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Contents

Editorial..... 1

Articles

Schooling, youth adaptation and translocal citizenship across the
post apartheid city
Aslam Fataar 9

Identification with images of the teacher and teaching in formalised
in-service mathematics teacher education and the constitution of
mathematics for teaching
Zain Davis, Jill Adler and Diane Parker 33

Teacher preparation for diversity at three South African universities
Maureen Robinson and Denise Zinn 61

Lifelong learning, academic development and the purposes of higher
education
Tahir Wood 83

South Africa's approach to school safety: can it succeed?
Rika Joubert 107

'In search of home' – practices of the self in selected teacher narratives
Daisy Pillay and Betty Govinden 125

Book Review

Review of *Learning to teach in South Africa*
Wayne Hugo 141

Reflections on Kenton

Lynne Slonimsky 151

Busisiwe Alant 161

<i>Journal of Education</i>	162
Editorial Committee.....	163
Editorial Board.....	164
Notes for contributors	165

Editorial

Wayne Hugo

Let's make the best of the situation
Before I finally go insane.
Please don't say we'll never find a way
And tell me all my love's in vain.

Layla: van Morrisen

Aslam Fataar opens out for us one girl's successful negotiation of the complex spatiality of Cape Town in pursuit of an education that would release her from the bonds of old apartheid inequalities. Unlike the original Layla who drove her lover mad and into the desert when cultural politics prevented their marriage, here we have a Layla who enters a city previously cut off to her colour and learns how to steer herself through its bewildering expectations until she eventually takes the helm of her own life. The sacrifice of her family to facilitate her mobility and the difficult intellectual, racial, cultural, religious and gendered terrain she covers on the road provide the illuminating backdrop. Put as such we have a contemporary 'fair' tale, yet this is only one component of a rich and complex intellectual piece of work that engages with both cutting edge social theory and the contemporary post apartheid educational landscape. Fataar develops a sophisticated and subtle conceptual account of spatiality, folding physical, social and emotional space into each other, and then demonstrates how such a nuanced concept plays out translocally as a girl wakes up before sunrise in a poor outer suburb of Cape Town and travels through the buzz of the city and the broader interactions and perspectives it offers, until, at the very centre of the city, she enters the school of her choice, embraces its habitus and intellectual capital, and learns how to play the educational game.

The effort and sacrifice involved for both her and her family are immense. To help Layla become fluent in the dominant language of her new school, the whole family switched from speaking Afrikaans to English. But there is a more malignant undercurrent to the narrative. Layla submits herself to the regulation of the school, becoming almost chameleon like in her mimetic ability to assimilate what the school asks and then perform with excellence according to its demands. The high school she chooses has a discourse of equal treatment where benign racelessness dominates even though all the teachers are 'white' and almost all the girls black or coloured. There is no

productive language of difference that could help learners negotiate the lived reality of their dissimilarity within the school's mores. Racial and cultural differences are swept under the carpet.¹ What the school has instead is a powerful focus on gendered deportment and how to behave as proper ladies, of how to walk, sit, talk and dress. Foucault, Elias, Bourdieu and Bordo would have nodded their heads. These are complex issues clearly put by Aslam, but rather than judge Layla or the school he points to how she turns the assimilative expectations of the school to her own advantage and establishes for herself a viable identity and future within the complex spaces of the post apartheid city.

Davis, Adler and Parker provide three telling examples of how mathematics education is taught. In the first the lecturer re-enacts the teaching of grade 7–9 algebra in front of his students and expects them to acquire what it means to teach mathematics by living through the process with him. The wager here is that by students actually seeing what teaching of algebra looks like through the image of the lecturer's re-enactment they will become teachers of algebra themselves. It is an attractive and popular practice in teacher education – I will be a good teacher in front of you and you will become a good teacher by learning from my example. The implications of this are far more complex than the initial imitation of teaching by the teacher suggest. The imitative act has to stylize the actual practice in the field, exaggerate it, take a fluid activity and frame it through specific selections. The imitation cannot simply be the reality of teaching, that is too vast and amorphous a reality, it has to condense and intensify, become 'unlike' in the very process of imitation. The irony here is that the more real the image attempts to be, the more it denies the necessities of its own selection and framing. The second case presents a lecturer attempting to make her students more conscious and systematic of their own mathematics teaching practice by getting them to reflect on their own practice as mathematics teachers. The whole endeavor comes unstuck when the students do not bring examples of their own school practice to the party, forcing the lecturer to enact the processes herself in the vacuum of their silence. She is forced to replace an interrogation of an image of their practice with one of her own. Again, I think, the case exemplifies a fairly common and age old pedagogic experience of trying to start from where a learner is and

¹ Wally Morrow, in *Learning to Teach in South Africa* makes the point that in a country just emerging from a history of using difference in abusive ways it is probable that a strong egalitarian foundation needs to be built before emphasising difference again, otherwise we risk falling into old habits or watching the repressed return with vengeance. This insight gives a more positive spin to the benign racelessness of the school.

then pushing them further through a process of critical reflection, only to find, unlike Meno's slave, that the learner is not clear exactly what his or her experience actually is. The third case portrays a lecturer providing structured resources in the form of videos, lesson transcripts and readings that make the images of teaching mathematics education explicit, enabling continuous reference to these resources in the lectures. A stable, explicit and external image of teaching mathematics is provided. Difficulties caused by the failure of students to bring their own examples or comprehend the texts was thus partly overcome by an already prepared set of resources external to the lecturer or the student. All three cases provide examples of how images of mathematics teaching are used to teach students how to become (or improve as) mathematics teachers, the subtlety lies in the differences of how the image is pedagogically worked with. Each case shows lecturers structuring mathematics education in such a way that the students have examples similar to what good practice is, but only the third makes these images explicit and independent of the vagaries of individual contributions. This independence actually enables individual contribution by providing a clear base from which to work. Rather than crudely tar all forms of mimesis with the same brush, a delicate distinguishing of different pedagogic modalities of working with mimesis enables an understanding of when and how working with images of good mathematics teaching is effective and when it is not.² By the end of the paper a vital part of teacher education in South Africa has been illuminated. What the content of mathematics for teaching is and how it is taught is brought under the analytical spotlight, enabling both empirical and theoretical discussion to continue on this neglected but central aspect of our educational lives.

Maureen Robinson and Denise Zinn also explore issues of teacher education, but rather than taking an instructional pedagogic focus they explore the regulative social justice dimension of post apartheid teacher education engaged in dealing with discrimination and building the new democratic South Africa. They unpack for us how three higher education institutions in the Western Cape work with diversity in their curriculum, focusing on students specializing in primary school teaching. Who teaches diversity, how do they

²

It is an ancient education debate, running from Plato's dismissal of imitation in the *Republic* through Aristotle's rehabilitation of simulated representation and the catharsis it produces by holding recognition and distance together in a complex balance. *Mimesis*, by the way, is contrasted to *Diegesis* in both Plato and Aristotle – imitation/representation of an implicit competence in contrast to narration/report on an explicit performance. Bernsteinians are permitted a wry, non carthartic, smile.

teach and what do they teach are the three questions framing the study. The demographics of both lecturer and students engaged in primary teacher education are disturbingly white of skin, resulting in highly skewed cumulative experiences of difference. When combined with a generation gap the mix is lethal – lecturers remember ‘those days’ where it was exciting and dangerous and essential to engage politically, and students, mostly apathetic or downright antagonistic when it comes to diversity, refuse to discuss issues, bunk lectures with diversity in it, take zero’s on assignments and generally resent any talk about politics. This sometimes results in attempts to smuggle diversity in through other subjects (like History or Sociology, or Psychology, or Philosophy, or Life Orientation, or Religious Studies, or any and every subject that exists in the curriculum). Even better, opportunities are waited for and then seized, like visits to Holocaust Museums, and finally, best of all, personal identity exploration and becoming a reflexive thinker are used to uncover all the dark residues left unconsciously behind. And if none of the above works, then at least the students can be sent off on the all important teaching practice to a school very different from their own to engage with diversity face to face, never mind if the school is dysfunctional and the pedagogic dimensions of their practice are compromised. Some of the above confusion would be helped if there was some core that held diversity together, rather than diversity itself having diverse meanings, interpretations and practices. Each lecturer, it seemed, had a free hand in deciding what diversity was. Porteus has a useful suggestion that cuts through the sludge – locate diversity within notions and practices of human rights, a human rights pedagogy – and I think she has a point, although even a cursory understanding of the points people like Salim Vally, Crain Soudien, Nazir Carrim and Penny Enslin make reveals the complexity of the issue at hand. What we cannot deny is that South Africa needs to educate its teachers on what democracy and citizenship entails. This is the sea in which pedagogy swims, the issue is how we breathe it without drowning.

Tahir Wood attempts to untie the Gordian knot of what it means to be a life long learner generating socially useful knowledge in the increasingly bleak landscape of neo-liberal, post Fordist capitalism. Take the specialization route within university education and two immediate concerns arise. Focusing on developing and improving specialist skills in one discipline could condemn the university student to obsolescence as the economy moves on. Furthermore, there are widespread and deep problems at the heart of our current malaise that demand an integrated and critical intervention across disciplines, something that a specialist focus at university level just does not provide. The opposite

route of generically churning out flexible critical thinkers who can identify and solve problems using critical and creative thinking has its drawbacks as well (as many of us have witnessed on our teacher education programmes). Its over-generality means that any practical, focused intervention on the specific ground of the speciality becomes difficult to articulate and left is a critical thinker able to say she is a critical thinker without a substantial base to work from. Obviously the truth lies somewhere between pure specialization and the generic aspirin, but that kind of synthetic statement is the worst of panaceas. What kinds of specialization and integration are there, how do they intersect, at what levels, in what context, what are the hybrids, how do the knowledge forms, epistemologies, research programmes falsify, build, clash. This, of course, is Joe Muller's question, with whom Wood has a spat two thirds of the way through his article. There are issues that specialization cannot answer with its narrow focus, issues of worldwide import like:

the establishment of new planetary indices of well-being beyond monetised measurement; investigation of new capacities for democratic social planning provided by information technologies; the development of systems of income allocation and social validation outside of obligatory waged labour; the emergence of new models of peer to peer and open-source communication systems; the critique of dominant paradigms of political economy in the light of ecological and feminist knowledges; the refinement of doctrines of global 'public goods' and of concepts of global citizenship; and the formation of aesthetics and imaginaries adequate to the scope of species-being (p.98).

There are vital issues all human beings should engage with and be able to make links between. Graduates from a university should have been exposed to these issues and be able to engage with them above and beyond the specializations of their degree. Otherwise they enter a world of work without an understanding of its complex logics and contradictory demands, one of which is precisely to reduce costs through systemic unemployment and contract hire and fire. A graduate has to enter the world of work with his/her eyes critically open to be able, at barest minimum, to negotiate its shifting demands, and at best to transform it into something more humane and fair, such is the nature of lifelong learning and such is the emancipatory project of an expanded vision of academic development sketched out by Tahir Wood.

Rika Joubert provides a nuanced discussion of school safety in South Africa, using legal cases to demonstrate and enrich her argument. She elaborates on the ambitious safe school programmes and projects initiated in 2000 under the wing of *Tirisano*, legal cases that have arisen in relation to safe schools, and the lack of provincial and district support for schools engaged in the complex process of enabling safe schools in Post Apartheid South Africa. How

schooling is caught up in larger societal forces emerges clearly from the account, only the larger context is now the Constitution and the striving to address inequality, not Apartheid exploitation and the reproduction of inequality. The shift is salutary and points to a coming of age, not that the older issues have gone away, but there are new grounds and new logics we have to frame educational issues within. It is not only the placement of education within an increasingly legalistic world that we need to critically engage with. We must also look at this legal practice, with its developed case history and nuanced yet explicit lexis, and ask if we can learn from it in terms of our own educational practices. How does the legal field operate in comparison to the educational field, how does it reproduce itself, qualify, improve, develop, elaborate and respond to new developments, how does it specialize consciousness, what are its signature pedagogies. We have a lot to learn from how Law works with case history, of how it makes a judgement negotiated but explicit and revisionary, of how it delicately makes distinctions within distinctions based on a history of its own development as Joubert shows in relation to how the Wynkwart judgement is nuanced in the De Kock judgement. In the first a nine-year-old learner sustained serious injury scaling a locked gate he had been instructed not to climb, in the second an employee slipped on a highly polished court floor and also sustained a serious injury. What are the grounds for establishing similarities and differences between the cases and on what basis are these judged. Compare the discussion of the Wynkwart and De Kock cases to those Davis, Adler and Parker raise in their discussion of Teacher Education and we can begin to see just how nascent we are in systematically developing educational case studies, explicit criteria and delicate lexis. We can also see how a legalistic discourse on human rights speaks to Robinson and Zinn's article on teacher preparation for diversity, of how explicit legal case histories could help structure the terrain of social justice education (with a necessary critique of course). Education is differently structured to Law, but as Shulman pointed out twenty years ago, we can gather much from their intersection.³

Holding all of this in mind when reading Daisy Pillay and Betty Govendin's intimate accounts of two teachers personal and professional lives as teachers is very instructive. Rather than a type of case study that seeks to work from single instance to general principle with variables isolated, dissected and compared, we have rich and vivid descriptions that blends portayal with

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See <http://gallery.carnegiefoundation.org/insideteaching/> for a stellar example of how Shulman is currently working with case studies in Teacher Education.

analysis to catch subtle energies normally missed with harder methods. Case studies vary from those where generalization is possible to those where specificity is celebrated, it is what distinguishes quiddity from haecceity. Each goes towards the essence of the case, but the first goes to the whatness of genus, the second to the beauty of the instance. If Davis, Adler and Parker push for quiddity then Pillay and Govendin demonstrate the fruits of a more particularist account. Theirs is less of a case study, more of a selective narrative built up from memory work using photographs, poems, sketches and letters resulting in a rich and thick account of teachers living. This kind of project is helped by using a flexible and allusive central organizing concept that allows for metaphorical play, like 'homelessness'. It allows Pillay and Govendin enough evocative space to bring us the unique stories of Camilla and Zandile and their respective struggles against the hardship and discrimination that faces teachers who are female and 'non-white'. Each work with practices of the self that help them to overcome tough situations, and like Layla, we are left with a positive account unusual in these tragic times. We cheer for Zandile, for example when she gives an account of her arriving at school to find all the chairs stolen from her classroom, rather obviously by a new beer hall down the road, marching down to the beer hall with her learners and carrying all the chairs back. We admire her for teaching rapists, murderers and hijackers in the Alcatraz Prison School for juveniles with a guard posted outside her door, feel for her when she describes the chauvinism of her principal, before turning away to our computer screens and the terrible jobs we have as academics in neo liberal times. But most of all, we read with interest how Zandile and Camilla find resources within themselves, their families, their life histories and different pedagogic spaces to deal with complex educational situations in productive ways.

What this edition of the Journal of Education certainly does not lack are rich, almost Dantesque characters within the educational field and the lives they lead. Talking of characters, Wally Morrow's new book *Learning to Teach in South Africa* is reviewed at the back end of the journal. There you will also find sharp accounts of this year's Kenton Conference as well as a formulation of what the Kenton Community stands for.

Schooling, youth adaptation and translocal citizenship across the post apartheid city

Aslam Fataar

Abstract

This article draws on my research in a township on the outskirts of Cape Town. It focuses on young people's identification adaptations in their interaction with schooling in this city. While the deeper markings of race, class and gender associated with the city's apartheid past are ever present, I will suggest that young people's adaptations are negotiated fundamentally in light of the changing cultural topography of race (Rizvi, 2004) in which life in South African cities are currently experienced. I employ the lens of 'translocalism' to signpost the new articulation field in terms of which school students reflexively adapt their youthful identities. I use the case of one high school student to illustrate how many young people navigate spatially reconfiguring urban school terrain.

During my ethnographic work in a township 45 kilometres from inner city Cape Town, I frequently observed large numbers of high school children who daily leave their homes in a myriad of different school uniforms to attend schools outside this area. The early mornings at the bus and taxi terminals in Rustvale (pseudonym) are abuzz with the chatter of young bodies making their way to their remote schools. It was clear that they chose not to attend any of the five high schools in this sprawling township of about 100 000 people.

I figured that their daily mobility must have been inspired by a particular reading of the worth of the township schools. Here the notion of education as a 'positional good' (see Jonathan, 1997) is given particularly poignant meaning. These coloured and black African kids choose to access remoter schools because they regard them as crucial for cultivating the necessary aspirant dispositions that will allow entry into formal middle class employment and lifestyles. In a study of learner migration at 120 selected urban schools in five provinces, Sekete, Shilubane and Badiri (2001, p.27) found that 49% of the students are "from other residential areas than those in which schools are located". This represents a sizeable migratory school attendance phenomenon. It is mainly black and coloured children who travel daily to remoter former coloured, Indian and white schools, with little similar cross racial movement into former black schools (Sekete *et al.*, 2001). Enormous sacrifices are made

in order to access the ‘proper’ schools on the other side of the city. School choice is understood and negotiated as a key resource in positioning aspiring kids for later life. The exercise of such choice depends on the ability to pay school fees, which requires a large financial outlay for these mostly struggling families.

Fee paying at public schools in South Africa was formalised under the post apartheid government as a means of augmenting the annual government funded operational grants allocated to the schools (see DOE, 1996). Schools, for example, could use their fees to employ extra teachers and acquire optimal learning resources such as books and sport equipment. The greater a school’s middle class parental base, the greater its ability to charge fees, enabling it to retain and expand its qualitative status. With quality ensured, schools such as these, mostly in former white locations whose apartheid bequeathed resource bases are crucial to their on going viability, could easily translate their functional character into sought after status. Kids similarly accessed those former non-white schools that succeeded in retaining their image of good quality in the post 1994 period. But these schools are few and far between. The apartheid government’s under funding of black schools has had a lasting legacy on their functional status.

With a solid financial basis and discursive projection in the popular media and school promotional campaigns, the former white schools were accessed by children from non white townships. Following Rizvi (2001), the cultural topography of race and youth identification in these schools changed fundamentally. Akin to his example of children of Indian sub-continental origin who began to attend schools in white working class towns in the UK during the 1970s and thereby change their school’s ethnic make up, the demography of children in former white schools in South Africa also changed markedly. These schools were often unprepared to adapt to these new demographic dynamics. Paradoxically, most of the formal integration between children of all races in South Africa’s schools after apartheid took place in these schools. Their teachers remained largely white. The daily trek of kids out of places like Rustvale had a direct, if hitherto under explained, impact on the receiving schools. The extant literature on school inclusion shows that those schools that received children of other races by and large failed substantively to adapt to the cultural and racial backgrounds of the incoming kids (see Johnson, 2007; Sayed and Soudien, 2004).

A discourse of cultural assimilation meets the arriving kids with the expectation that they adopt the ‘culturally white’ ethos of the school (Dolby,

2001; Johnson, 2007). Race had transmuted into culture, based on the schools' self proclaimed view that their age old traditional 'habits of being' are sufficient for the cultural socialization of the newer black kids (see Dolby, 2001). An example is the insistence at many schools that only rugby be allowed as a sport code, to the exclusion of soccer, which is very popular among non white boys. Basketball, an increasingly popular sport among black youth, is frowned upon. Similarly, school concerts are dominated by 'high' cultural items such as ballet and Shakespearean plays, excluding popular youth art forms such as kwaito, hip hop and modern dance. The media periodically reports on crude displays of racism in the schools such as the beating of black students by fellow white students. A self congratulatory discourse of 'we don't see race, only children', provides compelling justification for the schools to acculturate the kids into the hegemonic culturally white habits of being.

It is clear that cultural assimilation into the pre-existing school culture provides these schools their conceptual referents in the face of a complex mix of raced and cultured young bodies on their campuses. I will suggest below that the young people, in response, are acutely aware of the formal and informal messages of these schools, leading them to adopt strategic deportments as they navigate this unfamiliar cultural terrain. This article is an attempt to provide conceptual insight into some of the identification bases upon which young people in these schools substantiate their navigations. I will argue that it is the contingencies of social space in changing urban contexts that combine with the considered cultivation of deportment that can explain their youthful adaptations.

Translocalism and affective geographies

This article primarily focuses on the negotiations young people make in their interaction with schools that are culturally incongruous with their domestic places. Their daily mobility across the city is a key element in accessing their schools. Mobile bodies combine with a number of affective processes to substantiate the adjustments they make in order to fit into and mediate the hegemonic cultures of the schools they enter. I have coined the phrase 'affective geographies' as an attempt to capture the ways these youth cultivate or build cultural repertoires that enable them to navigate the social spatial shifts involved in living in between racial and culturally dissonant spaces. Cultural repertoires draw on Miron, Dardar and Inda's (2005, p.291) notion of

cultural citizenship to indicate the ways people “become cultural citizens through a reflexive set of formative and locally constructed processes”. I suggest that their identifications are made up by a number of hybrid adaptive processes based on ‘putting together’ (Simone, 2002) cultural material that draws on elements of race, religion, ethnicity, class aspiration and strategic embodiment. Active and mediated readings of these materials constitute their versatile and flexible identifications. This conceptual approach is an attempt to accord constitutive power and agency to young people as they move across space to maximise their life chances in spite of, or perhaps because of, the ephemeral circumstances of their places of living. I would argue that their social spatial attribution, i.e. what they become as a result of their interaction with place and space, is crucial to understanding their shifting selves.

