18 months. At the end of the study, all the children were under four years. The term 'under fours' is used throughout this article.

Introduction

Until recently, understanding under fours was largely dominated by positivist orientations (Woodhead and Faulkner, 2000). Experiments, survey, and objective testing were used to produce universal laws of child development. In the quest to produce scientifically rigorous knowledge of childhood, young children were treated as depersonalised objects in research. Knowledge of children as being universally the same, emanated traditionally from the fields of developmental psychology, biology, and child development (James, Jenks and Prout, 1998).

Understandings premised on the universal child and the positioning of children as research objects is tied up with the forceful position of children "becoming adults"(Morss, 1996, p.158). As adults-in-the-making, they are seen as a set of future potentials for adulthood. Their present state of being, as people in their own right, is made less significant by the future perspective. Notions of incompetence and immaturity portray children as "unreliable witnesses in their own lives" (Qvortrup, Bardy, Sigritta, Witterberger, 1994, p.42). This means that children are viewed as passive, uninformed people who cannot provide information of their experiences for research purposes. In early childhood, the typical responses to young children's participation in research were documented as *they are too small, over literal, ignorant, and egocentric* (Powney and Watts, 1987; Breakwell, 1995). From this perspective, information about children's experience is best facilitated in the voices of their adult caregivers. This type of thinking led to a huge body of research *on* children, often in decontextualised settings (Fraser, 2004).

More recently, the changing concept of childhood is creating new conversations about how we understand young children and their role in research. The new sociology of childhood accentuates childhood as a distinct and important phase where the construction of human experience has value in its own right (James and Prout, 1997). From this perspective, the 'now' of childhood must receive attention. Children, as temporary members of childhood, are seen as fully formed, complete individuals who are social actors in their lives (James *et al.*, 1998; Lee, 2000). The quality and meaning of their present lives is given prominence. It is the children themselves that are seen as experts, who are knowledgeable about their lives and provide information as they "act, take part in, change, and become changed by the social and cultural world they live in" (Christensen and Prout, 2002, p.481). Research from this perspective views children as social actors who can tell stories of their lives

from an autonomous status of being a child. Children's meaning making endeavours, opinions, and perspectives are valued in their own right. No automatic assumptions are made about children and their capabilities (Christensen and Prout, 2002). When researchers view children as social actors, then research *with* children is made a priority.

The new image of the child as an agent participating and co-creating knowledge of life in context is still not a familiar lens in research (Lofdahl, 2005). This is due to the complex nature of working with young children, inadequate understanding of how they present their knowledge, and the challenges of using participatory methodologies. However, there have been some international research initiatives that aimed to prioritise young children as people in their own right who can articulate their experiences. Cousins (1999) included the voices of four-year-olds to inform adults on how to plan education and care for children. Through the use of a conversational approach that was sensitive to the competence of young children, Cousins found that children were able to reveal their likes, dislikes, and thoughts on relationships with peers and adults. Clark and Moss (2001) used the Mosaic approach with multi method strategies to develop a methodological framework for listening to under fives (Clark and Moss, 2001; Clark, 2004). The findings of their study suggest that young children are competent to express their views and experiences provided that researchers create a variety of platforms to listen to children's meaning making in an open-ended way. Similarly, Lofdahl (2005) focussed on three and half and four-year-olds shared meaning making in joint play. By videotaping and observing the complexities of children as acting subjects and co-creators of context, she found that young children actively constructed knowledge about the hard issues of life, death, and illness.

In the findings above, the view of young children as social actors was pivotal to the inclusion of their voices and experiences in research. Researchers worked closely with the children's levels of understanding in their lived contexts. References to open-ended modes of working and complexities in shared meaning making, point to the need for early childhood researchers to undertake research *with* young children. This article presents a move in this direction. By illuminating the sense making moves of research *with* under fours, it seeks to deepen understandings of the complexities of investigating young children as social actors doing childhood.

The South African context

In South Africa, the ratification of the UN Convention of the Rights of the Child in 1995, serves as the official endorsement of children as players in their own lives (UNICEF, 1989). As such, the Convention places unprecedented value on children as people in their subjective worlds. Article 12 recognises the right of children to express their views on matters of concern to them. The views of children are given due weight in accordance with age and maturity. Article 13 provides children with the right to freedom of expression. These Articles have led to greater recognition of child participation and listening to children's meanings about their lives. South African research *with* active participation of school age children is becoming a familiar scenario (Children's Institute, 2003; Griesel, Swart-Kruger and Chawla, 2004; Nelson Mandela Fund, 2005; Van der Riet, Hough and Killian, 2005). In early childhood there has been some research with Reception Year children. One such example is a study on gender bias that included the voices of five-year-olds through discussions with a doll (Biersteker and Hermanus, 2003). The findings of the study suggest that young children could make practical suggestions related to gender issues through empathising with doll stories.

There is, however, a paucity of research *with* under fours. The limited nature of research in early childhood has been highlighted in the report on the nationwide audit of early childhood provisioning (Department of Education, 2001). The report makes an urgent call for more qualitative research within the context of children's rights. In this article the sense making moves of research *with* under fours is intended to fill the gap by using a sociological lens to engage with the complexities, potentials, tensions, and challenges when qualitative research is used to investigate under fours as social actors doing childhood in their lived realities.

Research context and methodology

Fourteen children from two urban multi ethnic early childhood centres, in KwaZulu-Natal, participated in the study. The youngest child was 18 months at the beginning of the research. At the end of a year long study, all the children were under four years. Visits to the centres were undertaken twice a week for a period of six hours at different points of the day.

Ethnography is regarded as one of the key research methods in exploring the social worlds of children as social actors managing their experiences (James *et al.*, 1998; James 2001).An ethnographic approach was used in the study. Blatchford and Blatchford (2001) refer to an ethnographic approach as one that uses a multi method strategy to render a partial account of lived experiences in a cultural setting. A range of qualitative methods such as conversations, photographic conversations, stories, role-play, child-led tours were used to access the 'tellings' of the children. Observational positions ranged from strong observer roles to semi-participant observer roles. Observations were recorded as field notes. Data was audio taped and transcribed.

In what follows, four themes are highlighted as sense making moves of research *with* under fours, namely, the complexities of researching young children as social actors doing childhood; the potential of participatory techniques to elicit children's knowledge; tensions in altering power in relationships with children; and the challenges of working through situated ethics.

Complexities of researching young children as social actors doing childhood

When predetermined meanings of who people are, ready-made observation schedules, and lab settings are not frameworks informing research, then the research process becomes a complicated manoeuvre that calls for researchers being responsive to local and specific circumstances in which the research is conducted (Usher, 2000). In so doing, researchers come to learn about the doings of people as social actors and skills necessary to conduct research with them.

In order to gain understanding of what children do in their context, it is important for researchers to pay close attention to the social circumstances that shape the lives of children (Alanen, 2001). An initial attempt in this direction, during the research process, began with a 'soak in' phase. The aim of this phase was to build relationships, trust, and become familiar with routines and expectations at the centres. A strong observer role was adopted. In view of the need for selectivity and perspective, the phase was guided by the question, "What is the institutional logic that guides childhood as social practice at the centres?"

A close examination of the practices of the centres revealed that the children's meaning making and bodily experiences were being shaped by a school-like age-based ethos. The children worked in a thematic skills-based programme organised around a developmentally appropriate framework. Although there was some flexibility in the programme for the 18 to 24 month group, there was a stronger adherence to timetables for children over 25 months. Observations of interactions of teachers and caregivers with the children pointed to the bringing in of Piaget's child – a child catered for and evaluated according to the difference of suggested by the Piagetian stages and developmental norms. It is within these circumstances that children were shaping their lives at the centres. This foundational understanding informed the next phase in the study.

The 'thick involvement phase' was designed with two aims in mind, namely, observing how children as active beings performed in spaces that implicated them, and interacting with the children through a semi-participant observer role which continued throughout the study. The observation of children revealed flashlight meaning making. There were quick shifts of episodic moments that were difficult to capture. The use of the guiding question, "What does it mean to be a child in situations?", and the recording of a sequence of events for five minutes at a time, helped to produce thick descriptions. The description of the sequence below serves to illustrate how the norms of sleep time are brought into being and how the requirements of a sleeping child work to promote agency.

> It is sleep time for the two- and three-year-olds. The mattresses are brought out. The children jump on the mattress. The teacher claps her hand and announces, "It's sleeping time." The children continue to jump on the mattress. The teacher walks in between the children and repeats, "It's sleeping time. You must lie down and have a rest." The children settle down. Krish refuses to sleep. He interferes with Shana. He gets up. "I'm not going to sleep. I go stand by the wall."

It is through the capturing of a thick description we see how the teacher uses sleep time to bring in the prototype of a nursery child. She assumes that all children will comply with the official announcement of sleep time. Whilst the children initially resist, they are quickly brought to order with the second announcement. The norm of a sleeping child is reinforced. However, Krish persists in working outside the norm. The refusal to sleep and being prepared to face the consequences suggests the actions of an agent who can reflect on options and make decisions.

With children under two, there was greater sensitivity to recording the telegraphic speech and bodily actions. Samuelsson (2004) states that meaning making by toddlers becomes visible when one focuses on how they communicate with their bodies and produce actions. They take the world for granted and do not need words to communicate. The embodied messages should be regarded just as authentic as the verbal. The focus on body-use-in-action together with the one word sentences and telegraphic phrases assisted in making sense of the doings of under twos.

> Elsa is playing with Tando in the sand pit. They have an upside down bucket in front of them. Elsa scoops some sand and puts it on the bucket. Tando follows her actions. Actions are co-ordinated to avoid clashes. Nokhukhanya attempts to join Elsa and Tando. Elsa yells at her, "Ja, ja. . .go ggo." Nokhukhanya raises her hand to hit Elsa. Tando intervenes. Nokhukhanya backs off for a little while. Her second attempt to join in is intercepted by Elsa, "Sha. . .gh. . .gh." Nokhukhanya retaliates, "Shaya wena."

In the description captured above, the children's construction of social relationships becomes visible. Elsa and Tando are in a partnership. The co-ordination of their actions help to gain a picture of 'readable intentions' that exist between partners. Body techniques combine with the practical know-how to seek solutions. The way in which the partners deal with the intrusion of Nokhukhanya provides insight into strategies used to preserve partnerships and protect territory. The children pick up positional, gestural, and linguistic clues in order to inform a potential line of action. Paying attention to the details of communication and interaction in a bodily verbal sense created greater understanding of young children getting to know the world.

During the interacting part of the 'thick involvement phase', there were certain researcher skills that needed to be worked through in order to become sensitive to the doings of children. The skill of listening was important in data production. Clark (2004) argues that when young children are seen as social actors, listening is not about making preformed ideas visible but more about hearing, interpreting, and making meaning. In the study there was a search for ways to enable children to communicate their views. The example below illustrates researcher attempts to use an open-ended approach to listening in a sense making moment on friendship.

> It is in between book reading and snack time for the two- and three-year-old group. The researcher squats around a table of six children. She greets them and remains quiet. Keelan is choosing his friends for free play.

Keelan: *I not Viv's friend*

Researcher: *You're not Viv's friend.*

Keelan: *I'm Deacon's friend and Evaan's friend.*

Researcher: *Oh, Deacon and Evaan are your friends.*

Keelan: *Viv is only saying a bad word.*

Keelan displays his understanding of a friend by using the criterion of friends being people who do not use 'bad' words. In order to become involved, the use of the words "I not. . ." by Keelan serves as a clue for the researcher to pick up on his view at a strategic point. The use of repetitions, instead of the 'why' method of probing, was aimed at keeping Keegan's line of thought, deepening his responses, and keeping his voice in the foreground. The strategy of repeating children's words sometimes coupled with 'wh' questions (Peterson and Biggs, 1997) to request specific information, proved to be valuable throughout the study.

Working in an open-ended way to be sensitive to the doings of children was also dependent on language skills. It was difficult to understand some of the 'children words' – *pissy pot (navel)*, *noonoos (ants)*, *sweetchie-swatchies (sponges)*. Since the researcher could only speak English, responses in Zulu, *woza lapha (come here), angazi (I don't know/understand)* and Tamil *Aya (grandmother)*, *karow (hot)*, *moola bone (bone with marrow)* challenged interpretations. The language limitation was partially resolved by directly requesting children to explain meanings and/or enlisting the help of older children. Caregivers and teachers also assisted in this respect. However, these interpretations called for a critical researcher response when caregivers and teachers dismissed children's meaning making attempts as indications of incompetence.

The complexities of researching young children as social actors doing childhood shows that there are no perfect recipes that can inform research. Broad guidelines that emanate from textbooks must be re-constructed in practice. In this study, the sense making moves of designing appropriate phases, producing thick descriptions, sharpening researcher skills, and resources were worked through by being responsive to the contextual realities of the young children as people in a centre-based setting.

Potential of participatory techniques as windows to children's knowledge

Once there is acknowledgement of children as people who have views and opinions that can be articulated in different ways, then there needs to be methods that can access their knowledge (Nieuwenhuys, 2004). Recently, researchers have selected a variety of creative techniques, as constructivist tools, to enable children to express their knowledge about aspects that affect their lives (O'Kane, 2000; Mayall, 2000). The selection of the techniques, however, has been subjected to debate. Those that work with older children as social actors argue that there is no need for special techniques with children as compared to adults (Christensen and James, 2000). With under fours, however, there has to be sensitivity to levels of understanding, knowledge, interests, and what young children do in their particular locations. There also has to be acknowledgement that the age of children does not have a mere numerical competence value but also an experience value (James *et al*., 1998). In other words, predetermined aged-based competence, must not be taken for granted.

The above points to the importance of adults/researchers being prepared to "see the meaning the child is creating" instead making assumptions from children's numerical age (Samuelsson, 2004, p.16). The participatory techniques in the study were selected by careful observations of way in which the children presented their knowledge. At the centres, activities were interactive involving a great deal of talking, playing, singing, clapping, dancing, drawing, acting, sitting, listening, and responding. This informed the choices of participatory techniques such as stories, child-led tours, and photographic conversations to create frames of cultural reference between the researcher and the children.

Stories

Story telling was a spontaneous way in which the children shared their experiences with other children and adults at the centres. As a planned technique the aim of story telling was to elicit meanings on likes, dislikes, relationships, and experiences as boys and girls. It also served as a tool to help children recount critical events at the centres such as Easter Bunny Visit, Year-end Concert, Spring Day, and Kiddienastics. A flexible approach was used to listen to and co-create meaning from stories. The story telling was

facilitated sometimes individually, in pairs, and in small groups either in the classroom or the play area. Encouraging stories with and without toys, mirror stories, and role-play helped children to articulate their knowledge. Child translators assisted in understanding Zulu stories.

Stories without toys created a variety of understandings on children's likes and dislikes. These stories included views and opinions about food, clothing, and happenings at home and at the centres. Relationships with friends, imaginary figures, and adults also featured in stories without toys. The following example illustrates story telling at lunch time.

> Priya: *I don't like food.*
>
> Researcher: *You don't like food. Why?*
>
> Priya: *(pulls a funny face) It makes me terrible. Only I like biryani. It's nice.*
>
> Researcher: *What about you, Kailan?*
>
> Kailan: *(points to Priya) You eating, I'm eating. Nobody feed me. (Mimicks the eating action). See, I eat all my food.*

The lunch time story provides a vivid picture of children's knowledge. Priya's responses give an indication of the emergence of a discerning self. She is bold in providing insight into her food preferences. There is evidence of a cultural preference. Kailan's narrative suggests that he is aware that he has achieved certain norms of what is considered good behaviour, that is, eating independently and eating all the food served to him. The use of 'you' and 'I' in Kailan's response suggests that he is aware that he is part of a social group when eating, and perhaps that lunchtime is a social activity. The facial expressions of Priya and the actions used by Kailan to support his verbal responses all work together with the stories to deepen insight into children's knowledge of their lives.

Story telling with toys provided valuable insight into how the children were making meaning of themselves as boys and girls.

> Trish: *Aunty Hasina Ma'am this is Barbie*
>
> Researcher: *I see Barbie on your lap*
>
> Trish: *Yah, Barbie. She's my best*
>
> Trentan: *I got my motorbike (shows me a toy motorbike)*

Researcher: *Tell me about your motorbike*

Trentan: *My motorbike. . . its its hurt me. I was driving fast. And then fire, fire*

The toys in the stories serve as important props to understand the way in which boys and girls were constructing their identities. Trish's short story on Barbie suggests that she has an understanding of the *best way* to be feminine. The doll is a powerful visual of a slim figure, blue eyes, and blond long hair. Trentan's story on getting hurt, driving fast, and references to fire suggests risk, speed, and power. These qualities are associated with being a *real boy*.

Mirror stories provided rich data on relationships. The children were encouraged to look at images in the mirror and start a story. For safety reasons a mirror with plastic handles was used. After the children had an experimental feel of the mirror, it proved to be a useful tool for meaning making. In some instances, a story starter was used, namely, "I want to tell you about. . ." In other instances, children looked in the mirror and found their own story starters. Although mirror stories added new perspectives to children's likes and dislikes, they were most valuable in revealing information on relationships with significant others. The examples below illuminate peer relations and adult/child relations.

Cara looks at herself and then turns the mirror towards Tina, and tries to remove Tina from the mirror

Cara: *Tina's my friend. She buy for me chips and cup cakes. And also Shana she give me chips and cup cakes*

Keelan: *I see my hair. I tell you about my hair*

Researcher: *You want to tell me more about your hair*

Keelan: *My hair. . . didn't do hair cut. My daddy he didn't take me. I was crying by the darage (garage)*

The mirror image serves as an important starter to gain insight into how children relate to others in their lives. Cara views a friend as someone that shares things with her. She uses the common criteria of cupcakes and chips to relate to Tina and Shana as friends. Keelan's response throws light on children's expectations of adults and the power relations between them. Keelan positions his dad as a responsible person. There is an expectation of performance from his dad. The withholding of performance by the adult and crying by child could both be read within the context of power relations.

Mirror images provided good starting points for children to express their meanings.

In the study, the use of story translators proved to be a valuable resource in understanding story telling by children who were Zulu speaking. Older children who were proficient in Zulu and English served as translators.

Butsi: *Ngiyabhala.*

Researcher: *Zowe, what is Butsi saying?*

Zowe: *She say she write*

Butsi: *Isikole sami ngiyayithanda (Jumps around, claps and sings)*

Zowe: *She says this is hers school, and she like it*

Butsi (2 years) was a newcomer to the centre. Zowe (3.2 years) joined the centre at the age of one. The proficiency of Zowe in English and Zulu proved to be a valuable resource.

Using stories as a participatory technique can be challenging especially if there is a fixed idea of narrative structure. The children's stories did not display story structure of older children and adults. There was no beginning, middle, and end of stories, as we traditionally know it. In making sense of the children's stories, the focus fell on reporting events, personal experiences sometimes in two or three words and the actions associated with the telling. This required the development of a keen sense of listening and responding to quick moments of story telling.

The participatory technique, moving stories also proved valuable in eliciting children's knowledge. Child-led tours were organised to facilitate these stories.

Child-led tours - follow the leader

The children at the centres displayed high levels of energy. There was much jumping, walking, running in the playground and in the classrooms. This strength informed the technique called 'follow the leader'. It was similar to the child-led tours in the Mosaic approach, which was mentioned earlier on in this article (Clark, 2004). The aim of the tours was to allow children as leaders to point out places of significance and talk about specific experiences of each

place. The children were paired into order to allow for cross conversations and sometimes translations. The tours began at the entry points and sometimes continued around the buildings. On some occasions, the tours were undertaken outdoors around the centres. On other occasions, children guided the tours to different rooms. Children told moving stories that illuminated feelings, views, and the rules attached to specific places. In the example below, we witness performance and the communication of a rule of a particular place, namely, the play area.

> Subash: *This ones the slide. I like the slide.*
>
> Researcher: *I see the slide.*
> (Subash climbs up the slide whilst we watch)
>
> Researcher: *Who taught you to go up the slide?*
>
> Subash: *Aunty B (the headteacher). And. . .and you musn't push any peoples down.*

Subash takes the lead in pointing out an object of significance, gives a demonstration of an appropriate action, and articulates the rule when playing on the slide. In other words, he couples the action on the slide with the 'absent presence' of adult advice associated with performing in a familiar working space. Providing the children with the opportunity to be leaders in a tour-based way proved to be valuable in creating an understanding of how children were mediating the 'dos and don'ts' of childhood.

The child-led tours, although insightful, can be quite challenging. Keeping up with energy and the agenda of the children requires both physical and mental responsiveness from researchers. There has to be 'quick thinking on the feet' to capture the nuances of meaning children present.

The child-led tours revealed snap shot stories of time and events that merited further exploration. Photographs were used to probe further children's meanings.

The photographic talking wall

In order to reconstruct experiences of time and events, children's participation in activities were photographed by the researcher and a photographic talking wall was created. The aim of this technique was to enable children to talk about the happenings that implicated them. The routines such as lining up for

toilet time, snack time, and play time were photographed. Teacher directed activities such as making masks, and discussion time were also photographed. Wall space within the classroom was located in order to paste photographs illustrating a particular sequence, for example, the prayer before snack time, the distribution of snacks, and eating of snacks. Display of photographs in the classroom corner created a flexible environment where children could be free to leave or join in, as they desired. The children were invited to talk about what they saw with or without friends. In the following example, Trish and Gona view a photographic sequence illustrating the toilet routine. Gona is silent throughout.

Researcher: *What is happening here?*

Trish: *We in uh line.*

Researcher: *You are in a line.*

Trish: *Going toilet*

Researcher: *You are going to the toilet.*

Trish: *Yah (looks at Gona). Gona. . . he is making naughty*

Researcher: *So Gona is naughty*

Trish: *He is touching the charts and Shaylin he touch all things*

Researcher: *So, you can't touch anything when you're in a line*

Trish: *Noooooo!*

Researcher: *You wouldn't touch it. Why?*

Trish: *Wouldn't touch it. . .Cause, cause we going toilet. . . Dudu (the teacher) shout.*

The photographic images serve as an important tool to reconstruct the experience of being in a line for a particular purpose at a particular time. Different layers of meaning associated with doing the toilet routine becomes evident – the purpose of lining up, description of a violation, and the consequences of violating a norm. These layered meanings provided rich data on children's knowledge of the experiences that affected their lives.

One of the challenges of using this technique relates to the space used to create conversations about happenings in the photographs. The classroom is a noisy environment. It was difficult to capture children's responses more especially since some of them were momentary.

The participatory techniques of story telling, child-led tours, photographic conversations have the potential to open up windows to children's meaning making. The knowledge shared by the children through the tools and conversational spaces they were provided with, attests to the importance of researchers responding to the particularities of young children as holders of knowledge of their lives.

Tensions in altering power in relationships with children

Alderson (1995) contends that research relationships that involve children must pay attention to the broader cultural notions of power imbalances that exist between adults and children. In both the centres, observations revealed that the balance of power was heavily skewed toward adults. Embedded in many responses from adults to children were notions of control, norms, standards, conditions, and restrictions. It is within these grids of power that various roles of the researcher had to be negotiated. These roles were informed by the researcher attempting to forge relationships in a way that was sensitive and acceptable to the children in their lived realities.

The dilemma of "Do you have to be a child to research one?" tended to be a nagging concern at the beginning of the study. In research with children there are some researchers who respond to the power relations by refusing to take an authoritative stance. Mandell (1991), for example, refused to be an adult with the children she researched. She joined the children in all their activities and attempted to participate as an equal. The prior knowledge and physical size of an adult, however, defies such researcher participation. Mayall (in James, 2001) argues that adults can never be children. They have to accept the differences between themselves and children. This awareness led to the researcher adopting the stance of an "acceptable incompetent" (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995, p.99) – a non-threatening person who asks ignorant questions, and a person who affirms children's meaning making. The following serve as some examples.

> I join three children in the sand pit area. Elsa brings a packet of sand to me. Is this for me? She nods her head. I take the packet and place it carefully on my lap – acknowledging her interaction with me.

> I don't know how to make dots on a page. Would you be like Dudu (the teacher) and teach me?

In order to alter power relations, it was helpful to recognise and capitalise on situations in which children placed value on the adult status. During the study, the children called upon the researcher to settle disputes, confirm understandings of situations, and give direction to activities. These instances, however, were not without tensions and complexities. The example below illustrates children positioning the researcher as a knowing person.

> Trentan comes to the researcher with an empty yoghurt container
>
> Trentan: *What must I do with this?*
>
> Researcher: *You must put it in the bin*
>
> Temba watches the interaction, leaves his seat, and approaches the researcher with his lunch and a bread roll in his hand
>
> Temba: *I want to throw my roll*
>
> Researcher: *No, Temba. You must put it in your lunch box.*
>
> Temba takes his roll and puts it in his lunch box. He is about to go back to his seat.
>
> Teacher: *Temba go to your place*

The children see the researcher as another teacher who can give them answers to their questions and direction regarding their concerns. The children invoke a power relation in the sense that the adult/teacher is seen as the knower. In response, the researcher becomes didactic taking on the role of the teacher. The instruction by the real teacher is in the form of a reprimand directed at Themba as he had left his seat to walk over to the researcher. This example reflects the tensions that can arise in forging relationships with young children in the context of a centre with a particular ethos and culture.

Following the cues from studies by Corsaro (1985, 1997), the adoption of the role of a friend seemed an appropriate strategy to alter power relations. However, the reactions of teachers and caregivers pointed to problems associated with the role of the researcher as friend. Some children used the friendly presence to test boundaries. This was especially evident in their attempt to transgress routines, for example, getting snacks during rest time, remaining in the play area with the researcher after most children had gone to the washroom, and telling stories to the researcher during nap time. Whilst this

was viewed from a researcher lens as an expression of agency, the reaction of teachers and caregivers alerted the researcher to dilemma of being constructed as a permissive adult in a care and education setting.

There were also tense moments with some children in the study. In a few instances, children directly expressed negative feelings about outsider presence.

> Deena: *Why every time you coming to school?*
>
> Researcher: *I want to learn about you. Do you like me to come to school?*
>
> Deena: *No!*
>
> Researcher: *Why is that?*
>
> Researcher: *You know because my mummy didn't come*

In the above example, the researcher is positioned as an intruder. The agency of Deena is evident in the way he questions the researcher. He is knowledgeable about who should be at the centre. His reference to the exclusion of his mum and the physical presence of the researcher provides insights into his feelings.

There were also many enjoyable moments during the course of attempting to be acceptable in relationships with the children. These arose mostly when the children used the researcher as a resource. The mothering instinct and care giving skills of the researcher came to the fore when children needed to be comforted before sleep time, and attended to in the absence of caregivers. In these instances, the children referred to the researcher as *mummy* and *nanny*. They called upon the researcher's language skills to label objects, request for information, and extend understandings. In these instances, the children referred to the researcher as *Hasina ma'am* and sometimes as *Aunty Hasina* ma'am. Such momentary relationships helped the researcher to feel more at ease with the children.

Playing the role of the researcher, mother, teacher, caregiver, assistant, and friend helped create understandings of multiple ways of responding and connecting with the children as people in an institutional setting. In these intersecting roles, the researcher engaged with the practical realities of attempting to alter power relations between children as the researched and the researcher.

Challenges in working through situated ethics in research with children

The complex nature of researching young children as social actors in their lived context, called for a situated ethics approach. Simons and Usher (2000) describe this approach as focussing on how ethical issues are handled in practice. The call for being ethical in situations emanated largely from feminist, post modern, and post colonial challenges to universality, scientific objectivity, and value neutrality. Researchers must show how the general ethical principles are mediated not only at the beginning of the research but also throughout the research process (Morrow and Richards, 1996). This approach proved valuable since there were many calls for decision making in specific situations.

Obtaining access and permission to conduct the research and specific aspects of the research was undertaken at different points at the study. At the beginning of the research process, the centres were informed about the study through personal visits and a letter. Parents were informed of the research via the centres. Both the centres were happy to accommodate someone that was interested in young children's lives. Every visit was characterised by negotiating permission and providing information to different levels of authority – head teachers at initial entry, teachers and caregivers at specific venues, and children in their working spaces. The head teachers, teachers, and caregivers were busy people and it was difficult to explain all the details of what the researcher would be doing for a particular visit. In some instances, snippets of information were given as the researcher accompanied the children in their various working spaces.

The acknowledgement of the children as having authority to permit access meant constantly negotiating acceptance of researcher presence. Simple stories to upfront ignorance and state intent proved to be helpful. The following examples illustrate this research strategy.

> *Hello, Tanya. I know how a big person like me does that (using my hands to accentuate size) but I don't know how you do it. Can you show me?*
>
> *I love the way you. . . I want to find out more about. . .*

The negotiation of researcher presence, however, was not a simple matter of empathising with the children. Young (1997) argues that there has to be a concerted effort to create dialogue that allows shared understanding between

the researcher and the children. This heightened awareness led to the researcher foregrounding her lack of knowledge of what it is to be a child at this point in time, and to request information from the children.

> *You know it is a long time since I was a child. I would like to learn how a child. . . Do you want to teach me?*

However, taking on the role of a learner and positioning the children as teachers resulted in contradictory responses from the children. Whilst some children saw the offer to become a teacher as an opportunity to share their stories, others waited for the researcher to take the lead. These latter responses could have emanated from the dominant relationship of adults as teachers and children as learners present at the centres. In other words, the researcher's strategy resulted in a role reversal that was not a familiar practice at the centres. This highlights the importance of early childhood researchers working closely with the situated messy realities in which the lives of young children are embedded.

In the study, children's assent to participate in the research activities was a critical issue in the context of child rights. There was an awareness that children may agree to participate because of existing power relations between adults and children**.** The message of Langston, Abbot, Lewis, and Kellet (2004) provided direction. Young children give us bodily signs of consent if we look, listen, and take heed of the signals sent to us. This meant paying special attention to responses and signs of discomfort. These signs were noted as children creating distance from the researcher, displaying uneasiness when required to engage with props, walking away, and making gestures to withdraw from participation. In the study, child participation was voluntary and flexible modes of working were used to allow the children the freedom to become involved.

Throughout the study, working ethically in situations with the children called for high reflexivity and negotiation. At different points of the study, the researcher found tensions between her own views of young children and the dominant discourses of the centres challenging. Some of the research activities that encouraged active participation of the children had to be abandoned because notions of young children's incompetence amongst some staff members at one of the centres. One such example refers to involving children in drawings of their experiences. The centres used worksheets with outlines that children were required to colour in. Some teachers felt that giving the

children an open-ended drawing activity would merely result in scribbling, and therefore, would not be of much value. Scribbling was viewed as an incompetent stage in the development of handwriting. Whilst respected as an insider decision, it highlights ethical dilemmas when conflicting lenses are used to inform young children's participation in research.

Conclusion

In this article, we sought to illuminate some sense making moves of research *with* under fours. Each theme detailed how the researcher worked with the circumstances in which children's lives were shaped and the particularities of young children as people actively shaping their circumstances. The use of thick descriptions, the development of researcher skills/resources in implementing appropriate participatory techniques, the researcher in multiple roles, and the situational mediation of ethics attests to the researcher being contextually responsive. This responsiveness is necessary when working within the context of children's rights, and within a theoretical framework that does not make automatic assumptions about young children based on predetermined meanings of immaturity. It might be helpful to think of this type of practice as *responsive research*. The latter makes it necessary to adopt multiple sense making moves to engage with the messy realities when undertaking research *with* young children. In doing so, the practice of *responsive research,* in a South African context, has the potential to fill the gap in knowledge about young children as people doing childhood in their present lives.

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Note

The names of the children, teachers and caregivers have been changed to protect their identity and respect confidentiality. Their gender, however, remains the same.

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Picking up the pace: variation in the structure and organization of learning school mathematics

Cheryl Reeves and Johan Muller

Abstract

What is it about curriculum and pedagogy that really makes the difference to pupil learning?[1] Do particular pedagogic features matter in teaching learners mathematics? Or is it rather the range of factors associated with making mathematics available to learners for learning? What makes the real difference: pedagogic style or opportunity to learn?