Recent work has placed educational subjectivity in the post apartheid period on the scholarly agenda. Soudien and Sayed (2004) provide an incisive critique of the way post apartheid education policy reform failed to leverage a productive response from the country’s diverse schools. According to them the extant institutionally divergent responses detract from the country’s ability to establish an equitable system, leading them to label the state’s policy discourse as neo-racial. Sayed, Soudien and Carrim (2003) are particularly harsh on the state’s choice of decentralisation as the basis of its reform platform. Decentralisation failed to galvanise schools into developing inclusive cultures. Following on this, Johnson (2007) argues that the dominant and pre-existing cultural orientations of schools were allowed to remain in tact. A key criticism of the post apartheid state is therefore that it failed to provide policy levers to facilitate genuine inclusion or accommodation of the multiple articulations of identity that co-exist in the country’s diverse range of schools.

Monographs by Dolby (2001) and Soudien (2007) are important contributions for understanding youth and schooling in South Africa. They provide a platform for the conceptual focus of this paper. Dolby’s is a compelling account of the dynamics of identity construction in one school. She argues that it is globally inspired consumption and the cultivation of taste that are primary in the youth’s racial and cross racial associations in school. Being an ethnographic study located inside the boundaries of the school, she does not take analytical account of the impact young people’s extra-school lives and living environments have on their constructions. The study thus does not account for their constructions in light of their geographic or lived contexts outside school. Young people, I would argue, bring the attributes of their environments with them to school, and these play a major role in their everyday navigations in schools.

Soudien's (2007) book, *Schooling, Culture and the Making of Youth Identity in Contemporary South Africa*, is a seminal contribution in the sociology of South African education. Soudien's analysis embraces complexity. It is based on a combination of psychological and sociological lenses that attempt to understand the ways youth identities are articulated in the bifurcated worlds of South African schooling. He suggests that there are arenas of privilege and poverty that affect young people's socialization in the country's schools. Their life worlds – whether they are the expansive environments of privilege or the narrower world of the townships – fundamentally condition what kind of people they can become. Soudien's work thus moves closer to taking account of geographic configurations, which, I would argue, is implicit in his work. He lays the basis for further engagement with the impact of spatial dimensions on the young students' lives.

The analytical gap that I locate this story of mobile youth in lies in understanding how geography and 'social space' are articulated in young people's interaction with their schools. Space is crucial in understanding how they cultivate their sense of self. In support of this position Keith and Pile (1993, p.6) argues convincingly that:

We may now use the term 'spatiality' to capture the ways in which the social and spatial are inextricably realized one in the other; to conjure up the circumstances in which society and space are simultaneously realized by thinking, feeling, doing individuals and also to conjure up the many conditions in which such realizations are experienced by thinking, feeling, doing subjects.

This dynamic agency orientated perspective opposes the view that space is fixed, dead and undialectical. A fixed view, according to Soja, reduces spatiality to a "mental construct alone. . . Social space folds into mental space . . . away from materialized social realities" (in Keith and Pile, 1993, p.4). Resisting this view, Soja argues for a connection between "representations of space and actual (physical) space" (125, my parenthesis). An analysis of identification construction therefore has to take into account the material and spatial contexts of people's social practices. Spatiality thus involves the relational or human dimensions of space, i.e. lived space, or as Lefebvre (1971/1991) suggests, the relational appreciation of space as actively produced in and through everyday human practices. Space should thus be understood as the active interaction between the physical environment and people's uses of, and practices in it, such as the mobile spatialities of young people who travel daily to access remote schools.

The notion of transnationalism developed by Smith (2001) is apposite in understanding the mobile identity constructions of the youth discussed in this article. Extending on the spatialization lens, transnationalism refers to the innovative social practices of migrants who move to other countries to work and establish new lives. They combine a range of cultural practices, drawing on active social networks with and connections to their countries of origin, and resources in their settled environments to construct viable lives. Drawing on this view, Miron *et al.* (2005, pp.289–306), in their analysis of high school kids who navigate the politics of language in a Californian county, develop the notion ‘translocalism’ in reference to spatial practices that, while located in specific urban territories, transcend them because of crisscrossing movement between spaces. Particular spaces are “traversed by a multitude of processes . . . forms a node in a multitude of trans-circuits” (2005, p.295). Translocality then refers to spatial practices that weave together “various ‘circulating’ populations with various kinds of ‘locals’” (2005, p.295). In the case of this article, translocal movement and adaptation describe those young kids who wake up ‘culturally black’ in an impoverished city space and move daily through the city landscape to enter the culturally dissonant spaces of their new schools.

The final move of this section is then to tie the translocal spatiality of these youth to their subjective constructions of space and self. In other words, the analytical task is to provide a lens to understand how youth construct their identities as they crisscross urban space. Navigating dissonant spaces is emblematic of their youthful constructions. Robinson (2000, p.429) makes a productive connection when she posits an interactive construction of space and self. Young people, she says, “interconnect space and self in the organization of daily and life paths” and they “invest themselves in the landscape” (2000, p.432). She suggests that it is possible to understand from a space/identity perspective how young people sustain, develop and modify their self investment and belonging in a landscape often constructed to exclude them, as in the case of the schools these youth end up in, in Cape Town. Cahill (2000) extends on this with her discussion of the urban strategies of young people in fashioning their identities. She suggests that how teenagers define their environmental transactions is bound up with the way they construct their identities. They have a highly developed understanding of environmental protocol, read the environment in specific ways, and transact strategic and embodied practices and relationships.

Cahill uses the notion ‘street literacy’ to explain how young people acquire and apply experiential knowledge that informs their self construction and

social practices. They apply this ‘literacy in use’ to negotiate and master their neighbourhoods. Learning and practicing the necessary social skills for such mastery is a key aspect of young people’s everyday lives. Street literacy describes “on the one hand the cognitive processes of internalizing public space negotiations, and at the same time serve to dimensionalize development by locating it within environmental context” (2000, p.254). It is fundamentally the relationship between cognitive and affective adaptation on the one hand and the negotiation of dissonant spaces by these young people on the other that this article explores. I will argue that the identification referents of these young people, their affective geographies, are impacted by this spatial mobility, leading them to negotiate and establish, following Miron *et al.* (2005), translocal cultural citizenship in the post apartheid city.

Schooling and spatial mobility across the changing city

Racially based apartheid geographies proscribed the extent of possible lives in South Africa. One example of this is the professional lives of coloured teachers of Muslim religious persuasion. I did a study of their educational and religious socialisation as first generation educated during the middle decades of the twentieth century. I described the affective adaptations they had to make when interacting on the basis of modernising impulses with their own tradition-based communities (see Fataar, 2007). I concluded that their socialization as professionals was strictly mapped onto the racial geography of Cape Town. Their lives as teachers and community activists were tightly bound to the city’s coloured spaces, where they established middle class place-based identities. From my interviews with them I concluded that they could not, and did not imagine their professional and personal existence outside of the mono-racial urban spaces of their birth. Lived space, or spatiality, was for them coeval with a bounded racialised existence.

Translocal student mobility did occur during the apartheid period but was transacted in race-based extensions across the city’s landscape. This is exemplified by the following school attendance story. Harold Herman¹ is a

¹ Harold and Matthew (the latter whom I refer to below) gave me permission to mention these aspects of their biographies. I refer to their stories as a means of illustrating how people’s lives were circumscribed by racially-based geographies during the apartheid era. This is not to suggest that their life experiences and memories were either evinced or marked exclusively by race. Coinciding with geographic enclosure, race began to play a very powerful socializational role during the apartheid period. I would like to thank one of the anonymous reviewers of this article for this comment.

Professor in my Faculty from the coloured group, approaching retirement. He grew up on a peri-urban mission station about 75 kilometres from Cape Town. He was one of a select and precocious few who travelled daily by train to a high school in the city. The interaction between his religiously based social location and his daily travel to the city to attend a famous politicised high school with a scholarly reputation provided him key markers for his youthful socialization. Schools such as these played an important role in the modernisation of the coloured community. Racially marked translocal mobility across the city was central to Harold's formative years, wherein he had to negotiate shifts in his identity from a limiting coloured rural mission environment to urban middle class mobility. This took place within coloured geographic extensions. Mobility for Harold was determined by his travel across the city to attend a high school reserved for a particular race.

Matthew's case is an equally compelling example of the co-incidence of race making (production of whiteness), schooling and place. He is a white teacher also approaching retirement. He grew up in Springbok, a rural town in South Africa's Northern Cape Province. By the 1950s the town was predominantly white Afrikaner, and he was at the receiving end of white – favoured political development. With mobility not an option, Matthew had to attend the only high school in the town, where as a minority English speaking child he experienced daily recrimination. He nonetheless received a good quality schooling that was reserved for whites. But Matthew suffered at the hands of the Afrikaner boys and the Afrikaner nationalist culture that pervaded the school. Having to carry his Englishness on his skin provided him part of the context for his early identity formation.

Racialised geographies were central to Matthew and Harold's interaction with their schooling, structuring the lineaments of their youthful navigations and the adults they became. Following Willis (2005), they could be said to have been foot soldiers of racially based modernization that had geographic entailments which impacted on their formative stages of their lives. A key marker of their navigations in racially contingent space is the affective adaptations they had to make to deal with and fit into the disjunctural worlds of the school – for Harold in the alluring, if intimidating, urban context of inner Cape Town, and Matthew in the ethnicised world of Afrikaner whiteness – that was fundamentally out of sync with their childhood home environments. Their affective shifts have had to be established in racially enclosed school spaces, which were part of the emerging rigid racial demarcations that characterised South African society at the onset of apartheid in the 1950s.

Geographic arrangements have changed fundamentally in post-apartheid South Africa, impacting the mobility and adaptations of young people. Identification categories of race, class, religion, and ethnicity have been re-arranged, laying the ground for newer and different youth identities. The argument of this article turns on the way these changing geographies impact youth identifications in their interaction with their schools. Official desegregation has led to a number of interesting rearrangements in urban spaces. Cape Town has, for example, taken on the features of a typical post colonial city with many diverse and materially uneven spaces. Wilkinson (2000, p.195) describes the city as “located in a spectacular setting at the south west tip of Africa. . . and accommodates a culturally and linguistically diverse population”. While spatial planning during the apartheid years was based on hierarchical racial segregation, a mix of fluid race and class arrangements currently characterize the city, reorganising its spatial dynamics and flows. A striking feature is the wide ranging and heterodox material contexts in which its inhabitants live, from opulent first world living along the Atlantic seaboard, to middle class suburban living, and the myriad of townships and informal settlements dotted on its landscape. The most impoverished sectors of the city’s inhabitants are black and coloured. Growing class mobility among these groups has led to the deracialisation of the middle class, many of whom have moved to former white suburbs. The city is also experiencing rapid growth as a result of trans-regional migration from other part of the country (see Kok, O’Donovan, Bouare and Van Zyl, 2003) and refugee and expatriate settlement from the broader African continent and elsewhere (Sookraj, Gopal and Maharaj, 2005).

The changing racial topography of the city has impacted fundamentally on schooling patterns. School choice is the outcome of careful calculations by parents and children about the positional worth of a school, i.e. whether a school will provide children the educational capital required for success in later life. The ability to pay fees and transport costs is an important element in such decisions. Children travel long distances translocally of up to 100 kilometres a day to and from school (Sekete *et al.*, 2001). A number of displaced attendance patterns, of children choosing schools other than those nearest to their homes, have manifested over the last fifteen years. Unlike in northern countries where children are required to go to the neighbourhood school, policy has enabled them to choose those schools which they have come to view as better able to provide them a chance for quality schooling. An empirical study on learner migration confirms this by showing that the search for “better education emerged as a major consideration for learners to leave schools in their neighbourhood for others far away” (Sekete *et al.*, 2001, p.ix).

Exercise of choice though applies as much to those children who choose schools outside the township and those who choose to remain inside. A sizeable number of children who live in townships attend schools in other parts of their township or in adjacent townships. They view the school closest to them as of inadequate quality. My research in Rustvale revealed the way perceptions about the worth of schools in this township are produced and circulated, leading to elevated status for some schools compared to others (Fataar, 2007). Contrary to popular perception, many young people who attend township schools exercise agency in their school choices. Notwithstanding the functional differentiation among the schools in townships, my research in Rustvale has shown that they have been struggling to establish functional learning environments. The schools seem to be impacted by the absence of cultural capital and difficult domestic circumstances. I have suggested elsewhere that the schools refract “the social pressures of the township, becoming part of its sociality, while on the other hand, they actively serve to ameliorate the worst consequences of poverty and hardship” (see Fataar, 2007).

Young people who choose to migrate out of the townships to attend former white schools are influenced by their reading of the township schools’ ability to facilitate their middle class aspirations. Their mobility is based on acquiring carefully cultivated dispositions, as a means of accessing those schools which they come to understand as providing them the best opportunity to facilitate their aspirations. I will argue below, based on the case of one student, that their youthful dispositions are articulated fundamentally in interaction with the changing spatial attribution of the post apartheid city.

One case of translocal spatial mobility

I make no claims about the generalisability of this paper. I advance a conceptual argument that suggests a bigger trend. Layla’s (pseudonym) story is meant to provide qualitative substantiation for my argument, pointing towards one way of understanding the subjectivities of young people when they engage in translocal mediations of their school environs. She is one among a number of youth in Rustvale whom I have spoken to during my research, who make similar adaptations and can therefore be said to be representative of them. In other words, her case is not an isolated one but part of a larger urban trend. I therefore offer an analysis of her story as a way of stimulating further debate and research into this and similar sociologies of young people in the city’s schools.

I acknowledge the narrative constructions, Layla's and mine, that influenced the presentation of Layla's story. Following Schreurich (1999, p.241), such constructions are based on "the complexity, uniqueness, and indeterminateness of each one-to-one human interaction". Interviews are complex processes where the interviewer and the interviewee struggle over meaning. Layla was never a passive subject. She actively asserted control over the interview. Her responses were spontaneous and effusive, while also careful and considered. Meaning was generated out of the tussle between Layla's constructions and my own as the researcher who has a particular interpretive agenda. What appears in written form, the final interpretation of the interview interaction, arises from the researcher's interpretive baggage, or as Scheurich suggests, the "written representation, is largely, though not completely, only a mirror image of the researcher and his or her baggage" (p.249).

The analysis is based on four in depth semi structured one – hour interviews with Layla, based on her childhood, family life, environmental transactions, schooling experiences, and reflections on her own youth constructions. I spoke informally to some of her neighbourhood friends, her mother and brother. I also visited the two schools she attended in the city where I spoke informally to the principals, some of her teachers, fellow students, and governing body members. I was familiar with the Muslim – based primary school she attended through research I did there during 2003 and 2004. These unstructured peripheral interviews provided me key background information to make greater sense of her story as well as a verifying basis for the views she expressed. The three interrelated themes that emerged from the interviews (discussed below) reveal the connection between her youthful identity constructions, articulated by the contingent social spatial dynamics that constitute her life-world.

Cultivating 'out of place' spatial mobility

One year old Layla and her family settled in Rustvale in 1990. Rustvale's development started in 1989 as a model residential area that served the legitimacy logics of the apartheid state. Intended as a coloured residential area, Rustvale was supposed to alleviate the city's housing shortage for this racial group. Housing was used by the apartheid state to garner support among subordinate groups and to help reproduce Cape Town's racial geography. Rustvale currently has about 100 000 residents who live in formal and informal housing, the latter mainly wooden backyard dwellings. There are currently six sub areas in Rustvale and fourteen schools, five of them high

schools. As a relatively new township, Rustvale's racially inscribed origins have been meshing with newer desegregated town planning processes in the post apartheid period. Blacks and coloureds live together in the newer parts of the township, based on a mix of racialised and deracialised associations. The older parts of the township, where Layla lives, remain predominantly coloured.

Rustvale has a reputation as a desolate place far away from public amenities, work, commercial activity and leisure. The residents who initially settled there spoke of having to move to the township out of desperation. Instead of the model town it was intended to be, people felt shunted there and neglected by what they described as a remote and disinterested government. Many lived in backyards in other parts of the Cape Flats and were under pressure to move there. Layla's mom who grew up in a lower middle class area was initially uneasy about living in Rustvale, claiming she "moved into a hole from which I have to get out". Uneasiness about the place characterised the mom's insistence that her "children will not get too comfortable here . . . I must raise them for something better than this place" (Layla's mother). Layla and her siblings were never allowed to explore the township: "we played on the stoep (verandah) or in the house" (Layla). They didn't have many friends in the neighbourhood and they were encouraged to enjoy leisure activities elsewhere in safer places outside Rustvale. Her parents' access to a car meant they frequently left the township over weekends to visit family or leisure places. They were one of a number of families whose relatively comfortable financial circumstances provided them some mobility to leave their home regularly. Layla's parents were supervisors at different retail stores in the city.

The conditions of the township and the nature of people's livelihoods contributed to families like Layla's detached attitude to the township. Living conditions in Rustvale is generally very harsh. Houses are small and cramped, unemployment stands at 55% and single parent families at 45% (Statistics South Africa, 2005). Backyard sub-letting is an important income generating strategy. Backyard dwellers move more frequently in and out of this township compared to those families who live in the front houses. High levels of crime make the area unsafe. The nature of dwelling in this environment can be described as unstable and fluid. People moving in and out of the township, and from one part of the township to another, can cause rapid changes in its demographic make. I have described at length how transient dwelling arrangements are compounded by over-populated living quarters (see Fataar, 2007).

While Layla and her family live in a more stable section of Rustvale they are exposed to people's informal and desperate lifestyles, criminal flows, and violent youth gang activity. Life here is ephemeral and desperate. Residents, though, have constructed viable and productive livelihoods. Layla's family is not involved in the civic, welfare and community policing activities or the myriad social and religious activities organised by the residents that render the township exciting and socially viable. Instead, the family confines its domestic life to the home, interacting only with its closest neighbours and friends.

The family's relative detachment from township life translated into measured deliberativeness in the context of their children's schooling. The family understood that Rustvale's schools, especially the high schools, would not be in a position to provide their children the necessary capital to lay the basis for their aspirant middle class mobility. Perceptions about the schools' worth were therefore important to their school choices. The functional status of the schools is reproduced in light of its social spatial attributes. In the case of Rustvale the schools are an acute example of how environmental pressures can define their status. The schools are characterised by one dimensional identities mired in the social welfare difficulties conferred on them and their students by the township's living conditions (see Fataar, 2007).

Layla and her parents had an acute understanding of the limited utility of these schools in their quest for class mobility. Layla commented acerbically on a question about why she didn't choose one of the high schools in Rustvale thus: "over my dead body, it doesn't look like the children work there. . . suddenly if I were to go to school there I'd have to live with getting Ds and that was going to be ok". She clearly associated the area's schools with low achievement, akin to the way she felt about the ambitions of its people. This is reflected in the discursive distancing she expresses in the following quotation:

The longer I went to the school (in the city) the less there was any relationship with Rustvale. I go home and live in the house. Everything else around me had no bearing on me. . . . My school separates me further, where you're living becomes abstract, it's a convenient living space . . . could be anywhere in the world . . . its like I have neighbours, I know who the people are, but really, it has very little impact on me.

Layla did attend one of Rustvale's primary schools until Grade 4. She knew she would later on have to commute out of the township to another school similar to her older brother. Her views about the township schools and the young people who attended them were reinforced by what she experienced in the school in Rustvale until Grade 4. She complained about her primary school's relaxed attitude to school work, homework and its "lack of interest in

being the best for their kids”. Her family, particularly her mother, whom she describes as a “practical person who does what she has to do”, knew that her choice of schools for her children was an important factor in getting them to move on in life. Layla’s mother prepared them early on for the move to a city school. Layla clearly understood this at an early age. She and her family could be said to have cultivated what can be described as a ‘thin’ connectedness and interaction with their places of living in this township where they still currently stay. Choice of schools outside the township was an expression of this thin connectedness. I offer the view below that their deliberative choice of schools combined with a particular interaction with schooling in city space, which led to Layla developing ‘thick’ loyalties to conceptual space rooted in middle class ambition. In other words, place of living is much less meaningful to her than the need for mobility tied to aspiration. This is a decisive in her formative identification construction. Her comment in the interview that she “can live anywhere, I’m not mad about my place, or any place for that matter, as long as I’m happy and comfortable”, seems to indicate that, instead of being invested in physical place she expressed a desire to be spatially mobile, committed to a fluid and adaptive lifestyle. This investment in conceptual or mental space, I will show below, was cultivated in her daily navigations across the city space and the spatiality of the schools she attended.