The paper discusses why it is plausible to study opportunity to learn (OTL) in South Africa. It outlines some of the methods used to operationalise particular dimensions of OTL and measure variation in the structure and organization of school mathematics. Data are presented on the mathematics knowledge made available to low SES grade 5 and 6 learners in the first three terms of 2003 in terms of content complexity and across grade developmental complexity. The effects of this availability on learning will be reported on in future papers.

The changing landscape of South African curriculum policy

1997 marked the adoption of a new curriculum framework that formed part of a range of policies designed to transform and restructure apartheid education in South Africa (Christie, 1999). Where the 'apartheid' curriculum was based on 'traditional' distinctions between subjects such as history and geography, the new South African curriculum, Curriculum 2005 (C2005), integrates traditionally separate subjects into eight 'learning areas' – Human and Social Sciences; Numeracy and Mathematical Sciences; Natural and Physical Sciences; Economic and Management Sciences; Technology; Communication, Literacy and Languages; Culture, Arts and Artistic Crafts; and Life Orientation.

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[1] The type of mathematical learning being considered is learning which allows learners to successfully answer achievement tests designed to measure mathematics accomplishment.

Whilst the previous curriculum took the form of prescriptive national syllabi for each subject that emphasized "often ideologically distorted" academic subject content and disregarded the everyday realities of apartheid South Africa (Christie, 1999, p.282), the new curriculum is based on the concept of outcomes-based-education (OBE). Rather than outlining specific subject content and skills to be covered (inputs), C2005 provides the outcomes to be evaluated or assessed for each learning area. The critical outcomes underpinning the new curriculum are 'open-ended' in that they emphasize the higher order skills that are tied to underlying knowledge principles such as critical thinking, application of problem-solving, and communication (Taylor 1999). Strong integration between everyday and school knowledge is advocated, and a premium is placed on integration of knowledge and "transferability of knowledge to real life" (Department of Education, 1997, p.32).

In 1998, when C2005 was in its second year of implementation, the National Department of Education commissioned research through the President's Education Initiative (PEI) to investigate the implementation of the recent curriculum reform policies. The authors of the PEI Report found the new curriculum to be "vague in the extreme in the area of content" (Taylor, 1999, p.126). They concluded that curriculum efforts at integration had resulted in a "bewildering mix of concepts" where . . . "it seems most unlikely that learners will develop a systemic understanding of any of these ideas. In the hands of teachers whose own conceptual frames (of the subjects they teach: our addition) are not strong, the results are likely to be disastrous where school knowledge is totally submerged in an unorganised confusion of contrived realism" (p.121).

The PEI Report pointed to a curriculum driven by weak conceptual coherence in terms of specialized school knowledge and skills which was likely to exacerbate rather than reduce existing inequalities in learning outcomes that ensure access to further educational opportunities and better-paying occupations for disadvantaged learners. PEI research studies showed that:

> 'in historically disadvantaged schools . . . teaching through drill' had apparently been 'replaced by teaching about everyday life' which 'seldom translated into the mastery of sophisticated forms of knowing and thinking' or school knowledge (Fleisch, 2002, p.118).

In 2001, in response to the findings of the PEI Report, a Ministerial Committee was tasked with placing the curriculum on a more

epistemologically sound footing. The Report of the Review Committee (Chisholm, Lubisi, Mahomed, Malan, Muller, Ndhlovu, Ngozi, Potenza and Volmink, 2000) took issue with the weak 'lateral demarcation' between school and everyday knowledge and between different school subjects (p.41). A key recommendation of their Report was the separation of 'integrated' learning programmes into distinct subjects. The Review Committee was also critical of the weak 'vertical demarcation' or under-specification of the curriculum in terms of grade level "sequence, pace and progression – what competences must be learnt" (p.40). They argued that the "lack of a conceptual roadmap for proceeding" (Taylor, Muller and Vinjevold, 2003, p.133) would principally disadvantage learners in schools where teachers' knowledge base was not strong. The Committee recommended stronger specification of the expected competence levels for each grade level in the Curriculum, especially for subjects such as mathematics and natural sciences.

C2005 has since been re-defined through Reviewed National Curriculum Statements (RNCS) specific to each learning area (Department of Education, 2002a). In the numeracy and mathematics learning area the development of subject knowledge has been foregrounded and the statements now express the skills, concepts and content learners are expected to have at each grade level. The review of C2005, certainly in the numeracy and mathematics learning area, marks a shift to a more coherent subject-based curriculum that focuses attention on the attainment of essential mathematics skills and knowledge competences.

It seems likely that in future there will be greater accountability to national assessment standards via national testing benchmarks. Indeed in 2000 the National Department of Education introduced a pilot project for systemic assessment at Grades 3, 6 and 9 (Department of Education, 2001 in Taylor, Muller and Vinjevold, 2003). The idea is that, in future, learners are to be assessed against national curriculum standards that indicate whether they are attaining a learning outcome at an appropriate level for each grade.

Clearly imperatives to improve the aggregate level of learner achievement in the country appear to be stronger than ever. However, recent research evidence in the country has revealed high levels of under-performance, particularly amongst South African learners at schools in high poverty areas (Howie and Hughes, 1998; Joint Education Trust, 2000; 2001; Department of Education, 2002c; Smith, 2004). Studies have shown that "many Grade 6 learners are not

able to perform mathematics and reading tasks expected at the Grade 3 level" (Joint Education Trust, 2001, p.3).

In 2004 the Western Cape Education MEC announced that results of systemic literacy and numeracy tests administered to grade 6 learners in the Province in 2003[2] showed a clear relationship between poverty and achievement – "the poorer pupils, the more likely they were to lag" (Smith, 2004: p.9). Achieving greater equality in outcomes for South African learners will of necessity entail assisting schools across the system to 'deliver quality'. The question is: what delivers quality?

Addressing learner achievement inequality

The finding that achievement is related to the content and skills that are actually made available to learners in the classroom is one of the most consistent and logical empirical findings in international comparative educational research (Shavelson, McDonnell and Oakes, 1989; Burstein, 1993) as well as national educational studies in some developed countries.[3] Stevens (1996, p.1) points out that this finding is significant both "because race/ethnicity and poverty are not alterable variables" and because it confirms the view that schooling can play a role in providing low SES or disadvantaged learners with the academic competencies they need for further learning.[4]

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2 The Western Cape Education Department's (WCED) systemic evaluation of grade 6 learners' mathematics performance commenced in 2003.

3 Although OTL has received attention in international comparative studies such as the TIMSS and in developed country contexts such as the USA "its use to date in developing countries has been limited. Few studies of academic achievement have incorporated explicit measures of OTL (the curriculum made available to learners), and most have relied on indirect ones such as total days worked in the school or teacher subject-matter knowledge" (Marshall and White, 2001, p.7).

4 Hirsch (1999, p.43-44) argues that "since some children are apter and harder-working than others, equality of educational opportunity does not mean that all students will make very high test scores". He argues that, although, "good schools" "can never *entirely* (his italics) equalize educational opportunity" "because the home is also a school, where students spend more time than in the official one". . ."Other things being equal, students from good-home schools will always have an educational advantage over students from less-good-home-schools. Nonetheless, basic gaps in knowledge can be compensated for in the classroom, as the international data prove."

Opportunity-to-Learn (OTL) and learner achievement

Large scale across country studies of the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement's (IEA) such as the First International Mathematics Survey (FIMS), Second International Maths Study (SIMS) and the Third International Maths and Science Study (TIMSS) have uniformly shown that Opportunity-to-Learn (OTL) – the degree of overlap between the content of instruction and that tested (test-curriculum-overlap) – is "a consistent predictor of achievement scores" in mathematics and science (Rowan, 2002, p.16).

A key finding of the Second International Maths Study (SIMS) was that, when 'cultural and instructional practices among the countries' were investigated to explain differences in performance, 'the only classroom or school variable' found 'to be significantly related to achievement growth was opportunity to learn measured as content coverage' (the topics and subtopics actually taught) and 'content exposure' (the amount of time spent on mathematics contents) (Stevens, nd, p.1). Since the SIMS, OTL has increasingly been 'seen as a policy relevant curriculum variable' for national educational systems in developing countries (Floden, 2003, p.253). In the United States, 'the results of more than 15 years of research' that documented the empirical relationship between learner achievement and the content and the cognitive level at which the contents are taught, strongly indicate that "curriculum exposure could be an effective lever in efforts to improve student achievement and to distribute learning opportunities more equitably" (McDonnell, 1995, p.308).

The "large body of research on the determinants of student achievement" in international studies and the USA has also suggested that OTL is defined "not only by the curriculum content that learners are offered and the amount of contact time devoted to teaching the subject area" (McDonnell, 1995, p.308), but also by the sequencing and pacing of curriculum content that is made available to learners (Smith, Smith and Bryk, 1998). More recently, the OTL construct has been expanded to include measures of 'curricular coherence', that is, the degree to which domain-specific or disciplinary content is systematically presented to learners in terms of the conceptual coherence of its organization, and 'curricular pacing', the structuring and organization of curriculum across adjacent grades. The idea is that curricular pacing and coherence helps prevent a cumulative deficit in breadth and depth of domain-specific knowledge and conceptual advancement of specialized skills and

concepts across grades improving the likelihood of learners having the pre-requisite content knowledge for the next year (Smith, Smith and Bryk, 1998).

OTL in the current South African context

Given the recent revisions to the South African curriculum framework, it is plausible to anticipate that policy makers and others involved in schooling in the country have a revitalized interest in the opportunities to learn that are being made available to low SES populations of learners. It is plausible to anticipate that OTL variables are variables of interest in their 'own right' (Floden, 2003, p.237), and that there is an interest in the opportunities that are being denied to particular learners because certain topics or subtopics are being omitted or given little attention (Schmidt, McKnight, Valverde, Houang, and Wiley, 1997).

Measuring variation

One purpose of the paper is to describe the methodological procedures used for collecting data on the following dimensions of OTL in the grade 6 mathematics curriculum:

a) *content coverage,* that is, the mathematics topics and subtopics actually taught during the course of the school year; and *content emphasis*, that is, the amount of time spent on the various contents (for example, variations in how many lesson periods devoted to particular topics or subtopics) (Husen, 1967 in Pelgrum, 1989; Gamoran, Porter, Smithson and White, 1997 in Floden 2003; Thompson and Senk, 2001; Porter and Smithson, 2001);

b) *curricular pacing* (pacing across adjacent grades), a measure of whether curricular content progresses at an appropriate level from grade to grade (Smith, Smith and Bryk, 1998; Rose 2002).

This is followed by descriptive results on content coverage and emphasis, and curricular pacing.

Capturing OTL

A standardised OTL data collection instrument was developed and used for 'content coverage', 'content emphasis' and 'curricular pacing' across two adjacent grades, namely grade 5 and 6.

Content coverage

The idea of a potential common curriculum detailing goals at the level of the intended curriculum for each grade is central to the notion of measuring 'content coverage'. As Rowan (2002, p.16) notes "any serious attempt to measure content coverage begins with a basic categorization of curriculum in a particular subject area (e.g. maths, reading, writing, etc.). Such categorization schemes have been derived from many different sources, including curriculum frameworks or standards documents, textbooks, and items included in the achievement test(s) being used as the dependent variable(s)." Hence the first requirement for measuring 'content coverage' was the construction of a framework of potential curriculum content that ensured that data collected across grade 6 classes is comparable.

Curriculum 2005 (Department of Education, 1997a, b and c) does not express the core content, skills and concepts learners are expected to cover in the numeracy and mathematics learning area at each grade level. Hence it was not possible to use the curriculum-in-use for constructing a framework for establishing variations in learners' opportunity to learn school mathematics contents.

Instead, a decision was made to use the RNCS for the numeracy and mathematics learning area as the primary tool for constructing a framework of potential curriculum content and for segmenting and categorizing 'pieces' of the framework into the most fine-grained elements possible.[5]

Since many South African grade 6 learners are performing at lower levels than their grade requirements (Joint Education Trust, 2001; Seekings, 2001), a further assumption in the study was that teachers have to address gaps in learner knowledge and skills whilst trying to cover grade 6 level mathematics.

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[5] The curriculum document used for constructing a framework for measuring 'content coverage' was the Department of Education's Revised National Curriculum Statements Grade R-9: Mathematics May 2002, the document available when instruments for the study were designed in 2002.

In other words, an expectation was that grade 6 teachers were likely to also cover content, skills and concepts that learners were expected to have covered at least at the grade 4 and 5 level. By implication, in order to measure learners' OTL more judiciously and accurately, the framework of potential curriculum content needed to include curriculum content outlined for the intermediate phase (grade 4-6) as a whole rather than only grade 6.

The main categories for the framework comprised the five learning outcomes (LOs) for the numeracy and mathematics learning area. Within each LO the assessment standards are organized into a number of 'clusters'. Table 1 from Page 2.11 from Draft number 2 of the Mathematics Learning Programme Policy Guidelines (MLPPG) provides the following 'clusterings' for outcomes in the Intermediate Phase:

Table 1: 'Clusters' for Learning Outcomes in the Intermediate Phase

LO 1: Number, operation and relationships	LO 2: Patterns, functions and algebra	LO 3: Space and Shape (geometry)	LO 4: Measurement	LO 5: Data handling
1. Recognising, classifying and representing numbers	1. Patterns	1. Shapes and Objects	4. Time	7. Collecting and Organising Data
2. Applications of numbers to problems	2. Equations	2. Transformations	5. Units and Instruments	8. Representing and Interpreting Data
3. Calculation types involving numbers		3. Position	6. Perimeter, Area and Volume	9. Chance
4. Properties of numbers				

Source: Department of Education, 2002b

The idea was to make the framework of potential curriculum content for the study as specific as possible so as to capture the most finely grained elements of each outcome or 'cluster' covered to allow for specific analysis of content covered rather than simply broad patterns of differences in mathematics content coverage. The idea was also to make it possible to capture details at specific grade levels for the intermediate phase.

For example, the framework describes LO1: Number, operations and relationships: Recognizing, classifying and representing numbers: Representing and comparing whole numbers including zero and fractions in the following topic complexity:

	Representing and comparing whole numbers including zero and fractions including:
	Whole numbers to
11	4-digit numbers (g4)
12	6-digit numbers (g5)
13	9-digit numbers (g6)
14	Odd and even number to 1 000 (g4)
15	Common fractions in diagrammatic form (g4)
	Common fractions with different denominators including
16	halves (g4)
17	thirds (g4)
18	quarters (g4)
19	fifths (g4)
20	sixths (g4)
21	sevenths (g4)
22	eighths (g4)
23	tenths (g6)
24	twelfths (g5, 6)
25	hundreds (g6)

G4, g5, g6 (in brackets) indicates that these units or elements are considered essential at the grade 4, 5 or 6 level – in other words, they reflect work that learners are, at a minimum, expected to cover at this level.[6] However, although certain elements of topics or subtopics are considered essential for a particular grade level (for example, element number 11, 12 and 13 above), there are

[6] Although the RNCS include 'issue- or value-based' element such as 'Describing and illustrating various ways of counting in different cultures (including local) throughout history' (LO1 Intermediate Phase), for the purposes of the study the majority of issue-/value-based topics were not included on the framework of possible curriculum content as only those subtopics that are more aligned to features of the test items used in the larger study were selected.

other elements of topics or subtopics that are considered essential at all or more than one intermediate grade levels, for example element numbers 24 above and 48, 49 and 50 below:

	Using operations appropriate to solving problems involving:
	Rounding off to the nearest
48	10 (g4,5,6)
49	100 (g4,5,6)
50	1 000 (g4,5,6)

Once the outline of the Framework had been drafted and the grade levels indicated, a mathematics curriculum expert was asked to verify the grade level information on the Framework by indicating which of the elements related most specifically to minimum grade 6 level expectations. Thus the shaded numbers above indicate that elements of the 'minimum' intended grade 6 curriculum. What is important is that the Framework of Potential Curriculum Content is constructed so as to make it possible to capture 'content coverage' at the most specific grade and content levels and to describe curricular variations in macro pacing across classes in terms of content complexity.

Content emphasis

The second dimension of 'content coverage' data is 'content emphasis', or the estimated number of single mathematics lessons or periods spent on each element of the framework. Neither the original Curriculum 2005 nor the RNCS for mathematics prescribed or provided indications of the emphasis to be given to the various components of the curriculum in terms of time. An early draft (Draft number 2) of the MLPPG had provided the following framework for allocating time or emphasis for each of the five outcomes in the intermediate phase (Department of Education, 2002b, p.2.9):

Table 2: Draft intermediate framework for allocating time for each of the five mathematics outcomes

LO1 NUMBER	40%
LO2 PATTERNS & FUNCTIONS, ALGEBRA	15%
LO3 SHAPE, SPACE, POSITION, GEOMETRY	30%
LO4 MEASUREMENT	
LO5 DATA HANDLING	15%

These guidelines indicating the emphasis expected at the intermediate phase were subsequently dropped from the official version of RNCS documents. In order to establish a more substantial notion of ideal time against which to measure the actual amount of time teachers spent on each element of content outlined in the framework, a highly experienced and competent academic head of intermediate phase mathematics at a high-performing school was asked to indicate the amount of time in terms of the number of single 30 minute periods she would 'ideally' devote to each element of the framework indicated as essential at the grade 6 level – as if the framework was the intermediate phase curriculum in-use.

In the absence of expressed expectations of content emphasis in curriculum documents, the idea is to have a more refined notion of the ideal amount of time teachers could be expected to spend on topics. For example, the following are the academic head's ideal notions of 'content emphasis' for some of the grade 6 level elements of LO 5 – Data handling:

	SECTION 5: DATA HANDLING:		
	5.1 COLLECTING AND ORGANISING DATA	Ideal time *Number of single 30 min periods*	
203	Posing simple questions and data sources that address human rights, social, political, cultural, environmental and economic issues in learners' school and family environment (g4,5,6)		
204	Making and using simple data collection sheets involving counting objects (requiring tallies i.e. ways of recording the number of items per category in a set of data by making a mark for each item) and simple questionnaires (with yes/no type responses) to collect data to answer questions posed by the teacher or learners (g5,6)		
205	Using tallies and tables to organise and record data (g5,6)	4	
	Using ungrouped numerical data (raw data which have not been grouped into classes or categories) to determine:		
206	the most frequently occurring score (mode i.e. the number or item that appears most frequently in a set of data) in order to describe central tendencies (g4,5,6)	1	
207	the midpoint (median i.e. if the data is written in order from smallest to largest, the median is either the middle number or the mean of the two middle numbers) in order to describe central tendencies (g5,6)	1	

* 203, 204 & 205 combined – four periods

Her ideal notion of 'content emphasis' was subsequently validated by two other experienced grade 6 mathematics teachers at high-performing schools who specified where they disagreed with the amount of time and indicated the number of periods they would expect to spend on the particular subtopics. Variations are indicated on the instrument as, for example, 4-6 (periods). This made it possible to compare the estimated actual amount of time teachers in the study spent on the various elements with an ideal notion of emphasis.[7]

Data collection methods for content coverage and emphasis

In an attempt to standardize data collection procedures, ensure more rigorous data gathering methods and as much uniformity as possible in the collection of data, an instrument to collate OTL data collected was developed. The first section of the instrument was used to capture content coverage and emphasis. The framework of potential curriculum content was used to identify the topics or subtopics covered and the estimated number of lessons spent on each topic/subtopic covered in each of the three terms. As classes sometimes cover a number of topics in one lesson, the instrument also made provision for estimates of less than one lesson as illustrated in the following extract of the grade 6 instrument:

7 'Ideal' is used in a modified way as 'ideal' for teachers in middle class schools may not be 'ideal' for teachers working in very different contexts. A limitation of the study is that it uses the judgment of only 3 expert grade 6 mathematics teachers regarding the amount of time teachers should ideally devote to sub-topics.

	SECTION 2: MEASUREMENT				
		Covered	Ideal time	Estimated number of lessons	
	2.1 TIME	Tick if yes	Number of single 30 min periods	Tick if less than one	If one or more, estimate how many (write a number)
	Reading and writing analogue, digital and 24-hour time including:				
	Analogue time (time read from a clock with a face and hands)				
92	to the nearest minute (g4,5,6)				
93	2. to the nearest second. (g4,5,6)				
	Digital time (time read from a clock that has a continually changing digit display rather than a clock face				
94	3. to the nearest minute (g4,5,6)				
95	4. to the nearest second. (g4,5,6)				
	24-hour time				
96	5. to the nearest minute (g4,5,6)		2		
97	6. to the nearest second. (g4,5,6)		2		

The research mainly relied on information gathered from an examination of the two most comprehensive of learners' workbooks or files in each class. Three other methods were used as supplementary sources for triangulation.

A highly structured teacher survey interview was used to collect teacher self-report data on the contents covered in grade 6 in each class in each of the first three terms as a supplementary method. A second supplementary method entailed an examination of each teacher's year or term plans. A third supplementary method used included an examination of learners' reports on the daily content of their instruction for the year. At the beginning of the year two learners in each class were asked and given incentives in the form of gift vouchers each term to keep diaries on the daily content of their lessons for the year.

In large-scale studies in developed country contexts reliance on teacher judgments through the use of survey questionnaires is the most common approach for measuring what is covered in each grade and the amount of time

given to specific mathematics topics. The reason for mainly relying on information from learners' workbooks in the South African context is that self-report data are not generally considered sufficiently reliable. For example, the PEI report (Taylor and Vinjevold, 1999) reported that some studies showed disparities between what teachers actually did in terms of classroom practices, and what they said they did in their classrooms. In fact we have little knowledge of levels of agreement between teachers' and researchers' reports of information on the content of instruction.

The following routine was built into the data collection procedures. As the focus was on the mathematics actually covered, rather than the planned coverage, the examination of teachers' year plans or schemes of work (together with the interviews) were used primarily to orientate the data collector as to what she might expect to find in learners' workbooks before examining them. Once teachers had been interviewed and their year or term plans examined, the records of work in the two workbooks were closely checked against the framework of possible content to determine whether teachers had actually covered possible topics or subtopics. Teachers' reports in the interviews and learners' reports in the diaries were then used in instances where it was not clear from the workbooks whether or not teachers had covered topics or subtopics and there was unlikely to be any readily observable information in the primary sources (workbooks). If the teacher and/or learners reported covering them in the interviews or diaries, and the data collector judged the self-report data sufficiently reliable to make it reasonable to assume that subtopics had been covered, the assumption was made that the subtopics had been covered. The idea was to use the multiple data collection methods and sources to ensure greater reliability and establish and sort out discrepancies in the data collected.

The framework on the OTL Instrument was used first to indicate whether or not a subtopic had been covered, in other words simply to indicate the presence or absence of evidence that a subtopic had been covered, and then to estimate the amount of time actually devoted to a subtopic in terms of 30 minute periods (in other words, to estimate the relative emphasis given to a topic). Whilst the specific number of subtopics and lessons spent on them may not be precise, we believe they are fairly good estimates of coverage and emphasis.

Curricular pacing

Curricular pacing in the study is a measure of a school's structuring or pacing of curriculum across adjacent grades. The idea is that 'curricular pacing' provides a proxy measure of learners' curriculum exposure to mathematics contents with other teachers in previous years. Pacing across two adjacent grades, grade 5 and 6 was considered.

'Content coverage' and 'content emphasis' (the number of lessons spent on each of the topics or subtopics) in grade 5 classes at each school in 2003 was used as a proxy indicator of 'curriculum pacing' for the sample of grade 6 learners. Data on mathematics content coverage and emphasis' for the grade 5 classes were collected at each school through the use of an OTL Instrument developed for grade 5. This instrument used the same intermediate phase framework developed for the Grade 6 OTL Instrument but was constructed so that the focus was on grade 5 content coverage and emphasis. Thus shaded numbers on the grade 5 instrument indicate that elements are considered to be elements of the grade 5 curriculum. For example:

	1.1. RECOGNISING, CLASSIFYING AND REPRESENTING NUMBERS	Cover		Estimated number of lessons		
		Tick if yes		Tick if less than one	If one or more, estimate how many (write a number)	Ideal – number single 30 min periods
	Counting including:					
	Counting forwards and backwards in					
1	1. 2s (g4,5)					
2	2. 3s (g4,5)					
3	3. 5s (g4,5)					
4	4. 10s (g4,5)					1
5	5. 25s (g4,5)					1
6	50s (g4,5)					1
7	7. 100s (g4,5)					1
8	8. a variety of whole number intervals between 0 and 9. 10 000 (g4,5)					1
9	10. fractions (g5)					1
10	11. decimals (g6)					

Data collection methods for curricular pacing

A grade 5 teacher survey interview questionnaire on the topics and subtopics covered and the estimated number of lessons spent on each topic or sub-topic, the grade 5 teachers' year plans or schemes of work, together with an examination of learners' workbooks was used to determine 'content coverage' and 'content emphasis' at the grade 5 level. In the first term an interview was conducted with all or as many as possible of the grade 5 mathematics teachers at each school (where there was more than one grade 5 mathematics teacher) to ascertain whether all grade 5 teachers followed the same term/year plan and cover the same topics across the school year. In all cases, the Grade 5 teacher interviewed reported that they essentially tried to cover the same topics and spend similar amounts of time on topics. The information was then verified by examining two learners' workbooks from each grade 5 class to ascertain the extent of alignment in terms of content coverage and emphasis. In all cases it appeared that there was adequate evidence of sufficient conformity across grade 5 classes at each school to render it reasonable to collect one set of grade 5 data at each school as a proxy measure of 'curriculum pacing' for grade 6 learners in the sample. Data were collected at the end of each term for the first three terms.

Data analysis

From the data analysis it was possible to calculate the percentage of grade 6 learners who had covered each of the grade 6 level subtopics on the framework and to estimate the percentage of grade 6 learners who had probably been exposed to each of grade 5 subtopics in their first three terms in grade 5. It was also possible to calculate the estimated average number of lessons actually spent on the various subtopics where they were covered and to compare this with the estimated ideal number of lessons on the framework.

The following is an extract of aggregated results for grade 6. The content outlined in the framework is presented to assist the reader in interpreting the information. Subtopics covered by half (50%) or more of the grade 6 learners are shaded. In other words, shading indicates that at least 50% of grade 6 learners had an opportunity to learn that particular content. The numbered boxes of subtopics which are related most specifically to the minimum grade 6 expectations are also shaded. If grade 6 content (numbers 10 and 13), is not shaded this indicates that less than 50% of the sample of learners had an opportunity to learn that particular content.

Extract of aggregated results for grade 6 content coverage and emphasis

	SECTION 1: NUMBER, OPERATION AND RELATIONSHIPS:				
	1.1. RECOGNISING, CLASSIFYING AND REPRESENTING NUMBERS	% of learners that covered	Ideal time for Grade 6 content: Number of single 30 min periods	Estimated average number of lessons spent on content: Less than one	Estimated average number of lessons spent on content: If one or more, estimated average no. single periods
	Counting including:				
	Counting forwards and backwards in				
1	• 2s (g4,5)	82		X	
2	• 3s (g4,5)	76		X	
3	• 5s (g4,5)	76		X	
4	• 10s (g4,5)	79			1
5	• 25s (g4,5)	71			1
6	• 50s (g4,5)	68			1
7	• 100s (g4,5)	74			1
8	• a variety of whole number intervals between 0 and 10 000 (g4,5)	50			1
9	• fractions (g5)	45			2
10	• decimals (g6)	26	38443		2
	Representing and comparing whole numbers including zero and fractions including:				
	Whole numbers to				
11	• 4-digit numbers (g4)	84			3
12	• 6-digit numbers (g5)	76			3
13	• 9-digit numbers (g6)	21	38506	X	

The above analysis indicates that at least 50% of the grade 6 learners covered counting forwards and backwards in 2s, 3s, 5s, 10s, 25s, 50s, 100s and a variety of whole number intervals between 0 and 10 000 which relate to grade 4 and 5 expectations. Greater emphasis (an estimated 1 period) was placed on counting in 10s, 25s, 50s, 100s and a variety of whole number intervals between 0 and 10 000 than was placed on counting in 2s, 3s, 5s (estimated as less than 1 period). Only 26% of the learners were exposed to 'counting forwards and backwards in decimals' which relates to grade 6 level expectations. Over 50% of the learners were exposed to representing and comparing 4–6-digit whole numbers (an estimated 3 periods on each) which relates to grade 4 and 5 level expectation as opposed to only 21% of the learners who were exposed to 9-digit whole numbers at the expected grade 6 level for on average less than 1 period as compared to the notional ideal of 6 periods.

In the following extract from the grade 5 analysis, subtopics likely to have been covered by at least 50% of the sample are shaded.

Extract of aggregated results from grade 5 content coverage and emphasis

	SECTION 2: MEASUREMENT:				
	2.1 TIME	% of classes that covered	Estimated average no. of lessons spent on content: Less than one	Estimated average no. of lessons spent on content: If one or more, estimated average no. single periods	Ideal no. single 30 min. periods
	Reading and writing analogue, digital and 24-hour time including:				
	Analogue time (time read from a clock with a face and hands)				
92	• to the nearest minute (g4,5,6)	50		2	2
93	• to the nearest second (g.4,5,6)	42		2	2
	Digital time (time read from a clock that has a continually changing digit display rather than a clock face				
94	• to the nearest minute (g4,5,6)	33		1	1
95	• to the nearest second (g4,5,6)	21		1	1
	24-hour time				
96	• to the nearest minute (g4,5,6)	29		1	38383
97	• to the nearest second (g4,5,6)	28		1	38383
	Solving problems involving calculation and conversions between approrpriate time units:				
98	• seconds (g4)	58		1	
99	• minutes (g4)	67		1	
100	• hours (g4)	63		1	
101	• days (g4)	63		1	
102	• weeks (g4)	50		1	
103	• months (g4)	50		1	
104	• years (g4)	42		1	
105	• decades (g5)	40	X		1
106	• centuries (g5)	0		0	1
107	• millennia (g5)	0		0	1
108	• time zones and differences (g6)	0		0	

The above analysis shows that, in grade 5, learners are commonly focusing on grade 4 level expectations relating to solving problems involving calculations and conversions between time units (numbers 98-103) and that an estimated average of 6 periods was spent on this overall. Little or no attention was paid to grade 5 level expectations (numbers 105-107). 40% of the sample spent an estimated average of less than one period on 'decades' and none of the learners appeared to cover 'centuries' or 'millennia'.

Descriptive results

An analysis of 'content coverage and emphasis' in grade 5 and 6 reveals the following interesting patterns of curricular pacing. Data indicate that by the end of the third quarter

- in both grade 5 and 6, curricular attention was strongest for two of the five RNCS outcomes, namely LO 1: Number, Operations and Relationships; and LO4: Measurement. The mathematics curriculum made available to the sample of learners in grade 5 and 6 was primarily one of Number and Measurement.
- in grade 5 no one subtopic in three Learning Outcomes, namely LO 2: Patterns, Functions and Algebra, LO 3: Space and Shape (Geometry) or LO 5: Data Handling was covered by 50% or more of the 1001 learners. In grade 6, only one subtopic of LO 2: Patterns, Functions and Algebra and LO 5: Data Handling on the Framework was covered by 50% or more of the classes. None of the subtopics in LO 3: Space and Shape (Geometry) on the Framework was covered by 50% or more of the grade 6 learners. This shows that there is wider variability amongst the sample in terms of the subtopics covered or not covered for these three outcomes in both grade 5 and 6.
- on average grade 6 learners covered 29% of *all* the intermediate phase (IP) subtopics on the Framework of Potential Curriculum Content but the percentage of IP subtopics covered in grade 6 ranged from 12% to 70%.
- the average coverage of subtopics considered essential for the grade 6 level in grade 6 was 22% of those on the Framework of Potential Curriculum Content but the percentage of grade 6 level topics covered ranged from 5% to 55%.