Navigating the city spaces and the spatiality of her schools

With her commitment to spatial mobility ensured, Layla’s steering across the city space occurred in her interaction with the two schools she attended in the city. Her family invested money in transport, school fees, extra mural activities and stationary requirements to ensure her access to these schools. Her day started at 05.15. She made a 45 kilometre two-bus journey to school, arriving slightly before 08.00. She became familiar with the passing urban landscape through the bus window, becoming acquainted with the city as a moving space. She commented on feeling invigorated to see people on the move, making their way to their places of work or education. She recollected how her bus journey experiences, walking through the inner city to her school, and daily interactions with people from different backgrounds gave her a larger perspective on life beyond the limitations imposed by the streets around her house in Rustvale. Layla grew to love the exposure that her daily translocal mobility gave her, feeling privileged to encounter the buzz of the city and the ability to imagine a broader perspective of life.

The two schools she attended provided markedly different spatial dynamics which impact fundamentally on her identification constructions. She

encountered each in a strategic and considered manner, learning the cultural rules of each, and adapting to each school's expectations with the primary aim of accessing the educational capital on offer. Family dynamics, especially her mother and the children's conversion to Islam upon her mother marrying her stepfather, played an important role in Layla's adaptations at the primary school she attended from Grade 5 to 7. Her mother saw the need to cultivate an acceptable Islamic identity for her children as part of her religious commitments to her adopted faith. A Muslim school would ostensibly provide Layla a socializational context to acquire the appropriate religious identity. Rahim Primary School (pseudonym) is situated slightly outside the downtown area of the city in a place called District Six. Muslim children come to this school from all over Cape Town.

Young Layla initially felt completely out of place at this school. She struggled with English as medium of instruction, having done her first few years of school in Afrikaans. The entire family switched to English as home language in response to the need for English fluency at the children's new school. The difficulty that accompanied this switch was a small sacrifice for Layla's mother who wanted her children to succeed in their new school. The other challenge that confronted her was, as she puts it, her "lack of Muslimness". Because she didn't know much about the religious requirements, liturgies and prayers, Layla felt that she was under surveillance. She commented that she "felt my difference on my skin, you don't feel like you look like them at all, like you don't belong". She had few friends at the school and struggled to fit into the hegemonic religious cultural environment into which she was supposed to assimilate. The school, in turn, didn't seem to understand the adaptations someone like Layla, with her hybrid religious background, was required to make upon entry into such a school. Here a straightforward religious identity provided the unquestioned cultural backdrop² against which Layla was required to mediate her school navigations.

Layla drew on hard work and scholastic achievement to mediate this culturally alienating social spatial terrain. She understood that the only way she could survive in the school and gain some recognition was to perform optimally in school work. She pursued her quest for achievement with vigour, commitment and hard work, achieving top marks for each of the grades she completed at the school. She commented that the teachers were very proud of her achievements for someone "who came from a convert background" (Layla). She confronted her lack of 'Muslimness' by throwing herself into rote learning

² See Fataar (2005) for a discussion of the discursive functioning of Muslim schools such as the one Layla attended in Cape Town.

the Muslim rituals and prayers, reasoning that her pride and acknowledgment in this environment required not only scholastic achievement but also proficiency in religious symbolism. She successfully, if reluctantly, achieved this proficiency, consistently achieving second place for Islamic Studies. She was, however, disaffected by this experience because of what she regarded as socially meaningless rote learning. Layla's memory of having been something else, from a Christian background, to which she could return if she chose to, meant that educational socializing into another religion never went unquestioned. She was compelled to participate in it as an outflow of the religious spatiality of her school. At the end of her primary education at Rahim Primary School Layla was convinced that such narrow socialization would not suit her desire for social mobility. She wanted a more engaging cultural context with richer reference material in terms of which she could acquire the cultural citizenship necessary for mobility and flexible living.

Her access and entry into her high school of choice was based on an active search for more appropriate social spatial provenance. Having acquired a good measure of experiential knowledgability and street literacy (Robinson 2000) about her personal investments in the spatial attributions of the school environment, Layla played an active role in choice of high school. She knew that her scholastic achievements in primary school made her attractive to many of the city's top high schools. Layla applied to five schools in the city, including one Muslim oriented school to which her primary school encouraged her to apply. After successful interviews at the schools she was accepted by all of them. She then decided to establish for herself what each school offered by speaking to either the principal or a teacher over the telephone, in effect interviewing them to establish how each school could facilitate her aspirations and ambitions.

Layla chose a former Christian mission-based school for girls in the centre of Cape Town's inner city because of what she described as its ordered and stable atmosphere, the amenities and extra mural activities, and the congenial principal. Important in her decision was that the school had a consistent high ranking in the countrywide end of high school matriculation examinations, which was crucial for entry to university study. This information was provided by her mom who annually made a study of the best performing matriculation schools. Layla was of course at the stage of enrolment unaware of the deeper cultural orientations of the school. What she found out in her telephone research was enough to convince her that the school had the necessary spatial attributes to facilitate her mobility. As the last section shows, Layla actively mediated this new cultural terrain on the basis of strategic readings of the

boundaries of acceptability at the school. She enacted appropriate behaviours that enabled her to plot a course and steer across the cultural terrain of this school.

Department cultivation in the space of the school

This section discusses particular aspects of Layla's identification construction, of how she went about mediating the social spatial environment of her high school, and of what she became as a result of her school interactions. I make the argument that she developed an acute understanding of the school's cultural functioning and expectations. She meditated the school's hegemonic ways of being with active dispositional cultivations, wherein her desire for aspirant mobility was decisive.

The missionary origins of Castle High School for Christian Girls (pseudonym) at the turn of the 19th century had disappeared since it became a non denominational public school for white girls during the 1950s. Around the advent of democracy in 1994 schools like these experienced an influx of non white children, which compensated for the dramatic drop in white enrolment. This drop can be attributed to decreasing birth rates among the white population, emigration, and an increase in private school attendance (see Du Toit, 2004). Former white schools such as these depended on the new non white entrants to remain viable and retain the posts of their teachers. The demand for quality schooling by non white students gave these schools a new lease of life into the democratic period. Instead of the Christian environment that Layla expected on arriving at the school, the most visible identity marker she found was what she described as the anomaly of white teaches and predominantly non white girls. Fifty-five per cent of the girls were coloured and 40 per cent black. There was a small number of white girls and girls from expatriate families. All the teachers were white.

Eager for exposure to what people from other cultural or race groups could provide for someone who yearned for broader exposure, Layla eagerly took to her white teachers. She was comfortable with the school's insistence about what she describes as the "fair treatment of all the girls". She felt privileged to be part of a school that emphasised an egalitarian ethos, an example of which is the school's discouragement of displays of affection by parents who drop off their children in the mornings out of consideration for those girls who board in the school's hostel. Layla did observe that the school was silent about matters of race and cultural difference. It never sought to address students on

the basis of these differences, choosing instead to emphasise their common aspirations and ambitions.

Based on Layla's opinions about dealing with conflict, and the principal and teachers' views about diversity management, I concluded that the school didn't possess a conceptual grammar to speak about cultural or racial diversity. Following Foucault (in Ball 1994, p.11), the school's "discourse that speaks us" precludes engaging with such diversity, stripping the girls and teachers of a language to openly name and productively address differences that exist among the students. With a compelling egalitarian discourse that excludes the recognition and naming of race and culture, the students were encouraged to individualise problems that arose in this regard. Relational difficulties that intermittently arise among the students, between students and teachers, and even between parents and the school are designated as individual shortcomings that can be improved by better self control and personal management. In this way difficulties associated with race at the school were deflected and labelled as personal shortcomings. The closest the girls came to race labelling was their humorous use of the derogatory labels that describe different groups. Invoking mirth then is the only acceptable way for the girls to refer to racial and cultural issues.

The school's underlying cultural ethos is informed by its historical background as a school for white girls. Cultural assimilation into this ethos is accomplished on the basis of an assumed egalitarianism mainly practiced by teachers who refuse to acknowledge racial differences as fundamental to the girls' lives and the school community's social relations. This assimilative form of egalitarianism which underpin the cultural ethos of English-based schools has deep roots in Cape liberalism (see Ross 1999). In the contemporary period a discourse of equal treatment easily converts into a kind of benign racelessness ('we don't see race, just children'). This prevents constructive mediation of racial and cultural difference from becoming part of the school's reference world. This attitude precludes the productive incorporation of difference into the school's functional culture.

Layla commented "that racial things among the girls were treated light-heartedly and maybe hides some funny stuff". However, in spite of Layla's daily exposure at the school to people from other racial backgrounds, or perhaps because of the messages about the denial of difference that circulate at the school, she suggested that: "I don't feel marked at all, I survived as a coloured girl, this race thing doesn't mean anything to me". Her dual denial of race on the one hand and self description in essentialist terms as coloured on

the other, is an outflow of this benign racelessness. The contradiction between denial and racial essentialism is the product of a school that refuses to incorporate racial difference productively into its discursive functioning, and thereby prevents difference among the girls from becoming a productive resource that emphasises shifting and multiple identity construction.

While racial and cultural difference are swept under the carpet, leading to obfuscation and deflection of the intermittent racial anxieties which Layla admits the girls experienced, there is a more open cultural script that the school actively promotes among the girls. The girls are assimilated into a specific gendered deportment that marks the school. Layla expressed this process thus: “the one thing the school does very well is to tell us how to behave as proper ladies, . . . its not like they give us etiquette classes or anything, just things like that gets emphasised all the time”. The girls are “constantly reminded not to slouch, dress properly, walk on the left in twos in public, never get in fights, arguing” (Layla). She spoke about taking on this gendered role seamlessly and how she genuflects these bodily deportments outside school, even now when she is at university. Here the cultural messages, packaged in the language of gendered deportment, provide the students an essential and unquestioning backdrop against which they engage with the school and their own youth constructions. The school’s active investments in proper lady like behaviour provided a compelling cultural register for engaging the students. Other markers of identity such as race, class and culture are folded into issues of the students’ bodily deportment. In this way the pre-existing cultural orientation of the school is reproduced in the new social spatial terrain.

Taking on this gendered deportment was important for Layla in securing her the necessary acceptability to accomplish her goals. She suggested that those girls who rebelled against this cultural orientation were treated with suspicion and scepticism, and never allowed to properly fit into the school. They were barred from extra opportunities for development and learning by the teachers. Coming to understand the expectations of the school involved an important process based on strategic readings and staying off the school’s radar screen sufficiently long to figure out what behaviour to adopt. Layla described herself as a “wall flower for quite a long time” when she arrived at school, in reference to the time she took to figure out what qualified as appropriate cultural expectations and behaviour.

She understood that choice of friends was decisive. She had to “stay clear of the cigarette smoking or trouble making groups” and out of detention. Layla

hardly ever came into trouble. She clearly followed a narrower path which endeared her to her teachers, enabling her to access many development opportunities. Layla performed a number of leadership roles during the last three years of her high school career. She served as class representative, as an elected member of the school's Representative Council of Learners, and was chosen as a teacher assistant that required her to run a resource centre and coordinate a group of fellow students who organised social events. Layla thus developed organisational and leadership abilities through her participation in organized activities at school. She credits the school for showing her how to "juggle a full life, juggling priorities, homework, do washing, and still achieve good marks". She valued her teachers' stress on hard work, especially "their emphasis on the student's strengths and not an overemphasis on weaknesses". She flourished in subjects like History, Biology and Languages, and felt supported to work hard at Maths and Science.

What was clear in Layla's mediations of her school environment was her ability to figure out what the discourses of acceptability were at the school, and how she had to insert herself into them in order to maximise opportunities for success. Her translocal investments paid off handsomely. Not only did she achieve excellent school results, she also accessed valuable resources and opportunities that enabled her to acquire the educational and cultural capital necessary for the mobile middle class lifestyles that she coveted. Layla constructed her identity as an achiever on the basis of an acute reading of the requirements and bodily deportments that the spatiality of her school required. Her full immersion as a co-participant and constructor of the school's social environment is aptly captured by the following remark: "in many ways I became the school, owned the school". From an outsider who travelled daily from an impoverished space such as Rustvale township to attend a school in the city with vastly different spatial attributes, Layla and kids like her show remarkable flexibility and knowledgability to adapt to, and come to own culturally novel terrain.

Conclusion

The post apartheid city has thrown up many interesting and unexpected features. People have engaged the city on the basis of a mix of older and newer resources. They have not been victim to the material limitations of the city, nor as in the case of these mobile youth, have they succumbed to its brutal and bifurcated geographies. My research in Rustvale has shown that an apparently desperate and impoverished space comes alive with the hussle and

bussle of people making their livelihoods in informalised ways away from the glare of a weak infrastructural state (see Fataar, 2007). The translocal cultural citizenship displayed by young people in search of educationally based mobility is one of the more acute and fascinating examples of the refusal to be trapped by geography. These young bodies show remarkable agency in developing and nurturing the capacity to find their way across the city.

Translocal transactions are fundamental to their cultural navigations. Access to former white, Indian and coloured schools is a prized possession for families and youth who are invested in class aspiration. It is, however, the basis of their transactions in the novel cultural terrain of their schools that determines whether their investment in spatial mobility is successful. I have argued that young Layla and many like her have acquired experiential literacy that enabled them to figure out exactly what is required for accessing the educational capital of the school. They do this on the basis of strategic readings of the school's limits of acceptability, and adopt appropriate bodily investments. Layla had to negotiate the hybrid materials in her social world, of race, religion, and language, in order to successfully navigate the spatiality of her place of living and the schools she attended. I argued that she developed a thin connectedness to her living space and firmer attachments to becoming spatially mobile, wherein her attendance of the two city schools played a formative role. While the hegemonic culture of the city schools positions incoming students like Layla for assimilation, how they master the school environment indicates active agency by these mobile youth. With their mobility firmly in sight, they turn the assimilative expectations of the schools to their advantage, in effect establishing one viable form of translocal cultural citizenship in the changing topographical environment of the post apartheid city.

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Identification with images of the teacher and teaching in formalised in-service mathematics teacher education and the constitution of mathematics for teaching¹

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Abstract

In this paper we discuss our study of three instances of formalised in-service mathematics teacher education courses. We found that in varying ways, all courses draw in sensible experience by appealing to images of the teacher and teaching as a central resource for modelling the teaching and learning of mathematics. One of the courses also prioritises the image in elaborating mathematics itself. If, as we hold, intelligibility matters for principled reproduction of both mathematics teaching and of school mathematics in mathematics teacher education, then it matters how, in teacher education practice, the relation between sensible experience and the intelligible is regulated. We found that such regulation differed in significant ways across courses. Through the theoretical gaze we have brought to bear on them, the three instances of mathematics teacher education provoke challenging questions about the selections from mathematics and teaching in mathematics teacher education.

Introduction

A central concern of the QUANTUM Research Project² is that of answering the question: *what* is constituted as *mathematics for teaching* (MfT) in formalised in-service teacher education in South Africa and *how* it is so constituted? The discussion elaborated here is part of an on-going attempt to answer that question. Previous and forthcoming work towards answering the question are reported on in Adler (2005), Adler and Davis (2003; 2006), Adler, Davis, Kazima, Parker and Webb (2005), Parker, Davis and Adler

¹ This paper is a reworked version of Davis, Parker & Adler (2005).

² QUANTUM is the name given to an R & D project on quality mathematical education for teachers in South Africa. The development arm of QUANTUM focused on **q**ualifications for teachers **u**nderqualified in **m**athematics (hence the name) and completed its tasks in 2003. QUANTUM continues as a collaborative research project.

(2005), and Adler and Pillay (forthcoming). Embedded in the question is an understanding that, in practice, selections into mathematics teacher education are varyingly drawn from the domains of both mathematics and teacher education. In this paper we present part of an emerging and challenging theme in our study: that of adequately describing the pedagogic modalities that prevail in the field of mathematics teacher education and the differing ways in which practice (in this instance, mathematics for teaching) might be specialised.

In mathematics education there is growing interest in and focus on what is variously called the *mathematical work of teaching* or *mathematical knowledge for teaching* or, more simply, *mathematics for teaching*. MfT refers to the specialised knowledge of mathematics for pedagogic practice required in the work of teaching and is currently constituted as a problematic, being studied in different ways and in different contexts. The body of research on MfT has its roots in the seminal work of Shulman (1986, 1987) and his deployment of the notion of *pedagogic content knowledge* (PCK). Current studies related to PCK and SMK (*subject matter knowledge*) in mathematics education (e.g. Ball and Bass, 2002; Ball, Bass and Hill, 2004; Brodie, 2004; Even, 1990, 1993; Ma, 1999; Marks, 1992) can be broadly divided between work that refine and develop categories of knowledge for teaching mathematics (e.g. Ma and Even) and work that shifts attention towards the practice of teaching and, consequently, to an identification of tasks of teaching and their mathematical entailments. The latter orientation is led by Ball *et al.*, signalled by a discursive shift from PCK/SMK to MfT, and extends to the development of measures of MfT and its relationship to teaching and learning in schooling (Hill, Rowan, and Ball, 2005). QUANTUM adds to this growing body of knowledge. We understand that what comes to be MfT in any practice is structured by pedagogic discourse, be this in teacher education or school practice. In other words, there is a structuring of mathematics by the activity of teaching.³ Consequently, our methodology is sensitive to context and conditions.

Most current *mathematics-focused* teacher education programmes in South Africa are now located in higher education institutions (HEIs), all of which enjoy relative autonomy with respect to curriculum design. We have argued elsewhere (Parker and Adler, 2005) that relative autonomy of HEIs opens up

³ We are aware of the complementarity of work in France developed through studying didactic situations. Here there is particular resonance with Chevallard's notion of institutionalisation.

spaces for agents to construct what they would see as worthwhile programmes.⁴ However, there are always tensions or dilemmas of both selection and integration of knowledge(s) and practice(s) in teacher education (Graven, 2005),⁵ with related consequences for the quality of programmes. Hence our concern with what, how, and with what effects mathematical knowledge and related practices come to be produced in and across a range of institutional offerings. We focus here on our study of three mathematics education courses offered in three different institutions: separately and together these bring into sharp relief challenges that issue from the tension between content knowledge and pedagogical knowledge, and between knowing and doing in teacher education practice.

Methodology and theoretical framing

As MfT is embedded in pedagogic practice, it cannot be grasped outside of its regulation by pedagogic practice. Methods need to be developed to describe and explain what MfT is and how it is constituted across varying sites of practice. We start from the assumption that in mathematics teacher education, there are multiple goals and at least two objects of attention: teaching and mathematics. We also assume that these two objects are co-constitutive: each shapes and is shaped by the other as they come to live in pedagogic practice and so constitute MfT in mathematics teacher education. Following Bernstein's (1996) general theorisation of pedagogy, as well as Boaler (1997), we work with the proposition that the forms of knowledge and practices produced are a function of the pedagogical practice in which they are elaborated. What are these emergent forms of MfT? How do they relate to pedagogic practice inside teacher education? How are they to be explained?

Bernstein proposes that pedagogies and curricula might be broadly described in terms of two general models – competence and performance models – which he

⁴ Of course programmes might well be approached expediently, and without due concern for quality and impact. This problematic is beyond the scope of the paper and the study that frames it.

⁵ In her discussion of the design and development of a mathematics INSET project, Graven identifies five dilemmas of design, one of which is “content vs. method”. Her project integrated new pedagogic forms (method) with attention to mathematical meaning (content). She found that integration worked well for teachers with strong mathematical histories. Those with “weaker mathematical histories. . . [had] difficulties of maintaining a mathematical focus in teaching practices” (p.220).

develops from his sociological analysis of the notion of *competence* (Bernstein, 1996). His analysis reveals a range of features which we would argue are hegemonic in contemporary curriculum and pedagogy reform discourses in general, and in post-apartheid education in South Africa. Bernstein uses the term *social logic* to refer to “the implicit model of the social, the implicit model of communication, of interaction and of the subject which inheres in this concept” (op. cit., 55–56). His analysis of the social logic of competence reveals key features that, briefly, include: an announcement of a universal democracy of acquisition; all learners are inherently competent and suffer no deficits, only differences; the learner is understood as active and creative in the construction of a valid world of meanings and practice; there is an emphasis on the learner as self-regulating with development or expansion not advanced by formal instruction; the former is accompanied by a critical, sceptical view of hierarchical relations, and a conception of teaching as facilitation, accommodation and context management. In contrast, again briefly, performance models emphasise ‘absences’, and therefore what the learner lacks and is to acquire, and the outputs s/he is expected to produce.

An examination of official pedagogic discourse over the past decade and the Revised National Curriculum Statements (RNCS), the first of which appeared in 2002 (for Grades R to 9) (Department of Education, 2002), exhibits many of the features detailed in Bernstein’s description of the social logic of competence (cf. Muller, 1998; Taylor, Muller and Vinjevold, 2003). Since 1994 in South Africa official pedagogic discourse and the discourse circulating in higher education teacher training has displayed a general convergence towards the privileging of competence models in the arena of education.