- data on grade 5 content coverage and emphasis indicate that the average coverage of all the subtopics considered essential at the grade 5 level was 29%. However, the percentage of the grade 5 subtopics covered in grade 5 ranged from 4% to 70%.
- 71% of the subtopics covered by 50% or more of the learners in grade 6 were also covered in at least 50% of the classes in grade 5. Evidently only 29% of the subtopics covered by 50% or more of the learners in grade 6 were introduced for the first time in grade 6.

Discussion

Whilst the curriculum coverage and emphasis and adjacent grade curriculum pacing data reveal evidence of considerable variations in coverage across classes, that is, considerable cross-class differences, there are enough commonalities in terms of the outcomes covered and emphasized and the subtopics that predominate within and across both grade 5 and 6 to indicate the curriculum commonly made available to the sample of low SES learners grade 5 and 6 in the Cape Peninsula.

Although the common emphasis on Number and Measurement evident at the grade 5 and 6 level is in line with the very broad guidelines for allocating time for each of the five mathematics outcomes in the intermediate phase originally suggested in Draft number 2 of the MLPPG, overall curricular attention for the other three LOs in both grades appears to be much weaker. Certainly levels of commonly covered subtopics for the three outcomes are extremely low. As Floden (2003, p.255) points out the danger here is that, OTL in mathematics "is important for each topic area", not just for mathematics as a whole, because, if mathematics learning was "simply increasing mastery of a single skill, then it would not matter what topics were studied. Students who learned more mathematics would do better on topics."

The descriptive data also show that learners are spending more time on subtopics that they were expected to have covered in earlier grades than they do on subtopics at the level expected for their grade. Data reveal evidence of slow curricular pacing across grades 5 and 6. In other words, the study shows evidence of slow across grade curricular pacing and that learners are studying topics lower than grade level expectations.

In fact, data appear to mirror Smith, Smith and Bryk's (1998) findings in the U.S. described in *Setting the Pace: Opportunities to Learn in Chicago Public Elementary Schools*, where there was found to be "frequent repetition of topics

across one or more years" (p.19). This Chicago study arose out of the fact that classroom observations had revealed that similar lessons and concepts were being taught "again and again" (website abstract) so that the "classroom life" of some learners appeared "to consist of repetitive cycles of basic skills instruction" (p.22) as well as "gaps in instruction" (p.26). Together with a "steady exposure to slow pacing" across grades, this appeared to be leaving certain learners 'farther and farther behind' (p.2).

A key conclusion of the Chicago study was that teachers, particularly at high poverty schools, often "lacked a shared conception of the instructional program overall, and of their own particular set of responsibilities for advancing it" (p.13). Indeed, curricular pacing was seen to reflect "the way teachers do or do not work together in the school" (p.24). The researchers found that "unaligned and incoherent instructional programs emerge. Students who pass through these programs experience delays, repetitions, and/or skips in core knowledge and skills in ways that seriously diminish their chances for success in school and, in particular, on tests used to measure their knowledge and their progress" (p.29). Smith, Smith and Bryk (1998) argue that, although "official learning goals and standards that articulate what students are expected to know at various grade levels", are "a necessary first step", "external guidelines and mandates do not, by themselves, prevent troubling differences in teaching and learning from occurring" (p.29).

They assert that the problem lies in how schools "organise and pace instruction and how this structure affects students" opportunities to learn" (p.15) and conclude that schools need "to keep the curriculum moving forward" and co-ordinated, "both across grades and across classrooms within a grade" (website abstract). However, the researchers are at pains to emphasise that their concern "is not that instruction be mindlessly speeded up or that more is necessarily better", rather it is that learners "should experience a sequence of instruction that exposes them in a systematic and developmentally challenging fashion" (p.12).

Underlying the OTL construct is the notion that curriculum frameworks and curriculum guides potentially act as inclusionary mechanism for ensuring that high status mathematical knowledge and skills are made equally available to all learners. What the above analysis of the Cape Peninsula data suggests is that, whilst the new curriculum framework and the assessment standards in South Africa have potential for improving the quality of learners' OTL, their potential for reducing inequality in OTL may depend on additional guidance to schools and teachers in ensuring within and across grade content

complexity and across grade developmental complexity. For example, although teachers have control over the level of detail and degree of emphasis content is given, the current new frameworks provide little in the way of guidance in relation to content emphasis. The Cape Peninsula data indicate that even the very broad guidelines (for allocating time for each of the five mathematics outcomes) that were subsequently dropped from curriculum documents, may be insufficient for teachers' needs. More guidance may be required in ensuring curriculum coverage and pacing within and across grades.

Preliminary findings indicate that policy documents such as curriculum frameworks and guidelines in South Africa may need to provide schools and teachers with a concrete picture of the entire trajectory of each learning phase (across grade framing over pacing) and more in the way of guidance in relation to the pace they should maintain in order to cover the grade level expectations. Teachers appear to need greater signaling as to how much time learners should be given to work on topics or subtopics. Such pacing signals would be of particular value to inexperienced and less qualified teachers and could serve as mechanisms for assisting schools and teachers in ensuring that all learners receive an equivalent curriculum. Indications are that schools and teachers may also require more direct and focused assistance with planning work schedules and learning programmes across grades and school phases, for example, through school level support that focuses on the organization and pacing of the curriculum across learners' learning careers.

Acknowledgements

Appreciation is expressed to the Spencer Foundation who supported the main research through a Spencer Fellowship grant. The Gatsby Foundation, the National Research Foundation and the University of Cape Town's University Research Committee are acknowledged for providing funds to cover the cost of the fairly large scale study. Opinions expressed are those of the authors.

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Democratising the classroom: a literacy pedagogy for the new generation

David Rose

Abstract

South African secondary students see themselves as a 'new generation', the first to come of age in the democratic nation. They are intelligent, politically aware and highly motivated, but very few currently stand a chance of achieving their goals of further education and professional careers (Taylor, Muller, Vinjevold, 2003). If the new South Africa is to realise the possibility of a just society this situation urgently needs to change. But we are hamstrung, not just by the history of schooling in South Africa, but by classroom practices that have evolved in western education systems to reward the elite and marginalise the majority. This paper contends that the basis of inequality in the classroom, and hence in the society, is in students' differing capacities to independently learn from reading, which is the fundamental mode of learning in secondary and tertiary education. Whether teaching practices are promoted as 'learner-centred' or 'teacher-centred' has little impact on the central problem of students' differing capacities to engage in and benefit from them. This problem can be overcome if we focus squarely on teaching all learners in a class to read and write the texts expected of their level and area of study, as part of everyday teaching practice. I argue here that democratising the classroom is the primary condition for achieving the kinds of educational outcomes needed to build a democratic South Africa, and outline a literacy pedagogy that can enable us to do so.

Learning to read: reading to learn

The goal of the paper is to describe a methodology for teaching reading and writing that has been developed in a long term action research project with teachers in Australia at all levels of education, from early primary through secondary to tertiary study, across curriculum areas. The methodology, known as *Learning to Read: Reading to Learn*, has been developed in response to current urgent needs, particularly of Indigenous and other marginalised learners, to rapidly improve reading and writing for educational access and success. To this end it draws on three theoretical traditions: a Vygotskyan model of learning as social process, a Hallidayan model of language as text in social context, and a Bernsteinian model of education as pedagogic discourse. These theoretical foundations are integrated in a set of teaching strategies that

have been developed with teachers to be optimally practical in diverse classroom settings, and optimally practicable for teachers to acquire and use as part of their ordinary practice in their grade or curriculum area. The strategies have been independently evaluated as four times as effective as other literacy approaches at accelerating reading and writing development, capable of improving learners' reading ability from junior primary to secondary levels within one year (McRae, Ainsworth, Cumming, Hughes, Mackay, Price, Rowland, Warhurst, Woods and Zbar, 2000; Carbines, Wyatt and Robb, 2005; Cullican, 2006). They are currently being applied in primary, secondary and tertiary contexts in Australia, Africa and Latin America, with learners from a wide spectrum of language, cultural and educational backgrounds. However before outlining the strategies I first need to address the broad educational context in which they have been developed and applied, and the theoretical bases from which they have evolved.

Tools for democratising the classroom: Bernstein, Vygotsky and Halliday

I will take as a theoretical starting point Bernstein's model of teaching and learning as pedagogic discourse. Bernstein described pedagogic discourse as including two dimensions: "the discourse which creates specialised skills and their relationship to each other as *instructional discourse*, and the moral discourse which creates order, relations and identity [as] *regulative discourse*. . . the instructional discourse is embedded in the regulative discourse, and the regulative discourse is the dominant discourse" (1996, p.46). Crucially Bernstein saw these not as separate entities, but as aspects of a single process: "Often people in schools and in classrooms make a distinction between what they call the transmission of skills and the transmission of values. These are always kept apart as if there were a conspiracy to disguise the fact that there is only one discourse. In my opinion there is only one discourse, not two, because the secret voice of this discourse is to disguise the fact that there is only one" (*ibid.*).

If we accept Bernstein's view, one implication is that the dominant function of pedagogic discourse is not so much transmission of skills and knowledge, which is what we generally assume we are teaching, but rather of 'order, relations and identity'. What then is the nature of this order, these relations and identities? I want to suggest that these are continually apparent to all teachers in all classrooms in every day of our practice. The dominant moral order in our classrooms is one of inequality. Teachers are confronted by this

inequality from the day we first walk into a classroom, ill-prepared by our training to manage it, let alone overcome it. Every one of the teachers we work with in our in service programs, from early years on, report that a minority of learners are consistently able to actively engage in classroom activities, to respond successfully to teacher questions (the primary means by which we interact with our students), and to succeed in assessment tasks. Another group are sometimes able to actively engage, to respond to questions, and achieve average success, while a third group are often unable to engage, rarely respond, and are frequently unsuccessful in tasks. Relations in other words, between learners within every classroom and school, are unequal. As a result the learner identities that are produced and maintained by the moral order of the classroom and school are stratified as successful, average or unsuccessful. This inequality is universally construed at all levels of education, whether overtly or not, as differences in learning 'ability'. The entire educational edifice of assessment, progression and specialisation is predicated on this assumption. The naturalisation of inequality as differences in 'ability' serves to internalise these identities, so that successful learners come to experience schooling as their pathway to the future, while unsuccessful learners eventually come to experience it as irrelevant, even alienating.

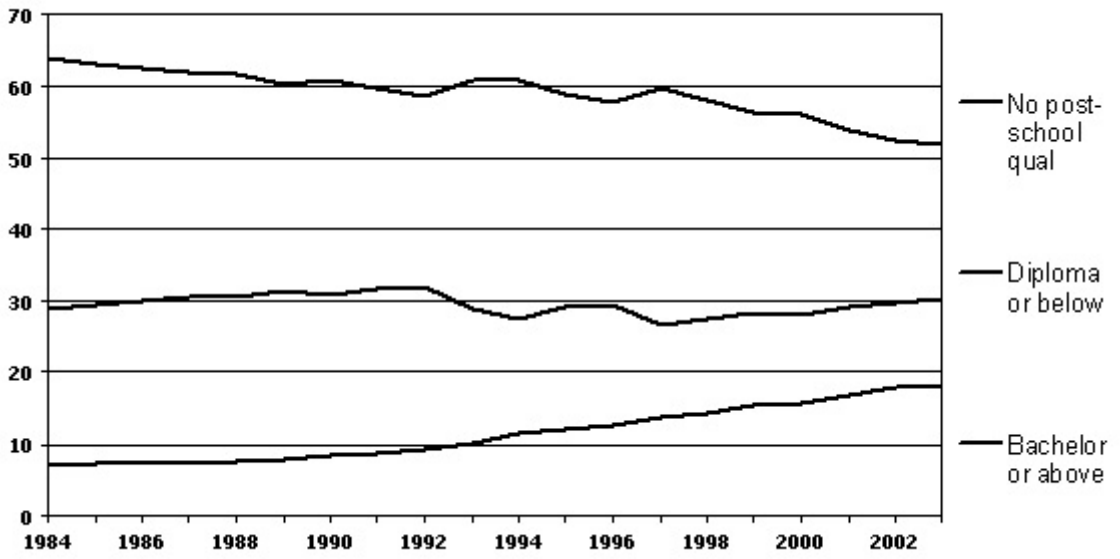
Education and socioeconomic inequality

I now want to propose that this moral order within the classroom, these unequal relations between students, that specialise learner identities as successful, average or unsuccessful, is the primary engine in modern industrial societies for reproducing socioeconomic inequality. In other words the evolved (rather than designed) function of pedagogic discourse in modern education systems is to reproduce an unequal social order. The broad function of instructional discourses embedded in this regulative function is then to specialise occupational roles as 'professional', 'vocational' or 'manual' (Rose, 1998). That is the instructional function of pedagogic discourse is to specialise economic roles, while its regulative function is to naturalise this specialisation by formation of differing learner identities.

This relation drawn between classroom inequality and social hierarchy is materially supported by statistics of educational outcomes. Over the past twenty years there are has been relatively little change in outcomes in Australia, as displayed in Figure 1. The high proportion of Australians with no post-school qualifications has decreased marginally from over 60% to above 50%, while the proportion of those with bachelor or higher degrees has

increased from about 7% to 17%. In between, the proportion with vocational diplomas or lower certificates has remained constant at about 30% (ABS, 1994; 2004). Given the resources poured into the Australian education system over this time, and the energy devoted to educational debates and changing teacher practices, a 10% change in 20 years represents a very slight improvement. Yet even this change is much less than it appears, as a large fraction of increased post-school qualifications are basic certificates and on the job-training, while much of the increase in bachelor degrees represents amalgamation of technical colleges with universities, and reaccredidation of diplomas as degrees.

Figure 1: Educational outcomes in Australia 1984-2004



The constancy of these proportions is significant from two perspectives. One is that they reflect occupational strata in developed economies, with a relatively small professional elite, a larger segment of vocationally trained trades people, and a larger pool of on-the-job trained or unskilled manual workers. The latter unskilled occupational fraction has shrunk drastically in post-Fordist economies (Harvey, 1989), leading to crises such as youth unemployment. The failure of educational outcomes to keep pace with this socioeconomic change has focused attention on literacy in schools, and led to imposition by the state of testing regimes in an effort to force improvements. Secondly they strikingly reflect the proportions of groupings that teachers report in their classrooms, of successful, average and unsuccessful learners. These proportions vary from school to school and region to region, but they

persist despite apparent major changes in prevailing pedagogic practices. The twenty year span of Figure 1 covers a period in which teacher training in Australia has been entirely dominated by the set of practices and philosophies known as progressivism. As progressivist practices are legitimated on principles of access and equity, of inclusiveness and 'learner-centredness', it is ironic that they appear to have had negligible effects on inequality of outcomes for the majority of less advantaged learners in this wealthy nation.

It may be argued that at least outcomes have not gotten worse (as some commentators claim), but for those in the least successful group, our failure to improve outcomes has been an accelerating calamity. This includes those school leavers who would formerly have gone into unskilled manual labour, but today make up the 30–40% of unemployed young people in Australia (and many more in South Africa). Nowhere is this failure more calamitous than in Indigenous Australian communities, who were formerly excluded from educational access by racist policies, and desperately needed rapid improvement in outcomes to gain employment, manage their communities and negotiate with the colonising society. Instead our failure to educate recent generations of Indigenous students has resulted in unemployment rates of 60–90% in many communities, endemic intergenerational welfare dependency, and concomitant social disasters (Pearson, 2002; Rose, 1999). The experience of Indigenous Australian learners with the hegemony of progressivist pedagogy sounds an ominous warning for the many South African educators who have embraced its promise of liberation from authoritarian past practices. From the perspective of actual outcomes this promise now sounds increasingly hollow.[1]

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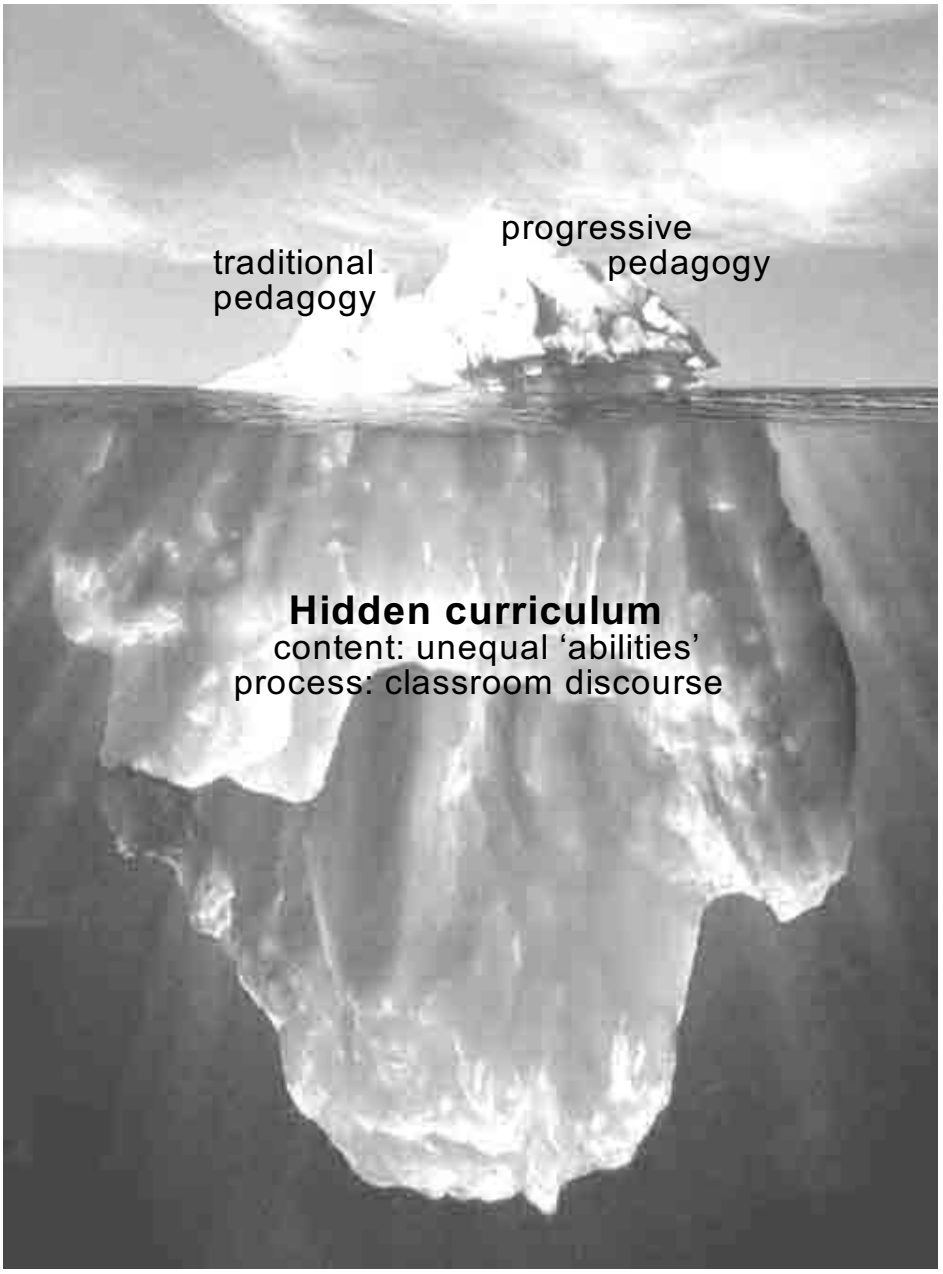
[1] Concern over the outcomes of progressivist pedagogy has been echoed by diverse secondary and tertiary educators I have met around South Africa, who are finding literacy levels deteriorating at a time when they need to be rapidly improving. It is now crucial that we look beyond the seductive rhetoric of progressivism to the reality of its outcomes for the most vulnerable learners. A sceptical eye needs to be cast over the cluster of associated practices and philosophies that oppose explicit teaching of school knowledge and school language in favour of self-discovery, including notions such as 'language experience', 'whole language', 'process writing', 'discovery learning', 'reading circles', 'peer scaffolding', 'social constructivism', and so on. Proponents of these ideas are often consummate persuaders but their primary interest is not in providing equal outcomes for all (cf. Muller, 2000).

The hidden curriculum of reading development

I would like to suggest here that the ideological struggle between progressivist and traditional pedagogies[2] is marginal to the core function of schooling to service the needs of a stratified socioeconomic order, by reproducing occupational specialisation as professional, vocational and manual labour. The engine of this reproduction is not primarily in the overt content of the curriculum, nor in an emphasis on learner-centred or teacher-centred philosophies, but in persistent evolved classroom practices that engage and enable different learners unequally. The term 'hidden curriculum' has been used to refer to positioning of learners through ideologically loaded curriculum (e.g. Muller, 2000), or to 'invisible' forms of control characteristic of progressivist pedagogies (Bernstein, 1996). Here I would like to use the term in a very specific sense to refer to practices that construct, maintain and evaluate inequalities between learners. The content of this hidden curriculum is inequality in students' abilities to participate and perform successfully. The process by which this is achieved is ordinary classroom discourse, including the 'triadic dialogue' of question-response-feedback described by many analysts as endemic to classroom interaction (see further discussion below). The superficiality of the progressive/traditional ideological conflict, supervening on the underlying iceberg of unequal 'abilities', is represented in Figure 2.

2 Bernstein refers to progressive and traditional pedagogies as 'competence' and 'performance' models respectively (1990, 1996, Muller, 2000; Rose, 1999).

Figure 2: Superficiality of progressive/traditional pedagogic conflict



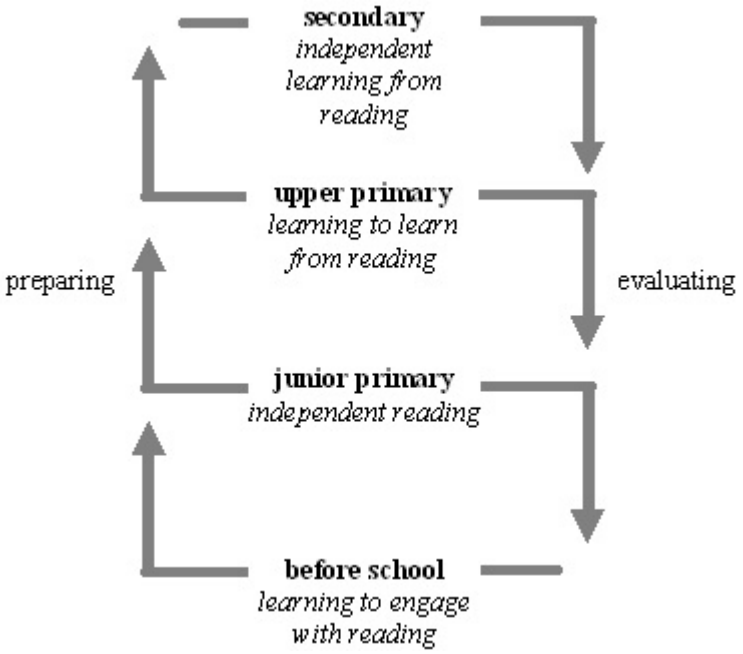
From where does the inequality in 'ability' arise? Few of us now accept that its basis is in biology, in some as yet undiscovered differences in the structures of learners' brains. Rather it is generally accepted as cultural in origin, and specifically in different kinds of preparation and support for the demands of school learning, provided by children's primary socialisation in the home. The most obvious and relevant difference in this respect is in the experience of parent-child reading, of which children in literate middle class families

experience an average of 1000 hours before starting school (Bergin, 2001), whereas those from oral cultural backgrounds may experience little or none. I have suggested that parent-child reading before school is the first stage in a curriculum of reading skills that underlies the content and processes of the overt curriculum in each stage of schooling (Rose, 2004a). Children with this wealth of experience are in a position to benefit most from the next stage of the underlying curriculum – the literacy practices of junior primary teaching (whether these are construed as traditional or progressive), and rapidly learn to become independent readers. It is crucial that these children are independently reading with understanding and engagement by the end of Year 2 or 3, in order to be ready for the next stage of the curriculum in middle to upper primary, in which they learn to learn from reading, and to demonstrate what they have learnt in written assessment tasks. These skills are in turn essential for these learners to be ready for secondary school, in which the fundamental pedagogic mode is through independently learning from reading. Skills in learning from reading are rarely taught explicitly in upper primary or secondary school; rather successful learners acquire them tacitly over years of practising reading and writing the overt curriculum content in class and homework. The accelerating volume of this content in the secondary years forces successful students to develop the skills they will need in tertiary study for independently reading academic texts, and reproducing and interpreting what they have read in assignments.

So each stage of the reading development curriculum, from parent-child reading onwards, prepares learners with the skills they will need for the next stage. But as these skills are not explicitly taught in the following stage, what learners are evaluated on are actually skills they have acquired in the preceding stage. That is junior primary teaching evaluates children on reading orientations they have acquired in the home, upper primary practices evaluate them on independent reading skills acquired in junior primary, and so on. Those learners who have acquired skills in each preceding stage are continually affirmed as ‘able’ in the next stage, while those learners who have not acquired the skills are evaluated as ‘unable’. Evaluation is not simply or primarily through formal assessments, but continues relentlessly in the form of ordinary classroom interaction, in which teachers ask questions of the class that serve to differentiate learners on their ability to respond successfully. By these means, relations between learners are constructed as unequal from the very beginning of schooling, and their identities are continually reinforced as successful, average or unsuccessful. This reading development curriculum

underlying the overt content focused curriculum sequence of schooling is diagrammed here in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Reading development sequence



It must be emphasised that the reading development curriculum has evolved as mass schooling has emerged in stages from earlier systems for preparing elites for professional training; it is not a designed system, there is no conspiracy, and the overwhelming majority of teachers would prefer that all their students were successful. But as it underlies the overt content curriculum, beneath the notice of practitioners, and is acquired tacitly by elite learners, it serves a double function. One is to prepare the successful few for university, the other is ensure that other learners do not acquire the same skills. The first function is achieved by forcing able learners to continually practise reading and writing across the accelerating content curriculum; the second is achieved by not allowing time to teach these reading and writing skills explicitly. However as with Bernstein's pedagogic discourse, this evolved double function is really one, to reproduce a stratified social order. The good news is that it is possible for all learners to rapidly acquire skills in reading and writing at any stage of the curriculum, by teaching them explicitly instead of leaving them for tacit acquisition. It takes successful learners six years each of primary and secondary schooling to acquire these skills, precisely because they are not taught explicitly. But we have demonstrated that they can be acquired by the weakest of secondary students in a year of explicit teaching, with a mere 2 or 3

lessons per week. The *Reading to Learn* strategies are designed to by applied at any point in the reading development sequence, as either repair or part of ordinary teaching practice.

The Vygotskyan model of social learning

Although progressivist philosophies are rhetorically opposed to so-called traditional practices – as learner-centred vs teacher-centred, inclusive vs exclusive, wholistic vs atomistic, discovery vs rote, and so on – they have failed to significantly change outcomes because they share fundamentally the same model of learning that is tacitly assumed in schooling in general. In this model, learning is presumed to happen within individuals in increments as they master one step after another. The incremental learning model did not originate as a theory but as a tacitly held view that appears to have evolved with the vocation of school teaching.[3] That is its context of evolution was a pedagogic discourse that produces unequal order, relations and identities. It can be contrasted with tacit models of learning that underlie other pedagogic domains. Examples include trades training, where apprentices are expected to emerge with a common set of vocational skills and identities, and are explicitly supported to achieve these outcomes, from the 'outside in', by repeated modelling and practice (Gamble, 2003); or in the home where children are expected to acquire a common set of linguistic and cultural skills and identities, and are explicitly supported by their parents to acquire them through repeated modelling and practice (Painter, 1984; 1996; 1998; 2004).

As teaching became professionalised the incremental learning model was theoretically legitimated and formalised in Piagetian child psychology which privileges relations between learning and innate developmental stages, i.e. that learning takes place from the 'inside out' (Piaget, 1928). On the other hand the Piagetian model of innate development did lead to rejection of evolved traditional teaching practices that were construed as teacher dominated, i.e. from the 'outside in'. Instead learners are given tasks matching their assessed 'ability' level, and learning is assumed to occur as individuals do these activities. This model demands that learners are continually evaluated to assess their readiness for advancement. In traditional practices these assessments may inform and legitimate streaming into different 'ability' classes. In progressivist practices they may inform individuated learning activities that differentiate

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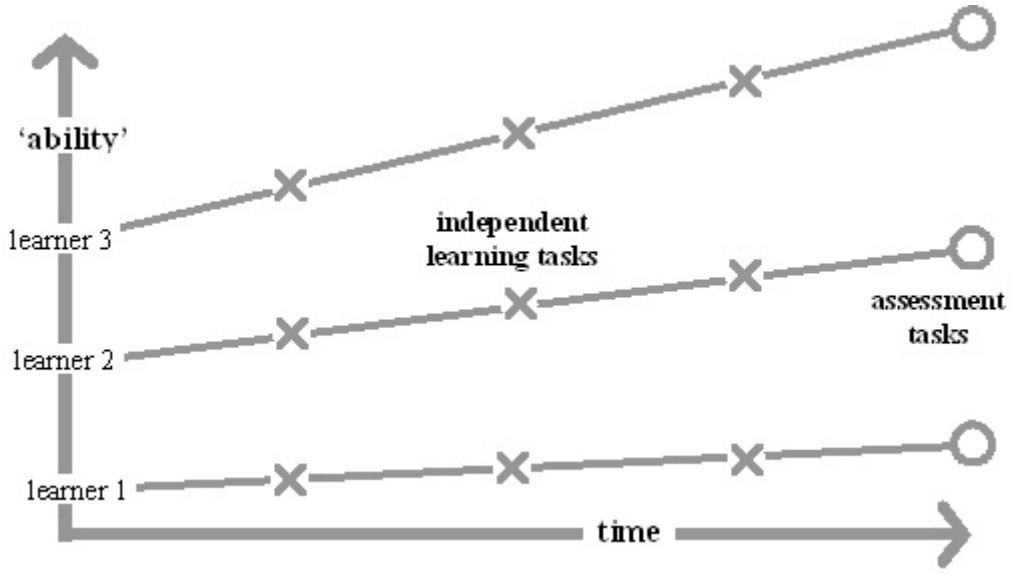
3 The origin of the incremental learning model may be associated with the medieval approach to teaching classical languages, beginning with the smallest units of syntax and building up in prescribed steps.

learners within classes, and this hierarchical differentiation is then legitimated as 'learner-centred'. The incremental learning model is schematised in Figure 4, in which learners complete a series of independent tasks at their various 'ability' levels, leading to summative assessment tasks. As the rate of development of less successful learners cannot exceed the rate of more successful learners, this model ensures that the 'ability' gap can never be closed.

Figure 4: Incremental learning model: unequal outcomes



In such an individuated view of learning, teaching is wholly constrained by the independent competence of the learner. If some learners fail where others succeed, there is little teachers can do beyond individual 'remediation'. Since learning is assumed to occur through independent activity, and assessment is continuous, learning activities and assessment tasks are not clearly differentiated. What teachers perceive as learning activities, learners may perceive as evaluation tasks, particularly those learners who are least successful. Thus all manner of activities, from formal reading and writing tasks, through maths and other short exercises, to the question-response-feedback routines of classroom interaction, all serve to produce and maintain learner identities as more or less successful, no matter what their instructional intent.

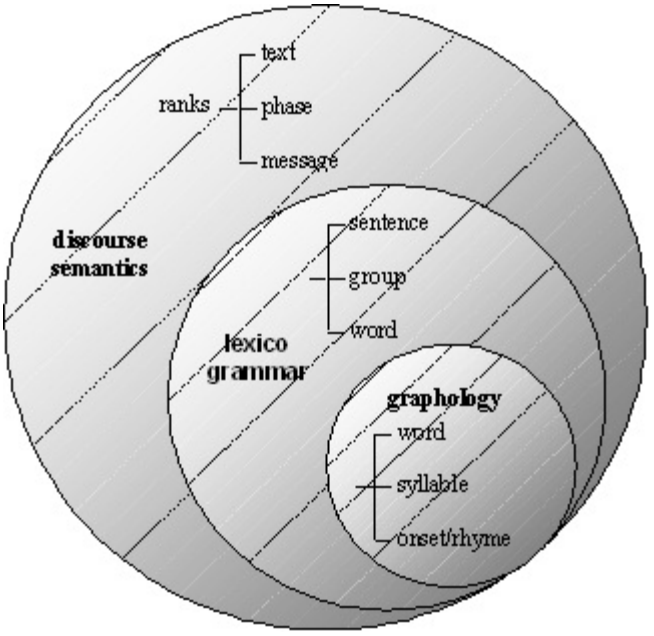
An entirely different view of learning is the Vygotskyan model (Vygotsky, 1978; 1981), which claims that learning takes place in the 'zone' between what learners can do independently and what they can do with the support of a teacher. We can apply this view to reflect on traditional and progressive pedagogies which depend on learners' independent competence. In teacher-centred modes this can take the form of presenting information to learners and relying on them to assimilate and use it independently. In learner-centred modes a context is provided in which learners are expected to 'discover' concepts for themselves. But in the Vygotskyan view learning takes place in both modes only insofar as learners are supported by a teacher or by a text that mediates the teacher's support. Teacher-centred activities clearly provide sufficient support for some learners to acquire the information presented, but insufficient support for others. Learner-centred activities provide a modicum of support for all learners, but the level of task is higher for some and lower for others. Both sets of practices advantage more advanced learners, as they are pitched just beyond their independent competence. Both also disadvantage less advanced learners: teacher-centred ones because they are too far beyond their independent competence and provide insufficient support to bridge the gap; learner-centred ones because they 'dumb down' tasks below the levels achieved by more successful learners, so that their rate of incremental development falls further and further behind that of the more successful learners.

In contrast to both these sets of practices, the Vygotskyan model suggests that a teacher can potentially support learners to operate at a high level no matter what their independent ability. The *Learning to Read: Reading to Learn* pedagogy assumes this possibility, but takes it further to support all learners in a class to simultaneously operate at the same high level. In this model the teacher is neither simply an authority presenting information, nor simply a facilitator managing a learning context, but a guide providing what Bruner has called 'scaffolding' (first in Woods, Bruner and Ross, 1976; cf. Mercer, 2000; Wells, 1999). In the *Reading to Learn* methodology, scaffolding supports all learners to do the same high level tasks, but provides the greatest support for the weakest learners. Rather than developing in incremental steps, learners acquire independent competence through repeated practice with high level tasks, and the scaffolding support is gradually withdrawn as learners take control. This then is the principle by which an unequal moral order can be transformed into a democratic classroom, where successful learner identities can be distributed equally to all students.

The Hallidayan language model and reading

The goal of democratising the classroom is not a utopian dream. It is basic practice in the *Reading to Learn* program, made possible by the contribution of Halliday's functional model of language to understanding and so explicitly teaching the tasks of reading and writing across curricula (Halliday, 1975; 1978; 1993). Central to Halliday's theory is the notion of **realisation**, where meaning is realised as wording (i.e. 'expressed/ symbolised/ manifested'), and wording is realised as sounding or lettering. Theories of reading in early schooling tend to be polarised between those that focus on comprehension of meaning, often advocating 'immersion' of learners in whole texts ('whole language'), versus those that advocate explicit teaching of sound-letter correspondences, followed by words, phrases and sentences ('phonics' and 'basal readers'). In Halliday's stratified model of language, this polarisation dissolves into different perspectives on the same phenomenon, from the stratum 'above' of meaning or **discourse semantics**, and from the stratum 'below' of sounding and lettering or **phonology**/**graphology** (Halliday 1996). It is the stratum between, of wording or **lexicogrammar**, that is typically conceived as what we are reading, since the written page consists of words organised into sentences. The acrimony in reading theory is over whether it is primarily 'decoding' sequences of letters, or 'predicting' sequences of meanings, that enables us to read words. The answer flowing from the Hallidayan functional model is of course both. Layers of structure in these three language strata are represented schematically in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Complexity of the reading task by strata and rank



The medium of expression, of sounding versus lettering, is an obvious difference between speaking and writing, so explicit teaching of reading has traditionally started with teaching the graphic medium. But Halliday (1989) has also shown us significant grammatical differences between spoken and written modes of meaning, between the 'recursive' structures typical of speech and 'crystalline' structures typical of written sentences. Essential for recognising these differences is his model of grammatical ranks: while a written sentence may appear visually as a string of words, its meanings are also organised in intermediate ranks of word groups or phrases. For example the sentence *A frog was swimming in a pond after a rainstorm* consists of four word groups, denoting who its about, what they were doing, where and when. Where lexical 'content words' tend to be sparsely strung out in speech, in writing they are densely packed into groups within each sentence, as well as into technical and abstract words. The practice of packing complex meanings into abstract wordings is known as grammatical metaphor (Halliday, 1994; Martin and Rose, 2003; Rose, 2000b). Where experienced readers are able to automatically process such lexical density, inexperienced readers may labour to 'unpack' dense wordings, often without success.

Likewise, a word appears visually as a string of letters, but these are actually organised in intermediate ranks of syllables and their components. A layer of structure above the letter is acknowledged in phonics approaches to reading, as letter 'blends' that are drilled in lists of sound-letter correspondences. But the sounds associated with letter patterns in English vary with the particular word in which they occur (the 'ough' pattern is one obvious example), and with their structural position in the syllable, as onset (e.g. 'thr-') or rhyme (e.g. '-ough'). The entire English spelling system is thus very complex, but like all language systems consists of regular predictable contrasts (Mountford, 1998). These can be learnt, not from drilling sound-letter paradigms and sounding out words, but only from recognising recurrent instances in meaningful discourse, as we learn language in general. Experienced readers recognise words by visually processing letter patterns, whereas weak readers often struggle to sound out words letter-by-letter, a strategy encouraged by phonics approaches.

But it is not through processing letter patterns alone that we recognise written words; while the spelling system is complex, the systems of meaning that wordings realise are immeasurably more so, and it is equally our experience of these systems that enables us to read. Again there are intermediate layers of structure in the discourse semantic stratum, between the sentence and the text, in particular the stages that different genres go through to achieve their purposes, as well as shorter phases of meaning within each stage that are more

variable. Examples of such phases include episodes in a short story, as well characters' reactions, descriptions and so on. And aside from stages and phases, there are other kinds of structure in written discourse, including links between people, things and places from sentence to sentence, varieties of logical relations between their activities, and swelling and diminishing attitudes, all packaged within waves of information (see Martin and Rose, 2003, in press 2006; Rose, in press 2006 for accessible introductions to these discourse patterns). Experienced readers continually recognise, predict and recall written patterns of meaning, whereas inexperienced readers cannot recognise patterns they are unfamiliar with, and so cannot read with comprehension.[4]

A literacy pedagogy for democratising the classroom

How can we support all learners to manage such complexity when reading and writing? Phonics and basal reader approaches attempt to simplify the task by treating the language system as though it were 'bricks-&-mortar',[5] building up from smallest to larger units, from letters to blends to words, then through hierarchies of basal reading books, from single words to word groups to sentences. Whole language approaches attempt to avoid complexity by

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4 This is a richer interpretation of reading than can be offered by cognitive reading theories, because it is grounded in large scale detailed analyses of how language actually makes meaning, rather than hypotheses of how the mind/brain works. In contrast cognitive theories are necessarily speculative, as 'mind' can only be observed indirectly through behaviour. Cognitive theories may converge with the model presented here insofar as they advocate strategies based on observation of successful reading behaviour, and because they are working with the same phenomenon – language. The major difference is that they skirt around this phenomenon, touching on it at certain points, but at the heart of their discourse there lies a vacuum left by the absence of an articulated theory of language in social context. The same absence lies in the discourse of 'New Literacies' theorists, whose perspectives tend to the social rather than cognitive (e.g. Gee 1998; Street 1999), but who lack a detailed understanding of the object of their expertise – language – and how to actually teach it.

5 Halliday (1996) critiques structuralist language models, on which phonics and related literacy approaches are based, as 'bricks-&-mortar'. These models, derived from Aristotelian grammatics, are focused on forms rather than meaning, beginning with letters/phonemes that make up words, which make up sentences, which make up texts. So some literacy approaches insist on learners knowing 'sounds' before they can learn to 'decode' words, others insist they build up 'vocabulary' before they can learn to read texts. These approaches are popular in remedial programs but do not enable many learners to read beyond basic levels.

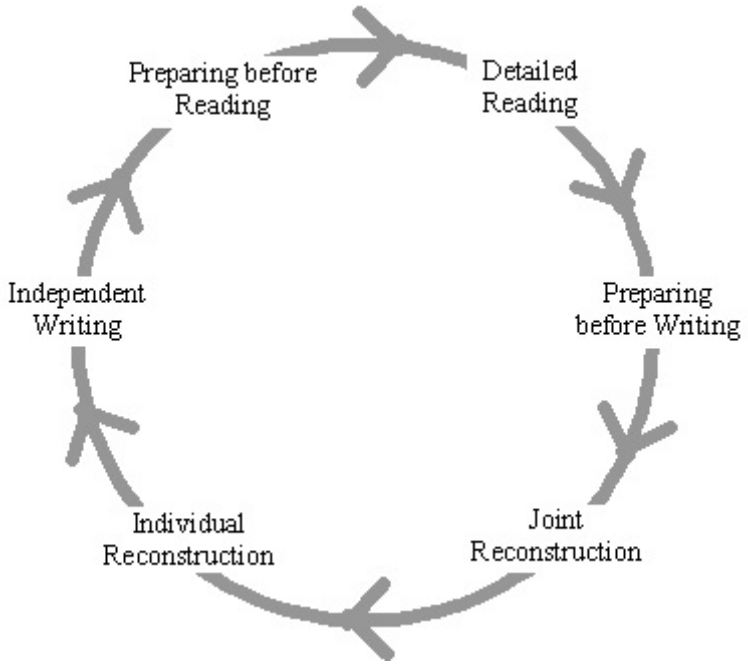
treating texts as undifferentiated lakes of meaning for learners to immerse in. But the Hallidayan language model enables us to systematically deconstruct the complexity of the reading and writing task and support learners to practise each component in turn, but always starting with meaning.

This is achieved in the *Reading to Learn* approach through a six stage curriculum cycle. The first stage, *Preparing before Reading*, reduces complexity by providing support at the levels of both discourse and graphology. It enables learners to follow the words of a text as it is read aloud, by the teacher first orally summarising its overall sequence of meanings, in terms all learners can understand. As a result they need not struggle to work out what is going on in the text, nor to decode unfamiliar words, as they listen to the words read aloud. General understanding of the text then provides a foundation for the key stage of *Detailed Reading* when learners must read the wordings themselves, but this task is made easy by reading a short passage sentence-by-sentence, with the support of meaning cues provided by the teacher. These cues enable learners to actively identify wordings from their meanings, and so to apply what they learn to other texts. *Detailed Reading* enables all learners to read the passage with full comprehension and accuracy, and provides the foundation for the third stage of *Preparing before Writing*. This stage varies with the type of text and level of schooling: with story texts in primary years it may involve manipulating sentences on cardboard strips, followed by practice in spelling and fluent writing; with factual texts at all levels it involves making notes from the text, in which spelling can also be practised. The movement through these three stages is thus 'top-down', from overall meanings in text, through wordings in sentences, to letter patterns in words.

The next three stages then move back up to construct patterns of meaning in new texts. The fourth stage is *Joint Reconstruction* of the text, in which the teacher guides the class to write a new text, with all learners taking turns to scribe on the class board. With story texts, *Joint Reconstruction* uses the same literate language patterns as the original passage, with new content – events, characters, settings and so on. This supports learners to use the literary resources of the accomplished author they have learnt to read, and apply them to a new story. With factual texts, *Joint Reconstruction* uses the same content as the original text, via the notes scribed from it, but the new text is written in wordings that are closer to what the learners might use themselves in assignments. In the fifth stage *Individual Reconstruction*, learners use the text patterns or notes they have practised using with the class to write a text of their own. Again with stories this involves the same text patterns with new

content, while factual texts involve the same content with new wordings. Skills developed through each of these supportive stages finally lead to an *Independent Writing* task on which learners can be assessed. These writing activities flowing from detailed reading extend and intensify the approach of genre-based writing pedagogies (Cope and Kalantzis, 1993; Macken-Horarik, 2002; Martin, 1993, 1999; Martin and Painter, 1986; Martin and Rose, 2005; Rothery, 1989, 1996). This six stage curriculum cycle is schematised in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Learning to read: reading to learn curriculum cycle



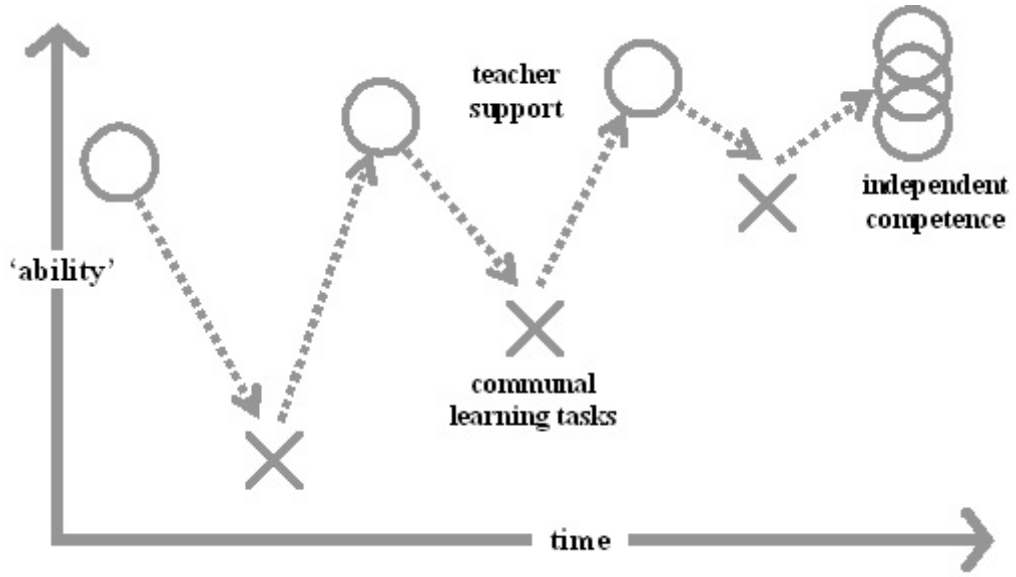
This curriculum model resonates with and recursively puts into practice Vygotsky's social model of learning:

> Any function in the [learner]'s cultural development appears twice, or on two planes. First it appears on the social plane, and then on the psychological plane. First it appears between people as an inter-psychological category, and then within the [learner] as an intra-psychological category (1981, p.163).

In each stage of the *Reading to Learn* cycle, one or more components of reading and writing tasks are practised first as a communal activity, with the teacher as authoritative guide, and then as an individual activity. This interactive process is schematised in Figure 7. The level of support provided by the teacher is initially well beyond the independent competence of the weakest learners, such as the text synopsis provided in *Preparation before*

Reading, but this enables all learners to do the first task, such as listening with general comprehension as the text is read aloud. The 'inter-psychological' synopsis provided by the teacher thus becomes the learners' 'intra-psychological' understanding of the text's field. The teacher can then provide support for a more complex task, such as the preparations in *Detailed Reading* that enable all learners to identify wordings for themselves. The teacher's preparations, grounded in a shared understanding of the field, thus become the learners' recognition of each wording. Likewise, writing tasks are first practised jointly with the teacher's guidance, and then independently. In each successive stage, the complexity of the learning task increases, and the gap between the most and least successful learners decreases, so that they are ultimately able to do the same high level assessment task, with comparable success.[6]

Figure 7: Scaffolded learning model, equitable outcomes



In the following sections, the *Learning to Read: Reading to Learn* strategies are outlined for reading and writing in early years, for stories in middle school years, and for factual texts at primary, secondary or tertiary levels.

Reading and writing in early years

[6] The scaffolded learning process of repeated successful supported practice also resonates with our current understanding of brain functioning (Edelman & Tononi 2000), in which conceptual processing is reinforced and expanded through repeated experience associated with positive affect.

Learning to Read strategies in the early years of schooling capitalise on the standard junior primary practice of *Shared Reading* (Rose, 2004b). In this activity the teacher reads a children's book to learners repeatedly over 2 or 3 weeks, explaining it and engaging them until they understand it and can say almost every word in the story, or part of it. Commonly a big book is used which enables the teacher to point to the words as she and the children say them together, illustrated in Figure 8. The *Shared Reading* activity is partly modelled on parent-child reading practices, in which books are read repeatedly until children know them intimately. It serves to engage children in the pleasure of reading, a pleasure that derives from the communal activity with the teacher as surrogate parent, affirming, supporting and encouraging the children.

Figure 8: Shared reading

Shared Reading is unquestionably the most valuable standard activity in junior primary for preparing children to become readers, as it tunes them into the joy of reading for pleasure and constructs shared identities as participants in reading as meaningful communication. For learners from literate family backgrounds it reinforces the experience of parent-child reading, contributing to their rapid development as independent readers. For children from oral family backgrounds it introduces them to these pleasures and identities for the first time. But then there is a gap. As the teacher reads the big book, pointing to the words, children with a developed concept of the printed word as communication, from experience of reading along with their parents, are soon

able to recognise the words as the teacher points. But children without this experience are frequently unable to recognise the communicative function of the printed words, to relate the printed objects to the spoken words they are reciting. For many of these children, concomitant activities teaching the alphabet and sound-letter correspondences have no effect, as they do not have a sufficient meaning base to apply these abstract symbols to recognising their function in expressing meaning. In Indigenous community schools in central Australia, where parent-child reading does not occur, we found that no children had learnt to read before Year 3, and most were still on basal readers at the end of primary school (Rose, Gray and Cowey, 1999). Some form of this problem undoubtedly occurs in many contexts, where the home culture is oral rather than literate or where parent-child reading is not a regular activity (cf. Williams, 1999 on differences between middle and working class orientations to parent-child reading).

This gap is a terrible waste of opportunity to make all children successful engaged readers, which could then give them sound preparation for learning from reading in upper primary, and so to succeed in secondary school. The gap results from our failure to train junior primary teachers in techniques to teach children from oral backgrounds to recognise the words they are reading, and so to independently read the books used in shared reading. Yet these techniques are very simple, and are developed from strategies often used by experienced primary teachers in the past, that were abandoned as progressivist philosophy took over early childhood teacher training, and vilified them as rote learning.

As *Shared Reading* constitutes the curriculum stage of preparing for reading in early years, the next stage of detailed reading involves supporting children in *Recognising Words*. Here the first sentence of the story they know thoroughly is written out on a cardboard strip. The teacher and children then point at each word as they say them together, until each child can read the sentence accurately, pointing at and saying the words. This may initially involve the teacher pointing at the words as they jointly read the sentence 2 or 3 times, then holding the child's hand as they point and read again 2 or 3 times, before the child is able to point and say the words themselves, as shown in Figure 9. With these simple strategies on a well known sentence, accurate reading can be achieved in a matter of minutes, even with children who previously had no concept of words. In large classes, children simply take turns to point at the words with the strip on an easel, as the whole class recites them.

Figure 9: Recognising words

Once they can read the sentence accurately, the teacher asks children to point out particular words, then to cut off these words or groups of words, put them back in the sentence, and read it again. The cut up words can then be mixed up, so that learners put them back together, and read the sentence again. These activities firstly support young children to recognise the relation between written words as material objects and the meanings they express, and secondly to recognise graphic differences between each word in the sequence of meanings in a sentence. At this stage they need not recognise the spelling patterns of each word, but can differentiate them by visual cues such as first and last letters, supported by the sequence of the sentence.[7]

Once all children can recognise words in and out of the sentence, they are ready for the next stage of *Spelling*, as a first step from reading to preparing for writing. Here the teacher shows learners how to cut up a word into its letter patterns, including syllables and onset and rhyme patterns. Children then practise writing each letter pattern on slates (small white or black boards), before practising to write the whole word, shown in Figure 10. At each step, they observe the letter pattern or word, write it from memory, and then check for themselves if they are correct, in order to encourage self-correction.

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7 Sentence Making techniques resemble strategies used in the *Breakthrough to Literacy* program (Mackay, Thompson, Schaub, 1978), but use known sentences from reading books, rather than composing new ones. They also resemble strategies used in the *Reading Recovery* program (Clay, 1994), but this is an incremental learning program with over 20 assessed levels.

Repeated practice of letter patterns and whole words, whose meanings they are thoroughly familiar with, rapidly enables young children to remember how to spell them. The practise with letter patterns then enables them to transfer this knowledge to recognising other words.

Figure 10: Spelling letter patterns

The sequence of acquisition is thus from meaning to wording to lettering, the reverse of incremental learning models, that treat written language compositionally as letters making up words making up sentences. In contrast, the *Learning to Read* approach does not depend on the ability to name or sound out letters of the alphabet, but takes meaning in context as the starting point for teaching the components of the reading task in manageable steps. On the same principle, accurate letter formation can also be taught in the context of spelling, as the teacher demonstrates and learners practise on their slates.

When learners can automatically spell the main words in the sentence they can jointly reconstruct the whole sentence on their slates, with the teacher supporting by writing words not spelt and the children writing the words they know. The sentence can then be rubbed out and practised again until each child can independently reconstruct the whole sentence. The entire process can then be repeated for the next sentence, and so on until they are able to independently read and write whole paragraphs. Eventually the class can begin to practise writing new stories patterned on the stories they have been reading. This technique is described below for stories in the middle years.

Stories in the middle years

Techniques for reading and writing stories in primary and junior secondary school support learners to read with engagement and enjoyment, to develop identities as readers, and to recognise and use literate language patterns in their own writing (Rose, 2004b). In the first stage, *Preparing before Reading*, the story or part of it is read aloud with the class, but learners are first prepared to follow the words with understanding, by giving them the background knowledge they need to access it, by telling them what the story is about, and by summarising the sequence in which it unfolds.

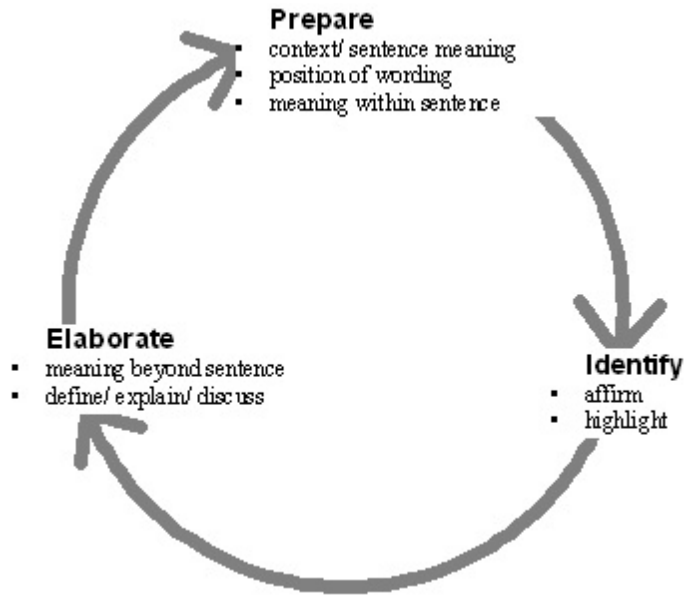
Learners' understanding of the overall meanings of a text then provides a sound context for recognising the more detailed meanings within each sentence in the *Detailed Reading* stage. At this stage of the pedagogy, students can begin to read the wordings for themselves, but the complexity of this task is alleviated by selecting a short passage and reading it sentence-by-sentence, while providing adequate support for all learners to recognise wordings from the perspective of their meaning. This involves three preparation cues: firstly a paraphrase or summary of the meaning of the whole sentence in commonsense terms; secondly a position cue that tells learners where to look for the wording; and thirdly the meaning of the wording in general or commonsense terms. Learners then have to reason from the meaning cue to the actual wording on the page, and so identify and then highlight the wording, as shown in Figure 11.

Figure 11: Detailed reading

Once they have successfully identified a wording, learners are prepared for an elaboration of its meaning, by defining technical or literate wordings, by explaining new concepts or metaphors, or by discussing students' relevant experience. In general the distinction between the meanings used for preparing to identify wordings, and the elaborations that follow, is between local meanings within the sentence and more abstract meanings beyond the sentence. The local meaning cue gives all learners initial access to the wording, but the elaboration explores its meaning in depth. Through this double move learners gain control of the total complexity of language patterns in the text, but in manageable steps. The interactive process of detailed reading allows every learner to read a grade appropriate text with fluency and comprehension, no matter what their independent reading level.

We have termed the cycle of preparing, identifying and elaborating the **scaffolding interaction cycle**, diagrammed in Figure 12. This cycle formally describes the micro-interactions involved in parent-child reading (Rose, 2000a). The formal description enables teachers to carefully plan a discussion around the language features in a text, to think through which language features will be focused on at each step, how the teacher will prepare students to identify them, and how they will elaborate on them.

Figure 12: Detailed reading interaction cycle



The scaffolding cycle systematically renovates the 'triadic dialogue' or 'IRF' (Initiation-Response-Feedback) pattern, described by Nassaji and Wells (2000) among many others as endemic to classroom discourse. But there are three crucial differences between the typical IRF classroom pattern and scaffolding interactions. Firstly the initial scaffolding move is not simply a question eliciting a response from learners, but consistently *prepares* all learners to respond successfully; secondly the followup move is not simply feedback that evaluates or comments on responses, but consistently *elaborates* on shared knowledge about text features; and thirdly responses are always affirmed, whereas responses that are inadequately prepared in IRF discourse are frequently negated or ignored. By these means I suggest that IRF has evolved as the invisible central motor of classroom inequality that continually but imperceptibly differentiates learners on their ability to respond, from the first to last years of schooling. In contrast scaffolding interactions are explicitly designed to enable all students in a class to always respond successfully. One of the greatest difficulties teachers find in our in service training is shifting from habituated IRF discourse to preparing each move, i.e. from continually demanding to giving information. This is because IRF discourse is not directly taught in teacher training, but is habituated through twelve or more years of our socialisation as learners in classrooms, a minimum 12 000 hours of intensive conditioning that can be very hard to undo.

Following *Detailed Reading*, activities that then prepare for writing include *Sentence Making*, *Spelling,* and *Sentence Writing*. As in the early years, *Sentence Making* involves writing sentences on cardboard strips, but at this level using a whole selected paragraph. The teacher guides learners to identify and cut out wordings, using same discussion as for *Detailed Reading*, but less preparation is now needed for them to identify words and groups, and these can be elaborated with more detail and discussion. In groups learners take turns to cut up sentences into phrases, and then words, put them back together, mix them up, rearrange them and construct new sentences with the cards. *Sentence Making* has three broad functions: it intensifies the identification and discussion of meanings and wordings from *Detailed Reading*, it enables learners to manipulate wordings to create meaningful sequences without the added load of writing, and as individual words are cut out they can be used to practise spelling. In *Sentence Making* activities the learners are taking greater control of the reading and writing process, whether in groups (shown in Figure 13) or individually. The scaffolding movement from 'outside-in' is thus from whole class with teacher guidance, to group practice, to independence.

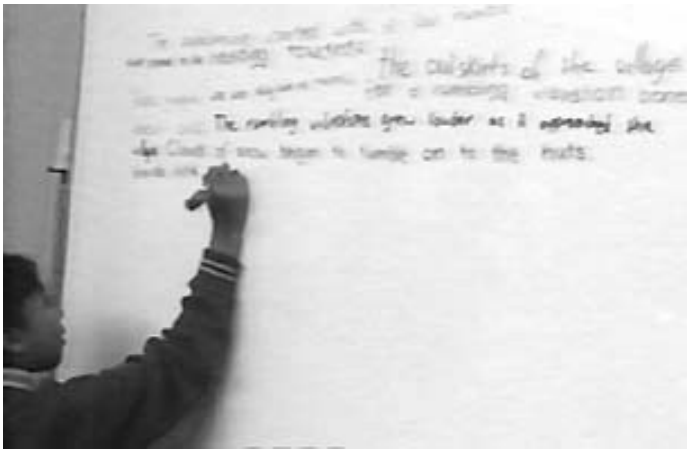
Figure 13: Sentence making in groups

Spelling activities are essentially the same as those described for early reading. Learners can cut up words into syllables, onsets and rhymes and practise writing them on slates, using the standard practice of look-cover-write-check. Once all learners can automatically spell most of the words in the paragraph, they can practise writing the whole paragraph from memory on their slates. The value of this *Sentence Writing* activity is that they are supported to practise fluently writing long stretches of meaningful text, without the load of inventing a story for themselves. To support them to do so, most of the words

in the paragraph are turned over, leaving only a few items such as sentence beginnings and grammatical words, as a framework to help them recall the sequence of meanings. When they have finished writing, the words can be turned back over for them to check their wording and spelling for themselves.

The next stage involves reconstructing the text patterns of the passage used for *Detailed Reading*, with new events, characters, settings and so on. This *Text Patterning* begins with the whole class as a joint activity before moving to independent writing. The first step is to read the whole passage again and reiterate the discussion of its global structures and key features. The class then brainstorms new story elements, the teacher scribes all ideas on the board or paper sheets for later use, and the class votes on which ideas will be used for the joint story. In the joint writing process learners take turns to scribe (shown in Figure 14), but the whole class thinks of what to write and how to say it, closely following the original text patterns. This activity supports all learners to use the literate language of the accomplished author they have been reading, at the same time as creating a new story. Independent writing then involves using the same text patterns again, but with individual stories, using and expanding ideas discussed with the class. As with all other stages of the curriculum cycle, some students will be able to do this activity more independently, enabling the teacher to provide support for weaker writers in the class.

Figure 14: Text patterning with stories



Factual texts

Techniques for reading and writing factual texts can be used at any level, from primary to tertiary study, in any curriculum area. They support learners to develop skills in reading texts with understanding, identifying key information, selecting information for notes, and using it to write texts of their own. Along the way they also develop skills in interpreting and critiquing both the content of texts and how they are constructed (Rose, 2004c).

As with stories, the first stage is *Preparing before Reading*, but this may include more extensive exploration of the overall field, as the text is typically embedded in curriculum topic. Again the teacher summarises the topic of the text and the sequence in which it unfolds, in words all learners can understand, but also using some of the terms in the text for learners to key into as it is read aloud. During and after reading, key terms and concepts may also be briefly explained. In *Detailed Reading*, meaning cues are more often paraphrases of technical or abstract wordings. These may draw from commonsense, or from previously built up knowledge in the field. Elaborations will tend to be definitions of technical terms, explanations of new concepts or discussion building on students' field knowledge.

In the *Note Making* stage students take turns to scribe, on the class board as a dot-point list, the wordings that have been highlighted during detailed reading, illustrated in Figure 15. At this point the students take over control, as the class dictates wordings and spellings that they can all read, prompted by the teacher where necessary. This stage provides many opportunities to practise spelling (and pronunciation), and to further discuss the field and organisation of the text.

Figure 15: Note Making from factual texts

When one side of the board has been filled with notes, students take turns to scribe a new text on the other side. The teacher now steps in to support the class, firstly by pointing out discourse patterns and other key elements in the notes. This preparation before writing gives students the general framework of genre and field within which to rewrite the text. The teacher then prepares students to imagine new texts, by drawing attention to notes, suggesting alternative wordings, and further discussing the field. Now instead of identifying literate wordings from commonsense cues, students select more commonsense paraphrases for the literate wordings in the notes. Then the teacher may elaborate by rephrasing the selection, supporting them to check issues such grammar, letter cases, punctuation or spelling, and encouraging critical discussion of the way the original author constructed the field, and how they may reconstruct it. Such high level critical analysis is possible because of the supported practice in deconstructing and reconstructing meanings at all levels of the text. The scaffolding interaction cycle is thus employed for supporting writing, in the form of prepare-select-elaborate. Following the whole class joint construction, the text can be rubbed off and students can practise writing their own text from the same notes, in groups and individually, as a step towards independent research.