Bernstein (1996) usefully describes competence models as privileging *similar to* social relations, identifying three modes of *similar to* relations. We argue that one effect of the dominance of *similar to* relations in contemporary pedagogic practices is the emergence of a pedagogic principle insisting that teaching be structured in a manner enabling the learner to recognise (an image of) themselves in knowledge and pedagogic practices. In teacher education *similar to* relations can be understood as operating in pedagogic practice in a manner where the learner-teacher, or teacher-as-learner, is presented with (usually affirming) images of themselves, as well as with images (of teaching) with which to identify.

Our study focuses on three cases from three different teacher education sites where teachers were enrolled in in-service upgrading programmes: two

specialising in a fourth and final year of accredited mathematics teacher education, and the other specialising at the honours level.⁶ We were struck in our analysis by the observation that each case exhibits a version of *similar to* relations at work. In particular, in each case, we will show that teachers-as-learners were presented with strong, though different images of mathematics teaching. Our goal in this paper is to illuminate how different images of teaching, and what we describe as evaluation, come to work in each case.

We accept as axiomatic that pedagogic practice entails continuous evaluation, the purpose of which is to transmit criteria for the production of legitimate texts (Bernstein, 1996). Further, any evaluative act, implicitly or explicitly, has to appeal to some or other authorising ground in order to justify the selection of criteria. Our unit of analysis is what we call an *evaluative event*, that is, a teaching-learning sequence that can be recognised as focused on the pedagogising of particular mathematics and/or teaching content. In other words, an evaluative event is an evaluative sequence aimed at the constitution of a particular mathematics/teaching object. The shift from one event to the next is taken as marked by a change in the object of acquisition. Evaluative events therefore vary in temporal extent and can also be thought of as made up of a series of two or more sub-events when it is productive to do so, as in cases where the content that is elaborated is itself a cluster of distinct but related contents. The evaluative activity that inheres in an event is thought of as a series of pedagogic judgements, which are described in Davis (2001).⁷ By describing observed pedagogic practice in terms of evaluative event series we produce units for the analysis of pedagogy.

Each course, all its contact sessions and related materials, were analysed, and chunked into evaluative events. After identifying starting and endpoints of each event or sub-event, we first coded whether the object of attention was mathematical and/or teaching, and then whether elements of the object(s) were the focus of study (and therefore coded as M and/or T) or were assumed background knowledge (and then coded either m or t).

We worked with the idea that in pedagogic practice, in order for some content to be learned it has to be represented as an object available for semiotic

⁶ In South Africa teachers are required to obtain a four year post-school qualification in education to practice. Those teachers who obtained only three (or fewer) year qualifications under previous dispensations are now required to enrol for further study on in-service programmes to upgrade their teaching qualifications.

⁷ We will not rehearse that work here.

mediation in pedagogic interactions between teacher and learner. An initial orientation to the object, then, is one of immediacy: the object exists in some initial (re)presented form. Subsequent to the moment of immediacy, pedagogic interaction generates a field of possibilities for predicating the object through related judgements made on what is and is not the object, which might be thought of as a moment of pedagogic reflection. However, all judgement, hence all evaluation, necessarily appeals to some or other locus of legitimation to ground itself, even if only implicitly. Legitimizing appeals can be thought of as qualifying reflection in attempts to fix meaning. We therefore examine *what* is appealed to and *how* appeals are made in order to deliver up insights into the constitution of MfT in mathematics teacher education.

Given the complexity of teaching and more so, of teacher education, what come to be taken as the grounds for evaluation are likely to vary substantially within and across sites of pedagogic practice in teacher education. We eventually described the grounds appealed to across the three courses in terms of six ideal-typical categories: (1) mathematics (2) mathematics education (3) the everyday (4) experience of teaching (5) the official school curriculum and (6) the authority of the adept.

After an initial review of programmes across South African universities we selected three sites of focus because of the continuum they offer with respect to the integration of mathematics and teaching (content and method) within courses. From across those three sites, the cases that have been chosen for discussion here are from programmes that span the continuum. The first case discussed is drawn from a programme where courses integrate content and methods, and specifically from a course on the teaching of algebra at the level of grades 7 to 9. The second case discussed is drawn from a programme that includes but separates post secondary level mathematics courses and mathematics education courses; and specifically from a (non grade specific) course on professional practice in the teaching of mathematics. In the third case, the course focused on is part of a specialised Honours Degree in Mathematics Education where there are five such Mathematics Education courses that run alongside mathematics courses designed specifically for secondary teachers.

In each case we discuss here, a teaching sequence (which would be all or part of an event) from the particular course was selected for illustrative purposes. The teaching sequences have been chosen to illuminate a particular modality of mathematics for teaching in the context of each course. For each of the cases we will provide a general description accompanied by the production of

analytic statements in turn supported by illustrations from the selected teaching sequences. Following our discussion of each of the cases we will then move on to a more general discussion of the implications of our study for the production of mathematics knowledge for teaching.

Case 1: Algebra content and pedagogy⁸

In Case 1, the practice to be acquired is a particular pedagogy that is modelled by the lecturer who presents the activity as a specific practical accomplishment. What we mean by this is that the lecturer works with her teachers-as-learners in similar ways to which she advocates they work with their learners. The teachers-as-learners in this course will then experience what it means to learn in ways they should get their own learners to learn mathematics. The teacher educator is the model and image of this teaching. That this is set up as a practical accomplishment is clearly recognised in and across the course sessions. The lecturer also states on a number of occasions: “I am not teaching you content, that you must do on your own. . . I am teaching you how to teach [algebra]”. Classes were structured around and supported by a booklet with activities and exercises that dealt with “different methods of introducing and teaching algebra in the Senior Phase”. In other words, teachers on the course are to (re)learn how to teach grades 7–9 algebra.⁹ The illustrative teaching sequence below captures this central feature of Case 1.

This course is part of a mathematically focused teaching qualification (an Advanced Certificate in Education – ACE)¹⁰ that practicing teachers with three year post school diplomas can take to upgrade their existing teaching qualifications. In the first few sessions of this course, the focus was on learning to teach some of the general properties of operations on numbers and rules of algebra, e.g. rules of exponents. The lecturer frequently employed everyday and visual metaphors, sometimes combining them. For example, the

⁸ Each of the courses has been renamed with a pseudonym.

⁹ Most of the teachers on this programme were initially primary trained and upgrading a 3 year qualification, and level of teaching. An intention built into this course was that by learning to teach algebra they would themselves have opportunities to (re)learn algebra.

¹⁰ The Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) is an in-service qualification that is completed in 2years part-time. It is taken by teachers who are already professionally qualified and serves the purpose of providing specialization in a subject or learning area.

distribution of food, and commuting between towns were used to establish initial meanings of the distributive and commutative laws respectively.¹¹ With respect to the distributive law, its introduction in class (i.e. the beginning of an evaluative event) was through a descriptive metaphor of distributing food. The distributive law was then elaborated through a visual metaphor represented on the whiteboard as shown in Plate 1.

Plate 1: Area and the distributive law

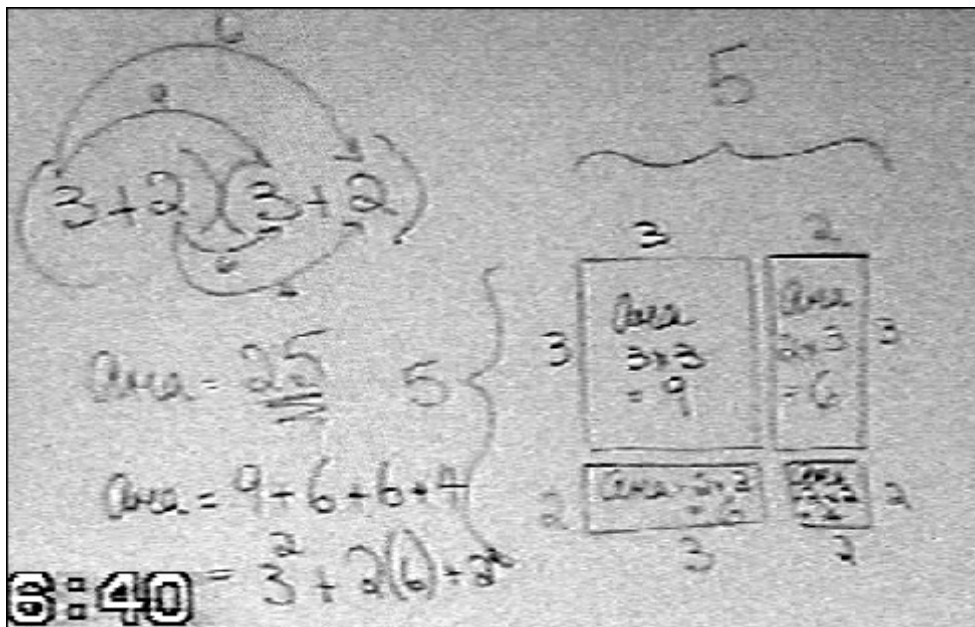


Plate 1 shows that the lecturer used areas of squares and rectangles to establish further ground for the distributive law, ground that brought in mathematical features but nevertheless remains at the level of the sensible. A geometrical metaphor is employed to generate a representation of binomial-binomial multiplication as an exemplification of the distributive law. The idea seems to be that since the learner can recognise that $5 \times 5 = 25$, and that $5 = 3 + 2$, and also that $(3 + 2)(3 + 2)$ must therefore also be 25, s/he will be convinced that binomial-binomial multiplication must function as described by the lecturer. The products corresponding to the areas of the four rectangles produced by the partitioning of 5 into $(3 + 2)$ are identified with the products produced during the

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It is interesting to note that in these instances, there is a question as to the integrity of the metaphor with respect to the mathematical idea being 'exemplified'. This specific point is a general concern in mathematics education where the everyday is frequently recruited to invest mathematical objects and notions with meaning. Given the intelligible nature of mathematical ideas, this presents teachers with difficulties of finding useful and meaningful metaphors.

calculation of $(3 + 2)(3 + 2)$. The validity of the calculations performed in both representations of binomial-binomial multiplication depicted (arithmetic and geometric) relies on the distributive law, so that neither is a direct demonstration of the validity of the other. What is of great importance in this practice, however, is that a *visual demonstration* of the procedure for (binomial-binomial) multiplication is presented to teacher-learners (students). In terms of our analytic tools, the legitimating appeal here (qualifying reflection on the notion of the distributive law in mathematics) is metaphorical. That which is to guarantee the validity of the procedure is the experience of a sensible intuition.

The appeals to Mathematics in Case 1 where the focus was on learning to teach rules of algebra were, for the most part, of the form of using numbers to test and assert the validity of mathematical statements, or, of actually asserting a procedure or rule (as with the distributive law), which was then redescribed metaphorically.

A second focus in the course was on generalising number patterns and producing algebraic statements expressing relationships between sets of numbers. There are instances within this mathematical focus, where appeals are made to visual descriptions that are general (i.e. hold in all cases). More often, the production of mathematical statements was achieved through the use of the inductive treatment of regularities in sequences of numbers, accompanied by some or other visual support (like arrangements of matchsticks, for example). In these instances, it appears that mathematics is to be treated as an inductive practice, the statements of which are validated through empirical testing. Here too, the intelligibility of mathematics is made sensible through the use of selected metaphorical representations and empirical testing of rules and procedures.

In order to reveal how a particular teaching/learning content progresses in each of the courses, we examined the appeals that were made to some or other ground in order to fix signification. In Case 1, overall, we find the distribution of appeals shown in Table 1. Since the activity is that of teacher education, elements of teaching are always present, even if they are merely implicit. The distinction drawn between Mathematics and Teaching in Table 1 indicates what type of object was the explicit object of intended acquisition. So, in Case 1, we see that only four of thirty-six events explicitly appealed to teaching; three of those appeals were to the localised experiences of the teachers and one to the official curriculum. No appeals were made to the arena of mathematics education. This observation supports the point made earlier that the teaching of mathematics is presented as a practical accomplishment where its principles are to be tacitly acquired.

Table 1: Distribution of appeals in Case 1

	Mathematics	Mathematics education	Metaphorical	Experience of either adept or neophyte	Curriculum	Authority of the adept
Mathematics	15	0	25	1	0	0
Proportion of appeals (N=41)	36,6%	0%	61%	2,4%	0%	0%
Teaching	0	0	0	3	1	0
Proportion of appeals (N= 4)	0%	0%	0%	75%	25%	0%
Mathematics and Teaching	15	0	25	4	1	0
Proportion of appeals (N=45)	33,3%	0%	55,6%	8,9%	2,2%	0%
Proportion of events (N=36)	41,7%	0%	69,4%	11,1%	2,8%	0%

We also note from Table 1, and as we have illustrated, that the meaning of mathematics was strongly grounded in metaphor. Interestingly, this reflects Shulman's (1986) identification of appropriate metaphors as an important element of teachers' pedagogic knowledge. Here, for purposes of greater generality across Cases we have not disaggregated the metaphor types used.

A number of important consequences flow from this central feature of Case 1 i.e. from the presentation of teaching of mathematics as a practical accomplishment. First, the principles structuring the activity are to be tacitly acquired since the particular pedagogy is not an explicit object of study: the teachers, through their pedagogic experience are required to emulate the activity of the lecturer. In other words, at the level of immediacy, the privileged texts to be produced are oriented towards the (re)production of an iconic similarity. Second, because the principles of the activity remain tacit, those principles need to be recognised by the teachers in the form of something which stands in their place. That which stands in place of the principles can then be (a) an assemblage of pedagogic procedures and (b) localised in the form of the teaching/learning experiences of the teachers and experienced as instances of the activity to be acquired. Third, and what follows, is that the production of the meaning of the activity privileges the sensible (in the strict sense of that term) over the discursive (or the intelligible). Fourth, while not a necessary consequence, the third does however predispose both the lecturer and teachers-as-learners to an orientation towards mathematics which privileges the sensible, a feature we find provocative.

Case 2: Reflecting on mathematics teaching

In Case 2 the practice to be acquired is reflection, understood as conscious examination and systematisation of one's own mathematics teaching practice. The module sits within a multi-modal ACE programme for upgrading or retraining Grade 10 to 12 mathematic teachers, delivered through a combination of written 'distance' learning materials, readings and face-to-face contact sessions. The ACE is comprised of eight modules, six of which are focused on the specialisation of mathematics teaching. The Reflecting on Mathematics Teaching (RMT) course that is in focus in this paper is one of two specialist mathematics education courses, the remaining four specialist courses being specific mathematics courses. RMT is delivered through seven three-hour fortnightly Saturday sessions and a week long vacation school. It runs across a semester alongside a post secondary level mathematics course. The RMT module is taught by mathematics education specialists from the education faculty, while the mathematics course is run by mathematicians located in the mathematics department in the Science Faculty.

RMT students are supplied with the learning materials and expected to work through them independently in preparation for the contact sessions. In the materials and in the contact sessions the lecturer explicitly positions teachers as already experienced and knowledgeable. The course notes suggest that teachers will acquire the 'tools and the space' to think about and improve their teaching through action research—it will help them to 'systematise what they already do', namely, reflect on their practice to improve mathematics teaching and learning. The materials are designed with an embedded lecturer's voice which gives detailed instructions for various activities and processes that students are to engage with in order to learn about and improve their mathematics teaching practice. The major assessment for RMT is an action research project that is worked on throughout the semester. Teachers are expected to use their existing mathematical and professional competence to engage independently at home with the course materials to identify a problem in their teaching and to plan and implement an intervention. In preparation for the contact sessions they are thus expected to work through the activities to produce resources from their own practice for reflection and further elaboration.

The course is thus predicated on the principle of *similar to* relations both with respect to knowledge and with respect to others. The principles that are to be made visible by engaging with the course content are presumed to always-

already inhere in the learner (teacher-as-learner). The course is about making explicit the expertise already held in order to further enhance that expertise, hence the focus on self-reflection and action research. However, by the second contact session it was clear that the presumed mathematical and professional competences¹² for teaching that are to be used as the main resource for the course are absent. Whatever the reasons, the teacher-as-learners do not bring expected examples from their own practice to the sessions. This presents major obstacles to progress in the course, and in response the lecturer inserts an example of what was required (i.e. of the absent competences). She does so by modelling the ‘expert practice’ required, and so presents an image with which the teachers should recognise themselves as competent subjects. The image is elaborated through examples of how the lecturer (as expert teacher) would go about planning for, and engaging with, the practices of mathematics classroom teaching. The focus falls on to the practices themselves, while the principles of the practice that she herself uses are backgrounded.

Unexpected obstacles to the planned arrangements for teaching are not unique to this course – though in this instance, there were sustained and substantial difficulties the lecturer had to confront. Our discussion of the course nevertheless remains of interest – for it is at the points of breakdown in this case that a particular practice comes to be specialised.

It is an interesting feature of the course that the textual materials for the course do carry evaluative principles for the legitimate text. Given the difficulties the teachers-as-learners encountered, these are probably only recognisable to those students that already have access to these principles. What was of further interest, and this remains of interest despite the way the actual sessions turned out, is that the textual materials that were produced in advance of teaching with the intention of full engagement by students, contain elaboration of rules for the production of legitimate texts. Yet, they are always accompanied by an additional statement which suggests that the teachers have the freedom to choose what to do; for example:

In the reader for this unit, you will find a worksheet with a number of activities/questions meant to guide learners through realising a number of things relevant to the conversions of decimals to fractions and *vice versa*. It is not given here as a prescription for how to make activities or construct activities. It is only one out of many possible ways of engaging learners with this topic. (Case 2, course notes, Unit 5, pp.3–4)

¹² For example, a deep knowledge of the school mathematics required by the new curriculum, or professional competence such as an ability to produce a year plan based on a curriculum document.

The teacher can therefore follow the activities relevant to conversions (i.e. the privileged text) or rely on their local knowledge and experience. It is assumed that the teachers, as self-regulating subjects, should be able to produce a text that exhibits at least some of the features of the privileged text, so that these can then be worked with and ‘systematised’. The conundrum here is that their apparent freedom to choose belies the existence of a forced choice.

In this Case the majority of students do not follow the expected practice (suggestions), with the result that the resources required in the contact sessions for enabling progress in the module are absent. The lecturer tries to overcome the problem through a pedagogy that involves modelling (an example) of the required expert practice. There appear to be two texts that are interrogated through this modelled practice: a professional practice (including bureaucratic aspects and mathematics for teaching) and a mathematical practice (focused on mathematical reasoning), both of which attempt to engage learners in a particular orientation to knowledge. The lecturer draws on principled knowledge to produce the examples she uses, however, as noted earlier, the principles that structure her activity are backgrounded and so remain tacit. The image (of the teacher and of teaching) that comes to be presented here,¹³ as in Case 1, is the lecturer herself. And while her practice is structured by principles of mathematics and of teaching, these are not explicit, and so remain accessible only to the lecturer as an authority.

The example that follows illustrates a typical instance of such modelling. In the third contact session the teachers had been given elaborate instructions about designing a ‘Hypothetical Learning Trajectory’ (HLT), a model for planning a sequence of student work for learning selected mathematical knowledge, based on Simon (1995). They were required to design an HLT for one of their own classes, a teaching sequence focused on a particular mathematical topic in the curriculum that would become the basis of their action research project. Teachers were expected to assess their students’ readiness for following this trajectory by designing questions that would elicit responses which could be analysed to assess their prior knowledge and readiness for the topic chosen. They were expected to bring their students responses to these questions for discussion in the following contact session.

¹³ We note here that this was not the intended image: this was to be the teacher him or herself. Learning to teach here was intended to be through reflection on the teachers’ own image: their own teaching. While the contact sessions did provide some space for this reflection the majority of the sessions were reduced to the lecture’s modeling what the teachers were supposed to do in order to produce reflections of their own teaching.

The whole session depended on the teachers producing the required student work for analysis during the session. Only two of the 25 teachers did so. In the face of the absence of the expected resource, the lecturer produced a text of her own to illustrate the points she had intended would be revealed to the teachers though reflecting on their own practice. She produced the text through choosing a particular example and modelling the kind of thinking she had expected them to engage with.

L: I'm going to ask you to do a little something here. (writes 2^3 on the board). [...] Now my question [...] is not what the answer is, my question is to you: How many different questions can you ask about this? How many different questions? There is no need to do a lot of group-work [...] I think you can just start spitting out questions. You should be able to ask about 25 different questions – nice questions. What is a question you could ask about this?

S: Ask your learners?

L: Yes, ask your learners. (Case 2 transcript)

There is some ambiguity with what the lecturer wants: is there a very *specific number* of questions to be asked? Or should they try to produce as many questions as they are able to? It is of interest that the lecturer does not open with *what* questions might productively be asked in response to the expression, and focuses instead on the number of questions. Principles (either pedagogic or mathematical) that could inform the formulation of questions are not in focus.