Conclusion: resources for scaffolding reading and writing

This has been the merest sketch of some the literacy teaching strategies developed in the *Learning to Read: Reading to Learn* project. (Training videos that explain the strategies in more detail are listed in the references below.) As the research has expanded, involving more teachers in more educational domains, the possibilities have continued to open up. Each development has occurred through examining the nature of the learning task, using the functional language model, and devising ways to support all learners to practise each component of the task, using the social learning model. The strategies applied depend on the degree of scaffolding support required by the learners for the task, at each stage of a lesson sequence and learning program.

We have then an expanding repertoire of resources for scaffolding that can be arranged on a cline, from least to most supportive. Least supportive teaching practices include not reading in class, not preparing students to read, using inappropriate texts for readings, and not modelling writing tasks. More support can be provided simply by selecting appropriate texts in curriculum planning, for learners to read independently, on the criteria of **genre** (readings that model the kinds of text we want learners to write), **field** (using key texts in the topic under study, or in fields of interest to learners), **mode** (i.e. the level of literate or technical language) and **ideology** (whether the message of the text is worth reading). The next level of support for independent reading can be provided by preparing before reading, including the background (overall field), what the text's about (text field) and what happens in the text (how the field unfolds through it).

More supportive again is to jointly read texts in the class, paragraph-by-paragraph, with learners taking turns to read. Scaffolding support can be provided for this by preparing with a brief synopsis of the paragraph before reading, so enabling all learners to understand as it is read, and then elaborating after reading with definitions, explanations or discussion of key elements, where necessary. That is the scaffolding interaction cycle of prepare-task-elaborate is applied to each paragraph in joint reading. The combination of preparing the whole text, and then jointly reading the first few pages can be enough for many learners to read the remainder with high comprehension. Support can then be intensified for joint reading by highlighting the word groups realising key information in each paragraph. Learners can be shown how to systematically identify key information, including the paragraph topic in the first or second sentence, its point towards

the end, and other key elements where required. These highlighted wordings can then be written as notes, and learners can be supported to write summaries from the notes, and to use them in the construction of new texts drawing on multiple sources.

More support is provided for reading a short passage sentence-by-sentence using the detailed reading strategies discussed above, preparing with sentence meanings, position and meaning cues, and elaborating on each identified wording. Together with preparing the whole text (and joint reading where appropriate), detailed reading of a selected passage can enable learners to read the whole text with high comprehension. It also forms the basis for joint and individual reconstruction of the passage, that in turn enables independent writing. Sentence making, spelling and sentence writing activities then provide the highest level of support for weaker and beginning readers and writers, manipulating and writing just one or two sentences or paragraphs. These six degrees of scaffolding support are set out as follows:

1. Selecting appropriate texts – according to genre, field, mode, ideology
2. Preparation before reading (whole text)
3. Paragraph-by-paragraph reading (eg. chapter/article)
4. Paragraph-by-paragraph text marking (key information)
5. Detailed reading (sentence-by-sentence text marking) (half to one page)
6. Sentence making, spelling & sentence writing (one or two paragraphs)

This set of scaffolding literacy resources can be drawn on at various levels in the education sequence, from early primary to tertiary study. The first two are recommended as part of normal teaching practice in undergraduate classes, to prepare students for academic readings. Strategies 1-5 are recommended as part of normal practice in primary and secondary classrooms, and in tertiary preparation and support programs. The last can be used in early to middle primary as part of everyday practice, and in upper primary and secondary where students need additional support. All these strategies can be applied across curricula to enable learners from any language or cultural background to learn to read with understanding and enjoyment, to use reading for learning, and to write successfully. For these reasons they are uniquely useful to the needs of the great diversity of learners in the South African education system, and to a democratic society in which education offers all its citizens equal opportunities for a better life.

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Redress and reconciliation in South African education: the case for a rights-based approach

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Abstract

The Bantu Education Act has been described by Archbishop Desmond Tutu as "the most evil of all pieces of apartheid legislation". Following a recent call for a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) for education in South Africa, numerous questions arise not only about the possibility but also about the plausibility, content and aims of such a commissioned investigation. This paper examines the epistemological, ethical and political ramifications of this approach. It argues that, given a certain ambiguity in the meaning of the term and given certain problems in the TRC process, the possibility and plausibility of such redress depend to some extent on a suitable 'running partner' for the idea and the process of reconciliation. After discussing and dismissing several such 'partner' ideas and principles, like *ubuntu* or *botho*, communalism and the common good, this paper examines and defends a rights-based approach that establishes rights as the backbone of redress and reconciliation as its heart.

Introduction

The Bantu Education Act has been described by Archbishop Desmond Tutu as "the most evil of all pieces of apartheid legislation". The deliberately inferior education for black South Africans was designed and introduced by Hendrik Verwoerd. Its essence is contained in the following words by the architect of apartheid education:

> The school must equip the Bantu to meet the demands which the economic life will impose on him. . . What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? . . .Education must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life. . . (*Illustrated history of South Africa*, 1988; quoted in Tutu, 1999, p.21; see also Tutu, 1999, pp.12, 13)

It is clear that Verwoerd's view, apart from being prejudiced and patronising, betrays a questionable grasp of causality and responsibility. Far from justifying (in the sense of rendering inevitable) not only differential but unequal education, the lack of opportunity referred to here should have been

the prime target of everyone with a sincere interest in and commitment to education. For present purposes, it is also interesting to note that equality of opportunity seems to precede redress in education. Although it is conceivable that one might educate people for the creation of opportunities, that is, where these are as yet nonexistent, the precedence referred to above denotes historical priority, in the case of South Africa.

In the wake of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) that was set up after the first democratic election in South Africa, in order to bring to light and address the injustices and crimes committed under apartheid, there has now been a call for a TRC for education specifically. In an address at a University of South Africa special graduation ceremony, Charles Villa-Vicencio noted the TRC's failure to hold an institutional hearing on education:

> The Bantu Education Act . . . ought to have been exposed for all to see. A major contribution of the TRC was to turn knowledge – that which so many people already knew – into public acknowledgement, allowing the nation to acknowledge evil for what it is. Asked to name the most significant achievements of the TRC in a national survey, the vast majority of South Africans, black and white, cited the disclosure of the truth about the past (Villa-Vicencio, 2003, p.15).

Numerous questions arise not only about the content and aims but also about the possibility and plausibility of such a commissioned investigation. What are the epistemological, ethical and political ramifications of this approach? Insofar as its chief concern resides with redressing the inequities of the past, accessing the possibilities of the future and developing a coherent programme of action for the present, could a truth and reconciliation process for education be seen to constitute an adequate framework for these requirements? Or would it require a suitable 'running partner'? If so, what would such a partnership look like?

A Truth and Reconciliation Commission for education

Before addressing the first few of the questions referred to above, this section endeavours to clarify some of the central concepts employed here. In his book on the TRC, Tutu quotes Judge Albie Sachs who refers to

> different orders of truth which did not necessarily mutually exclude one another. There was what could be termed forensic factual truth – verifiable and documentable – and there was "social truth, the truth of experience established through interaction, discussion and debate" (Sachs, quoted in Tutu, 1999, p.33).

I submit that the 'truth of experience' is part of 'forensic factual truth'. I suggest further that what is 'established through interaction, discussion and debate' is not necessarily 'truth' in any meaningful sense, but *consensus*. After all, what is so established by a majority, even by means of unanimity, may be false. For the TRC to have any kind of point or meaning at all, the truth that is sought and established cannot be dependent on interaction, discussion and debate. Not even *recognition* of the truth may be so dependent, since individuals may attain it in isolation. One of the basic purposes of the TRC has been to establish what actually and why something happened – the facts, reality or actual states of affairs. Truth is essentially objective, universal, transcultural, not relative to personal perception or interpersonal/ social consensus.

The precise meaning of 'reconciliation' may be a little more slippery. Forgiveness (this is Tutu's preferred understanding), acceptance and balance are some of the ideas most frequently associated with this notion. To reconcile may also mean to settle a quarrel, to harmonise, to make compatible. However, there is also a less positive use or connotation of 'reconciliation', namely a sense (usually reflexive, passive) of acquiescence or submission to something disagreeable. I suggest that achieving such resignation cannot be an aim of the TRC. It would be incompatible with redress. It is arguably this very ambiguity in the notion of reconciliation that renders it necessary to forge a link with a strong partner concept, in order to safeguard the effectiveness of the process.

Both Tutu and Alex Boraine have acknowledged that the original Commission has been marred slightly by partial or 'pseudo' confessions, by half-hearted pleas for forgiveness and blatant lack of regret (Tutu, 1999; Terreblanche, 2004). However, the mere fact that it was welcomed by the overwhelming majority of victims, while it was generally rejected by the perpetrators, speaks well for this controversial experiment (*cf* Grill, 2003). The former could speak of their suffering and humiliation in public. Articulation and registration of the truth produced a cathartic, healing effect: no one would any longer be able to deny or disavow the crimes of apartheid. Bartholomäus Grill refers to the 'unbelievable' readiness for reconciliation among the overwhelming number of victims (Grill, 2003):

> One would despair at this continent, . . . were it not for this incredible force of forgiveness . . . The South African Truth Commission managed to expose the crimes of apartheid and to establish a universal model for reconciliation. Nowhere else are the wounds as deep as in Africa, nowhere else do they heal as quickly. According to the historian Ali Mazrui, Africans have a "short memory of hate" (Grill, 2003, pp.360, 361; my translation).

Nevertheless, it should be clear that reconciliation is not sufficient for restoring "the human and civil dignity of victims" (Tutu, 1999, p.57). According to Tutu, one of the TRC's "major weaknesses is that perpetrators have been granted amnesty as soon as their applications have been successful, whereas in the case of the victims, the Commission could only make recommendations" (Tutu, 1999, pp.57, 58) regarding reparation – which is the beginning of a long, convoluted process that is not as 'victim-friendly' as it is meant to be. This, too, indicates the need for a framework to twin reconciliation in an ethically, politically and legally efficacious manner.

Content

Apart from the mandatory exposure of the Bantu Education Act 'for all to see', Villa-Vicencio recommends that "[s]chools and tertiary institutions ought to [be] invited, subpoenaed if necessary, to give account of discriminatory and racist behaviour, sometimes in reluctant obedience to the law, often with willing consent" (Villa-Vicencio, 2003, p.15).

When asked whether there is anything he would have liked to do differently at the TRC, Boraine answered,

> Yes, in East Timor – where people asked for amnesty on a similar basis as here – they now have to do community service . . . Perpetrators spend their weekends rebuilding schools they burned down, for instance. And I think this was a big lack in our approach (Terreblanche, 2004, p.5).

Loyiso Nongxa has provided further substance to what a truth and reconciliation process would encompass and entail for education. Regarding higher education in particular, what might such a process look like? His University of the Witwatersrand Academic Freedom Lecture in May 2004 provides some clues, and it may be useful to quote him at some length. He proposes examining

> the outcomes of at least 4 decades of the 'open universities'' conception of academic freedom. [For example,] [w]ho was admitted? Did the admissions policies overtly and covertly (consciously or subconsciously) employed have a 'race' or 'gender' dimension? Did the institutions practice legacy admissions, giving advantage or preference in the admissions process to applicants whose parents or family members had a previous connection with the institution (either as students or employees)? (Nongxa, 2004, p.9; amendments and corrections mine).

Nongxa professes to be

> keen to reconcile the public image of 'open universities' and the anger [and] resentment of some of the people who have studied or worked at these institutions (Nongxa, 2004, p.10; amendments and corrections mine).

He considers it instructive to 'examine academic/social life at "open universities"' from the point of view of black students ('What were their experiences? Why are most of them resentful of their *alma mater* and, in some cases, their former lecturers?'), black workers (whose 'rights and privileges were not the same as those of their white counterparts. How sensitive were institutional authorities and/or [their] immediate supervisor[s] with regard to implementing or applying the race policies of [the apartheid government?]'), 'ordinary' academics ('Did they have to make adjustments to the way they taught?'), as well as white students:

> Residential segregation and separate schooling meant that for most of the students . . . [their university experience] was the first opportunity to share the same classroom with students from a different racial background. Was this an intellectually and socially rewarding experience? Was there any inter-racial interaction outside the classroom? (Nongxa, 2004, p.10; amendments and corrections mine).

Interestingly, Nongxa claims that this "is a transformation project (that) . . . is not meant to be, although it may be interpreted as, a TRC-type process on higher education" (Nongxa, 2004, p.10). This disavowal is also puzzling. After all, the project described here contains useful suggestions and guiding questions for what is arguably a promising strategy in terms of educational transformation. (For a more explicit engagement with various challenges of transformation in education, see Horsthemke, 2004a, pp.573-580 and Horsthemke, 2004b, pp.67-70.)

Aims

The single central motivation for a TRC for education appears to be redress. Referring to the South African government's critical reflection on the accomplishments of the past ten years, especially with regard to institutional transformation, Felicity Coughlan writes: "Redressing the inequities of the past, while realizing the possibilities of a global future – these were the 'twin challenges' confronted by every institution in a democratic South Africa" (Coughlan, 2004, p.2). The Department of Education White Paper 3, *A programme for the transformation of higher education* (1997), states that "South Africa's transition from apartheid and minority rule to democracy

requires that all existing practices, institutions and values are viewed anew and rethought in terms of their fitness for the new era" (Department of Education, 1997). It is generally acknowledged that redress also requires special interventions in order to address the inherited imbalances in education, interventions like the injection of new capital into upgrading the education system (National Council of Provinces, 2003).

Whether or not it will amount to actual transformation, the possibility and plausibility of such redress depend to some extent on a suitable 'running partner' for the idea and the process of reconciliation. Given that reconciliation is not without ambiguity and given certain weaknesses in the Truth and Reconciliation process, there is no guarantee that the changes envisaged will actually be anything more than ephemeral or cosmetic, that they will be not only substantial but lasting. In what follows, several possible 'partner' ideas and principles, like *ubuntu* (or *botho*), communalism and the common good, as well as a rights-based approach, will be examined. I have expressed serious reservations about some of these in two articles I co-authored with Penny Enslin (Enslin and Horsthemke, 2004; Horsthemke and Enslin, 2005). To avoid repetition, I will focus here on accounts that make explicit links between the ideas in question and reconciliation.

Ubuntu or *botho*

What made the TRC unique was the decision to grant "amnesty to individuals in exchange for a full disclosure relating to the crime for which amnesty was being sought" (Tutu, 1999, p.34). Tutu points out that this

> way of conditional amnesty was consistent with a central feature of the African *Weltanschauung* (or world-view) – what we know as *ubuntu* in the Nguni group of languages, or *botho* in the Sotho languages. What is it that constrained so many to choose to forgive rather than to demand retribution, to be so magnanimous rather than wreaking vengeance? *Ubuntu* . . . speaks of the very essence of being human . . . We say, "a person is a person through other people". It is not "I think therefore I am". It says rather: "I am human because I belong". I participate, I share. A person with *ubuntu* is open and available to others, affirming of others, does not feel threatened that others are able and good; for he or she has a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that he or she belongs in a greater whole and is diminished when others are humiliated or diminished, when others are tortured or oppressed, or treated as if they were less than who they are . . . Forgiveness

> gives people resilience, enabling them to survive and emerge still human despite all efforts to dehumanise them (Tutu, 1999, pp.34, 35).[1]

Ubuntu means, says Tutu, that

> in a real sense even the supporters of apartheid were victims of the vicious system which they implemented and which they supported so enthusiastically. Our humanity was intertwined. The humanity of the perpetrator of apartheid's atrocities was caught up and bound up with that of his victim whether he liked it or not. In the process of dehumanising another, in inflicting untold harm and suffering, the perpetrator was inexorably being dehumanised as well (Tutu, 1999, p.35).

Tutu's exposition illustrates the attractiveness of twinning the ideas of *ubuntu*/*botho* and reconciliation, as well as their compatibility. Lesiba Teffo and Elza Venter, similarly, suggest that the philosophy of *ubuntu* or *botho* "is transcultural and, if embraced, would enable South Africans to succeed in their quest for reconciliation and nation building" (Venter, 2004, p.159; Teffo, 1998, p.5). In a closely related development, the closing paragraphs of the interim Constitution of 1993 expresses the constitution-makers' ethical vision of human beings and the social order which is to guide policy and legislation "in education as in all other sectors":

> The pursuit of national unity, the well-being of all South Africans and peace require reconciliation between the people of South Africa and the reconstruction of society . . . [The divisions and strife of the past] can now be addressed on the basis that there is need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for ubuntu but not for victimisation (Department of Education, 1995, chapter 3/3-4).

Reference to *ubuntu* is excluded from the new Constitution, Act No.108 from 1996. Mogobe Ramose questions the wisdom of this exclusion on political and philosophical grounds and argues that as a result the Constitution, inconsistent as it now is with the "basic political, legal and ethical exigencies of *ubuntu*", is both impoverished and flawed (Ramose, 2004, p.155). I would suggest that, on the contrary, the decision to excise reference to *ubuntu* constitutes a wise move, for reasons given in what follows. As far as twinning this notion with the idea of reconciliation is concerned, the problem is not only that *ubuntu* fails to address or take care of the weaknesses pointed out in connection with reconciliation; it has its own, potentially damaging flaws.

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1 A detailed and captivating analysis of the concept of 'muntu'/'person' and of the significance of 'ntu' in African philosophical thought is provided in Jahn, 1986.

What is *prima facie* disturbing about claims like *ubuntu* being "the invisible force uniting Africans worldwide" (Makgoba, 1996, p.23) is the implicit superiority over other ethical and political considerations commonly attached to *ubuntu*. If a claim like Makgoba's has an evaluative purchase, it is dangerously close to racial or cultural hegemonism. If it is an empirical, descriptive claim, it is contradicted by the actual (pre-colonial) traditions, customs and practices (female genital excision, virginity testing, polygamy) of many Africans. It may be pointed out, of course, that *ubuntu* is a regulative principle and that it furnishes a basis for the critique of extant states of affairs, like inhumane behaviour on the African continent. On this view, it would be a weak argument against the *principle* to refer to the staggering incidence of genocide, torture, despotism, corruption, sexism, xenophobia and generally cruel practices. On the contrary, one depends on *ubuntu* in order to highlight the inhumanity of such practices. But *does ubuntu* constitute a 'regulative' principle? Venter writes, "The philosophy of *ubuntu* helps with good human relationships and to increase human value, trust and dignity" (Venter, 2004, p.151), but does not indicate how exactly this is supposedly achieved. What happens if two or more of the values associated with *ubuntu*, like generosity, hospitality, friendliness, care or compassion, are in conflict? It would appear that *ubuntu* may on occasion tell us what kinds of persons we should *be* but that it provides insufficient guidance as to what we should *do*, especially in cases of conflict. In other words, one might doubt the value and efficiency of *ubuntu* as a practical action – and policy – guide. According to Tutu, the link between the TRC and *ubuntu* is made explicit in "a postscript that became the constitutional underpinning for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: . . . there is a need for understanding but not for vengeance, a need for reparation but not for retaliation, a need for ubuntu but not for victimisation" (Tutu, 1999, p.45). Yet, how would an appeal to *ubuntu* respond to demands around educational redress, reparation and – indeed – transformation? It would appear that appeals to *ubuntu* often not only fail to resolve conflicts and problems but frequently even exacerbate these, by 'tackling' them in terms of verbal legislation.

A further reservation concerns the purported uniqueness of *ubuntu*. After approvingly quoting Dlomo, that "the greatest strength of *ubuntu* is that it is indigenous, a purely African philosophy of life" (Venter, 2004, p.152; *cf* Viljoen, 1998, p.10), Venter claims that "the philosophy of *ubuntu* is encapsulated in most philosophies of life, although it is articulated and actualised in different ways" (Venter, 2004, p.159). Well, is it "indigenous, a purely African philosophy", or does it have a "universal sense", where "we are

bound together by our caring humanity" (Tutu, 1999, p.213)? Certainly the idea of dependence of self on others has adherents outside of and beyond Africa. The question is whether the assertion made in *ubuntu*, 'I am because we are', is correct. It appears to make at least as much, if not more, sense to say that 'we are because I am'. Rastafarians' use of the expression 'I and I' for 'we' constitutes an interesting twist in this regard.

Venter embraces C.T. Viljoen's view that the philosophy of *ubuntu* is "currently actively revitalised as an obvious and potent means to rescue people from their loss of identity" (Viljoen, 1998, p.10; Venter, 2004, p.152). She also claims that it "espouses a fundamental respect in the rights of others, as well as deep allegiance to the collective identity" (Venter, 2004, p.154). For her ideas to be coherent, she must mean that *ubuntu* rescues people from the loss of *collective* identity. Moreover, it can only be reconciled with respect for the rights of others if these rights are collective or communal rights, or at least have a collectivist or communalist basis. This would mean that individual rights (*if* they exist at all) can be violated, abrogated or otherwise denied, as long as this benefits the collective, community or social group. I will argue below that 'taking rights seriously', as I think we should do, will take us in a direction diametrically opposed to the view just discussed.

Venter claims, "The central ethical *idea* in traditional African thought . . . is 'ubuntu' and the concept of 'communalism'" (Venter, 2004, p.153; emphasis mine). Although it has been asserted by some that "[i]nterdependence, *communalism*, sensitivity towards others and caring for others are all aspects of *ubuntu*" (Venter, 2004, p.151; Le Roux, 2000, p.43), others have cautioned against too close an association between *ubuntu* and *communalism* (Ramose, 2004). Despite some overlap, and given its etymological and conceptual distinctness, the idea of communalism will receive independent attention in what follows.

Communalism

"Harmony, friendliness, community are great goods", Tutu enthuses:

> Social harmony is for us the *summum bonum* – the greatest good. Anything that subverts or undermines this sought-after good is to be avoided like the plague. Anger, resentment, lust for revenge, even success through aggressive competitiveness, are corrosive to this good (Tutu, 1999, p.35).

After noting, with Teffo, "African societies placed a high value on human worth, but it was a humanism that found expression in a communal context

rather than the individualism that often characterises the West" (Venter, 2004, p.151; Teffo, 1998, p.3), Venter asserts that "[i]n *African culture* the community always comes first" (Venter, 2004, p.151; italics mine). Teffo states, similarly, that according to

> the African conception of man [. . ., a]n African person is an integral part of society and thus, as an individual, can only exist corporately . . . [and] is inseparable from the community . . . However, it should be emphasised that individuality is not negated in the African conception of humankind. *What is discouraged is the view that the individual should take precedence over the community* (Teffo, 1996, p.103; italics mine).

Apart from committing what might be called the fallacy of the collective singular, implying that there is a single, homogeneous 'African culture' and 'African conception of humankind', this view hardly squares with Teffo's later, Kantian assertion,

> You and I are members of one and the same race, namely, the human race. The essence of man lies in the recognition of man as man, before financial, political, and social factors are taken into consideration. *Man is an end in himself and not a means* (Teffo, 1998, p.4; italics mine).

The frequently expressed view, that "[t]he most important difference in the conception of human beings between Eurocentric and Afrocentric philosophical models is that the African viewpoint espouses harmony and collectivity, whilst the Eurocentric point of view emphasizes a more individualistic orientation towards life" (Venter, 2004, p.152) is a misconception. It is clearly contradicted by the 'occidental' (as opposed to 'Euro*centric*') communitarian tradition. In addition, an individualistic orientation need not be 'selfish' or 'egoistic' (this is a further, common misconception!), but is perfectly compatible with compassion and empathy, a concern with other individuals *as* individuals. In fact, it is what arguably makes compassion and empathy possible in the first place.

It is true, as Grill observes, that

> Africans grow up in the community, in groups of village children, reach maturity within their cohort of peers, share the stages of initiation and have learnt as adults to act communally. For the environment is harsh, resources are scarce . . . Scarcity gives birth to *ubuntu*, solidarity and joint action . . ., a fundamental commandment of African ethics which ranks communalism above selfishness and cooperation above competition (Grill, 2003, pp.361, 362; my translation).

Nonetheless, Grill cautions against idealising this social system:

> For example, the assertion that Africans have a happier childhood is a myth. Certainly the infant who is carried on his mother's back experiences a sense of well-being and comfort. Yet, the tenderness and security of the mother-child dyad ends suddenly, as soon as the child learns to walk. The toddler is plunged from his nest into the community and begins to move with it. No one pays special attention to him anymore, and the maternal blanket is now occupied by a younger sibling. At mealtimes he frequently misses out and when a famine breaks out, he is among the first victims claimed (Grill, 2003, p.362; my translation).

A disconcerting feature of elevating the community above the individual in the discussion of social bonds and relationships is contained in the view that "one acts in accordance with the notion that duty to one's social group is *more important than individual rights* and privileges" (Venter, 2004, p.151; emphasis mine). This kind of view permits gross violation of human rights, insofar as the individual may be sacrificed for the community, social group or common good.

The common good

Frequently (and perhaps mistakenly) associated with *ubuntu* and communalism, the idea of 'the common good' is considered by many to be a key element in African philosophy, especially philosophy of education. Thus, the Department of Education White Paper 3 encourages "the development of a reflective capacity and a willingness to review and renew prevailing ideas, policies and practices based on a commitment to the common good" (Department of Education, 1997). Yet, it also contains a statement of policy on (higher) education that focuses on the individual student, her/his aspirations, the intellectual task that (s)he must be exposed to, the quality of the 'cultured' student, and on society and its needs. On the same subject, Barney Pityana argues, after praising the dedication expressed in the preamble to the South African Constitution to "improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person" (Pityana, 2004, p.1; *cf* Republic of South Africa, 1996, Preamble),

> the university must remain a provider of the public good, enabling society to realise the common good. In order to do so, higher education is beneficiary of the contract between the state and the people and contracts with the state to provide quality education for the common good. In order to do so effectively, the state guarantees a measure of autonomy and academic freedom and yet effective accountability (Pityana, 2004, p.1).

I want to argue that there is an underlying tension, in the White Paper and elsewhere, in the putative equal commitment to *both* the common good *and* the individual (person, learner, student, or academic). This exemplifies the classic conflict between consequentialist/teleological and deontological considerations. In such cases – of which there are many – one (set of) consideration(s) has to give way to the other, and any plausible philosophy of education has to indicate its core commitment in this regard. I submit, furthermore, that any philosophy that has as its *core* commitment the common good is contentious: logically, since it fails to acknowledge those whose individual goods make up the so-called 'common good' (in fact, it fails to account for any such super-organism with an aggregate of goods); morally, because it fails to take seriously not only the individual and her aspirations but also the differences between individuals; epistemologically, because there are only individual cognisers or 'knowers', who differ significantly with regard to levels of understanding, in their cognitive and intellectual maturity and regarding their experiential contexts (Horsthemke and Enslin, 2005).

Rights

Enslin, in an article exploring the educational implications of the TRC, argues that "the narratives of suffering, courage and forgiveness, along with the record of human rights violations and the allocation of responsibility for them, constitute a profound moral agenda that invites all citizens to participate in developing a culture of human rights" (Enslin, 2000, pp.86-87). One of the steps recommended in the TRC report "is that if reconciliation is to have a chance of succeeding, a human rights culture will have to be developed, and ought to be included in the formal education curriculum" (Enslin, 2000, p.87). Although neither Enslin nor the report provide details as to how development of a human rights culture is to be so included, there have been a wealth of suggestions in recent years how this might be achieved (see, for example, Le Mottee, 2003). Presumably beyond the brief of Enslin's article is also the question, What *justifies* 'developing a culture of human rights'? In the present paper I hope to indicate what an answer to this question may look like.

The focus on the individual person and her rights that characterises documents like the South African Constitution and the Department of Education's White Papers (Republic of South Africa, 1996; Department of Education, 1995; Department of Education, 1997) is clearly at odds with the ideas and trends discussed above, communalism and the common good, as well as – perhaps more controversially (see Ramose, 2002) – *ubuntu/botho*. The question is

whether the focus on rights is justified. In the present case, the defence of a rights-based approach encompasses two aspects, ethical and political. Ethically, rights are argued to be superior to competing moral considerations. Politically, considerable skepticism about this notion and ongoing, gross violations of human rights notwithstanding, rights are argued to constitute an effective action- and policy-guide. After defending the soundness of this concept as a basic framework for transformation, I wish to suggest here that rights constitute a plausible 'running partner' for reconciliation.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Handbook contains several useful references to rights, some of which are also pertinent with regard to the call for a TRC for education:

> The TRC has made a vital contribution to the building of a new South Africa. It helped South Africans establish the truth about our country's past, about the motives for gross violations of human rights and the circumstances in which they occurred (Government Communications, 2003, p.2).

After noting that "South Africans decided that we would not have any war crimes tribunals or take the road to revenge and retribution" (p.3), the authors inform that "[n]o general amnesty will be granted" and that "[g]overnment believes that such an approach will contradict the TRC process and subtract from the principle of accountability which is vital not only in dealing with the past, but also in the creation of a new ethos within our society" (p.5). "It is critical", they aver,

> that we should continue to establish the truth about networks that operated against our people. Some of these networks still pose a real or latent danger against our democracy even today. This is not a desire for vengeance; nor would it compromise the rights of citizens who may wish to seek justice in our courts (p.6).

To establish the parameters of the Commission's work, the Act required to back the TRC for education would presumably have to define the phrase 'gross violations of human rights'. There is an obvious need for grounds to distinguish between, say, instances of corporal punishment and instances where the quality of life of the victim has been seriously impaired. Responding to President Thabo Mbeki's report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission on 15 April 2003, Gauteng Premier Mbhazima Shilowa spoke of the need to make victims feel "that reconciliation and justice has not been at their expense". He said that justice demanded that the concerns of victims should take center stage in the process of reconciliation (National Council of Provinces, 2003, p.13).

I want to argue now that the basis for such a process must be a victim- or, as I prefer to call it, recipient-centred conception of rights. Intuitively, the strength of a right-based conception is that it reflects the fact that there is something about individuals that renders it not only inexpedient but *prima facie* impermissible to victimise them. In a case where I would have to harm one individual in order to prevent five relevantly similar harms to others, or ten, or fifty, it seems, again intuitively, that there is something about my potential victim that makes it wrong for me to go ahead. If such considerations did not arise with regard to the one, they could not arise with regard to the five, or ten, or fifty others.

Samuel Scheffler admits that the intuitive appeal of rights in a situation such as the one considered here is not in question. He contends, however, that this intuitive appeal does not constitute a rationale or guarantee that there is one (Scheffler, 1982, p.83). On reflection, according to Scheffler,

> it is presumably true of the five other[s] that each of them is also a separate [individual] with just one life to lead, who would receive no compensating benefit for being harmed. So why should we be forbidden to inflict one uncompensated harm in order to prevent even more such harms? (Scheffler, 1988a, p.10).

Scheffler considers this prohibition to be paradoxical and to constitute

> a general puzzle about *victim-based* explanations of [rights]. Any appeal to the victim's possession of some morally significant property seems unable to explain why we may not victimise one person who has that property in order to prevent the victimisation of an even larger number of persons, each of whom has the very same property. Such appeals simply make all violations of the constraints look equally objectionable, and thus seem to count in favour of allowing, rather than prohibiting, the minimisation of total overall violations. They therefore seem to provide no support for [rights], whose function is precisely to forbid minimisation (Scheffler, 1988a, p.10; he uses the term 'agent-relative constraints' to characterise rights).