The implicitness of the structuring principle of the task is also indicated in the expression 'just start spitting out'. The only qualification is that the questions be 'nice', but it is not apparent what a nice question might be. A specific quantity of questions is mentioned but merely as a guide, '*about twenty-five*'.

The 'what' that appears in the extract is also ambiguous because of the absence of explicit principles: is the 'what' merely a prompt, calling for any questions to be asked? Or does the 'what' indicate that the students should reveal principles for asking questions? When a student attempts to establish some basis for asking questions – asking learners – it is interesting that s/he spontaneously appealed to a basis in familiar experience. This basis was accepted as is by the lecturer and no further elaboration was given. The teachers responded by providing possible questions and the lecturer prompted them when they got stuck, and thus modelled an orientation to asking student questions and also a technique for generating questions that she hoped they would adopt. She wrote their responses on the board as she went along.

L: Okay. Why is the answer not six? That's a good question. Okay. What tells you how many twos to write? What did we get . . . one, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten, eleven, twelve thirteen, fourteen, fifteen different questions. We could probably come up with a few more. If you wanted to . . . But the point of this is such a simple thing – we often tend to just want the answer. Once we have explained one time, we may ask for the extended form. We might ask two or three questions. But if you look at how much information is hidden in such a short notation doing this gives us an idea of how many problems the learners could run into when you just quickly say write on your papers this problem: the base is 2 the exponent is 7 – what's the answer? Do we allow for all these possible misperceptions . . . (Case 2 transcript)

The lecturer marks out a particular question as 'good', but does not explicitly indicate why it is good. The question asserts that the expression $2^3 \neq 6$, from which it can be reasonably argued that even if we do not know what 2^3 means, it is probably not to be read as 2×3 . The next question (how many twos to write) gets a little closer to an explicit use of the definition of expressions of the form a^n but still remains ambiguous since it does not refer to multiplication, but merely to the writing down of twos. Once again things remain implicit. This discussion might seem somewhat hair splitting. However, the point is that the lecturer's elaboration of content relies rather heavily on an assumed shared context of experience. In other words, what replaces principle in this Case is *experience*. What does emerge at this point in the session is that rather than only have learners (in school) work on mathematics problems, we should also ask them questions about those problems. How teachers are to generate these questions, however, remains implicit.

Of further interest here is that the 'information' that is ostensibly 'hidden' in such a trivial expression is associated with *potential student problems*. For a mathematics teacher, student problems are unpredictable and also a lot more troublesome to recognise and deal with than the mathematical elaboration of the expression 2^3 . Talking about the information hidden in trivial expressions like 2^3 in the guise of student difficulties is an expression of a central pedagogical problem. In more general terms, mathematics for teaching in this empirical context is not just about mathematics but also about the student as a point of resistance and destabilisation of mathematics.

The final question posed in the extract is very interesting: "Do we allow for all these possible misperceptions?" It indicates that, for the lecturer, students' potential difficulties with mathematics arise from *perceptual* difficulties, from 'misperceptions'. In other words, the (implied) cause of mathematical difficulties is located within the field of sensible intuitions, primarily those

intuitions associated with sight – which is a reasonable diagnosis of mathematical difficulties experienced by school students today. The constraint within the apparent proposed solution to overcoming such difficulties is that it remains within the grip of sensible intuition. We hypothesise that it is not so much that perceptual difficulties translate into mathematical difficulties but rather that the heavy reliance on perception (and more generally, on the sensible) *is* itself the source of difficulties.

Table 2 summarises the appeals made for grounding (legitimizing) the texts within this practice. We see that the basis for legitimating texts within the pedagogic context of the teacher education classroom is to be found mostly within the experiences of the teachers or to be accepted on the authority of the lecturer. The materials for the course, while containing a variety of readings and a pedagogic voice that attempts to mediate the learning experiences of the teachers, are not engaged with to produce principles for grounding meaning within the contact sessions.

Table 2: Distribution of appeals in Case 2

	Mathematics	Mathematics education	Metaphorical	Experience of either adept or neophyte	Curriculum	Authority of the adept
Mathematics	3	0	1	0	0	1
proportion of appeals (N=5)	60%	0%	20%	0%	0%	20%
Teaching	3	10	0	28	5	23
proportion of appeals (N= 69)	4,4%	14,5%	0%	40,6%	7,3%	33,3%
Mathematics and Teaching	6	10	1	28	5	24
proportion of appeals (N=74)	8,1%	13,5%	1,4%	37,8%	6,8%	32,4%
proportion of events (N=36)	15,4%	25,6%	2,6%	71,8%	12,8%	61,5%

The main text and focus of this module is clearly the modelling of professional practice: thirty-three of thirty-six events. The overall pattern reveals that the legitimating appeals are located in the teachers-as-learners' experiences, the lecturer's experiences and the authority of the lecturer, based on expert knowledge of the professional practice modelled. There are also some appeals made to mathematics and to mathematics education. The three cases where the mathematical text is the focus of the event were diversions from the main

teaching text. All three relate to a particular worksheet, intended to be an example (model) of mathematical activity focused on a specific section in the curriculum – decimal fraction/common fraction conversions – that was to be analysed to reveal the desired orientation to mathematical knowledge and pedagogy. It became necessary to focus on the mathematics referenced in the worksheet, in place of engaging with the worksheet itself, since students did not engage with it independently in preparation for the session. In these three episodes the appeals were made almost entirely to mathematical principles.

Case 3: Mathematical reasoning in school classrooms

In Case 3, the practice to be acquired is the interrogation of records of practice with mathematics education as a resource. Its focus is mathematical reasoning as a mathematical practice. The course is part of a specialised Honours Degree¹⁴ in Mathematics Education where there are five such Mathematics Education courses that run alongside mathematics courses designed specifically for secondary teachers. It is delivered through seven three-hour contact seminars and an accompanying reading pack. The overall degree includes a mini research project.

Throughout the lecturer's interactions with students, the function of the academic texts is foregrounded. After twenty minutes in the first session of this course, and during a discussion with students on the meanings of mathematical reasoning and mathematical proficiency, the lecturer states: "What is in the readings that help with our definitions – so that we look at these systematically?" In and across sessions, activity typically requires teachers to 'bring' examples from and/or descriptions of their own practice. They are then presented with a record of an other's practice (e.g. a mathematics classroom video extract; a transcript of a teaching episode), and a set of readings then function as the mechanism through which their experience and images of teaching presented are both interrogated. Thus, teaching, and in particular, teaching mathematical reasoning, is constructed as a discursive space.

Teachers were required to prepare for their first session by reading three papers, one of which was on mathematical reasoning, and another on the five

¹⁴ It is important to note here that this course is offered at a higher level (academically) than the two cases discussed above.

strands of mathematical proficiency. The latter is a chapter from the book *Adding it up: Helping children learn mathematics* by Kilpatrick and others. Teachers were also required to bring an example (written) of an observation of each of the five strands in one of their learners. Teachers were asked to “describe how you observed each strand (or lack of) in an interaction with a learner or in their written work and give reasons why you have identified that observation as a particular strand” (Course handout, Session 1). The discussion related to the fifth strand, productive disposition, is illustrative. One of the teachers (S1) says she “could not get something about productive disposition” from looking at her learners’ responses. Another (S2) offers an example of productive disposition as “a learner who gets a hundred percent”, and a third (S3) suggests ‘If learners can relate their mathematics to their everyday lives they have productive disposition’. The short extract below is indicative of how the lecturer moves to interrogate these offerings: (L = lecturer; Sn = student)

L: (referring to the offering from other teachers) S1, do those responses help you?

S1: Yes, I think so especially the last one.

L: Would Kilpatrick agree with S3? What do they say about this in the text . . . ?

Ss look at reading, and L reads aloud from the text that “someone with productive disposition sees mathematics as useful and worthwhile” and asks for other key aspects of productive disposition. Discussion continues and she concludes this with:

L: It is not only belief in yourself it is also a belief about the subject – that mathematics can make sense. . . . and . . . it is difficult to see. . . . For me the important thing is whether you can see that the learner believes they can do it and they can do it. What Kilpatrick *et. al.* are arguing is that these (*the strands beyond procedural fluency*) are not developed. So this is what we need to be teaching, and so this is why we are not getting people going into higher mathematics. Their conjecture is that we need to be focusing on this, what it is and how to teach it? . . . In practice all the strands need to be done together . . . the image of interwoven strands is very powerful. And the interesting question in all of this is how to assess this? The argument in the paper is that you (*teachers*) should be able to recognise it and assess it.

All of the sessions of the course were similarly structured, so that the image of the school student and the teacher were continually subjected to interrogation from discursive resources constituted by mathematics education. In contrast to the previous cases, the principles structuring the activity in this course are explicit, and removed from the teacher educator. The teachers are required to describe, justify and explain their thinking in relation to both what they have brought or observed and what they have read. The records of practice are the

reflection in which teachers are to see themselves and their practice – and it is opened up for interrogation by the field of mathematics education.

There was an interesting disturbance to this structure during the fifth session of the course. While it was but one instance, we include it here as it provides additional insight into the interaction of the image of teacher and teaching and how evaluation comes to work. The topic for the week is “communities of learners. . . creating a community in the classroom” and it begins with the class watching a video “of someone who is trying to do this”. As in previous sessions the resources for interrogating practice here are a video extract (and an accompanying transcript), and three relevant readings. Questions were posed to structure discussion and focused on the “mathematical work is the teacher doing?” and “How is he teaching them to be a community?”

For the next twenty or so minutes teachers offer what they think the teacher in the video is doing to create a community. Teachers’ responses include statements like: “he is encouraging them to participate . . . he says ‘feel free to participate’”; “the teacher is a facilitator”; “the teacher is democratic”; “the learners are actively constructing knowledge”. The lecturer responds by asking that they point to what they see as evidence of their claim or assertion in the transcript. The lecturer pushes teachers to invest their utterances, utterances which proliferate in new teaching and learning discourses, with meaning, and particularly practical meaning as revealed in another teacher’s practice. For example:

L: . . . that is not enough evidence for me – they could be talking about soccer – how do you know they are actively constructing mathematical knowledge – anyone else got other evidence?

Included in this lengthy discussion are sceptical voices, that there is “noise in the classroom”, suggesting that the teacher is not in control of his lesson, that “some learners are not involved”, that the discussion in the tape is “time-consuming” and learners appear “confused”. These too are common in teacher discourses around curriculum reform, and the lecturer pulls all of this into focus:

L: . . . developing a mathematical community takes time; having mathematical conversations takes time, there is no doubt about it, it takes longer. The argument is that it leads to better mathematics in the end . . . These learners spent fifteen minutes being confused about the mathematical concepts and that is not a long time (*and she refers to mathematicians and how long they spend being confused about new ideas and continues. . .*). You could just tell them, but will this remove or eliminate all confusion? . . .

L: The point is, I would like you to be able to make a choice. OK. . . this mathematical conversation and mathematical community is not something we were trained to do. It is part of the new curriculum, it is part of the new order in mathematics, because people do believe it will lead to better mathematical learning. There may be many reasons why you can't do it, number one being a heavy syllabus and assessment, but then at least you are making a choice and you know why you are making it, you know what it looks like. And it is possible, perhaps not possible all the time, but it is possible, and I know there are people in this class who are doing this. He (*the teacher in the video*) is also by the way, a Grade 11 teacher, and this is a standard grade class, with the matric exam coming, ok. They are not a very strong class, and this teacher feels the same pressures, and he doesn't do this all the time. Time is an issue.

And she returns to focus on the teacher in the video, and how he is “building a community” and this is the point (time for the session is running out) at which the readings for the session are brought into focus

L: . . .he apologises to a learner for interrupting her . . . “sorry to break your word” . . . He is modelling that it is not polite to interrupt someone. . . . he is trying to model what it is that he wants the learners to be doing with each other and with him. . . . The very, very important thing is that teaching learners to be a mathematical community requires mathematical work and that was Maggie Lampert's article . . . a long one . . . hello . . . the one you read for this week. The long one? (Laughter) “Teaching to establish a classroom culture”. . . .

There is then relatively brief discussion of Lampert's paper, and elements of a second paper read, with a focus on how Lampert describes her own teaching to build a community of mathematical learners

L: She teaches them to justify, respect, listen to each other . . . and if you want learners to reason you have to reason, so everything you do with them you give them reasons . . .

And the session ends soon thereafter:

L: We haven't focused on the readings much in this session. This does not mean that they are not important. You will be able to draw on them for your other sessions, and for the assignment. You can draw on other too for the assignment, but this assignment is more informal as it is a letter, and I have written down what you have to do.

A pedagogic discourse that in previous sessions legitimated its utterances largely by reference to a discursive field, is now predominantly focused on the image recruited for this session – the record of practice. It provokes a host of

utterances from popular pedagogic discourses, and it is interesting that here the lecturer recruits the field of mathematics education only at the very end of the session. Two inter-related explanations follow here. Firstly, the reform jargon that the teachers offer (participation, active construction . . .), and its oppositions (time consuming, confusing), needs to be engaged. Focusing on a recognisable image (a teacher in a familiar context) offers the practical possibility of the proposed practice. Secondly, the field here (community of practice) is itself still weak, rendering it less effective as a discursive resource. It is interesting here that the resulting pedagogy is a practice where the image is privileged.

Table 3 summarises the appeals made for legitimating the texts within this pedagogic practice. Evidence for our description of the practice to be acquired lies in the table. In the total of thirty-four events across the course, thirty-one (91%) direct appeals are made to mathematics education texts. We also note from the table that there is a spread of appeals across possible domains, reflecting the complex resources that constitute knowledge for teaching mathematics within this practice. Firstly, appeals to the metaphorical and the authority of the lecturer are low, suggesting that mathematics is presented as a reasoned activity, and interrogation of practice is through the field of mathematics education. Secondly the relatively high percentage of appeals to experience, together with appeals to mathematics education shows a different kind of evaluation at work. Finally, we noticed with interest that in this course, there are 95 appeals across 34 events. This is considerably different from the 45 appeals across 36 events in Case 1 and 74 appeals across 36 events in Case 2. We suggest that this density of appeals is a key feature that marks out the different practices across these three cases, at the same time that they display *similar to* relations.

Table 3: Distribution of appeals in Case 3

	Mathematics	Mathematics education	Metaphorical	Experience of either adept or neophyte	Curriculum	Authority of the adept
Mathematics	5	6	5	0	0	0
Proportion of appeals (N=16)	31,3%	37,5%	31,3%	0%	0%	0%
Teaching	15	25	0	23	10	6
Proportion of appeals (N= 79)	19%	31,7%	0%	29,1%	13,7%	7,5%
Mathematics and Teaching	20	31	5	23	10	6
Proportion of appeals (N=95)	21,1%	32,6%	5,3%	24,2%	10-,5%	6,3%
Proportion of events (N=34)	58,8%	91,2%	14,7%	67,7%	29,4%	17,7%

Discussion

From our analyses of Cases 1 and 2, and notwithstanding their differences (in terms of levels, focus, mode of delivery and intended integration of the domains of mathematics and teaching), it would appear that the structuring of mathematics teacher education by *similar to* relations produces forms of pedagogy that appear to thwart principled elaboration of mathematics teaching. In both cases it appears that the practice of mathematics for teaching exhibits features of an empirical activity: inductive procedures supported by empirical testing. A crucial additional feature, particularly in Case 1, is the endemic deployment of the visual, or the image, in various forms. In both cases, the visual inheres in the form of the modelling of practice to the learner-teacher who is required to mirror the activity of the adept (lecturer). An important difference between Case 1 and Case 2 is the emphasis of what is modelled. The former models grade-specific teaching practice; the latter, an expert professional practice with respect to both mathematics and teaching.

More generally, and this is a central point we wish to make, the visual prioritises sensibility, which is experiential. Hence our interest in these practices, and the challenges they present to mathematics teacher education practice. Sensibility is an important feature of the teaching and learning of school mathematics, where some meaning in mathematics remains absent for many learners.

Modelling the practice is, we argue, a necessary feature of all teacher education: there needs to be some demonstration/experience (real or virtual) of the valued practice; that is, of some image of what mathematics teaching performances should look like (cf. Ensor, 2004). In the Algebra course, the model was located in the performance of the lecturer whose concern (stated repeatedly through the course) was that the teachers themselves experience particular ways of learning mathematics. This experiential base was believed to be necessary if they were to enable others to learn in the same way. The mathematical examples and activities in the course thus mirrored those the teachers were to use in their Grades 7–9 algebra class. In the Reasoning course the model of teaching was externalised from both the lecturer and the teacher-students themselves, and located in images and records of the practice of teaching: particularly in videotapes of local teachers teaching mathematical reasoning, and related transcripts and copies of learner work. The externalising was supported by what we have called discursive resources (texts explaining, arguing, describing practice in systematic ways).

Specialised knowledges, including mathematics and mathematics for teaching, in part aim at rendering the world intelligible, that is, providing us with the means to grasp in a consistent and coherent fashion that which cannot be directly experienced. Consistency and coherence, however, require principled structuring of knowledge. The pedagogic forms in both Cases 1 and 2 are familiar. We see these as a function of ideologies and discourses in teacher education practice that assert the importance of teacher educators practicing what they preach (the need to walk the talk). This pressure is particularly strong when new practices (reforms) are being advocated, and so a significant feature of in-service teacher education.

At a more general level, these modelling forms are also explicable in relation to well-known theory-practice discourses, in particular, that theories without investment in practice are empty. These forms, in addition, are also a function of the conception, level, and teachers in the overall in-service programme of which they are a part.

It is in this context that Case 3 is interesting. Here too learner-teachers were presented with an image with which to identify, but they were also inducted into a practice where engagement with this image was more explicit, and structured by discursive resources. In Case 3, the image was generally interrogated by way of appeals to mathematics education as a discursive field. There are significant resources (in addition to readings from the field) that

enable this practice i.e. records of practice that are not widely or readily available (video tapes of teachers in practice, with accompanying transcripts). We noted, however, that when the idea of a (mathematical) *community* was inserted, it became somewhat more difficult to prevent identification with the image from over-asserting itself in relation to identification with the field of mathematics education.

And finally, we noted different density of appeals across the three courses, with greater density in Case 3. In Case 3 we encountered a pedagogy where images of practice (of other teachers, and the teachers themselves), were constantly and explicitly interrogated, distanced from the lecturer, and objectified by one or more discursive fields.

In conclusion

In this paper we have presented our in-depth analysis of selected courses in mathematics teacher education and the differing ways in which practice (in this instance, mathematics for teaching) came to be specialised.

What we have found is a function of the methodology we have used. Our findings thus need to be understood as a result of a particular lens, a lens that we believe has enabled a systematic description of what is going on 'inside' teacher education practice at two inter-related levels. The first level is 'what' comes to be the content of mathematics for teaching, i.e. the mathematical content and practices offered in these courses. We are calling this MfT. It is not an idealised or advocated set of contents or practices, but rather a description of 'what' is recognised through our gaze. At the second level is the 'how'. This content is structured by a particular pedagogic discourse; and a key component in the 'how' that has emerged in the study, is the projection and modelling of the activity of teaching itself. In Bernstein's terms we have seen, through an examination of evaluation at work and of how images of teaching are projected, that different MfT is offered to teachers in these programmes. The research we have done suggests that developing descriptions of what does or should constitute maths for teaching outside of a conception of how teaching is modelled, is only half the story.

Returning to the introduction to this paper and the South African context where concerns with quality are accompanied by concerns to address inequality, important questions arise for further research. Do particular models of teaching necessarily give rise to a particular kind of MfT? What other

models pertain in mathematics teacher education? How do the ranging models and forms of MfT relate to teachers' learning from and experiences of mathematics for teaching and, ultimately, the quality of their teaching? What possible consequences follow for social justice in and through teacher education itself?

Our analysis of pedagogic practice across different sites of mathematics teacher education in South Africa shows that mathematics for teaching is differentially produced. This is a function of the way in which the teacher and teaching are modelled together with the workings of pedagogic judgement, within and across courses, and the resources recruited for this task. We have illustrated modalities that appear to privilege the image and in the process background principled features of specialised knowledge, in this case mathematics for teaching. We have also illustrated a modality where the image and discursive work together to construct a discursive space and with it principled elaboration of mathematics for teaching, structured by mathematical practice (in particular, mathematical reasoning) and the field of mathematics education.

Provocative questions arise from this analysis, particularly in a context where educational inequality remains pervasive, and pedagogy is dominantly structured by *similar to* relations. Further research needs to pursue for whom and where (what teachers, in what contexts) are there opportunities for the specialisation of consciousness (of mathematics for teaching), and with what effects.

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Teacher preparation for diversity at three South African universities

Maureen Robinson and Denise Zinn

Abstract

This article reports on a study into how lecturers at three universities offering pre-service teacher education in the Western Cape are preparing future primary school teachers for diversity in classrooms and schools. The study is located within a social justice orientation to education, where teacher preparation aims to reduce barriers to learning experienced by learners from a variety of social settings. It describes how these teacher educators are responding and/or contributing to this challenge. The findings highlight the demographics of the lecturers and student teachers in the cohort, as well as lecturers' orientation to the topic and their specific classroom interventions. The article concludes by arguing for greater coherence in this work and for recognition of the systemic issues impacting on teacher preparation for diversity.

Locating the research question within a policy framework

Teacher education in South Africa today encompasses both pedagogical and social responsibilities. On the one hand teacher education institutions need to provide sufficient numbers of quality teachers to instruct children in a variety of disciplinary areas. Simultaneously, these teacher education institutions need to ensure that new teachers are able and willing to educate young citizens within a post-apartheid Constitution that deliberately “affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom” (Republic of South Africa, 1996, p.6), thereby contributing to nation-building.

Drawing on the notion of the intertwining of the pedagogical and the social task of teacher education, the study reported on here set out to investigate how pre-service teacher preparation at a selection of South African higher education institutions was preparing future teachers to deal with one particular challenge of nation-building, namely *respect for diversity*. What, we asked, are teacher education programmes doing to prepare teachers for the fact that many schools in South Africa now include learners from a variety of cultural, racial, religious and socio-economic backgrounds, who often speak different home

languages and who might have special educational needs? Are teacher education programmes acknowledging the barriers to learning experienced by learners from marginalized groups? And, more generally, in what way are teacher education programmes responding – or even contributing – to the South African imperatives of national reconstruction and social development?

A range of educational policies in the country provide a context for this issue. In addition to the end of racial segregation in schools, national policies and frameworks promote the mainstreaming of learners with special needs, provide equal recognition to different religions and acknowledge the importance of promoting multilingualism and elevating the status of formerly marginalized languages (Department of Education, 1997). The entire curriculum framework is based on the principle of “social justice, a healthy environment, human rights and inclusive education” (Department of Education, 2002). The Education White Paper 6 is based on the “call to action to establish a caring and humane society (2001, p.20), within an acknowledgement and respect for “differences in learners, whether due to age, gender, ethnicity, language, class, disability or HIV status (Department of Education, 2001, p.16). Underpinning many of these initiatives is the Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy (Department of Education, 2001a), which identifies ten values that should be promoted in schools: democracy, social justice and equity, equality, non-racism and non-sexism, *ubuntu* (human dignity), respect and reconciliation.

Pre-service teacher education constitutes a key lever in giving shape to these values in schools, in that new teachers are being educated within the framework of the above-named policies. However the relationship between the formulation and the enactment of these policies for schooling is not unproblematic. Vally (2005), for example, argues that the positive infusion of human rights, social justice and conceptions of democratic citizenship in the new curriculum is severely constrained by teachers not being provided with adequate training and resources to enact these goals.

It has been argued that little sustained research exists on the internal processes of teaching and learning within the policy revisions post-1994, and more specifically on the induction of new teachers into a newly-constructed and demanding profession (Hugo, 2006). Much published research on teacher education has focused on institutional and curriculum restructuring, with some attention to the question of professional identities (see Lewin, Samuel and Sayed, 2003). Little attention, however, has been paid to the specific issue of preparation for diversity, a central aspect of the new democracy. Exceptions

are Moletsane, Hemson and Muthukrishna (2004) who articulate a set of questions to help us explore this issue, and Hemson (2006) who describes how three Faculties of Education engage with the challenges of diversity in their Post Graduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) programme. This study hopes to build on this limited literature in its exploration of the ways in which teacher educators in the Western Cape conceptualise and construct their practice in relation to diversity issues.

The concept of diversity

South African researchers have raised questions about what the most useful terms and concepts might be to advance our local understanding of the issue of diversity (Vandeyar, 2003; Hemson, 2006). In seeking a conceptual base for this study, we too realized that there is still much work to be done on developing a grounded conceptual framework for understanding the challenge of teacher preparation for diversity. In the United States, for example, teacher education for diversity has been framed within a social justice orientation to multiculturalism (Cochran-Smith, 2004; Irvine, 2004). In South Africa, however, the term ‘multiculturalism’ provides a less comfortable conceptual home, as the policy of apartheid rationalized oppression and exploitation of certain groups of people under the guise of a celebration of different cultures.

Discussions on respect for diversity have also been framed internationally within a broad notion of ‘inclusive education’, sometimes linked to notions of social justice. Booth, Nes and Stromstad for example, drawing on research from a range of countries, define inclusion as follows:

. . . inclusion is about consciously putting into action values based on equity, entitlement, community, participation and respect for diversity. Increasing inclusion is always linked with reducing exclusion. It is concerned with the reduction of inequality, both economic and social, both in starting positions and in opportunities (Booth *et al.*, 2003, p.1).

A similar view is articulated by Pendlebury and Enslin, who see inclusion as overcoming “the barriers to participation of all in education, so as to extend to all learners the human right to education and the right to participation in an inclusive polity” (2004, p.45). Engelbrecht, Green, Naicker and Engelbrecht (2005) echo this, arguing that the concept of diversity, rather than emphasizing difference, should be linked to the principles of integration, commonality and respect for all people.

The term 'inclusion', however, proved to be limited as a base for this research, as it encompasses too great a variety of orientations and practices. Even though Booth *et al.* (2003) use the concept inclusion to frame their edited book, they also provide an overview of the different conceptualizations of inclusion contained within the chapters in their book. These include inclusive education as respect for diversity, as removing barriers to learning and participation in school life, as promoting democracy, as encompassing the cultures and policies of a school, and as related to justice for all in society.

The South African policy paper on inclusion (Education White Paper 6) targets the concept of inclusion directly, but itself encompasses a range of conceptualizations. On the one hand, it takes a broad view of inclusion, arguing that inclusive education and training is about "maximizing the participation of all learners in the culture and the curricula of educational institutions and uncovering and minimizing barriers to learning" (2001, p.16). The implementation framework of this White Paper, however, is devoted entirely to one aspect of inclusion, namely support for learners with disabilities.

Further motivation for moving away from the concept of inclusion was the observation by Engelbrecht *et al.* (2005) that the so-called developed nations mainly use the term 'inclusive education' in relation to provision for learners with disabilities. And the concept is further complicated by the argument that "inclusive policies may result in new forms of exclusion" (Sayed, 2003, p.3). An example of this is where inclusion in the form of racial integration of schools draws attention away from the exclusionary force of poverty on educational access.

The location of the concept of diversity within a social justice orientation led us to feel that it would be best to remain with the concept 'preparation for diversity' in our interviews, as the term inclusion might have too many varied meanings for the teacher educators. Fraser (in Fraser and Honneth, 2003), in her outline of the politics and philosophy of social justice in the modern world, provides a useful conceptualization of two different elements that respect for diversity might encompass. Claims for social justice, she argues, are divided into two types: the redistributive claim which seeks "a more just distribution of resources and wealth" (2003, p.7) and the "politics of recognition" which resists assimilation into dominant cultural norms, calling for the recognition of the distinctive perspectives of ethnic and racial groups, as well as sexual minorities and gender differences (2003, p.7).

In considering how teacher educators addressed diversity, we were therefore not only concerned about how they were recognizing difference, but also about how the actions of the teacher educators did or did not offer the ‘just distribution’ of educational opportunities to their student teachers and, by implication, to learners in primary schools. We were therefore open to the concept of diversity taking on a variety of forms in the experiences and understandings of the teacher educators, including race, class, language, gender, disability, poverty and unemployment (see the Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2005, study on rural schools), as well as customs, religion, age, ability to pay school fees (see a study from the University of the North, 2001). We sought to explore, with these teacher educators, their “curricula and ways of organizing learning” (Booth *et al.*, 2003, p.2) and in so doing, to better understand how teacher education was contributing to the skills and understandings of future teachers who would work in a context of diversity.

Methodology

The target group for the research was teacher educators in three higher education institutions in the Western Cape.¹ This province was selected as at the time it provided the most convenient access for the researchers. The institutions chosen were those which focused on the preparation of teachers for the primary school, for a number of reasons. Primary school offers a generalised and more holistic experience for school learners, as opposed to secondary school, where individual subject teachers offer a more fragmented and academically-based pattern of instruction. The prospective teachers in these teacher education programmes would be preparing to teach children in primary schools in 2004 and beyond. Their learners’ experience of schooling would have been wholly located in the post-apartheid policies and frameworks described above.

As a result of the closure of teacher education colleges in the mid-1990s, and the incorporation of some of their programmes and staff into higher education institutions, the teacher education faculties in this study were part of the three formerly ‘white’ higher education institutions in the Western Cape. The two formerly ‘black’ higher education institutions in the Western Cape did not,

¹ A follow-up study was conducted in the Eastern Cape in 2005 but is not reported on here.

offer dedicated² primary school teacher education at the time this study took place. The participating institutions were spread over four sites in the Western Cape. Two of these were Afrikaans-medium, and two English-medium.

Two models of pre-service primary school teacher education were represented in this research: the four year integrated degree (BEd) as well as the one year postgraduate certificate in education (PGCE). At one of the participating institutions, students were enrolled for a PGCE for primary teachers, while at the other two institutions students were enrolled in a BEd. General Education and Training (GET) programme. No distinction was made between these two models in the analysis of the data.³

Data on the poverty index of schools in the province was derived from information provided by the Western Cape Education Department. Demographics on the teacher educators were obtained from their institutional databases or websites and the respective Faculties/Departments of Education provided data on the racial composition of their student teacher enrolment.

Qualitative data was obtained through a combination of semi-structured focus group and individual interviews. A total of twenty-two lecturers teaching at the three higher education institutions offering dedicated primary school teacher education programmes in the Western Cape were interviewed. Interview sessions lasted between one and a half to two hours each. Interviews were considered appropriate, as this provided scope for probing in an area that is by its nature sensitive and complex. Lecturers were asked what they understood by the concept diversity, and how preparation for diversity in classrooms and schools was inserted into the teacher education curriculum. These questions were aimed at understanding what teacher education

² Graduates of the other two higher education institutions in the province do sometimes end up teaching in primary schools. However the teacher education programme at these two institutions was not specifically geared for the primary school situation.

³ At two of the three institutions differentiated courses are offered in the General Education and Training (GET) band: one for future teachers of Foundation Phase (Grades R-3) and the second for Intermediate/Senior Phase (Grades 4-9). No differentiation was made between these two levels. It should be noted that the Senior Phase is partly physically located in high schools, but because of the design of the teacher education curricula, for ease of reference all Foundation, Intermediate and Senior phase programmes are clustered here as 'primary school' offerings.

programmes needed to do to be responsible for, and responsive to, the challenge of national reconstruction.

Findings and analysis: 'who, how and what'

The findings in this study revealed that a range of initiatives were being undertaken to address the issue under discussion. These initiatives, however, displayed little sense of coherence or of operating within a commonly understood framework. Differences in the programmes were usually a function of how the different faculties of education, and more particularly the lecturers themselves, formulated their courses. Teacher educators also indicated that *who* their students were, informed to some degree *what* they chose to teach in relation to diversity, but also influenced *how* they chose to deal with this topic.

The lack of a common framework was not unexpected, in that lecturers in all the institutions indicated that there was much freedom and leeway to choose what they were going to teach within the broad policy framework of the Norms and Standards for Educators (Department of Education, 2000), which only stipulates various components and expected outcomes for teacher education.

Despite the absence of a common approach, the study pointed to three important elements that impacted on the question of preparation for diversity in pre-service teacher education programmes . These elements were:

- The 'who' element: demographics of the lecturers and students in the Education faculties or departments in each of the three participating institutions
- The 'how' element: namely, the various orientations to diversity of the teacher educators in the three institutions, connected in many ways to the 'who' element, but also connected to the particular students they were teaching and the contexts in which they were teaching.
- The 'what' element: the specific topics, methods, and areas the teacher educators are utilising in their curricula to address diversity-related issues.

The 'who' element: demographics of lecturers and student teachers

Lecturers

The table below summarizes some of the demographic details on the full-time complement of lecturers in the Faculties or Departments of Education in the three participating institutions at the time of the research.

Table 1: Lecturer demographics (2004)

Faculty/ Department of Education	Total	Male	Female	% Age over 40yrs	Black [This demographic category can be broken into the historical divisions: 'Coloured', 'African', 'Indian']			White
					'Coloured'	'African'	'Indian'	
Institution A	18	13	5	95%	3	0	0	15
Institution B	45	20	25	90%	9	0	0	36
Institution C	54	26	28	85%	8	1	1	44
TOTAL	117	59	58	Average: approx 90%	22 = 19%			95 = 81%

A number of interesting features emerge from this data. First, it is evident that in 2004 the racial profiles of staff reflected the racial origins of the three participating institutions as formerly white; the closure of the former black colleges of education clearly having had the (unintended) consequence of limiting black staff numbers in the sector.

Secondly, it is noteworthy that over 90% of all the lecturers in the study were over 40 years of age. They were all raised, educated, and taught in schools in a period characterized by strictly enforced segregation. The general context of their lived experience was a highly racialized and politicized existence in South Africa. In contrast, the students in the study averaged 20–25 years of age. They were in primary schools in the 1980s and early 1990s, and would have been too young to make meaning of the political and education unrest of the time. These students would have attended high school post 1994, when apartheid legislation was being dismantled.

Student teachers

The student teacher demographics in the Western Cape at the time of the

research are summarized in the table below. The figures show clearly that young black people (particularly those formerly classified ‘African’) were not entering the teaching profession at primary school level at the same rate as ‘white’ students. These figures could be seen as a reflection of broader societal changes, such as an opening up of a range of opportunities for Africans in the formal economy, an increase in extra teacher posts created by the School Governing Bodies of formerly white schools (Crouch and Perry, 2003), or of a suspension of the bursaries formerly offered to study teaching, or a poor perception of conditions in schools and in teaching. The scope of this research and constraints of this paper do not permit exploring or elaborating these issues here.

Table 2: Enrolment in BEd and PGCE general education and training/ primary school programmes in the Western Cape 2005

Institutions	Demographic categories				Totals
	White	Black, which can be subdivided into:			
		Coloured	African	Indian	
Institution A	26	3	4	0	33
Institution B	414	26	1	0	441
Institution C	937	254	69	6	1266
TOTAL	1377	283	74	6	1740
%	80	16	4	-	100%

Source: Enrolment figures from Faculties/Departments of Education

The significance of these figures is that the student profile is likely to be closely linked to the kind of schools in which the student teachers will probably end up teaching once they have graduated. This is a matter of great concern in a province where about 50% of the province’s 1106 schools fall into the category first or second poorest quintile (WCED, Annual Survey of Schools, 2004). A national study on teacher shortages notes the same concern, arguing that “White students are not known for having a particular interest in teaching in black schools in particular. But even if they were interested, they would be constrained by an inability to teach in the mother tongue, as is the requirement in Foundation Phase” (Department of Education, 2005, p.68)

The concern with the demographics of teacher education students and lecturers can be considered from a more qualitative point of view as well. The backgrounds of the lecturers and the student teachers signal likely differences in orientation to the topic of diversity, both *within* the lecturer groups and the

student teacher groups, as well as *between* these two groups. The importance of *who* these key players are, lies in what they bring to their understandings of the topic of diversity and how to deal with it. Britzman refers to teachers' "implicit institutional biographies – the cumulative experience of school lives . . . which inform their knowledge of the student's world, of school structure, and of curriculum" (Britzman, 1986, p.443). In the shared terrain of the teacher education programme, it needs to be remembered that teacher educators and prospective teachers will bring from this 'cumulative experience' different definitions, different values, and different data sources, as they consider topics in their curriculum (Holt-Reynolds, 1992). This includes how to deal with issues of diversity. Clandinin and Connelly's notion of personal practical knowledge, which forms part of the substance of what teachers (and prospective teachers) bring to teaching, is pertinent to the diversity orientations of the teacher educators in this study:

Personal practical knowledge is in the teacher's past experience, in the teacher's present mind and body, and in the future plans and actions. . . It is, for any one teacher, a particular way of reconstructing the past and the intentions of the future to deal with the exigencies of a present situation (Clandinin and Connelly, 1988, p.25).

The 'how' element: orientations to diversity

Lecturers indicated that they understood the concept of diversity to encompass a range of categories, namely colour and race, gender, class and socio-economic issues, religion, language, learning differences, ability, disability; elements that give rise to exclusion of individuals. However, more interestingly than the expected categorizations was one lecturer's comment that, what matters most is '*how you come at it*'. In this section we explore lecturers' orientations to the topic of diversity, defined by the following meanings in the Oxford Dictionary: 'by what means, in what way' as well as 'to what extent'.

There were various orientations to the topic amongst the lecturers in this study. Some lecturers spoke of a reluctance to approach the topic overtly or directly, and individuals were having to deal with the issues around diversity in an individual way, rather than more holistically within the faculty, school or department.

Included in the orientations of lecturers was an aversion to terms that have negative connotations, not in and of themselves, but in the context of the language of South African politics. For example, Joe explained

Words I also don't like are 'multicultural, multiracial, multi-religious'. Euphemisms. Just using another word for 'those guys are different from me'. I might as well say, 'they are another race'.

The implicit negative connotation of being 'another race' is embedded in South Africa's history of racism. What is embodied in these explanations, these ways of making sense of diversity, and the language used to describe it? For educators who have come from particular personal and institutional histories, for whom terms like 'multicultural' and 'multiracial', in their lived experience, were used in ways that signified domination of one group by another, in oppressive, racist ways, it appeared hard to separate out a neutral, let alone positive, connotation to these terms. Ambivalence towards particular notions of diversity needs to be viewed against the political, socio-historical realities of South Africa's recent past, a past that continues to impact strongly on present realities and orientations.

The orientations to the issue were often linked to the context from which either the lecturer or students came, or in which they were currently located. Lecturers indicated that they recognized that contexts are constantly changing, especially in South Africa, in ways that mean adjusting how they approach the topic. Julie, a black lecturer in a predominantly and historically white university, talked explicitly of experiencing '*talking into a context that has changed*', where there was '*resentment to talking politics*', with some of her students becoming angry, seeing it as the lecturer's '*baggage*'. A lecturer at another institution recounted a similar reaction from some of his students: '*[in a core module] where the discussions were around injustices, some students just don't want to go there – no politics*'. Julie remembered a time in the previous political dispensation when teachers were not allowed to 'talk politics', a transgression that could have had serious consequences for the teacher. In this period, she explained, lecturers have to be '*more compromising*' in how to raise the same issues that would have been eagerly and defiantly taken up in the 1980s and 1990s.

The experience of an '*absence of shared memory*', strongly informed the orientation of another lecturer. The fact that lecturers and students are from two generations which are very different in terms of the changing South African context, has had several educational implications. Tim, a lecturer with a strong academic background in sociology and political studies, described not being able to refer to shared memory between lecturer and student, and having to use a story-telling technique in order to create common understandings of a time and place that informed critical perspectives that would be part of their classroom discussions. Tim's approach was to create shared historical memory

that could serve as a reference point from which to address issues that fall within the realm of diversity studies, for example, to illustrate the consequences of apartheid. This point speaks to Holt-Reynolds' (1992) assertion that a professor and student are apt to misunderstand each other, unless they confront the fact that differences in their frames of reference exist. In creating shared memory through stories, Tim seeks to develop shared understandings that assist in preparing student teachers to deal with particular aspects of diversity, and more generally, with diversity as a concept.

Several different frameworks and approaches were used in the various teacher education programmes to deal with the topic of diversity. At one institution some of the lecturers indicated that a social justice framework informed their approach to preparing teachers to deal with diversity. This framework, they said, best described their institutional orientation to diversity issues, and had '*steered curriculum choices made by the lecturers*'. This framework informed how core topics, such as philosophy, sociology and history of education, could be oriented. For example, framing questions that guided discussion of diversity-related topic were: 'Who benefits and who doesn't? What are the inclusionary and exclusionary devices involved in the situation?' This orientation, in the view of one lecturer, set up the foundation for discussions on diversity, and helped prepare prospective teachers understand the related issues.

Others in the same institution described an opposite approach, namely starting from the students' personal experience, and working outwards towards a theoretical understanding. For example, one lecturer spoke to the importance of getting a sense of the individual identities of students, and searching out the ways in which aspects of their identities encompass minority or majority affiliations and characteristics. The issue of marginalization then became pertinent, and this, claimed the lecturer, was a central aspect of addressing issues of diversity.

The '*what*' element: addressing diversity in the curriculum

The 'who' element (i.e. the lecturers and students), and the 'how' (their orientations to the concept of diversity), inform the 'what' element, namely the specific issues and activities taken up. There appeared to be much variety in the nature of the content used to address the topic. However, how the topic is addressed is a component of the 'what' element as well, an understanding that is evident in the phrase, familiar in teacher education literature: '*how* you

teach is *what* you teach'. The lecturers in this study spoke almost with one voice about how *not* 'to come at' the topic of diversity: "*Just to go to a class and talk about diversity, is NOT the approach*". In fact, said one lecturer: "*when students see the heading 'diversity', they bunk the lecture*".