One must surely agree with Scheffler about what seems to be undeniable, that – if certain violations are morally objectionable – it is better that no such violations should occur than that any should. According to Scheffler's strict deontologist adversary, however, the allegation of paradoxicality is likely to persuade only those who are ready to accept or who have already accepted, the moral preferability of a smaller number of violations. He would reject what Scheffler takes to be a general and well-grounded principle of practical reason, namely "maximising rationality" (Scheffler, 1988b, p.252). He would deny, therefore, the very grounds for the allegation of paradoxicality. Moreover, he

would reject the permissibility of an agent's violating a certain moral rule once in order to prevent that same rule from being violated several times. He would contend that the description by Scheffler of the conflict between the two rival conceptions contains, explicitly or implicitly, the illicit, unargued assumption that *numbers count*. More seriously, it seems to contain a definition of practical rationality characterised by a bias in favour of theories that give pride of place to a 'maximising policy', considering Scheffler's suggestion that any moral perspective that identifies what is objectionable has reason to be a maximising perspective. This, Scheffler's adversary would argue, explains the charge of irrationality that is repeatedly advanced against strict deontological conceptions, or any moral perspective that refuses to accept that 'maximising rationality' is a general and well-grounded principle of practical reason (*cf* Scheffler 1982, pp.82, 120/1; Scheffler, 1988a, pp.9, 10; Scheffler, 1988b, pp.244, 258/9). According to a rights-theorist, for example, a maximising policy would be of normative significance only in situations where the prevention of harm, or the promotion of good, itself involves no actions designed to harm innocent, unthreatening *and* presently unthreatened individuals. This last point is significant in that it points not only to what is wrong with violations of rights but also to the special protection owed to those who are innocent, unthreatening *and* presently unthreatened. This kind of victim- or, rather, recipient-centred approach to rights explains why it is unjustifiable to sacrifice one individual who is innocent and significantly unthreatened by harm in order to save the lives of five innocent individuals who *are* so threatened.

Respect for an individual's rights implies that there is something that can be taken into consideration, namely the individual's point of view, a perspective from which the world is experienced in some way or other. Taking rights seriously means taking the individual seriously, both the agent (and her integrity) and (especially) the recipient. In fact, it is the latter that goes some way towards accounting for the nature of rights.

A question still to be answered, however, concerns the political effectiveness of (appeals to) rights – say, with regard to redress in South African education. Thomas Gebauer points out that it is not just public preoccupation with human rights that has increased: violations of human rights, too, have increased. According to some powers, security can only be guaranteed through restriction of civil rights (Gebauer, 2004). For the majority of the world's population, globalisation has not brought them more security under the law, but rather the opposite: a kind of re-feudalisation of their social context. They are less and less able to appeal to the institutions of a democratically legitimated statehood,

whilst the enforcement of their human rights is increasingly dependent on the philanthropic commitment and goodwill of international aid organizations. So it seems, says Gebauer, that human rights can only hope to have any chance in future if their development and their protection are renewed "from the bottom up", as it were (Gebauer, 2004, p.12). There are in fact many signs that the international public has taken up the challenge. Intellectuals who are critical of globalisation, teachers' and writers' unions, internationally networked NGOs, churches and a large number of regional and local self-help projects have moved to fill the institutional gap left by globalisation and are now insisting on a political and material foundation for human rights. This "new global movement" (Gebauer, 2004, p.12) has a dual responsibility at this time. On the one hand, it must increasingly take human rights as the baseline for its own activities on behalf of new ways of living and communicating and, in so doing, fight actively for the reconstruction of social welfare and the scope for democracy and participation, in education as elsewhere. On the other hand, it must be vigilant in ensuring that the public debate on human rights does not serve to conceal particularist power interests but actually demonstrates that it is about efforts to achieve a society in which, as Karl Marx (perhaps surprisingly) put it, "the free development of each individual is the precondition for the free development of all" (quoted in Gebauer, 2004, p.12).

Rights have an executive power or force notably lacking in notions like *ubuntu* and reconciliation. Moreover, while the intuitive appeal of rights might be questioned by those who favour communalism or concern with the common good, I would argue that, to this day, the demand for the realisation of human rights is still the motor and measure of development and progress. The answer to the question, 'Are rights sufficient for redress in SA education?' would presumably be affirmative, but it arguably depicts an unlovely, morally/ethically impoverished scenario. Rights-based redress without reconciliation and reconciliation without emphasis on rights are both conceivable, but equally incomplete. My defence of a rights-based approach in the present paper sees rights as the backbone of redress and transformation, and reconciliation as its heart.

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In defence of minimalism: beyond a robust approach to citizenship education

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Abstract

The maximalists would have us be ideal citizens if we conform – and learn to conform – to a number of precepts. We should be active citizens, we should value our community (and in particular our national identity) and we should take on the virtues that commit us to upholding the common good. For the maximalists, democracy's moral root lies in our civic ties to our community and to ensuring that the ideals of justice and equality are met. In many respects, the maximal project is admirable – but as an educational project it is flawed.

In this paper, I will argue that by filling in the details on how we ought to behave and what values we ought to have as citizens, maximal educators have slipped too far from education's role in developing autonomous individuals who are able to freely express themselves. We need an account of citizenship education that takes seriously the development of individuality, while at the same time contributing to the democratic project that seeks the common good. This is a fine balance. I will argue that it is in an education towards a minimalist citizenship that offers a way of achieving both these educational objectives.

Introduction

It is perhaps unsurprising that South Africa, in the transition from apartheid to democracy, should be grappling with finding a prescription for citizenship. Indeed, there is much consensus that post-apartheid citizenship requires a determined effort to break with the racial and ethnic stereotyping of the past and to unite a society deeply divided along lines such as gender, class, politics, ideology and language. Smangaliso Mkhatshwa, previously deputy minister of education succinctly captures this: ". . . a democracy such as ours, which has emerged from the apartheid ashes, should be founded on sound moral values that will inculcate in each of us a sense of national pride, oneness and commitment to the common good" (DoE, 2000, p.2). Because apartheid's oppressive system enforced its own set of values on the education system and on individuals to buttress a racist ideology, a new value system is seen as needed to counter those of the past. It has been this injunction – to smooth

over past divisions and forge a common identity – that has favoured a robust definition of citizenship.

The robust citizen is characterized by a demanding account of what it takes to participate in the public arena. A typical example is the Moral Regeneration Campaign emanating from the office of the Deputy President of South Africa (DoE and SABC, 2000), which uses communitarian language and turns the clock back to "recover the long lost religio-socio-economic values by which pre-colonial communities of the continent lived" (MRC, 2000, p.7). But the robust citizen has also come to characterize liberal theories of citizenship. T.H. McLaughlin stretches liberal citizenship along a maximal and minimal continuum, defining each end according to how much (or how little if a minimalist) import they attach to the four features characterizing citizenship: the identity conferred on the individual, the virtues required by citizenship, political involvement and the social prerequisites necessary for effective citizenship. On one end of the continuum, and perhaps in caricature, the minimal notion of citizenship rests on a legal framework, advancing citizens formal, technical rights. Citizens are not obliged to become more politically involved beyond filling in ballot papers at election times (and presumably even this is not obligatory). The maximal approach, on the other end of the continuum, is a much bolder, substantial account of citizenship. As McLaughlin describes it: "maximal conceptions require a considerable degree of explicit understanding of democratic principles, values and procedures on the part of the citizen, together with the dispositions and capacities required for participation in democratic citizenship generously conceived" (1992, p.237). On this end of the continuum, liberal theorists view citizens as members of a larger community and actively involved in democratic decision-making.

The minimal notion of citizenship is described in rather unflattering terms: "formal, legal, juridical" (McLaughlin, 1992, p.236). Its 'thin' conception of citizenship is contrasted with the 'richer' 'thicker' account of the maximalists. Furthermore McLaughlin states that an education for minimal citizenship does not, "require the development in students of their broad critical reflection and understanding, informed by a political and general education of substance, or virtues and dispositions of the democratic citizen conceptualized in fuller terms. Nor is there a concern to ameliorate the social disadvantages that may inhibit the students from developing into citizens in a significant sense" (1992, p.238). Eamonn Callan's description of minimalist education is similarly uninspiring. It includes only that which various groups within society can agree on and therefore "can include no more than the lowest common

denominator in a society's understanding of what its children should learn" (1997, p.170).

The maximalist's intention therefore is to build a much stronger identity for liberal citizenship and to root it in a moral cement that can explain the way we ought to behave towards others. In this paper I challenge the robust or maximal account of citizenship. I argue that by filling in the details of what it means to be a 'liberal democrat' maximal educators have slipped too far from education's other central role – that of developing autonomous individuals. Furthermore, I question the assumption that a maximal sense of citizenship necessarily leads to greater equality. In the final section of this paper, I note that as the maximal citizen has acquired more and more definition, its propagators have caricatured the very complex make-up of the 'minimal' citizen. It seems to me that maximal theorists have constructed an Aunt Sally of minimal citizenship, easily pummeled. As Callan points out, an education so bereft of controversial content is decidedly unsatisfactory and would, no doubt, fail to develop autonomous graduates. I then take some tentative steps to constructing a more sympathetic version of minimal citizenship education. But I begin by outlining the main features of a liberal maximal account of citizenship.

The maximal citizen

Recent liberal writers have accumulated an ever more detailed description of what is entailed in becoming a citizen. They have expected more from citizens than a basic commitment to adhering to democratic procedures and have begun to flesh out not just the skills and knowledge necessary to operate within a democracy, but also the values and indeed behavioural characteristics of *truly* democratic citizens.

The general revival in Aristotilian civic humanism, in stretching the scope of citizenship beyond the political is driven mainly by communitarian challenges, a sense that a narrow definition of citizenship is an unsatisfactory descriptor of our relationships with others. Richard Norman, for example, notes that rights and obligations do not in themselves explain why citizens should adhere to them. (The social contract theory is insufficient because it cannot account for citizens who default on obligations.) He argues that, "the only solution is to recognize that if there is such a thing as allegiance to the political community, it must rest on something more fundamental than a package of reciprocal rights and obligations. It must be a matter of deeper ties and loyalties" (1992, p.37). Furthermore, Callan argues that a liberal democratic education

inevitably spills over into private domain and once you acknowledge the need for certain basic liberal principles then you are unavoidably forced to define further characteristics. The classic liberal division between public and private is therefore untenable. For Tomasi: "the normative domain of liberal citizenship inevitably extends *beyond* the domain of public reason. For any self-aware political liberal, any theory of good citizen conduct must include considerations about the way public values impinge on non-public spheres, and how those values can be put to personal uses there" (2001, p.71).

A thick conception of citizenship is therefore embedded in a substantive normative theory of moral behaviour and development. Such a normative theory is necessary in explaining how and why citizens ought to behave as members of a community, especially if we are to maintain "a well-ordered society" (to steal a term from Rawls). It is a normative theory of moral progress that attempts to take us, in the title of Tomasi's book, "beyond justice". He writes: "Citizenship requires more of us than a freely given commitment to just institutions. To be a good citizen is to be a good *person*" (2001, p.71). Callan too describes his liberal politics as a "politics of virtue" which has as a legitimate goal "creating virtuous citizens" (1997, p.3). While still grounded in the traditional cluster of rights associated with justice – equality, non-racism, non-sexism and against other forms of discrimination – maximal citizenship demands a moral discourse that describes our relations with fellow citizens in more personal terms than legalistic definitions allow. For the maximalist theorists, a derivative account of citizenship, which takes a common set of values from a politically mandated constitution (such as Rawls's overlapping consensus), must have deeper moral roots to explain why individuals come to co-operate. For Callan care underpins justice and care is in fact of higher moral value than the institutional arrangements that regulate justice (1997, p.79). Justice is second best, a "remedial virtue" when care is absent. He writes: "Once children learn to import justice into situations where a higher form of caring is psychologically feasible, they will give up on the best feasible moral response in favour of one that is inferior. A justice-centred approach to education may also foster a tendency to interpret all moral encounters in adversarial terms" (1997, p.79). Furthermore, a civic education requires that we engender "trust", so that we do not dismiss other views as unreasonable, and "liberal patriotism", an affinity that holds plural societies together (Callan, 1997, p.95). Michael Ignatieff too makes a case for a discourse that described the motivations for why people choose to behave in accord with the common good. Such a "language of the good" includes "fraternity, love, belonging, dignity and respect" (1986, p.14). These terms

help define our relationships with others, with the "strangers" (of Ignatieff's essay title). There is in the Department of Education's *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* (DoE, 2001), a generally minimalist document, an echo of this 'virtue' discourse in its inclusion of *ubuntu* which presses citizens to practice "compassion, kindness, altruism and respect" (DoE, 2001, p.4).

The idea that we need "deeper ties and loyalties" to a political community also provides the motivation for political participation. Deliberative versions of democracy, in particular, require the active participation of citizens in political decision making at all levels – from voluntary community groups to central government. Indeed, the very legitimacy of political decision-making depends on all citizens engaging in public discussion. Callan (1997) argues that only a maximal concept of citizenship will save us from a liberal democracy devoid of lively politics (no one votes) and where different groups circle each other at a safe distance but never really interact. He paints such a democratic state, his "Brave New World", as a bland society blighted by mediocrity. Democracy in the Deweyian sense, is more than just majoritarian procedures but a way of life and therefore requires of its citizens a commitment to the values that distinguish it.

The arguments in favour of a maximal notion of citizenship can be categorized according to the economic, social, moral and political claims that are made. Firstly, maximal citizenship professes to take society closer towards egalitarianism. Secondly, individuals are primarily identified by their social relations with others. Thirdly, maximal citizenship rests on a desire for active citizenship. And finally, the maximal accounts are grounded in a normative argument of the specific virtues that hold together individuals and communities in a plural society. For South Africans, this is certainly powerful motivation for an extended scope of citizenship given our urgent need to overcome a divisive and racist history.

In many respects, the maximal theorists' project is admirable in its attempt to deepen democracy and to achieve greater equality. However, I think there are some dangers inherent in the maximalist's educational project. In the discussion that follows, I claim that the maximal concept of citizenship drifts towards ideology. A liberal education should be distinguished by its commitment to encouraging young people to find their individual voice.

The trouble with maximalism

In broadening out the concept of citizenship from the confines of political liberalism, maximal theorists claim that a much more robust education is required to surface liberal attributes within learners. As McLaughlin points out, these features of maximal citizenship place fairly heavy burdens on schools and educators. He writes: "'Heavy' burdens arise for the common school from conceptions of common education which embody *inter alia* an account of public values and the public domain which is articulated in terms of (often complex) matters of principle which need to be understood by students, an expansive view of the form and scope of personal autonomy and of democratic citizenship, a view of diversity and its implications which is sensitive to complexity and subtlety, and an ambition to engage educationally in a significant way with the 'non-public' domain" (2003, p.130). Despite this buoyant description, it is here, in the educational implications, that I think the maximal project is flawed. In defining the moral (liberal) motivations young people should demonstrate as citizens, the maximal theorist has ironically narrowed the scope of education to autonomy in its positive sense.

What is important to the maximal theorist is that learners gain the skills, knowledge and, crucially, values in order to engage in liberal, democratic societies. Individuals come to be autonomous when they are able to participate in democratic processes and have internalized the values that such participation was conditioned on. An individual's identity is therefore shaped in the construction of their social relations. The maximal theorist worries that if we do not clearly instill values then anti-liberal values may fill in the vacuum, and such values are easily pumped through powerful media such as television and advertisements. This approach strains against the more traditional liberal idea of education's primary task as cultivating the autonomy of individuals apart from a socially or culturally defined role. What is crucial here is that individuals eventually develop the capacity to be self-reflective, to find their own voice, even if such personal development begins within some social community. As Kymlicka explains: "The defining feature of liberalism is it that ascribes certain fundamental freedoms to each individual. In particular, it grants people very wide freedom of choice in terms of how they lead their lives. It allows people to choose a conception of the good life, and then allows them to reconsider that decision, and adopt a new and hopefully better plan of life" (1995, p.80).

These differing conceptions of autonomy echo Isaiah Berlin's distinction between positive and negative liberties. Negative liberties describe freedom as

the absence of external constraints, including freedom from arbitrary interference, freedom of opinion, association and speech. The positive liberties portray the liberties necessary for the exercise of individual capacities. The ability to act autonomously, in accordance to individual beliefs, relies on certain conditions to be in place, such as the freedom to work, to access welfare and education. Berlin, however, makes a case for emphasizing negative liberties. He points out that positive freedom involves self-control, focusing on overcoming the internal forces that threaten the rational self. The idea that we need to overcome internal weaknesses and desires in order to become autonomous leads to a division between our higher and lower natures. Berlin worries that if we acknowledge some higher self, then we open the space for some external source (such as a political authority) to intervene and define for us the nature of this higher self. They may do this reasoning that such a move will facilitate our attaining "freedom", but as Berlin points out, having someone define who we can or should become is coercive and takes us down the slippery slope to totalitarianism.

Berlin's warning points to the irony in the maximal theorists' project. While they claim that defining "democratic dispositions" more clearly will strengthen democracy, they may in fact simply be shaping our "higher nature" in the name of democracy. Maximal theorists seem to want to coerce young people into the mould of the ideal citizen. Education's role is to lead learners to fit the image of an active citizen, with loyalties to the community, someone who, as Ignatieff wants, "cares for strangers", if we are to truly enjoy freedom under democracy. Since these values apparently do not arise naturally, it is the state's duty to encourage their formation. Berlin's objection to such a definition of the hypothetical ideal is that it leads, inevitably, to manipulation of individuals, no matter how just the cause may be.

The idea that we need to educate for maximal citizenship – that we need to fill in the vacuum with liberal rather than illiberal values – smacks oddly like an illegitimate tactic, especially given the comprehensive account of values maximal theorists would have instilled. Melissa Williams notes that in moulding citizens to feel an affective attachment to the principles of the regime, civic nationalism (that is a shared commitment to a democratic system) is not much different from ethnic nationalism (2003). Although the former would reject ethnic nationalism's focus on culture as the basis for citizenship, both have as a legitimate role for education inducting young people into the virtues of the nation state. With a focus on a single political identity, civic humanism therefore cannot escape the same criticism leveled at conservative communitarians: that it impinges too much on individual

freedom and fails to take diversity sufficiently into account. As Williams puts it: "Although defenders of citizenship as identity acknowledge individuals as bearers of multiple and often conflicting identities, they tend to argue that *political* identity depends on a *particular* political community and only one such community" (2003, p.216).

The second difficulty I have with the maximal account of citizenship is in the assumption that moral association will promote co-operation between people and so lead to greater equality. If we are able to evoke in young people a sense of care for strangers, then the argument follows that they will support the social practices and political instruments that lead to justice. For the maximal theorist, greater equality is achieved because the citizen recognizes that their fate is tied in with those of others and therefore she sees the benefits of redistributive justice for all. There are two practical problems with this line of logic. The first, as both Williams and Brighouse point out, is that in an increasingly globalised world, economic relations are no longer bounded by local or national borders (Williams, 2003; Brighouse, 2003). While redistributive mechanisms may well have the support of citizens and may bring about greater equality at a national level, the real threat to equality is on a global scale as the neo-liberal policies of powerful multinationals and institutions such as the World Bank take effect. In other words, the growing inequalities between the First and Third Worlds overshadow national inequalities. The international pressures to open up markets and to encourage free trade, hamper national efforts to direct economic trends.

The second problem with the assumption that moral association will promote co-operation between people and so lead to greater equality is in the tendency for the maximal theorist to use the language of charity or 'care' as a moral root for justice. The trouble is that caring responses slip easily into paternalistic (even patronizing) ways. The charitable actions of the middle-class in assistance of the poor may be commendable, but the acts themselves simply confirm (may even perpetuate) unequal power relations. Justice, on the other hand, requires a more fundamental shift in the economic and social relations of society. Callan makes a similar mistake when he writes that "people who champion the right to subsistence are talking about the same thing as people who insist on the responsibility of those who are not destitute to meet the needs of those who are" (1997, p.73). Though I agree with Callan that rights have reciprocal responsibilities, the discourse for rights is not "the same thing" as an argument for responsibilities. The rights lobby is appealing to the state's responsibility to ensure that the practice of justice is upheld, while the petition to responsibility seems to be directed to individuals. Teaching young people to

care or take responsibility for the strangers in their community does not, therefore, lead naturally to greater equality. As Melissa Williams notes: "From an empirical standpoint. . . the connection between an educational project of civic identity and national loyalty, on the one hand, and the ends of distributive justice and political stability, on the other, are highly dubious" (2003, p.223).

In sum, then, the two main concerns I have with the maximal approach to citizenship is, first its substantive definition of what values we ought to adopt detracts from an educational aim to develop negative autonomy; and second, even if we were to encourage grounding liberalism's moral root in civic humanism, this would not inevitably lead to liberal justice. Will minimalism, then, provide a sufficient account of liberal citizenship? If maximal citizenship is inappropriately deterministic, the counter charge against minimalism is that of moral relativism (and the danger that illiberal doctrines will influence liberal-democratic states). I want to argue, however, that minimalism's fencing of the fundamental values required for liberal citizenship, leaves open the space for education to develop self-reflective individuals, while at the same providing the skills and knowledge for democratic practice. Such autonomous individuals are no less robust citizens than those described by the maximalists – neither is their education any less intricate. In fact, it might be argued, that a minimal concept of citizenship obliges even more effort from educationalists, for it does not provide them with a list of definitive moral characteristics to teach on. Rather, it requires that we balance carefully negative and positive autonomy, that we recognize the attachments learners have to a multiplicity of communities while at the same time taking seriously their development as individuals. In other words, minimalism creates the educational opportunity for individuals to learn to participate in a liberal democracy without circumscribing their moral attachments according to the comprehensive liberal ideal.

Reconsidering minimalism

On McLaughlin's continuum, minimal citizenship is distinguished from its comprehensive counterweight by its limited political formulation. Less concerned with liberalism's moral underpinnings, minimalism describes the basic institutional conditions of a liberal democracy and the corresponding skills and knowledge that citizens need. It is minimal in that it places "light burdens" (McLaughlin's term, 2003) on citizens, not strictly requiring them to take an active role in decision-making, nor necessitating that they exemplify

liberal virtues/traits. Unlike maximalism, minimalism holds fast to the public-private divide. Taking from Rawls's "overlapping consensus", individuals come to accept the values regulating public goods not from some shared moral grounding, but from a plurality of "comprehensive doctrines". We can agree to a number of public values – and in particular, justice – even if we disagree on some fundamental, but private, principles. As Crittenden puts it: "A pluralist society. . . can justifiably be referred to as a liberal democracy, as long as 'liberal' does not go beyond the recognition of freedom, tolerance and fair procedures for settling on necessary common practices, and equality as citizens for all the individuals as well as distinct groups – who are members of the 'nation state'" (1999, p.48). While the maximalist argues that this position is untenable because of the spillover effect of liberal democratic principles into comprehensive doctrines, I think the slide from a political liberalism to a comprehensive liberalism is too quick. It results in the emphasis on positive autonomy, and the prescriptions for how we ought to behave as liberals, without sufficiently taking into account individual autonomy or the complex negotiation between background culture and the liberal democratic culture.

My quarrel is with attempts to cement character norms and behaviours. The idea here is to pull back from the maximalists' prescription for citizenship, to contest their project to define who we ought to be and how we ought to behave. To describe in too much detail the proper moral choices individuals should take, is to deny individuals their liberty to exercise their choice of the good life. If we reclaim the space maximal citizens have taken in fixing the definition of citizenship, then we allow for education a role beyond a merely instrumentalist one in support of some notion of the public good (though I think this is an important role). Education also has a more expansive job in encouraging in young people a coherent sense of self. As Peters notes, education "consists essentially in the initiation of others into a public world picked out by the language and concepts of a people *and* in encouraging others to join in exploring realms marked out by more differentiated forms of awareness" (1996, p.52, the emphasis is mine).

For classical liberals such as John Stuart Mill, individual development was an essential condition for liberty. Individuals are recognized by their ability to make choices based on their "faculties of perception, judgement, discriminative feeling, mental activity, and even moral preference" (1996, p.121). But in inculcating individuality or "self-regarding virtues" (as Mill describes it 1996, p.125), social values are not ignored, and Mill thinks that education should persuade young people of the benefits of taking into consideration the welfare of others. And therefore, as Mill points out: "It

would be a great misunderstanding of this doctrine, to suppose that it is one of selfish indifference, which pretend that human beings have no business with each other's conduct in life, and that they should not concern themselves about the well-doing or well-being of one another, unless their own interest is involved" (1996, p.125).

Yet, negative autonomy has often been accused as the bedrock of neo-liberalism. For the maximal theorist, autonomy in the sense of negative freedom has become aligned to the *laissez-faire* market, to freedom of choice, and has therefore propped up individualism and inequality. However, the minimal citizen I want to defend does not take as its hero the enterprising capitalist who sees her success and fabulous wealth as a result of her individual genius and drive. It remains very much within the liberal tradition which values democracy and is therefore underpinned by notions of equity, non-racism and non-sexism. Do these concepts require the moral discourse that maximalists argue is necessary? I believe that a rights-based approach is sufficient. These are concepts that have legal import and have historical, social and political contexts that need to be deconstructed. That through such an enquiry, learners may come to 'care' is a 'spillover' effect, but it is not the purpose of education to elicit such a response.

Conclusion

McLaughlin stretches citizenship education along the same continuum as that of the maximal-minimal notions of citizenship. In other words, a maximal notion of citizenship requires a conscious effort to inculcate maximal virtues, while a minimal notion of citizenship needs no more than a bland and rather blind socialization of learners into people who "vote wisely for representatives" (McLaughlin, 1992, p.237). While I take that teachers who have in mind developing maximal citizens will need an explicit, forthright approach in teaching the dispositions and virtues of such a citizen, I am not convinced that a minimal notion of citizenship requires a minimalist education. Even the example taken from McLaughlin, that minimal citizens need to know how to vote "wisely", assumes that the simple act of marking a ballot paper involves careful consideration of candidates and their policies – a task which surely requires "broad critical reflection and understanding" (McLaughlin, 1992, p.238). An education for minimal citizenship requires much the same as an education for maximal citizenship. On both ends of the continuum, learners need to be able to engage in public debates, to make

reasonable arguments, to recognize their interdependence and to value diversity.

My main objection has been with the checklist approach to teaching citizenship values. Instead, I have argued, we need a far less deterministic portrait of citizenship and to reconsider the importance of education in encouraging individual autonomy. This may, ironically, be more (maximally) demanding on education than the maximal approach to citizenship.

Acknowledgements

This paper had its genesis at the First Stanford/Illinois Institute in Philosophy of Education (funded by the Spencer Foundation, Grant number 200300055).

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Looking to the future with the past in mind: confessions of an Afrikaner

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Abstract

According to Dent (1988), Rousseau's political philosophy is based on a conception of the ideal society as comprising two mutually reciprocal dimensions, namely the political and the pre-political, or personal dimension. Rousseau believed that, although these two dimensions are interrelated, the personal level is more fundamental than the political level. In order for the superstructural dimension to be stable and legitimate, it has to rely on the personal, infrastructural dimension. Regarding social transformation, this means that, unless South African citizens have transformed at the inner, personal level, the new, transformed society will lack stability and legitimacy. In essence, this means that South Africans need to make certain crucial 'mind-shifts'. In this article I intend to examine the process of transformation of the inner, personal self within the context of the changing South African political landscape. As a female white Afrikaner, who grew up in the heyday of Apartheid, I will also try to illuminate the complexity of such inner, personal developments and conversions by reflecting on some personal 'emotional' migrations. I will discuss this with reference to the three distinct cognitive elements of emotions as asserted by Martha Nussbaum (2001), namely its object-intentionality, evaluative belief component, and its reference to the perception of personal well-being.

> Emotions, I shall argue, involve judgements about important things, judgements in which, appraising an external object as salient for our own well-being, we acknowledge our own neediness and incompleteness before parts of the world that we do not fully control (Nussbaum, 2001, p.19).

Introduction

> Emotions shape the landscape of our mental and social lives. Like the 'geological upheavals' a traveller might discover in a landscape where recently only a flat plane could be seen, they mark our lives as uneven, uncertain, and prone to reversal (Nussbaum, 2001, p.1).

Martha Nussbaum's neo-Stoic account of the emotions has significant implications for social and political transformation in South Africa. Her theory, acclaiming emotions as evaluative judgements, emphasises and elucidates one of the most crucial prerequisites for the successful

transformation of the South African society. Because essential to the successful or unsuccessful adjustment by individual South Africans to all the changes in society, are the ways these uncontrollable external objects are appraised and evaluated with reference to each person's perception of own well-being. Nussbaum sees emotions as evaluative-cognitive judgments. They are our ways of registering how things are with respect to uncontrollable external items.

> [T]he peculiar depth and the potentially terrifying character of the human emotion derives from the especially complicated thoughts that humans are likely to form about their own need for objects, and about their imperfect control over them (Nussbaum, 2001, p.16).

At the core of social and political transformations in South Africa then, are its impacts on our emotional lives and the above précis provides an illuminating elucidation of my own rebirth as a 'new South African' – a slow, sometimes painful and often confusing process which started some years ago, and will continue for years to come. Painful and confusing, because at the nucleus of my inner, personal self are several deeply embedded appraisals which were formed in my childhood and *strongly* cultivated by the particular society in which I had grown up. These evaluative judgements, aimed at very specific perceptions of objects, which were often also culturally predetermined, have constituted my personal and cultural identity. Expecting me to alter my judgements, perceptions of objects and ideas of own flourishing means tampering with who I am, with my identity. Transformation then becomes a daunting and complex undertaking, because it urges me to depart from the security of the known and venture into the vastness of the unknown. By sharing short narrative accounts of my personal travel through the changing landscape of a transforming South Africa, I am hoping to capture and articulate some aspects of the journey, some upheavals on the previously flat plane. My approach corresponds with Nussbaum's view that a plausible theory of the social construction of emotions should also recognize the narrative history of an individual, since specific emotional characteristics are embedded by means of early interaction with others. People cannot be isolated from their own particular cultures, and their cultures will inevitably be reflected in their actions (Nussbaum, 2001).

The personal trek: transforming the object

> Emotions are not about their objects merely in the sense of being pointed at them and let go, the way an arrow is released towards its target. Their aboutness is more internal, and embodies a way of seeing (Nussbaum, 2001, p. 27).

Introduction

Transformation implies transforming elements of the past into new, transformed ones. In this part of the article, I shall contend that the transformation of a society from one political dispensation to another necessitates two distinct, although intimately connected types of modifications. Externally, the way society is organised and managed should be altered to establish and operationalise the fundamental principles on which the new envisaged society is to be built. But unless these external changes are complemented by personal changes in people's attitudes, beliefs, perceptions, and subsequent behaviour, the external transformations will be inauthentic and hollow, because they will not truly represent the society's inner soul, and will therefore possibly stand a chance of failure. Social transformation needs to be accepted and assimilated into the very essence of each citizen's personal being. People need to change.

Firstly, I will maintain that central to these deep transformations required of South African citizens, are changes affecting constitutive elements of their emotions. In this regard, the object-intentionality feature of Nussbaum's theory emphasises a fundamental key to our comprehension of the implications of such inner, personal transformations. I will subsequently argue that in order to ensure deep, personal transformation of South African people, the objects of their emotions need to be addressed. Emotions, according the neo-Stoic theory, are always about something (Nussbaum, 2001). These objects are objects of thought, constructed in our perceiving and thinking. The objects can be highly particular and concrete, such as persons, things, events and places, but also more vague or general, such as 'my past' or 'my country'. Emotional or attitudinal transformation will then imply the possible modification of certain existing objects, the disposal of certain past objects, and the acquisition of some new objects.

Objects and anthologies

> Past loves shadow present attachments, and take up residence within them. This in turn suggests that in order to talk well about them we will need to turn to texts that contain a narrative dimension, thus deepening and refining our grasp of ourselves as beings with a complicated temporal history (Nussbaum, 2001, p.2 & 3).