Many of the lecturers acknowledged that diversity '*is not an easy thing to just raise. It's **an issue**, in an institution like this, to talk about [it]*' (lecturer's emphasis). Clearly, in some institutional contexts, there is uneasiness about explicitly addressing issues of diversity. In particular, black lecturers in historically white institutions in this study talked about feeling this discomfort, illustrated in a statement by Julie about the silence surrounding these issues in her institution, and stated differently by a lecturer in another institution as 'I am uncomfortable to talk about it. . . It's a predominantly white university, where the children [students] went to white schools. . . so that's how it is.'

Finding 'a way in', an entry point, to the topic was one of the issues the teacher educators had to deal with. Several educators refer to mechanisms, or triggers that help to place the topic of diversity on the classroom agenda. Joe said: '*I am not going to start a conversation out of the blue about racism. It has to be triggered by an event.*'

The spaces and places where such triggers were to be found were part of both a hidden and formal curriculum. One example was the reference by a respondent to the 'imagined classrooms' in the mind of the teacher educator. This educator was aware of assumptions that are likely to inform a particular approach, aware of the hidden nature of the curriculum that would be taught, and suggested that an important step in addressing diversity in teacher education programmes, would be for teacher educators to make explicit what their 'imagined classrooms' are, where they are located, and who the students are.

Another hidden aspect of the curriculum is the educator's own ideological or philosophical orientation. Julie advocated that lecturers make explicit why they do things the way they do, and that this would demonstrate that the way any particular lecturer teaches is informed by particular ideologies and philosophical orientations.

Certain subject areas or knowledge disciplines lent themselves more formally to 'triggers' which created spaces for dialogue around diversity. For example, lecturers at two different institutions spoke about a visit to the Holocaust Museum, which served as a springboard for talking about and confronting

issues related to diversity. This event was built into the History Methods course, and is also an example of how the subject itself provides the tools for raising the topic of diversity. A number of other courses or topics provided relatively straightforward vehicles for raising issues of diversity. These included core Education Studies courses, such as History, Sociology, Psychology, and Philosophy. Method or Didactics courses in particular subject or learning area disciplines (for example, South African History, Life Orientation, Religious/Multi-faith studies, Social Studies, Drama, Arts and Culture) also provided opportunities to discuss the variety of life experiences of South African children. The learning areas of Life Orientation and Lifeskills included topics such as multi-faith religion education, HIV/AIDS and schooling, and issues around social justice and personal rights.

Other than the specific knowledge areas, teacher education programmes focused on skills to help students to work better with various aspects of diversity in the classroom. For example, most of the programmes included modules on multilingual education. In the four-year BEd programme, students were exposed to courses in all three languages spoken in the Western Cape, namely English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa.

Special needs education provided another area of skills development. With new education policies like the White Paper 6 (referred to earlier) relating to inclusive classrooms, teacher education programmes have had to include modules on working with children with special needs, for example learning disabilities, and visual and hearing impairments.

An exploration of personal and identity development formed another entry point into teacher preparation for diversity. In two of the teacher education programmes, lecturers had designed an aspect of their curriculum to get students to uncover and confront their own assumptions about who they are, what their norms and values are, and the contexts in which these have been formed, through personal identity exploration or development exercises. Interestingly, in one institution, the lecturers reported that there was often strong resistance to this kind of exercise by some students. For example in one PGCE course, this exercise was the basis of a compulsory assignment. However, so strong was the resistance to it by some students that they chose to forgo a grade rather than complete the assignment.

In addition to their classroom-based instruction, the three teacher education programmes had designed a number of different experiences to expose student teachers to diversity in classrooms and schools. This was particularly through

the Teaching Practice component of the programme, where Teaching Practice placements were set up to give students an opportunity to experience different kinds of schools. These differences were in general based on socio-economic factors, with student teachers being expected to teach in a school that was different from that with which s/he was familiar. Student teachers were also routinely provided with Teaching Practice experience in schools for learners with special educational needs.

Various lecturers referred to a less tangible, but crucial, aspect of the curriculum, namely that of developing certain 'dispositions' in teacher education students. The most explicitly named disposition was that of developing critical thinking, or a willingness to ask '*big questions*', particularly about role of education in society. This was also linked for some lecturers to personal identity development, through which students would gain habits such as introspection, openness, or self-awareness, all presumed to be essential components of learning to respect others.

Conclusion

This research was driven by the question: *How are teacher education programmes in South Africa preparing pre-service teachers for diversity in classrooms and schools?* While it is acknowledged that the sample was limited and that the study focused on the intended rather than the enacted curriculum (Hemson, 2006), (what lecturers *said* they did, rather than what was observed), it is possible to identify a number of underlying themes by way of conclusion.

The data has indicated that, at least for the institutions involved in this study, lecturers are indeed attempting to prepare their student teachers for diversity in a variety of ways. The specific interventions relate to *who* the lecturers and student teachers are, *how* lecturers came at the issue of diversity, and *what* kinds of learning experiences are contained in the teacher education programmes.

The imagined classroom

The 'who' element relates to the histories and profiles of the students and lecturers and to their identities, biographies and expectations. The unbalanced racial demography stood out most starkly. Fortunately, it would appear that

this is a matter that the national Department of Education is taking seriously (see DoE, 2005). It will be important to track the efforts of a national teacher recruitment campaign in future enrolment trends.

Of perhaps deeper significance was the impact of different generational experiences of teacher educators and student teachers on understandings and practices in relation to diversity issues. These generational differences invoked a range of experiences, assumptions and understandings, which can be formulated as ‘the experience of the present, is not the experience of the past’. This was shown to lead sometimes to complex negotiation in order to come to shared understandings of what diversity means, and how it should be dealt with in the teacher education curriculum, and in schools and classrooms.

The individual and collective identities of different generations are related to their own personal and institutional biographies, including their experiences of schooling. These experiences inform their expectations of contemporary schools. The teaching and learning of pedagogical skills is often based on an imagined picture of the classroom and social conditions of learners (Holt-Reynolds, 1992). Yet the ‘imagined classrooms’ of teacher educators and their students, coming as they do from different generations and in many cases different social backgrounds, may not be the same or even similar. This is where we believe recruitment into teacher education to be so significant, both in terms of diversifying the corps of teacher educators, as well as student teachers. Unless those engaged in teacher preparation have a varied experience and expectation of schools, the teacher education curriculum is likely to remain limited in its awareness of and sensitivity to the diversity of school contexts in the country.

Creating coherence

Lecturers in this study indicated that they were working with a wide conception of diversity, including race, gender, class, religion, language and disability, and that they were addressing diversity in a variety of ways. However, despite the extensive array of national policy frameworks relating to respect for diversity, individual rather than programmatic or institutional interventions appeared to dominate curriculum planning and implementation.

We would argue that if teacher education is to play a meaningful role in ensuring life chances for all young learners, a more coherent and rigorous framework of action is needed. Cochran-Smith (2004, p.143) calls this “the

coherence question”, arguing the importance of making connections between political, institutional and pedagogical interventions to support respect for diversity. Applying the coherence principle to this study would mean, for example, Faculties of Education actively recruiting student teachers and teacher educators from a variety of backgrounds; constructing a knowledge base for teaching in a context of diversity, particularly around pedagogies of teacher preparation; building links with a variety of communities, and understanding the place of teacher education in the larger social, historical, economic and political context.

Hemson makes a similar point, arguing that “addressing issues of diversity effectively must involve critical examination of the purposes of education, processes of learning, methods of teaching, forms of knowledge that are privileged, and the role of the educator (2006, p.48). He provides a number of practical suggestions to give effect to this, arguing, for example, for the value of staff discussions, the use of critical incidents in teaching, and the linking of work on diversity to institutional vision and mission statements.

Part of planning for a coherent approach to teacher preparation for diversity will mean facing the varying definitions and conceptions of diversity that abound in the national and international literature. Despite White Paper 6’s broad discourse of inclusive education, teacher educators in this study seemed more comfortable with the concept of diversity, seeing inclusive education as a part of the diversity ‘umbrella’. Wildeman and Nomdo (2007) illustrate the impact that different conceptions of inclusive education can have on implementation strategies, through showing how some provinces look to bolster special needs schools, while others seek a complete overhaul of the education system.

Porteus (2003) has argued that inclusion and exclusion in countries of the South need to be specifically located within notions of human rights and social justice. Following this, teacher education discourse in South Africa might benefit from an exploration of the concept of a ‘human rights pedagogy’, to capture the link between teacher education, pedagogy and social development, and to encompass both the respecting of difference and the equal distribution of educational opportunities.

Systemic issues

A final comment needs to be made about the some of the systemic issues that

were highlighted in this study. As has been explained, the rationalization of particularly the college sector in the last decade depleted the number of black teacher educators in the Western Cape. The mergers in higher education had, in at least one of the institutions investigated here, delayed staff appointments in teacher education, as new posts were affected by institutional restructuring. This had, ironically, restricted opportunities for a diversity of recruitment in teacher education. Secondly, the poor enrolment of 'African' students into primary school teaching is a matter of great concern, particularly if set against the argument for mother tongue education in the early years of learning. Thirdly, while all institutions in this study indicate that they exposed their student teachers to a variety of schools during Teaching Practice, the poor social conditions within which many schools are located often leads to student teachers resisting teaching in particular geographical areas, thus creating a situation where the most marginalized of schools do not receive support from teacher education institutions.

The task of preparing good teachers for the diversity of South African classrooms resides in our teacher educators. This study has illustrated how a group of teacher educators in one province are – in their own ways – attempting to address this challenge. It is to be hoped that, in highlighting the strategies being employed by these teacher educators, this study will contribute to a wider debate on the relationship between the pedagogical and social task of teacher education in this country and to the concrete implementation of the policies aimed at nation-building through education.

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Lifelong learning, academic development and the purposes of higher education

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Abstract

This article is concerned with the competence of the university graduate; it poses two main questions: 1. How can a higher education institution ensure that its students exit the system with the ability to generate socially useful knowledge throughout the rest of their lives? 2. To what extent do students who are currently exiting universities have this ability? It goes on to argue (in agreement with the architects of the NQF) for certain generic competences that are seen as vital for survival in the world of work today, regardless of the degree studied. Focusing on the notion of 'critical thinking', as one of these descriptions of competence, the article suggests how this notion can usefully be elaborated if education is to serve an emancipatory purpose in the current context.

Introduction

This paper seeks to demonstrate the conceptual, historical and practical convergences of the notions of lifelong learning and academic development, as these concepts have influenced and continue to influence thinking in higher education institutions. It does this by situating these notions, and the activities they represent, within the current socio-economic context.

The paper goes on to make suggestions for the practice of academic development, with one particular question in mind: how can a higher education institution ensure that its students exit the system with the ability to generate socially useful knowledge throughout the rest of their lives? In answering this question one has to pay attention to the further question of what it is that makes knowledge socially useful today, hence my reference to the purposes of higher education.

I will be particularly concerned to provide a definition of the lifelong learner. When I use this term I will be assuming that the ability for *any* individual to learn widely and through the whole of his or her lifespan is a desideratum of education in general. I do not use the term 'lifelong learner' to refer to some particular learners within the system, such as part-time learners, mature

learners, or those workers seeking occupational upgrades. Rather the lifelong learner will be defined as one who is able to engage critically with his or her world, in addition to commanding those sorts of competence that are required for survival in it, especially the ability to adapt to new roles and situations. At a time when buzzwords such as 'generic skills' and 'interdisciplinarity' are somewhat ritually mentioned in policy documents, it may be useful to enquire into the social dynamics that lie behind them and to re-examine what they might mean in relation to real-world problems.

Learning to be

It is difficult to determine the origins of the term 'lifelong learning' with any great precision, but certainly one of the earliest and most influential sources for it is a UNESCO commissioned work entitled *Learning to Be* (Faure, Herrera, Kaddoura, Lopes, Petrovsky, Rahnema and Ward, 1972). The term used there was actually 'lifelong education' rather than 'lifelong learning'. However these concepts are quite similar, as some further quotations from Faure *et al.* below will show, and they are also interrelated with various others such as 'recurrent education', 'permanent education' etc. (Tight, 1998). It is true though that certain writers, such as Torres (2004), place considerable emphasis on the distinctions between these concepts, so that the notion of lifelong education tends to be limited to opportunities for receiving instruction in institutional settings, whereas lifelong learning encompasses all the factors that facilitate learning, such as one's living conditions, social *milieu* and so forth.

Faure, a former French minister of education, and his collaborators in this work, pointed out at length the many failures of the global education system, especially the low participation rates in schooling and some of its more disappointing results, such as a failure to keep pace with the ever changing demands of the workplace and technological development. The main themes of *Learning to Be* were: massifying education; making it more relevant, using new methods and media; meeting popular aspirations for liberation and democracy; achieving self-fulfilment; mobility between branches of education (flexibility of entrance and exit). It was asserted that "lifelong education is not an educational system but the principle on which an over-all organization of a system is founded, and which should accordingly underlie the development of each of its component parts," and the authors proposed "*lifelong education as*

the master concept for educational policies in the years to come for both developed and developing countries” (p.182).¹

The authors proposed, amongst other things, a notion of “recurrent education” which, they said, “may resolve the contradiction between institutionalized and non-institutionalized education by integrating them into a coherent system in which they complement and supplement each other harmoniously” (pp.189–190). The roots of what we have come to know as recognition of prior learning (RPL) can clearly be seen here, since one of the ‘contradictions’ between formal and non-formal education lies in the fact that the latter is often not recognised by the former. The authors were thus trying to bring all learning into one framework. Any learning programme would somehow have to give recognition to whatever learning had come before, whether this was in a formal institutional setting or not, and anyone having completed a formal programme should be able to continue building on that learning, whether in a formal setting or not.

It is evident that this thinking was informed by changes in the workplace and the need for education to keep pace with these, hence the greater emphasis on problem solving rather than disciplines, as is evident in the following recommendation: “*Artificial or outmoded barriers between different educational disciplines, courses and levels, and between formal and non-formal education should be abolished; recurrent education should be gradually introduced and made available in the first place to certain categories of the population*” (p.189). There is a certain radicalism in proposals like this and no doubt ‘progressivist’ currents in education have been strongly influenced by such thinking ever since. In order to understand the significance of this development, and before dealing with any practical problems that it raises, let us step back and briefly consider the social and historical context.

From lifelong employment to ‘cognitive capitalism’

The term ‘Fordism’ was first introduced by Antonio Gramsci in the 1930s.² It referred to the dominant paradigm of work at the time, which was based on

¹ All italics found in quotations from Faure *et al.* are the authors’ own.

² In Gramsci (1971).

Taylorist ‘scientific management’ principles, the assembly line method of mass production, high wages (sufficiently high for workers to buy the products of their own labours and to support a family), an unskilled or at most semi-skilled worker, and a paternalistic control over the lives of workers, even their private lives. The condition of the mass worker under Fordist regimes was such that work tended to be highly repetitive and the cognitive demands that it made on the worker very low. Fordism is usually associated with Keynesian economic policies (Itoh, 1992; Allen, 1996; Gambino, 1996; Lebowitz, 2004), and its period of greatest success is generally thought to lie in the two decades immediately following the Second World War. The convergence of Ford and Keynes is summed up in the Fordist maxim, “the worker in an auto plant should be able to buy an auto” (cited in Caffentzis, 1998, p.6). The same author goes on to explain:

One of the most important functions of the Keynesian state was the management of a parallel growth of wages and productivity, via its control of the money supply and the interest rate. If wages increases out-ran productivity increases, then an increase in the money supply with its inflationary impact followed by an interest rate increase and its recessionary consequences, would reduce the value of the wages in line with productivity.

(Caffentzis, 1998, pp.7-8)

It is generally agreed that the Fordist paradigm of work and the ‘Keynesian compact’ (Krugman, 2000) began to suffer a crisis in the late 1960s, although opinions differ on the reasons for this. Amongst the more strongly supported reasons are the fact that trade unions had become strong, that wages had risen while working hours had shortened and that a drop in the rate of profit had occurred. By the early 1970s, and with the onset of oil price shocks, far-reaching solutions were required in order to restore profitability and these would eventually lead to a large scale reorganisation of labour.

The response was generally to change the nature of production itself. One aspect of this was the rise of Japanese models, so called ‘Toyotism’ or ‘lean production’ (Itoh, 1992; Gambino, 1996), which emphasised innovations such as ‘quality circles’, ‘just in time production’, ‘total quality control’, and so forth, which, at least according to certain writers, had a purpose of breaking the power of workers on the assembly line by making their work more open to surveillance and control (Caffentzis, 1998). Such innovations in work and management techniques should not be seen in isolation from the technological innovations that accompanied them. The effect of introducing new computer technology, for example, has generally been twofold, to expel surplus labour and to make the remaining workers more flexible and mobile. These various innovations, taken together, imply a different type of worker.

As Harry Cleaver (1992, no pagination) has put it, “such ‘post-Fordist’ approaches to the organization of work have included attempts to relink private industry and public education as a means to relaunch the growth of productivity” and this is done “by harnessing the new abilities of working class subjectivity”. Thus there is a large scale *reskilling* of workers in the post-Fordist era, as “capital grants its labor power a certain fusion of conception and execution” (Dyer-Witthford, 1999, p.490). In contrast to the Fordist mass worker, for whom conception was always the activity of another, the post-Fordist worker is made into a subject of communication, who, as a member of a team must communicate, think and solve problems as a part of his or her condition of being a worker. So, this worker now obeys a new type of command and becomes a new type of subject in the process, in the service and pursuit of one great good, *productivity*. This has far-reaching implications for the interface between work and education, insofar as the problem for work now becomes one of developing mass intellectuality:

Mass intellect appears not just in production but throughout a whole network of educational and cultural relations. It is present in industrial and service workers, labouring at the dataface: in students keeping pace with technological innovation through ‘life-long learning’; and in the various technocultural literacies on which new markets for electronic and entertainment goods depend.

(Dyer-Witthford, 1999, p.488)

Here we begin to see the grounding of some of the preoccupations of Faure and his colleagues, particularly the true nature of the link between formal and non-formal education. The worker must above all be ‘technologically literate’, an essential component of the mass intellectuality that is referred to above, and this familiarity with technology is not gained entirely in formal education. It is gained largely informally, ‘as cultural capital’, by those who have the opportunity to gain it, through work, through study and through play. The age old dichotomy between work and play is thus partially effaced. If the worker likes surfing the Internet as part of her leisure time, or taking apart electronic gadgets, or playing highly intricate computer games, the better the post-Fordist worker will she be. Technological skills, due to their cognitive component, are transferable skills and this is an important part of making a worker flexible or transferable from one domain of work to another. Note that it was precisely the *lack* of skill on the part of the Fordist worker that made him transferable from one branch of industry to another, due to the very nature of Fordist production techniques, and a worker would typically require only a day’s training on a new job site. Information and communication technologies (ICTs) and the transferable skills that go with them have provided the

possibility of a new ‘universal worker’, who, being technologically literate, is also virtually job-ready, but in a different way.

Thus when Faure *et al.* highlighted the following problems, already in 1972, and posited lifelong education as their solution, they were clearly at the cutting edge of a problematic that bears down on education all the more heavily now:

Five major population groups present education with especially serious problems from the point of view of the economy and employment. The first two groups comprise young people who have never been to school and who are virtually devoid of any preparation for work, and those who have left school prematurely and who are accordingly hardly better equipped. The situation of the other three groups causes concern on another level. These are young people who have successfully completed regular studies at a more or less high level but find their training ill-adapted to the economy’s needs, adults employed in jobs for which they have not been trained, and professional people whose training no longer meets the requirements of technical progress. The number of individuals in each of the five categories has increased in recent years. This development shows that education is often out of phase with economic trends and the needs of large sectors of society, so that in many cases it is in fact producing more and more ill-adapted people, despite increasing costs. (p.29)

Lifelong unemployment and its discontents

So far we have considered these developments in a one sided way, as a set of problems to which lifelong education simply provides ‘the answers’. In order not to distort these realities we must also consider their darker side as this has manifested itself since the time when Faure *et al.* were putting forward their proposals. We cannot be content with simplistically positing a happy match between problems of work and educational solutions.

I mentioned earlier that one of the effects of increasing productivity through technological innovation, especially the introduction of ICTs, was to expel workers from work. In many countries today, South Africa not excepted, unemployment is reaching gargantuan proportions, so that it becomes worth considering whether this is not just an effect of innovation, but perhaps also one of its goals. After all, if labour costs are *the* major deduction from profit, and if consequently there are gains to be made by increasing productivity of each worker rather than boosting production through increasing the number of workers, or through politically difficult strategies such as increasing the length of the working week, then we might see in technological innovation a veritable utopia from the point of view of profit: a workplace with hardly any

workers in it.³ The so-called dark factory, “an entirely automated plant floor in which there is no labor”,⁴ and therefore needing no lights, is not unknown to industry.