According to the neo-Stoic theory, emotions originate in childhood and are strongly shaped by the culture and the type of society in which the person grows up. Given the diverse social and cultural assemblage of the South African society, as well as its rich and violent political history, it goes without saying that the total collection of emotion objects of the South African citizens will be mammoth and significantly diverse. This argument now leads to another aspect relevant to our diverse society, namely the saliency or significance of emotion objects. Let me explain by sharing a personal experience.

I can remember very well how surprised I was when political unrest broke out in 1976. Being a naïve, cocooned second year student at one of the cradle universities of Afrikaner academia, I was totally taken aback and even indignant by the anger of the black learners of Soweto. These youths protested violently against the fact that they had to learn Afrikaans at school. (Only later did I learn that the real reason for the protests was not a mere curriculum frustration, but related to the much deeper and comprehensive frustration about the harmful and unjust political policy of Apartheid). I was surprised and puzzled by their conduct, because emotionally, we were proverbially 'poles apart'. I could not comprehend their emotions, because the objects of their emotions were completely unfamiliar to me. I have never experienced the frustration and humiliation of being denied in my own country, on ground of the colour of my skin, certain fundamental human rights. My conceptions of basic human rights and democracy were dramatically different to theirs, and the objects of their emotions therefore not part of my personal anthology. I could neither understand, nor respond appropriately, because I could not draw on any references from my own anthology. I was not acquainted with their emotion objects. The reasons for their emotional reactions were therefore obscure to me. I, among many other white people, was suddenly and unexpectedly kicked from the security of my former comfort zone. The violent emotional expressions of these people soon evoked a variety of subsequent strong emotions from me, piercing numerous new objects into my personal anthology. It was only much later, after an extended period of exposure to and confrontation with the emotion objects of these people that my own anthology

began to transform. I had to convince myself that some historical objects had to be discarded and new ones added. Other objects had to be changed or amended before they could go back into a radically reshaped and transformed personal anthology. This was an intensely dramatic and perhaps traumatic task, because it implied vivid impacts on my personal and cultural identity. I had to abandon who I was, without knowing who I was to become. Fundamentally, I had to be transformed if I intended to accept and assimilate the political and social aspects of the new South Africa.

Although my personal transformation process had a kick start in 1976, it has not yet come to a final closure. Transforming previous objects and anthologies is a slow-moving process, requiring repeated incidents of reflection. Too many perceptions of objects had been shaped and cultivated during infant and childhood years, which in my case happened to be at the heyday of Apartheid. These perceptions and beliefs had been strongly and deliberately reinforced by the social machinery of the National Party. Neither the church, schools, cultural societies, youth movements, nor the public media actively encouraged me to consider or engage with the objects of black and coloured people's emotions. My personal anthology simply did not make room for most of their salient objects, perhaps because I was subtly indoctrinated to exclude them from my deliberations. I honestly 'did not know'.

I want to return to the emotion's object-feature of externality and uncontrollability. The riots in 1976 affected me emotionally, because fundamentally, my lack of control was emphasised. These objects were external and I could do nothing to change them or make them disappear. I was extremely vulnerable and passive before them. In order to obtain some form of emotional equanimity and to proceed with my life, I had to accept my defencelessness. And it was only once I had reached this point, once my guard was down, once I was no longer opposing the presence of these new, unfamiliar and daunting objects, that I regained a form of emotional stability. This stability, although often very labile, was possible because I have made certain cognitive adjustments. I have accepted these objects into my anthology. I had to declare myself open. I no longer resisted them and they became part of my life. They became part of who I am. They constituted my own transformed South African identity.

South Africa has a relatively short, yet remarkably rich history. Particularly significant is the fact that the very same historical incidents affected inhabitants of this country in very diverse ways, generating a wide variety of conflicting emotion objects. I believe that the social transformation process in

South Africa intensely affects the object anthologies of each individual citizen's emotions, because in order to harmonize with the changed melody of the South African society, individual objects also need to blend with the collective harmonies of the transformed society. One may now argue that to alter matured anthologies will prove to be impossible, because the constitutive objects are rock-solid. They have been there since childhood years and repeatedly reinforced by the concrete of society. A common response from older citizens confronted with social transformation, is simply, "I'm too old". According to our theory we can assume that they are reluctant to empty their anthologies and compile new ones. Because emptying an anthology implies abandoning your identity and establishing a new one – a daunting task when physical and mental energies are waning. Yet, external manifestations of social transformation will increasingly be waxing. And unless such a person opts for abstinent reclusion, 'adaptation' to the various facets of a transforming society will simply be inevitable. But sheer external manifestations of so-called adaptations will be faked. They will lack commitment and sincerity, causing a constant inner, personal conflict. "I do not want to do this, yet I do it because I have no other alternative". Forced adaptation implies incessant confrontation with undesired external objects, generating an increasing repertoire of negative emotions. A person whose 'transformation' entails a mere external and reluctant adaptation to changing conditions will become a discontented citizen whose quality of life will eventually dwindle. In actual fact, the object-anthology in such a case will indeed transform, because increasingly negative objects will be gathered. Whereas those who have been transformed internally will view the implementation of strategies to redress historically imbalances as positive objects, the same external objects will generate negative images to those resisting the transformation. The very same external object can therefore have diverse images. What one sees will depend on one's belief about the object, but to this aspect I will return in a subsequent part of the article.

Conclusion

With the above I have tried to argue that external social transformation imperatively instigates some kind of personal transformation. Alterations to anthologies are inevitable. The more rigid and fixed the anthology, the more difficult it will be to transform towards an acceptance and assimilation of new objects and in this regard, we need to comprehend and accommodate elderly people's struggles and anxiety. By the same token, those whose anthologies consist of objects dramatically different from those envisaged for the new

South Africa will wrestle even more and probably resist the social transformation forcefully. Alterations to the anthologies of the younger generation may assumingly be less dramatic, however, according to Nussbaum, vital emotion objects have already been established and shaped during early infant years. Given the vast array of cultures and conditions in which South African learners' anthologies are being shaped, it would be naïve to assume that the process of social transformation will not affect children personally, too. We need to be aware of the role that education can play to enhance the compilation of individual object anthologies that will be congruent with a harmonious South African omnibus of object emotions.

The personal trek: transforming the belief

> Seeing the emotions as forms of evaluative thought shows us that the question about their role in a good human life is part and parcel of a general inquiry into the good human life (Nussbaum, 2001, p.11).

Introduction

According to the neo-Stoic theory of emotions, an object does not constitute the emotion all by itself. Since the object is external, a link to the self is required. This connection between the object and the self is the particular thought or belief the self has about the object. The thought thus serves as a connecting cable communicating particularities regarding the object to the self. Without this cognitive action (the thought), there will be no emotion. Together with the object, the particular thought determines the identity of the emotion. But this thought is also in the form of a belief or a judgement, assenting instinctively or involuntary to an appearance of the object. The thought serves to assess the value of the object in relation to the self. The process of assent itself involves two phases. First, there is the mere awareness of the appearance of the object, and then follows the second phase during which the appearance of the object can be accepted, repudiated or ignored (Nussbaum, 2001). Should this thought assess that the object is insignificant or irrelevant, the object will be discarded, with no subsequent emotion. However, should the thought recognise the object as significant to the self, it will make a particular judgement that will relate the self to the object in a very specific way. In this sense, the thought can also be seen as a judgement or a belief.[1] In the second part of this article I intend to examine the implications of this

[1] In this article, 'thought', 'judgement' and 'belief' will be used interchangeably.

constitutive component of an emotion with regards to deep transformation in South Africa. I have argued that dramatic social transformation implies radical changes to objects. Radical changes to objects in turn demand urgent changes to former thoughts, judgements and beliefs.

Acquisition of beliefs

> We have been put together by the many places you have claimed for us, gathered together from all the memories you have maintained for us (Krog, 2003, p.365).

When a complete society is engaged in a process of political transformation, no citizen can escape the turbulence caused by the transformation of external objects. Every individual is compelled to reconsider his or her set beliefs about these objects. In this regard, Nussbaum argues,

> Habit, attachment, and the sheer weight of events may frequently extract assent from us; it is not be imagined as an act that we always deliberately perform (Nussbaum, 2001, p.38).

I now want to return to my personal experience of such an 'extracted' assent, namely the political unrests that started on 16 June 1976. Up till then, blacks as objects did not 'extract' judgements beyond those that I had been brought up with. I complied with the particular beliefs I had about them, and did not bother to reflect on them. My beliefs included unquestioned judgements about their assumed needs, competences, role in society, and so forth. To me they had a very definite identity, which was fundamentally different to my own. Reflecting on these beliefs, years later, I now experience feelings of embarrassment, guilt and remorse. Despite extenuating arguments, such as juvenile innocence and political indoctrination, the awareness of my own inability to make correct judgements about The Other is still haunting me.

But perhaps I do have a defence. Because to a large extent these thoughts had not been my own inventions. They had been strongly transmitted to me since childhood and continually reinforced by the society in which I had grown up – the school, the church, the media, political leaders and so on. Because due to the very effective political machinery of the Afrikaner government, beliefs that could contradict these acquired thoughts about blacks in particular, had been smothered and mostly eliminated before they could reach me. Should a belief perhaps escape the security net of indoctrinatory mechanisms, it had immediately been attended to by means of fierce counter-beliefs. In general, I only received belief-messages regarded as appropriate to fit my unique and predetermined Afrikaner identity. In other words, the cables that connected me to these objects (the blacks) had been tampered with. My beliefs about blacks

had been deliberately fabricated and managed to shape my identity. I had been manipulated to embrace pro-Apartheid beliefs. And my subsequent emotions corresponded with these thoughts.

False beliefs

> [T]he mind has a complex archaeology, and false beliefs, especially about matters of value, are difficult to shake (Nussbaum, 2001, p.36).

But let us return to 16 June 1976. Many black people, and especially school children, died on that day and during subsequent confrontations with security forces. Hector Peterson was the first. I knew about his killing, because the photograph of his limp body, being carried by Nbuyisa Mukhubu, a horrified bystander who accompanied his traumatised sister, made headlines in local and international media. And yet, no matter how hard I now try to detect traces of possible empathy with Hector and his relatives *at that time*, I have to confess to my utter dismay that I cannot recall any. Today I am still intrigued by those wrong judgements and distorted images of objects. Where did they originate and why did they take so many years to transform? Nussbaum's theory, emphasising the crucial formative influence of society on the emotional repertoire of people elucidates my inappropriate emotional responses. In the previous part, I have argued that the specific composition of my individual object anthology had mainly been established and determined by these factors. The cognitive theory of the emotions now provides me with an even better understanding of my inappropriate emotions, because it also explains the falsity of my judgements.

Apart from the false beliefs about *blacks as objects* of my emotions, my belief system also included very distinct judgements about myself as Afrikaner, transmitted to me since childhood and continually endorsed by society. These judgements included the belief that we, as Afrikaners, were the icons of civilisation. Our forefathers had been aristocratic and noble people from Europe, who had been brought to dark Africa by an act of God. Our pious mission was to save Africa from destroying itself. The only way to accomplish this God-given task was to civilise Africa for the Africans. They needed us. We were therefore the superior and they the inferior – we, the masters and they the slaves, we the assertive and they the subservient. Above all, I was also led to believe that most of them acknowledged this state of affairs. They appreciated our presence and interference, because they acknowledged their dependence on us. They were grateful to us for rescuing them and 'lifting them from the muddy doldrums of Africa'. So there was nothing improper

about Afrikaans as compulsory school subject, the assumed cause of the unrest. Competencies in the language of the superior will in actual fact empower them and allow them to elevate themselves above their circumstances.

These were the well-established judgements that informed my emotions during the 1976 riots. Reflecting on these judgements now I am perturbed by the numerous examples of contradicting beliefs and subsequent hypocritical behaviour. Because Afrikaners' roots were supposedly anchored in the noble principles of Christian Nationalism. Love for Christ and love for the God-given country presumptuously provided sufficient raw materials with which the firm fabric of the Afrikaner's cultural identity could be woven. This fabric was assumingly guaranteed against evil external onslaughts, because its ingredients were noble and dignified. My evaluative judgements of external objects were accordingly guided by these two directive principles: As long as my beliefs corresponded with 'a love for God and a love for my country', they were noble. The fact that predominant Afrikaans churches sanctioned these 'dignified principles' furthermore confirmed Afrikaners' beliefs that their vision was legitimate. Church and state had been integrated to such an extent that political beliefs infiltrated church dogma. Reflecting on it now, it seems as if the strategy to sketch God as supporting the Afrikaner was deliberately applied to silence objections to its political policy. As P W Botha, former president, once said, "An Afrikaner does not go on his knees before people, he does it before God" (Krog, 1999, p.403). I am tempted to infer that the Afrikaner 'captured' God and made Him an Afrikaner. So despite the fact that the Afrikaans churches propagated the biblical 'Love thy neighbour', the concept of neighbour had been subtly manipulated and ideologized to such an extent that almost no questions were raised about blacks' absence at Afrikaans church activities. Blacks-as-neighbours, according to the Afrikaner interpretation of God's command, were apparently merely implied in a paternalistic way. There was nothing improper about prohibiting their presence in classrooms, churches, cinemas, post offices, parks, public toilets, benches, beaches, hotels and other recreational places, which had been reserved for whites. Disconcerting Afrikaner voices were furthermore quickly silenced, mainly by means of the shrewd, yet effective strategy of stigmatisation. The most effective and victorious strategy, was ultimately to label them as Communists, who were trying to brainwash the Afrikaners towards accepting the principles of Communism – at that particular time in history regarded as the major threat to international stability.

Reflecting on these ideological beliefs now, I realise that the Afrikaner National Party government equated nationalism with ethnicity. 'Love your country' equalled 'love the Afrikaner nation'. This reminds me of Anderson's definition of a 'nation' (1983, p.15) as ". . . an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign". According to Anderson (1983, p.129), people need a sense of nationality. They yearn for ". . . the personal and cultural feeling of belonging to a nation". Cultural products of nationalism, such as poetry, prose, fiction, music, and visual arts express this love very distinctly, and come to represent a unique cultural identity. Hence, cultural products can also be 'managed' and clandestinely applied to cultivate, kindle and even enforce a particular identity. Once these cultural products furthermore comprise the entirety of one's frame of reference, one's belief system gets a very distinct shape. I now realise that Afrikaner nationalism had hijacked cultural products, the concepts of patriotism and loyalty to one's fatherland. This realisation leaves me with the disturbing awareness that my cultural identity, and my subsequent belief system as Afrikaner had been manipulated and was thus probably inauthentic.

But let me return to the riots in 1976. The significantly violent nature of the blacks' behaviour merely supported the former beliefs I had about them – that these people were barbaric, uncivilised and ungrateful. My subsequent emotional responses towards those events corresponded with former beliefs. There was apparently no reason to question their validity and justifiability. According to Nussbaum, "The fact of having an emotion depends on what the person's beliefs are, not on whether they are true or false" (2001, p.46). It was okay to be angry, disgusted and judgemental.

However, as the riots continued, snowballing through the country, novel thoughts evolved. These new thoughts entailed judgements about the objects' apparent prolonged presence and infinite residence in my anthology. The assent to the appearance was no longer a mere awareness of the objects. It included a deliberate acknowledgement of the objects' existence. I had no option but to embrace the presence of the new objects and assimilate them into my anthology, judging that they deserved my serious attention. '*These objects now concern me. My own well-being is at stake. I am extremely vulnerable'*. In that sense, the objects and their associated judgements became part of who I was. And I knew that they were here to stay. Fundamentally, the objects and beliefs that had formerly constituted my identity were beginning to transform. For the first time, I hesitantly permitted myself the liberty of cautiously investigating these objects. Yet, this time, adamantly independently and critically. I put previous beliefs on hold and attended with interest to faint

traces of new judgement-connections between the objects and me. Gradually I began to untie the knots in previous cables that had seemingly distorted former proper communication in the past. I subsequently discovered that some historical cables simply had to be slashed to release the free flow of my own newly-discovered liberated and independent judgement. Essentially, my process of personal transformation required a re-evaluation of those particular belief-cables that had previously connected me to external objects and provided me with my false security as Afrikaner.

Assessing and transforming beliefs

> The goal is not to avoid pain or reality, but to deal with the never-ending quest of self-definition and negotiation required to transform differences into assets (Krog, 1999, p.449).

Releasing belief-cables is a risky task, because the stakes are high. It involves abandoning the security of inner stability and the daunting prospects of collapsing into a rudderless and uncertain being. Disconnecting holds the risk of becoming alienated from one's support system. On the other hand, to cling onto false and inadequate belief-cables also poses a danger. Inadequate cables may unravel eventually, causing severe harm to the self. The only long-term proposal will thus be to first examine and assess the true quality of existing beliefs and abandon the mere parroting of others' fallible and potentially false beliefs.

Personal transformation implies adjustments to belief networks at individual level. These acts of adjustment are sometimes performed unawares. There are also incidents when such modifications are deliberately performed, triggered by inner, personal conviction and motivation. However, profoundly fixed beliefs may frequently be experienced as armatures, paralysing the self and preventing significant progressive action. In this regard I have reason to believe that the process of transforming the personal beliefs South Africans have about one another will be prolonged and painful. The trek towards transformed beliefs will be a long, stumbling one. The South African society comprises a multiplicity of diverse cultures. Not only individuals, but cultural entities had been affected by the segregation policies of the previous political system. All these people's emotional lives had been affected by a variety of beliefs about objects. Given the multiplicity of cultures in South Africa, we have reason to assume that the current range of emotion-beliefs is still vast and very diverse.

Congruent beliefs

> There remains before us the building of a new land . . . a synthesis of the rich cultural strains which we have inherited . . . It will not necessarily be all black, but it will be African (Luthuli in Krog, 1999, p.167).

Transforming beliefs is in itself an intricate process, but aligning diverse beliefs to serve the benefits of a harmonious and peaceful society is even more problematical. Beliefs most Afrikaner whites previously had (and some still have) about blacks directly contradicted beliefs most blacks had about whites (and some still have). Beliefs in this country are poles apart, or as Sachs (Goboda-Madikizela, 2003, p.vii) remarks, "Right from the other end of the moral and cultural landscape". Referring to the meeting between Eugene de Kock and Pumla Goboda-Madikizela,[2] Sachs subsequently asks, "Can these two people . . . cease to be black and white, female and male, and simply be humans?" (2003, p.ix) – a question that is fundamental to the successful healing of our society.

In order to align beliefs and to direct them towards a universally shared vision, South Africans need to release their grip on generalised beliefs about one another. Because unless acquired inclinations towards suspicion, intolerance and stereotyping are deliberately addressed and contradicted, these may become momentous stumbling blocks on South Africans' road to reconciliation. Prolonged stereotyping, for instance, is one of the most harmful inheritances of a segregated political past, because it implies continuation of an uncritical confidence in former beliefs. It also implies an apathetic languor, a blasé lethargy, and even a blatant unwillingness to acquaint oneself with the other. Without a deliberate effort to familiarise oneself with the formerly unfamiliar other in order to discover his or her true inner being, former beliefs will prevail. In the attempts to conceptualise the other, an unfamiliar outsider has no alternative but to revert to paramount impressions and acquired perceptions. The only way for South Africans to start transforming their beliefs about one another will be to reach out to another and adopt an inclusive attitude.

However, beliefs can only be modified to blend into consonant harmony once they are identified and fastidiously scrutinised. South Africans, especially those from either side of Sachs's "moral and cultural landscape", first and

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[2] Goboda-Madikizela is a clinical psychologist who served on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Eugene de Kock was commanding officer of Apartheid death squads.

foremost, have to engage with their own beliefs. These beliefs, many of which are background beliefs, so deeply entrenched that they had become part of our cognitive make up, need to be brought to the surface and examined. And although painful, they will have to be shared with the other. Because transforming the South African society above all means vacuuming the reciprocal communication cables to exterminate any traces of suspicion, a dense sediment still obstructing reciprocal trust. Sachs subsequently pleads for a constant search for understanding, ". . . the objective being always to find the foundations, even if slender, for repair and moving forward" (Goboda-Madikizela, 2003, p.viii, ix). Firm mutual foundations of the transformed South Africa society will have to be constructed with the best quality materials, contributed by all interested parties. In a joint search for apposite building bricks, South Africans will succeed in restoring the deterioration of its past shaky foundations – the damage caused by wrong beliefs.

Conclusion: acquiescent beliefs

> Will I always be a prisoner of my past with normal vices and virtues – always with this kind of instinctive, guilty obsequiousness? (Krog, 1999, p.19).

Martin (1999, p.194) refers to 'a continuum' on which narratives slide between two opposed conceptions of cultural identity, namely the 'open and peaceful' and the 'exclusive and aggressive'. Krog's fervent wish to 'wipe out the past' (1999, p. 223) echoes a surge of remorseful regret, increasingly evident amongst those Afrikaners, who find themselves 'sliding' towards the 'open and peaceful'. Yet, they are bowed down by the heavy and uncomfortable burden of their historical and cultural past, because they carry with them the grave knowledge of former false beliefs. I am one of this group of Afrikaners, and like Krog (1999), I also wish to come to terms with ". . . the fact that all the words used to humiliate, all the orders given to kill, belonged to the language of my heart". This group of Afrikaners is grappling with new exponential beliefs, generated by former beliefs. Although inconsistent and sometimes erratic, these beliefs eventually converge into the very distinct judgement: *I was part of the single most significant false belief in South African history*.

However, Nussbaum (2001) believes that a person, who has made cognitive adjustments, has less cognitive dissonance. Emotional change is a result of a shift of propositional content. To become a truly transformed South African, I, like Krog and many others, will also have to adjust the thoughts I have about my past. On my own trajectory I will have to reach the point where the above

disturbing and paralysing judgement transforms itself into the acquiescent judgement that former false beliefs cannot be reversed. I am a product of my past, but I do not have to be its prisoner. I need to embrace the judgement that my former beliefs had indeed been false. And once I have done this, I will no longer be harassed by my own masochistic judgements. The renegotiation process of my cultural and personal identity will no longer be sabotaged by conflicting judgements about myself. I will acquiesce and reach the resting-place of emotional equanimity on my own trajectory.

The personal trek: transforming the self

> The value perceived in the object appears to be of a particular sort. It appears to make reference to the person's own flourishing . . . Another way of putting this point . . . is that the emotions appear to be *eudaimonistic*, that is, concerned with the person's flourishing (Nussbaum, 2001, p.31).

Introduction

In the previous parts I have argued that inner, personal transformation implies a modification to the intentional objects of South Africans' emotions. I have also argued that the associated beliefs about these objects need to change. But an emotion also has a self-referential element. Central to these personal conversions stands the self as the agent of its own transformation process. The self's external world consists of a cosmic array of objects and the internal connection between the self and these objects are the thoughts about the objects. Only those objects evaluated as significant, due to their relevance to the self's own well-being, are attended to. The thoughts about the objects are therefore discriminating judgements, appraising the external world of objects in its relation to the self. Lazarus (1991) thus sees an emotion as a continuous affair between the self and the outside world (Nussbaum, 2001).

The social transformation of South Africa needs to occur at two reciprocal levels. In addition to the external, structural changes in political order, the inner core of society also needs to transform. And the inner core cannot transform if we don't know what it was or what it is. Especially during times of social transformation people have entangled thoughts about themselves. Their ideas about what they regard as important and valuable are often muddled and disorganised. They tend to question the validity and authenticity of their identities, and of their former notion of 'the good'. During times of transformation, these concepts need to be redefined. Before we can begin to transform, we need to know who we are.

Understanding the self

> We have self-consciousness but do not always exercise it (Nussbaum, 2001, p.126).

By now I have found an explanation for my deplorable ignorance about the real life conditions of black people prior to 1976, and to a certain extent one may argue that such ignorance is excusable. Because according to the neo-Stoic theory, my emotions had been shaped by social norms (Nussbaum, 2001). We, the young and naive Afrikaner birdies, safe and secure in our snug nests, fed with the apparent nutritious ingredients of Apartheid ideology, had been totally oblivious of the well-beings of the other inhabitants of the same tree, especially those in the dilapidated nests on the shady side. We honestly did not know much about our communal tree, apart from the sunny, cosy inside of our Afrikaner nest. Because the imposed policy of 'Separate Development' preserved our ignorance. There was no reason to get acquainted with distant objects beyond the boundaries of our nest. Because according to the clarion call of D F Malan, Afrikaners had to adhere to only three commandments, "Glo in jou God, glo jou Volk en glo in Jouself".[3] Apartheid limited my world of significant objects to a world consisting only of those exclusive objects to be found inside the Afrikaner nest – a nest, whose boundaries had been densely woven with twigs of unquestioned rhetorical clichés. Verwoerd's assassination in the sixties was therefore regarded as a national tragedy, participating in the tenth anniversary celebrations of the Republic of South Africa in 1971 was a privilege and to shake Vorster's hand in my matric year was an honour. I sang *Die Stem* [4] at the top of my voice with cold shivers running down my spine. It was great to be an Afrikaner. My evaluative judgements appraised the objects of my Afrikaner anthology as valuable and sufficiently significant for my own flourishing. Only later did I discover that this venerated nest had indeed been built on an isolated branch of a public South African tree.

Reflecting on the above I now realise that my experiences of cultural exclusivity were not merely restricted to a minority group of smug Afrikaners at the southern point of Africa. My Afrikaner past was characteristic of a general modernist trend to enclose a culture within rigid boundaries that both benefit and exclude around the criteria of race and ethnicity. Furthermore, my

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3 Believe in God, your 'volk' or cultural group, and yourself. In this regard, I need to mention that I am hesitant to translate 'volk' in terms of 'nation', since I see 'volk' as more limited to the own group.

4 The national anthem of the former Republic of South Africa.

Afrikaner past merely represented an Afrikaner hybrid of what Giroux (1992, p.40) calls, "patriarchy parading as universal reason" and "the imperiousness of grand narratives that stress control and mastery". At the time when Hector Peterson died, the concept of culture had been successfully manipulated and exploited by senior Afrikaner leaders as an organising principle to construct borders. These borders generated relations of domination, subordination and inequality. The dense boundaries built around the Afrikaner nest did not allow its inhabitants the possibility of experiencing and positioning the Afrikaner within a productive exchange of narratives. On the contrary, it erected boundaries framed in the language of universals and oppositions. My experiences as exclusive Afrikaner furthermore echoes Anderson's argument (1983) that nations are communities, which are imagined as limited. Anderson subsequently argues that a nation is conceived as "a deep horizontal comradeship" (1983, p.16). In natural ties, such as skin-colour and birth-era, one senses "the 'beauty of *gemeinschaft'*. To put it another way, precisely because such ties are not chosen, they have about them a halo of distinctness" (Anderson, 1983, p.131). I now understand why I respected fellow white male students at the University of Stellenbosch who voluntary joined the security forces in 1976 to keep the rioting blacks at bay. The fact that white male soldier friends were prepared to kill and even to die for my country on the borders of Angola, can thus be ascribed to what Anderson calls an "imagined fraternity" (1983, p.131). In this regard, I believe that the 1976 perception of my own cultural identity could also be regarded as what Castells (2004, p.8). refers to as a 'legitimised identity', since it had been introduced by the dominant Afrikaner institutions of society to extend and rationalise their domination.

Reconciling the self

> In this rhythm of embrace and denial, this uneven intermittence of vision, we have a story of reason's urgent struggles with itself concerning nothing less than how to imagine life (Nussbaum, 2001, p.86).

I soon realised that the initial riots of learners in 1976 were merely the small beginnings of a major political revolution that the formerly smug regime would be unable to control. It was indeed a 'Total Onslaught' that affected my well-being and toppled my scheme of goals. It highlighted my inadequacy and it endangered my social status. But the most disconcerting and impugning evaluative judgement accused my identity of being fraudulent (Nussbaum, 2001). My personal self-examination process to detect the cause of my very

limited sphere of concern in 1976 is painfully revealing, moreover also confusing and disturbing, ripping my formerly self-sufficient condition. Nussbaum is indeed correct when she argues, "Knowing can be violent, given the truths that there are to be known" (Nussbaum, 2001, p.45). How can I live with the brutal facts of my own fallibility and venture into the process of personal transformation with this shameful and disgusting albatross around my neck? I thus share Krog's passionate wish to "wipe the old South Africa out of everyone's past" (1999, p.223). I wish I could depart into the new South Africa with a blank consciousness, my past wiped away by a severe attack of amnesia. Do I really know who I am? Because it seems as if I am still engaged in a constant search for my true identity, migrating between footholds in order to find the authentic one from which to depart on my explorative voyage into the new South African society.

In this regard, Nussbaum's theory (2001) provides me with consolation and also direction. I should not strive to detach myself from my memory, since such a disconnection would be a total loss of myself. Centuries ago, Augustine also appraised the importance of memory, when he argued, "I cannot comprehend the power of my memory, since I cannot even call myself myself apart from it" (Nussbaum, 2001, p.538). I thus need to liberate myself by releasing the masochistic chains of self-accusation. And the keys to unlock these constraints, I believe, lie in comprehending the origin of the cultural identity of the Afrikaner. In this regard, Castells's notion (2004) of a resistance identity is illuminating. He explains that ethnically based nationalisms often originate from a sense of estrangement and anger at unreasonable political, economic or social exclusion. He thus refers to the phenomenon of nationalist self-affirmation (which had been typical of the Afrikaner), as "*the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded*"[5] (2004, p.9). In the process, a defensive identity in relation to dominant institutions and ideologies is constructed, rescinding the value judgement while at the same time strengthening the borderlines (2004). I grew up with the sombre knowledge of the consequences of Kitchener's 'Scorched Earth' Boer War strategy, when thousands of Afrikaner women and children starved to death in British concentration camps. No matter how uneasy I feel about the horrific consequences of the Afrikaners' political policy of Apartheid, I nevertheless honour many aspects of my former cultural and political past. I take pride in the Afrikaners' bold endeavours to rise from the ashes of the Anglo Boer War

5 Italics according to original text.

and 1930 Depression and re-erect themselves in the first half of the twentieth century.

My cultural identity thus seems to be ambivalent. One part does indeed revere my honourable Afrikaner roots, whilst the other wishes to reject any identification with the smug, prideful and self-centred Afrikaners of the Apartheid era, also discarding images of myself as an ignorant and uninterested youth in 1976. And the only way to assimilate these two parts of my identity into a single authentic unity will be to engage in a process of reconstruction. And this transformation process, Taylor (1994) believes, cannot be socially obtained, but must be inwardly generated.

Reconstructing the self

> Being true to myself means being true to my own originality, which is something only I can articulate and discover. In articulating it, I am also defining myself (Taylor, 1994, p.31).

In order to proceed with the narrative of the reconstruction of my own identity, I want to return to the neo-Stoic theory of the emotions and its relevance to the current process of social transformation in South Africa. According to Nussbaum, reference to the self is the most important component of an emotion, since an emotion evaluates the world from the self's own point of view. Reflecting again on Peterson's death, I realise that neither he, nor blacks in general, belonged to my own scheme of goals and ends at that particular time. And this is a disturbing discovery. In essence, I feel ashamed and guilty about my lack of humanity and compassion. I feel as if I have contributed to the Afrikaners' collective construction of South Africa's immoral and dismal past. In this regard, Nussbaum's account of the vital roles of both shame and guilt in the emotional life of human beings is relevant. She rejects shame as a potential threat to morality and to an imaginative inner life. Moral guilt, on the other hand, is seen as a noble emotion and attuned to optimism about one's own projections (Nussbaum, 2001). "[M]orality involves the use of reparation capacities, respect for the humanity of another person, and regard for the others' neediness" (Nussbaum, 2001, p.218). Morality is thus not self-centred but extends its focus to the intrinsic worth of objects outside the self, dismantling the dense boundaries of self-interest. In this sense, moral guilt protects people's inner worth and their dignity (Nussbaum, 2001). I now realise that in South Africa's current process of social transformation I have endless prospects to replace past negative perceptions of indifference and ignorance about the other's well-being with positive perceptions of compassion and interest. But in doing so, I will have to open my boundaries of

eudemonism and include the welfare of distant others as an element of value in my own scheme of goals and ends. My new cultural identity will have to be reconstructed in dialogical rapport with others. Because the way I see myself does not only depend upon my inherent cognitive, perceptual and integrative capabilities, but also on my conception of temporality and causality, and to the extent to which I see myself along with others (Nussbaum, 2001).

Conclusion

> New Patriots are confident enough to understand that, in addition to national identities, they also have ethnic identities and global identities. And because they see themselves as complex fusions of the local, the regional, the national and the global, they understand, with no difficulty, that their neighbours are such complex fusions, too (Asmal, 2002, p.9).

The South African tree does indeed belong to me, but it also belongs to distant others. In order to transform the social order of this tree, we need to depart from our secluded and exclusive nests and acquaint ourselves with the other legitimate owners of the same tree. We need to share our individual perceptions of well-being and our expectations of our new society. Collectively we should then strive to establish a society in which a common scheme of goals applies, a common agreement of what it means to live well for all South Africans.

Castells explains that people construct a project identity ". . . when social actors, on the basis of whatever cultural materials are available to them, build a new identity that redefines their position in society and, by doing so seek the transformation of overall social structure" (2004, p.8). I believe that central to the social and political transformation of our country should be the construction of such a collective project identity. And I believe that such a collective identity will constitute my own personal identity, because according to Taylor (1991) one cannot define one's identity by disregarding history, society, the yearning for camaraderie and everything that matters in one's own life. And I can rest assured that such an identity will still be authentic, because "Authenticity is not the enemy of demands that emanate from beyond the self; it supposes such demands" (Taylor, 1991, p.41). I can only discover my role in the transformed South Africa through my relationship with other South Africans. As white Afrikaner, I also need to adopt the *ubuntu* principle: *I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am* (Krog, 1999, p.166).

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Education, imagination and forgiveness

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Abstract

In this article I reflect on teaching and learning in a Masters programme in education policy studies with which I have been involved with for the past two years. To my mind, the theoretical framework which has underpinned our teaching and learning in this project relates to seminal ideas of Hannah Arendt and Maxine Greene, in particular their understanding of action and imagination respectively. I critically explore moments in our teaching and learning which lean towards imaginative action. One of our breakthroughs has been to act imaginatively through exploring possibilities as to how forgiveness can be harnessed beyond the university classroom. However, our pedagogical classroom encounters have not been without their dilemmas such as the students' canonical reading of texts, their uncritical reliance on teachers' authority, and their claim about the conclusiveness about the outcomes of education. This in turn brings into question the aims of our ambitious project – to stir students to reach out on their own initiative, engage them in critical thinking, and to share in a dialogue where there is always more to be discovered and more to be said (Greene, 1995). Our narrative is still in the making, which implies that our imaginative action agenda with postgraduate students in education policy studies at a South African university should not be abandoned but "released through many sorts of dialogue" (Greene, 1995, p.5). This is necessary in order that our teaching and learning "disclose the ordinarily unseen, unheard, and unexpected" (Greene, 1995, p.28), such as happened when we dialogically discovered a language of forgiveness.

Towards a pedagogy of imaginative action

At the outset I want to make clear that the theoretical positions I assume in this article have been integrated into my narrative account of teaching and learning in a South African university classroom, particularly exploring how education, imagination and forgiveness can possibly be reconciled. In the first place, education in the Aristotelian sense involves a social process whereby people critically and deliberatively engage with one another. When they do so, they not necessarily focus on acquiring knowledge, but rather relate to one another's "otherness" (Zembylas, 2005, p.153). In this sense, the way we as teachers engage with learners/the Other becomes a central concern for teaching and learning. And when we respond to one another's "otherness" we

begin to "open up" ourselves to unexplored possibilities – we learn from one another and in many ways begin to experience one another in ways not perhaps previously thought of (Zembylas, 2005, p.156) – ways which might involve reconciling our differences and of experiencing one another. It is here that learning about forgiveness can become useful in enhancing pedagogical relations particularly after decades of apartheid rule where resentment and hatred for the Other dominated people's lives in this country. Reflecting on and cultivating forgiveness on the part of teachers and learners can be a way as to engender possibilities whereby people can be attentive to one another. Hence, my interest in a project which aims to link education to imagination and forgiveness.

My personal story begins with a reflection on the students, teachers and aims of the Masters programme in education policy studies. Sixteen students initially registered for the programme. Three months into the course there were four withdrawals, for reasons ranging from the 'too theoretical take' of the programme to the unresponsiveness of the programme to the 'practical needs' of the students. Since most of the guest professors who taught on the programme had been invited to teach on the 'Democratic Citizenship and Education Policy' module (the other two modules included 'Leadership, Educational Management and Policy' and 'Comparative Analysis of Education Policy'), I shall limit my discussion to the former module. Our twelve remaining students mostly come from previously disadvantaged communities who understood the need to empower themselves with skills to deal with challenging changes in schools (they are all teachers).

To begin with, firstly, the presentation on 'Dialogue and Deliberative Democracy' focuses on a theory of dialogue which links teaching and learning to four different kinds of practices: debate, inquiry, conversation and instruction. Dialogue plays itself out, firstly, in debate when students and teachers challenge one another; secondly, in inquiry when teachers use critical questions to elicit student responses; thirdly, through conversation when teachers and students set out to persuade one another through rational argumentation; and fourthly, through instruction when teachers mediate learning through texts (Burbules, 2003). These modes of dialogue among teachers and students represent a coming together aimed not only at solving educational problems, but as Greene aptly puts it, at "the task of arousing readers' (students') imagination. . . (to) reach beyond" (Greene, 1995, p.2). Simply put, students were encouraged to imagine situations in and beyond the classroom where things would be better – to repair or to renew.

Secondly, the presentation on 'Democracy: A Problem for Education or Educational Problem' looks at democracy as an educational problem concerned with the subjectivity of human beings – democracy is a situation in which all human beings can be subjects. In other words, to be a subject means to participate in shaping a context – to act. By action in the Arendtian sense it is meant that people should begin to take the initiative, since subjectivity only exists with others who are subjects as well; it only exists in action. For this reason, universities can neither create nor save democracy, but create conditions for democracy to flourish – when teachers and students encounter moments of subjectivity in action. The point is that democracy means a community of actors who are always in the making marked by an emerging solidarity, a sharing of certain beliefs, a dialogue about others and one that remains open to people taking the initiative. This idea of democracy as imaginative action is cogently articulated by Greene (1995, p.39) when she states the following: "Community (democracy). . . has to be achieved by persons offered the space in which to discover what they recognize together and appreciate in common; they have to find ways to make intersubjective sense. Again it ought to be a space infused by a kind of imaginative awareness that enables those involved (teachers and students) to imagine alternative possibilities for their own becoming and their group's becoming". In short, democracy is a form of imaginative action, whereby teachers and students take the initiative to imagine alternative possibilities, "possibilities of things being otherwise" (Greene, 1995, p.34).

Thirdly, the presentation on 'Deliberative Democracy, Diversity and the Challenges of Citizenship Education' argue that schools (I would say universities) pay special attention to articulating reasons carefully and to ensuring that different students' perspectives are heard and taken into account (Enslin, Pendlebury and Tjiattas, 2001, p.129). This view seems to be commensurate with imaginative action "capable of connecting with students" (Greene, 1995, p.12) – a dialogue with students in order to understand how they reach out for meanings, go beyond conventional limits, seek coherence and explanations (Greene, 1995, p.57). Hence, imaginative action requires that teachers connect with students' storytelling with the aim to tap into undisclosed possibilities.

Fourthly, my own contribution to such an imaginative action project aims to cultivate in students a sense of compassion in order that they might become serious about the vulnerabilities of others (Waghid, 2004). In other words, "teaching university students to show compassion means inculcating in them the value of learning to oppose undeserved conditions of living which are an

affront to human dignity such as socio-economic deprivation, racism, inequality and poverty – conditions that are rife in South Africa and on the African continent" (Waghid, 2004, p.16). This idea of cultivating compassion seems to be attuned to imaginative action, which is aimed at minimising the social paralysis we see around us and restoring the sense that "something can be done in the name of what is decent and humane" (Greene, 1995, p.35). Greene (1995, pp.35-37) calls this kind of action imagination, since it brings an ethical concern to the fore, a concern that has to with a sense of wide-awakeness, of what it means to overcome somnolence and apathy, particularly on the part of those who suffer deprivations.

In essence, this project's teaching and learning agenda seem to have had at least the following intertwined moves in mind: encouraging students to imagine situations in and beyond the classroom where things would be better; democratising our classroom encounters whereby teachers and students can take the initiative to imagine possibilities not otherwise thought of; teachers connecting with students' storytelling with the aim of unleashing untapped possibilities; and teachers cultivating a sense of 'wide-awakeness' or compassion in students whereby they set out to 'rebel' against injustices.

Pedagogical openings: uncovering the 'silences'

Teaching in the 'Democratic Citizenship and Education Policy' module clearly had in mind opening up possibilities for students "to break through the limits of the conventional and taken for granted" (Greene, 1995, p.109). What I came to realise through my teaching – since I had more contact with the MEd students than my other colleagues – is that when I wanted to provoke students[1] I had to reach out into my own story, to reach beyond who I am. It became important for me to disclose how I was demeaned in my early years of tutoring postgraduate university students by being told I would never get a university appointment in the department where I tutored since I was "too much of a school teacher to do philosophy of education".[2] The implication seemed to be that I was not equipped to participate in the sort of rigorous analytical academic debates and arguments which, in this instance, were dominated by a selected few White academics about 'standards', 'outcomes', 'achievement'

1 Mark (Coloured man), Marius (White man), Fred (Coloured man), Peet (Coloured man), Sigi (White woman), Toto (Black man), Chrisna (White woman), Judith (Black woman), Elrico (Black man), Elisabeth (Black woman), Melanie (Coloured woman), and Dennis (Indian man).

2 I was a high school Physical Science teacher for almost eighteen years.

and 'assessment' in the post-apartheid South African education system.[3] I could not help feeling that I was racially discriminated against on the grounds of being a Coloured male, who of course had limited opportunities to move into a higher education reserved mostly for Whites.[4] My story seemingly aroused most students in the class to couch some of their stories in particular ways, what Greene (1995, p.115) refers to as "unconcealing" what is hidden, trying "to carve a space in which we can break the peculiar silences and choose" (Greene, 1995, p.117).

What I heard from students mostly related to 'deficiencies' in South African society and how it adversely affected education in schools – most students were in-service teachers. What I heard mostly involved what South African civil society in the domain of education seems to grapple with at large – inequalities in schools,[5] Black students being 'told' that they are unable to think theoretically and rigorously,[6] racism in universities and schools,[7] unemployment of thousands of school leavers, obsession of school bureaucrats with the idea that education should meet national economic and technical

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3 On applying for the vacant academic position in the department where I worked, a White male was appointed on the grounds that his portfolio 'better' served the academic interests of the department.

4 Roughly speaking, 95% of all academic posts in the country in the early 1990s were occupied by Whites, of whom the majority were White male professors.

5 Previously advantaged White schools remain privileged in terms of material and human resources – these schools have substantial finances and can employ additional teachers in governing body posts in order to cope with overcrowded classes (disadvantaged Black schools have teacher-learner ratios of 1:90 and 1:70 in comparison with White schools with ratios of 1:25 or 1:40). White schools have superior teaching aids, more qualified teachers, and well-equipped classrooms and sport fields.

6 Sometimes I hear colleagues in my own department speaking about how difficult it is for Blacks students to articulate points of view or formulate arguments.

7 Although some changes have occurred in the demographic profiles of universities and schools since 1994, there are still institutions where prejudices and biases towards Black, Coloured and Indian students are unacceptably deep-seated.

needs,[8] dominance of the transmission mode of teaching in schools despite the fact that the new curriculum demands that critical students be 'produced', insecurity (gangsterism and drug trafficking) at some schools which threatens learners and neighbourhoods, and the continuous humility suffered by those who remain marginalised (especially women) and the poor, who mostly live in informal settlements. The point I am making is that our dialogical action in relation to education in South Africa seemed to have aroused a sense of reflection, an experience of opening to one another what Greene (1995, p.116) calls "the texts of our lived lives".

By far the most common need articulated during our dialogical classroom encounters was: "How do we (teachers and students) find openings which would enable us to be more attentive to those who suffer vulnerabilities?" so as to produce something in common as persons in "speech and action"? (Arendt, 1998, p.19). I initiated the discussion by telling my students how, as a high school student, I had to endure the humiliation of being thrown into the back of a police van and physically manhandled for organising students at a local school to join the 1976 South African school boycotts.[9] Despite being an above-average student, my school grades during my final examinations still suffered as a result of my involvement in school protests. For many years I had an internal resentment towards Whites (the policeman who manhandled me was a White male) and the apartheid system of (higher) education which happened to dominate most of my early years as an undergraduate university student at an institution of higher learning reserved only for Coloureds, but where most of the professors were Afrikaner White men. Even when I joined the university where I currently work some seven years ago, I remained suspicious towards my White colleagues.[10] I then knew that I required an alternative way of, as aptly put by Greene (1995, p.112), "living among

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8 Most of the students in the MEd group voiced their frustration with departmental officials (subject advisers and circuit school managers) about the uncritical implementation of South Africa's outcomes-based education (OBE) curriculum. Teachers are not encouraged to engage critically with OBE and its assessment criteria. They slavishly have to make sure that marks are recorded and paper work completed for external departmental moderations by school managers and subject advisers.

9 The 1976 Soweto school revolts were sparked when parents and students resisted the introduction of Afrikaans into Black schools.

10 In 2002 I was appointed as the first non-White professor in the Faculty of Education in more than 100 years. The institution where I work was considered by many as the feeder institution for racist apartheid politicians. Many buildings were named after apartheid political leaders.

chance happenings and fortuitous encounters, without clear possibilities". Put differently, I knew I had to produce results as a newly appointed academic who was not White, but considered by some of his colleagues as bright enough to make it in academe. But before I could succeed, I had to come to terms with myself, that is, I was challenged to suppress and change my inner feelings of resentment towards the other (those Whites who oppressed me) – to act by overcoming the unease and mistrust caused by my upbringing in a racist apartheid society. Simply put, I had to forgive.

My story seemed to have moved students to tap into their own stories – their own assumptions, prejudgements and memories. In dialogical relation with them, I heard their stories which involved the injustices and humiliations they had suffered. From students I heard personal anecdotes which ranged from being jailed for treason against the state as young students, that is, being Black activists in townships against apartheid; being accused of collaborating with the state as White teachers; being denied access to study at certain White universities because they were Coloured and Indian; to watching how Black parents faced torture and humiliation when not in possession of a pass in urban areas. When I asked them, "How do you feel now?", most of them responded by saying "We have learnt to forgive". For me it certainly appeared as if their storytelling in dialogical fashion may be informed now by "outrage at injustices", belief in freedom and human rights, and the decency of welcoming and inclusion for everyone (Greene, 1995, pp.42-43). Our stories not only seemed to have aroused in us an awareness of what is inhumane and unjust, but also to venture where we might never have been – engaging critically in dialogues about forgiveness and friendship. Forgiveness, we realise, means engaging willingly and openly in dialogues about our past and others – how we can initiate imaginative action that can move us beyond our feelings of hurt, resentment and that which alienates us from those who are other and different.

For this reason, I find comfort in the work of Arendt who proposes that human beings forgive and make promises in order to deal with the unpredictable and unexpected outcomes of action. For Arendt (1998, p.241) forgiveness means to undo what was done, since it is "always an eminently personal (though not necessarily individual or private) affair in which *what* was done is forgiven for the sake of *who* did it". Many of us (South Africans) are faced with feelings of revenge for past injustices perpetrated against them by the apartheid rulers, and retaliation and vengeance could only provoke further revenge and political instability. Recent efforts to reconcile and forgive on the part of many victims of past apartheid wrongs broke the chain of further revenge. Arendt (1998,

pp.240-241) notes that no one person can forgive by herself: only the unpredictable co-operation of others can break the chain of unintended consequences set off by action: "Forgiveness is the exact opposite of vengeance, which acts in the form of re-acting against an original trespassing, whereby far from putting an end to the consequences of the first misdeed. . . Forgiving, in other words, is the only reaction which does not merely re-act but acts anew and unexpectedly, unconditioned by the act which provoked and therefore freeing from its consequences both as the one who forgives and the one who is forgiven".

For me the question remains: how does one begin to forgive? What prompts one to forgive? Arendt makes the point that one has to be willing to forgive, which implies that one should have some regard for the other person, that is, have respect for the other person (Arendt, 1998). Respect is for Arendt a kind of 'friendship' without intimacy and closeness; it is a regard for the person from the distance which the space of the world puts between us (Arendt, 1998). Despite the fact that students appeared to have made moves in the direction of achieving important breakthroughs in the university classroom in relation to cultivating forgiveness, our teaching and learning encounters seemed to have been characterised by intractable dilemmas, which seem to diminish the empowering reconciliatory agenda which could have emanated from dialogical action. These dilemmas seem to be incommensurate with our imaginative action agenda and could be an obstacle in achieving sustainable forgiveness beyond the university classroom. It is to a discussion of this issue that I now turn.

Pedagogical dilemmas: obstacles to forgiveness

In analysing a dilemma, I take my cue from Burbules and Hansen (1997, p.1), who claim that a predicament or dilemma "is a problematic state of affairs that admits of no easy resolution". The point about the dilemmas which I encountered in a university classroom is that, as a teacher, I cannot dictate what students will learn or the attitudes they develop toward education. For as long as teaching and learning persist and involve diverse people with different interests, they will be punctuated with difficulties and problems – dilemmas. The following dilemmas emerged in my classes. First, most students complained that the readings I selected were too 'difficult' and at times inaccessible. They required some form of mediation in working through the texts. Some raised doubts about the relevance of these readings to educational practice. Many students complained about the lack of skills to analyse,

interpret and understand. They required mechanical, step-by-step procedures to understand these texts. Second, most students felt 'good' about the fact that the readings selected for the course were sufficient and they did not need to visit the university library for additional sources of information. It seems to me that these readings were treated as canonical texts which most students had to master without engaging critically with the thoughts of the authors of these texts. In fact, one of my colleagues complained that students simply did not read the texts in preparation for class discussions. Third, in class many students who spoke seemed to have romanticised and lauded the explanations of teachers without seriously challenging them. Fourth, after the course had been completed, most students confessed that their lives have changed and they now know what education is.

Why do these dilemmas seem to be such deep, intractable contradictions which undermine rather than enhance the efficacy of teaching and learning? First, the fact that most students expected teachers to mediate their autonomous understandings of the texts suggests that students considered their teachers as exclusive sources of knowledge who alone can mediate learning. I am not suggesting that these teachers should not assist students in their inquiry. Of course these teachers need to do that – to arouse students' interest. They also need to motivate students and establish conditions to elicit student responses. How else can they connect students to the course materials? However, expecting these teachers to be the primary interpreters of these texts would be tantamount to most students falling into the trap of becoming recipients of knowledge without engaging with and constructing defensible meanings themselves. Now if one considers that teaching is a practice, it follows that both teachers and students ought to engage in the construction of meanings through intersubjective mutual action. It cannot be accepted that teachers should be considered as the exclusive owners of knowledge, since that would contradict the very idea of a practice. Practices are shared intersubjective actions whereby both students and teachers exchange, share, contradict and bring into question one another's ideas, perspectives and thoughts – they take the initiative.

Of course, most teachers have pedagogical authority over students, since they are supposed to have more knowledge and perhaps more informed perspectives on education – teachers are more experienced, more articulate and well-informed. But this does not mean that they have the sole voice on what counts as good and not-so-good education. To suggest that all teachers are the sole owners and interpreters of knowledge is to undermine the very assumption that teaching is a practice. My concern is that considering all

teachers as the exclusive interpreters and constructors of knowledge can make teachers fall prey to a certain complacency because they know what is 'best' – that is, teachers are the 'experts'. In defending the view that teachers are not the exclusive interpreters and constructors of knowledge, I find comfort in Maxine Greene's compelling book, *Teacher as Stranger*. From the stranger's position, a teacher calls into question her assumptions and those of her students. Greene invites teachers to interrogate their assumptions about their understanding of education. In her words, "To take a stranger's point of view on everyday reality (say in a university classroom) is to look inquiringly and wonderingly on the world in which one lives. It is like returning home from a long stay in some other place" (Greene, 1988, p.267). That is, as the stranger a teacher is not the exclusive interpreter and constructor of knowledge, but a 'homecomer' who critically glances at her own perspectives on and stances towards education – she becomes "a person vitally open to his (her) students and the world. . . continuously engaged in interpreting a reality forever new; he (she) will feel more alive that he (she) ever has before" (Greene, 1988, p.270). In this way, a teacher is not the exclusive interpreter and constructor of knowledge, but rather engaged in "transmuting and illuminating material to the end of helping others see afresh. If he (she) is able to think what he (she) is doing while he (she) is vitally present as a person, he (she) may arouse others to act on their own freedom. Learning to learn, some of those persons (that is, students) may move beyond the sheltered places until they stand by their own choice in the high wind of thought" (Greene, 1988, p.298) – students too become strangers. Why could such a view of pedagogy constitute a problem for friendship and the concomitant achievement of forgiveness? If most teachers are considered the main authors of knowledge construction – in contrast to arousing their students' interests and connecting with their subjectivities – then the possibility of students becoming friends in the first place would be undermined. They expect their teachers to analyse and interpret for them – a matter of wanting something in return; of wanting to be a 'friend-who-is-loved'. And, if such a view of friendship depends on how someone else directs the pedagogical dialogue, forgiveness would not be a practice which others want to pursue on their own, but rather one in which they would be directed on how they should act – how they need to reconcile. If someone has to direct me as to how I need to forgive my 'enemy' without my wanting to do so on my own, such form of forgiveness has little chance of being intrinsically rewarding. I did not forgive because I believed in the empowering potency of forgiveness to build a democratic community. Rather, I was told or wanted to be told how I should act, which makes the potential for lasting forgiveness very unlikely.

Second, why is an attitude towards readings as master texts a dilemma for teaching and learning? Considering readings as master texts promotes an account of knowledge construction which suggests that the selected readings comprise a body of knowledge (definitions, descriptions and explanations) which has been somewhat neutrally (objectively) selected and which can be used as absolute reference to give an account of meaning, in this instance, educational studies. One student reported on her assignment in which she had used the three themes of the MEd programme ('Democratic Citizenship and Education Policy', 'Leadership, Educational Management and Policy' and 'Comparative Analysis of Education Policy') to answer her research question. The pedantic approach she used to show how she connected all the themes taught in the course to her research about leadership and democratic citizenship is an indication that she treated the texts and themes as canonical items that had to be used in any question posed about educational studies. An understanding of the readings as a selection of neutral facts which have to be mastered canonically would itself be at odds with the view that texts should be engaged with critically. Firstly, a text should be read in a way that sets out the range of possible interpretations of the text, and identifies and evaluates the presuppositions of this or that particular argument in the text; and secondly, a text should be read in a such a way that the reader is questioned by the text as much as the text is by the reader, that is to say, the text should be read in a way that encourages the reader to engage in systematic controversy (MacIntyre, 1990). And the importance of reading a text in this way is that the outcomes of one's reading do not represent the final (conclusive) answer, but rather a rational (interpretive) judgement, which itself must be subjected to critical scrutiny by others who engage in similar intellectual debate free from the imperatives of constrained or unconstrained agreement. Only then does learning take place.

The point I am making is that an account of texts as master documents would be blind to conflicting, incommensurable and contending viewpoints on the subject, in this instance, educational studies. In any case a reading of the texts as fixed and canonical would be blind to the unexpected and unpredictable possibilities which make teaching and learning encounters what they are. To teach does not mean just to expose students to a body of carefully selected texts, which they have to relate to without questioning, challenging and being challenged. Teaching requires that we establish conditions whereby students consider and read texts as initial encounters with issues of education. They learn. But teaching also requires that students be encouraged to question authority, in this instance, texts. Their learning should be critical. I agree with

Burbules (1997), who claims that authority is an inherent factor in any teaching-learning situation which cannot be abrogated or denied, even if one wishes to minimise its significance – students and teachers cannot deny that certain texts have to be read in educational studies. However, student reliance on authoritative texts or their perceiving texts to be canonical also carries the cost of uncritical "dependency" (Burbules, 1997, p.67), which poses a dilemma for teaching and learning. In this regard I agree with Alan Block when he states: "The teacher who is not challenged cannot learn; the student who will not challenge needs no teacher. In a classroom in which all is prescribed and known – in which it is declared what a teacher should teach and a student should learn – there can be no teachers and no students. In such a place we would be not strangers but unseen" (Block, 1998, p.15). This is what forgiveness depends on – people need to challenge one another's understanding of caring, forgiveness, trust and friendship if they are going to move beyond the injustices of the apartheid past. For instance, with reference to the *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* (2001) in South Africa, one can have little doubt that cultivating in students the 'values' of democracy, social justice and equity, equality, non-racism and non-sexism, *ubuntu* (human interdependence), openness, accountability, respect and the need for reconciliation, and recognition of the rule of law, can produce a heightened awareness of what it means to be a 'good' citizen. It is difficult to imagine that a student who has internalised the 'values' of social justice, equality and *ubuntu* could in any way not be considered as having achieved a worthwhile moral outcome, which would invariably position her favourably to deal with issues of democracy, accountability and reconciliation in post-apartheid South Africa. And, bearing in mind that forgiveness aims to engender in students a deepened awareness of and appreciation for mutual respect, disagreement, justifiable criticism, critical judgement, rational deliberation and nation building, it follows from this that democratic 'goods' as announced in the *Manifesto* can in fact bring about reconciliation through education. The point about forgiveness as achieving some form of moral 'good' is that this cannot be achieved without common, shared and agreed-upon democratic 'values' as proposed in the *Manifesto*.

But then, forgiveness also involves cultivating in students the capacity for nation building. To my mind, nation building cannot occur if students are just equipped with the skills of practical reasoning such as critical judgement and rational, intersubjective deliberation. Nation building also requires that students be taught to have respect for human suffering and to be serious about the suffering of others, particularly after the majority of South Africans have

been subjected to decades of racial discrimination and political exclusion that resulted in abject poverty and human suffering. It is here that I find the current *Manifesto* insufficient as an enabling condition to bring about substantive forgiveness. It is my contention that students should become morally just persons. Whereas the *Manifesto* highlights the importance of teaching students to become democratic, socially just, equitable, egalitarian, non-racist and non-sexist, dignified, open, accountable, respectful, reconciliatory and law-abiding, it does not specifically mention the necessity for students to become trustworthy, generous and compassionate – 'values' which focus greater attention to those who suffer and are oppressed and less attention on students' self-interest.

Both Gyekye (1997) and Nussbaum (2001) make an argument for compassion, which they contend can invoke in one a sense of generosity towards others such as solidarity with and respect for human suffering, kindness by seeing that no particular harm is done to others, listening to and alleviating the day-to-day suffering of others, and evoking remorse towards those on whom harm was inflicted – a matter of prompting in students an awareness of the misfortune or suffering of others which might have occurred through no fault of their own. The point I am making is that 'values' as announced in the *Manifesto* can result in students developing the capacities for rational argumentation, deliberative engagement through which they can build relations of trust and mutual respect. However, these 'values' cannot cultivate in students the virtue of being compassionate towards others. And this is what forgiveness also requires. Hence, merely accepting uncritically what others, in this case, the South African Department of Education, perceive as good for forgiveness would jeopardise the quest to achieve such reconciliation. The point I am making is that one needs to draw into 'systematic controversy' those very 'values' which one thinks will enhance forgiveness in South Africa. This leads to the question: why should teachers be challenged? If teachers are not challenged or if teachers do not invite students to challenge them, education cannot be said to encourage valuable learning. In the first place, the very purpose of inviting students to challenge a teacher's point of view or interpretation of texts is for them to become independent learners and knowledge producers. Learning is at odds with students being spoon-fed without being allowed to think critically – to question, to challenge and to debate educational issues. And, if teachers do not invite students to question their authority, then the prospects of valuable learning are dim. I am not alone in raising the dilemma about university teachers not establishing enabling conditions to challenge the 'critical minds of students' which could foster

valuable learning. MacIntyre (2002) claims that some universities lose sight of the end of education, namely the development of students' intellectual powers, and substitute for this the task of merely passing examinations. Students might have passed examinations, but this does not mean that they have actually become critical thinkers who have learned the "outcomes of scientific inquiry for their own sake" (MacIntyre, 2002, p.5). I agree with MacIntyre, in the sense that I am not convinced that our classroom situations have been conducive to encouraging students to become independent learners. I am even more worried after having read some of the assignments of students for this course – unprovocative and transmission/mastery-based.

Besides reading texts master texts, another point is that if students claim that they now know what education is, then this could be construed as their seeing education as an end in itself. This is to say, most students think that they know what education is and would therefore be well placed to deal with the unexpected, unpredictable disruptions that they might encounter in their school classrooms (many of the students in this course are in-service teachers). In short, to know absolutely what education is suggests that students have found final answers that are conclusive and beyond doubt. In this way teaching seems to be considered as some instrumental technique and skill which should lead students to the right answers – to certainty and finality. In terms of this view, teaching would be a dilemma because it would ensure that rival voices about what constitutes education would be illegitimately suppressed. In other words, conflicting and rival standpoints about education would not be brought into contention with one another, because students perceive teaching as an instrumental technique which should not elicit dissent about what does or does not constitute education, in this instance, forgiveness.

Overcoming our dilemmas: in defence of a pedagogy for forgiveness

Approaching dilemmas through action and imagination inclines us to approach teaching and learning in a different way. First, by abandoning the expectation that readings be considered as master texts, teachers and learners take the initiative – they act – whereby they become more open to interpret, analyse and look beyond texts. We become less likely to insist on final and certain conclusions and are more able to deliberate with one another. This of course requires, firstly, that teachers develop a well-attuned ear for the responsive capabilities of students, and secondly, that they refine their range of communicative capabilities in order to elicit student responses and to nurture

them to become self-critical and deliberative (Hogan 2003). And, if learners are self-critical and deliberative, the potential to discover a pedagogy of forgiveness would be far more likely. In other words, self-criticism and deliberation open up possibilities to engage critically and imaginatively with issues of friendship and trust – those notions which make forgiveness highly possible.

Second, as teachers we act together with our students to the extent that we expect to learn with and from them, and we feel less threatened by occasions in which we sometimes need to admit that we do not know or understand everything. In this way, teaching itself is a form of learning anew with others (students), where the teacher acts as listener, questioner, instructor, guide, and responsible and caring leader (Hogan, 2003). Only then will our students not be hesitant to make mistakes or to offer reasons which might at times appear muddled or confusing. Through our actions we accept as conditional that our classroom practices are meant to explore and construct and make allowance for error. In this regard I agree with Burbules (1997), who makes the point that our attitudes as teachers should include accepting as a condition of exploration and discovery the occasional state of being lost, confused and unsettled. This is what forgiveness requires – not being certain and accurate about the details of forgiveness, but rather to look at it as something in the making, a situation which needs to be imagined far beyond our current perceptions of what it is. The point is, our imaginative actions in our teaching-learning encounters should make us open to the unexpected, the uncertain and the unpredictable. In this way our teaching-learning encounters cultivate a kind of deliberation about forgiveness without any preconceived end point or finality in mind. This attitude invariably leads to new pathways, new perspectives and new discoveries about what constitutes forgiveness and our different understandings of it – an attitude which at this stage seems to be far removed from the minds of some of the students in my postgraduate course.

In short, imaginative action in our teaching-learning encounters in university classrooms not only prompts in people an awareness of the multiple voices and perspectives of others, but also urges us to focus on others' multiple realities and searching for possibilities of social justice, equality and forgiveness.

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The following statistics for 2002 and 2003 provide an indication of the pattern.

Year	Accepted with no or minor revisions	Accepted after revisions	Not accepted
2002	9	7	41
2003	15	9	47

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