Since the question of the relationship between productivity and unemployment is a contentious one, the position adopted here requires a little space and some argument supported by empirical studies. There are two main problems here. The first is that productivity in much current discourse is seen as an unalloyed good; it is ‘obviously’ good for an economy, and therefore good for everyone, etc. It is perhaps mainly in the Marxian literature that such an ideological function of this concept has been consistently identified. Cleaver (2000), for example, writes of productivity as a virtual weapon of class struggle aimed against the working class. As is well known, Marx, in his various economic writings, dispensed with the term productivity, in favour of ‘the organic composition of capital’, where the relationship of constant capital (mainly machinery) to variable capital (mainly wages) is altered so that the proportion of the former is increased relative to the latter.

Lest the above paragraph be interpreted as merely ‘Luddite’,⁵ I need to mention the second, more substantial, problem connected with productivity. Research into the relationship between productivity and employment tends to be shaped in the same way that much economic research is shaped, that is, as enquiry into developments within *national* economies. My hypothesis here, which is supported by empirical material and which I will elaborate on as much as space will allow me, is that growth of labour productivity, within the actually existing (capitalist) world, is unavoidably linked with greater unemployment and underemployment, and also with ever-greater income disparity. But it is linked in this way on a global scale and not necessarily on a

³ It is not intended to suggest that this is a realistic perception. Productivity gains would usually lead to a drop in prices over time, which would rather have the effect of lowering the aggregate rate of profit, not to mention the fact that the increasing numbers of unemployed would not be able to buy the goods produced. But nevertheless the pursuit of productivity remains compelling, due to competition among individual capitals. Andrew Kliman has written extensively on the question of the relationship between productivity and falling rate of profit. See his website: <http://akliman.squarespace.com/writings/> accessed on 16 March 2007.

⁴ As defined on IQS Directory, a website for assembly machinery: accessed at <http://www.iqsdirectory.com/assembly-machinery/> on 19 March 2007.

⁵ I use this term here in its common, vulgarised sense, where it refers to someone who simply dislikes technological innovation, rather than in the more historically accurate one that is available, for example, at <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luddite> as accessed on 19 March 2007.

national scale. Insofar as this problem is seen as ineluctable within capitalism as we know it, my argument is critical of contemporary global capitalism, not of technology *per se*.

Studies of the relationship between productivity gains and unemployment in countries such as the United States and Europe do not show very clear patterns. At some points in the history of such countries productivity growth is correlated positively with unemployment, at other times negatively, and sometimes not at all. Therefore the relationship is one around which there is room for debate.⁶ But research in South Africa post-1994 tells a different story. By most accounts there has been both growth in labour productivity and in unemployment. And South Africa resembles the global situation in its entirety more than a country like the United States does, the latter being exceptional in many respects. In South Africa there is massive income disparity, one of the highest unemployment rates in the world, and yet it has a very advanced industrial, technological and educational metropolitan culture despite this. It is in these disparities, diversities and inequalities that South Africa reflects the global situation as a whole.

It seems I have an initial hypothesis here which is difficult to prove: that productivity growth, on the one hand, and the growth of both unemployment and underemployment on the other, are linked on a global scale. The difficulty lies in correlating an aggregate global measure of labour productivity with aggregate global measures of unemployment and underemployment. I am not in a position to offer such correlations, but I propose to take South Africa here as a proxy for the global economic system. If we see, as we do, that these measures are positively correlated on a national scale in South Africa then this requires explanation.

According to writers such as Kingdon and Knight (2004) unemployment in the narrower sense (those who are looking for work) may have more than doubled in the decade after 2003, from 13 per cent to 35 per cent.⁷ Rodrik (2006) attributes the rise in unemployment to low levels of demand for low-skill labour and the growth in all economic sectors of “skill-biased” technology. Banerjee, Galiani, Levinsohn and Woolard (2006, p.3) make the same point when they say: “The unemployed are becoming, on average, less-skilled and

⁶ See Wakeford (2003).

⁷ See also Kingdon and Knight (2005), Rodrik (2006), Banerjee *et al.* (2006) for similar figures.

the gap is widening between their skill level and the skill level of the employed.” However, Rodrik also shows that the sector employing most low-skill labour, namely tradables (including manufacturing), has declined as an economic sector in the period since 1994, this sector showing the highest levels of substitution of capital for labour, partly due to competition from abroad (see also Fryer and Vencatachellum, 2003). Rodrik explicitly attributes the pattern of a rise in output together with a drop in employment to an increase in total-factor productivity.⁸

My further hypothesis then is that competition among national capitals in South Africa, and among South African and foreign capitals, leads both to a quest for productivity gains and, with that, to the shedding of surplus, unprofitable labour as part of a single process. Thus the hypothesis is not so much that productivity causes unemployment (or vice versa), but rather that capitalism in its later phases creates the tendency for both productivity and unemployment to increase within a single process, as part of a shift from an absolute surplus value strategy to a relative surplus value strategy, to put it in Marxian terms (Cleaver, 2000). If wages cannot be kept down, because it is politically too difficult (Rodrik, 2006), machinery must be used to maintain and increase production levels, and, as far as possible, only those workers must be employed who are able to command the skills of problem solving, critical thinking, communication, etc., that are required for effective competition in a globalised, high-tech environment, *without* massive training expenditure on the part of the enterprise. Enter the university, that formerly stuffy old institution that must now be reconfigured for this new purpose. It must rally around national capital and the project of the ‘winning nation’.

I believe that the above explanation is plausible for South Africa, in that it fits the empirical facts and it reasonably answers some questions that, on the face of it, seem fairly difficult. For example, why should a popular regime with a clearly developmental agenda and a strongly national-liberationist orientation be found presiding over a technologically advanced, middle income country, one that moreover shows impressive productivity growth (Wakeford, 2003), and yet be unable to prevent the slide towards greatly increased unemployment and income inequality? But to my way of thinking the question seems to be rather the converse: why a country like the United States, say, does *not* show the same patterns. This is not a question that can be settled here – the present economic digression is already becoming lengthy – but parts of

⁸ For an explanation of total factor productivity and its relationship to labour productivity, see Krugman (2000, pp.27–34).

the answer might be connected with the issues of greater social homogeneity within such countries and their historical competitive advantage in industrialisation. But what must be stressed is that global society is not similarly homogenous, nor, obviously, could it reflect a uniformly competitive advantage in economic development, etc. Thus one should be very careful in taking such countries as realistic normative ideals. The South African experience is well encapsulated in the following from Wakeford (2003, p.4):

. . . given the economy's slow growth performance over the past decade, the rapid rise in productivity (and average real wages) reflects in large part the sharp decline in employment levels. South Africa's productivity performance should not therefore be looked at in isolation of the employment trend, which indicates the job-shedding nature of economic growth in this country over the past 13 years. The decline in employment cannot be fairly blamed on real wages growing in excess of productivity (forcing employers to cut jobs). The reverse is true, i.e. productivity has grown faster than real wages. As a result, labour's share of gross output has been shrinking over the past decade, and has now reached its lowest proportion relative to capital's share in the past 40 years. This trend has been observed in many other developing countries around the world, and reflects an increasing concentration of wealth among owners of capital. This is particularly alarming in the South African case given our high levels of inequality, poverty and unemployment.⁹

It is perhaps useful at this point to summarise my argument concerning unemployment and precarious employment, as essential characteristics of post-Fordist capitalism, and to show where they differ from certain common views. I explicitly differ with the following three understandings: (a) that productivity growth leads to growth in employment on a world scale because firms are more likely to want to employ these more productive workers; (b) that productivity and unemployment cannot be linked because this would imply that the amount of production stays constant when new machinery is introduced and therefore workers must be laid off; and (c) that productivity is *simply* a weapon of the capitalist class to use against the working class. All three of these views seem to me to ignore in one way or another the realities of capitalist competition.

I have pointed out that there is no empirical evidence to support (a), certainly not in the case of South Africa. That view does not seem to take into account the facts of competition in the sense that one capitalist will try to compete with another by lowering labour costs so as to be able to lower prices. The only way to do that is to raise the organic composition of capital. This strategy will result in layoffs because consumption (even in a situation of 'giveaway prices') has its limits and overproduction obviously cannot be good for profits.

⁹ Motinga and Mohamed (2002) show a very similar pattern of substitution of capital for labour in the case of Namibia.

The apparent naïve implication of (b) that I mention above is sometimes subjected to ridicule. But it is not my point. Capitalist firms are not simply independent operations that are indifferent to one another, so that each one just produces more and more with no reference to its rivals. On the contrary, they actively try to compete, and a firm that boosts its productivity does so in order to put its competitors out of business, which will result in layoffs. My point about the imperative to avoid overproduction applies here too.

My partial disagreement with (c) is based on the fact that capitalists are not like a happy family that is united against the working class. If productivity is a weapon, it is primarily a weapon of one capitalist against another. I would not confuse this with the somewhat separate point about capitalist exploitation of the working class. In fact Marx pointed out in the *Grundrisse* (1973) that raising the organic composition of capital through the introduction of machinery and the application of natural sciences in the direct production process helps to raise the ‘general intellect’ of the worker and of society generally,¹⁰ a point that I am also concerned to support in this article. And it may in one sense be less exploitative, because without this (relative surplus value) strategy the only other options in inter-capitalist competition would be speedup and a lengthening of the working week (absolute surplus value strategy).

But it is linked to unemployment, and chronic divisions within the working class, as is evident from the South African data. It is so because of: competition (both intra-national and international); bankruptcies or closures of the less productive enterprises, leading to layoffs; the limitations of consumption, which are limitations on production (even given a certain degree of elasticity); casualisation and precarious employment; and, ultimately, I would argue, a falling rate of profit, although for reasons of space I do not wish to pursue this last point. I am certainly not arguing that productivity is somehow ‘bad’; I am saying that growth in productivity is inevitable in capitalist competition, and that within this capitalist context (or *contest*) it has some ruinous consequences, as well as profound implications for higher education.

Thus for many a member of the post-Fordist workforce the reality today is likely to be either lifelong unemployment or continuing precariousness (lifelong underemployment). We have here a new normative ideal, but one which is difficult to accept. It is this: that no-one should expect to be

¹⁰ In the so-called ‘fragment on machines’, p.705 ff.

employed for life as a right, but rather that everyone should accept that the independence and entrepreneurial acumen of the freelance worker are now a *sine qua non* for anyone to be able to work at all. 'Flexibility' does not just mean that one should be able to change from one job to another, as circumstances and inclinations might dictate, but that periods of unemployment, part-time employment and short-term contractual employment, often in tightly recurring cycles, are quite normal and 'as good as it gets' for even the very highly skilled. It is therefore not difficult to agree that most people's experience of work today in metropolitan settings is characterised by "precariousness, hyperexploitation, mobility and hierarchy" (Lazzarato, 1994, p.2).

At the same time, in countries such as the United States, there has been a parallel drive to find cheaper labour, by employing more women, immigrants, foreign workers, and even prison labour (Caffentzis, 1998). If one adds to these forms of 'primitive accumulation' also sweatshop labour and other forms of forced labour in both the developed and developing countries, as well as war, plunder and environmental degradation, one has a better idea still of the many-sided nature of the desperate drive for profitability in recent decades.

Let us mention some likely consequences of these developments for a country like South Africa. The flexible, skilled worker described above represents something of an elite amongst the workforce, but an elite that is more and more subjected to the insecurities and anxieties that have been described. As higher education massifies itself, it is increasingly into the ranks of this 'intellectual working class' that university graduates are heading, rather than, as in the past, into the exclusive ranks of senior management, government and the professions.

Then the unskilled worker, who often provides cheap labour for foreign owned industrial enterprises, represents a relocation of the mass worker into the third world, but not a mass worker who can buy himself a new Ford or even support a family on his wage. This is rather a kind of degraded version of the Fordist worker, who is likely to be both poorly paid *and* insecure. Finally, there are the unemployed and unemployable, who represent the growing pool of surplus labour that is not only characteristic of the underdeveloped, marginalised third world, but increasingly so of the overdeveloped first world too, and who represent the category into which almost everyone is afraid of falling nowadays, an anxiety which may itself be 'lifelong' for an individual. Thus the normative ideal of the worker who is virtually guaranteed a 'family

wage' for life corresponds less and less to the lived reality of the global working class.

Such a situation of lifelong anxiety and/or lifelong unemployment cannot but have its discontents and its dissident voices, both within the university and outside of it.

What is the best role for the university to play now? According to banal ideology education is “the best economic policy” and it must play its role in serving the economy by helping to create “a learning society” (Blair, 2005). There are two related ways in which the university is asked to do this. One, as we have seen, is to provide lifelong learning opportunities, which for the intellectual worker has become the price of employability. This imperative for lifelong learning is being combined with another, which relates to intellectual property:

Enabled by changes in intellectual property laws to exercise ownership rights over patents resulting from government funded grants, universities become active players in the merchandising of research results. Amidst this intensifying commercial ethos, the internal operations of academia become steadily more corporatised, with management practices modeled on the private sector.

This rapprochement with academia performs two purposes for capital. First, it enables business to socialise some costs and risks of research, while privatising the benefits of innovations. Second, it subsidises capital's retraining of its post-Fordist labour-force, which is sorted and socialised for the new information economy by increasingly vocational and technically-oriented curricula that stresses skills and proficiencies at the expense of critical analysis and free inquiry.

(Dyer-Witthford, 2004, p.4)

It is from this quaint perspective of ‘critical analysis and free inquiry’ that I would now like to view the question of lifelong learning and to begin to provide a definition of the lifelong learner that is worthy of the university intellectual project at this time.

The lifelong learner

How does one recognize a lifelong learner? How does one become a lifelong learner? Our own National Qualifications Framework, which proclaims itself to be based on the principle of lifelong learning, *a la* Faure, has supplied an answer in the shape of the critical crossfield outcomes. Applying these, one might say that a lifelong learner is one who can:

- Identify and solve problems in which responses display that responsible decisions using critical and creative thinking have been made.
- Work effectively with others as a member of a team, group, organisation, community.
- Organise and manage oneself and one's activities responsibly and effectively
- Collect, analyse, organise and critically evaluate information
- Communicate effectively using visual, mathematical and/or language skills in the modes of oral and/or written presentation
- Use science and technology effectively and critically, showing responsibility towards the environment and health of others
- Demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems by recognising that problem-solving contexts do not exist in isolation.¹¹

The ingenuity in these outcomes is that they have been carefully developed, internationally, so as to satisfy almost anyone who is interpreting them from almost any perspective, anywhere. They are truly global. As the goals of an education system it is very difficult to disagree with any of them or indeed to improve upon them. And anyone who exhibits these outcomes is surely on the road to becoming a lifelong learner. In fact one is tempted to say that even one of them would be enough to define a lifelong learner. If you can identify problems, solve them, be responsible, make decisions, think critically and think creatively, all of which are mentioned already in the first outcome, you surely can go on to learn throughout the rest of your life with minimal dependence on others.

If there seems something wrong in all this it is surely not because these outcomes have been poorly written or that they are in any way unworthy; it is rather that they seem so impossibly 'generic' as to cover any of the purposes of education – and at any level – that have ever been conceived, yet without any practical underpinnings being specified. Thus they cannot be used to specify the nature of the education system that might best support them, let alone the nature of the specific institution that might support them.

¹¹ SAQA Bulletin Vol. 1, No. 1 (1997), accessed at <http://www.saqa.org.za/> on 22 March 2007.

Yet I would like to explain briefly why I see something useful in this from the point of view of an emancipatory lifelong learning. Let us take the ambiguity in the term ‘critical thinking’ as a starting point, an ambiguity that I think is intentional. Let us imagine two institutions and assume that each institution has been left free to define the meaning of this term for itself. Let us call the first institution ‘the technical university’ and the second institution ‘the liberal arts college’. They arrive at the following definitions of critical thinking: the technical university defines it as ‘the capacity for original thought in the application of knowledge to problems in industry and commerce’; the liberal arts college defines it as ‘the capacity to reflect on and to question the value and validity of all received knowledge in the pursuit of the good life’. When one spells out these interpretations like this the partiality of each becomes glaringly apparent. While the two might both be termed ‘critical’, the first is entirely devoid of anything that can really merit the name of critique, while the second is virtually all critique and no practical application. This is perhaps why institutions generally would not make an explicit choice between them, with the exception of very specialised institutions, and why these different meanings are not often spelled out in this very explicit way.

Within universities such differing interpretations tend to be made rather according to the interests of individuals, or perhaps departments, and the term ‘critical thinking’ then acts as a kind of overarching category announcing that everyone is engaged in this same good thing, even though they are engaged in practically very different things. The fact is that the two interpretations given correspond to two poles on a continuum, the first of which concerns itself with the pursuit of self-interest within an existing arrangement of society, assuming that it is good, or that it must be good, and the second of which questions, perhaps in a somewhat detached and quietist manner, whether it is good. Under certain conditions these can even be antithetical to each other, in that acting within a given arrangement of society, whether ‘critically’ or not, may be done in such a way as to make any deeper questioning of it impossible.

Many people may find their working lives to be a drama that is defined precisely by the tension between these opposites; this can apply to teachers, scientists, lawyers, doctors, administrators, artists or housewives alike. The ideal world that exists in one’s values or in one’s imagination is stubbornly opposed by the real world to which one must pragmatically, and sometimes very uncomfortably, adapt. I therefore propose that we see the lifelong learner as one who can and does learn about managing the tension between the two general modes of critical thinking that have been described. There may be many reasons for wanting to adopt such a starting point. I will mention one very good one.

If the analysis regarding work and employment that was provided above is fundamentally true, then it is clear that solving problems within industry and commerce means that one is engaged in precisely the kind of problem solving activity that has as its result, if not as its explicit goal, the creation of greater unemployment and inequality. If this tendency is still doubted, then let us reflect on this complex question: What proportion of humanity today is actively engaged in the system that produces goods for the world market, and what proportion of humanity consumes the goods that are produced for that market?

This is of course an immense question, precisely the sort that one would like each educated human being to grapple with if one is concerned with the future wellbeing of humanity. A short answer may well be that there is a considerable proportion today who are entirely marginal to the system of commodity production and who are therefore incapable of consuming its goods, and therefore whose very base existence is precarious, since the system of commodity production does not allow other production systems to lie alongside it. Mike Davis (2004) has alerted us to the coming megacities of thirty million or more, in which the majority of humanity will live, of whom a very large proportion, perhaps already one billion, will have no place in the formal economy. Whether such cities will be sustainable biologically, ecologically and economically is unknown. Thus while the education system must help people to deal with their immediate needs it is reasonable to propose that it also harness as much of the mass intellect as possible, to the end of creating a more sustainable form of society, rather than increasing productivity for the purpose of ruinous capitalist competition.

So if a lifelong learner is one who is practical and pragmatic, but embracing also a longer view of things, then this means that he or she must be able to grapple with the immediate challenges of cognitive capitalism, as the price of employment, and also be able to become part of a longer term transformative critique. Let me stress the interdisciplinary nature of this project; it means bringing into being new connections and relationships, which perhaps exist already in an implicit form in the technology and the intellectual life of the day:

Some of these connections and relationships include: the establishment of new planetary indices of well-being beyond monetised measurement; investigation of new capacities for democratic social planning provided by information technologies; the development of systems of income allocation and social validation outside of obligatory waged labour; the emergence of new models of peer to peer and open-source communication systems; the critique of dominant paradigms of political economy in the light of ecological and feminist knowledges; the refinement of doctrines of global 'public goods' and of concepts of global

citizenship; and the formation of aesthetics and imaginaries adequate to the scope of species-being.

(Dyer-Witheford, 2004, pp.12–13)

When Muller (2000, 2001, 2003) and others complain about the imperatives for interdisciplinary teaching and research that proceed from outside the academy, there appears to be an abiding assumption that ‘sacred’ disciplines are in danger of being superseded by curricula consisting of an amorphous bricolage of disciplinary bits and pieces, none of which advance the learner beyond a basic level of conceptual understanding. I think that this type of warning has been overstated and offered in such a way as to obscure some real issues that have been highlighted in this article (see also Wood, 2005). I do not wish to argue that being thoroughly steeped in a discipline is not a good way, or even the best way, to develop one’s cognitive abilities, but I do suggest that every human being should be able to make the kinds of connections and work on the sorts of relationships that are mentioned in the Dyer-Witheford quotation above. To take the issue of climate change and environmental degradation as an example: This problem simply *cannot* be understood within the conceptual framework of any one discipline. It cannot be understood without being able to think critically through issues of industrialisation, consumption, the use of fossil fuels, lifestyles, public policies, and so forth. Rather than abolish the disciplines, none of which can encompass this problem area on its own, one would want, in addition to them, a way of learning that enables a broader critical consciousness of self, community and world.¹²

The above propositions suggest that academic disciplines cannot be like straitjackets. One may have good reason to switch learning activities during one’s life to other fields of learning. Therefore the way a discipline is taught and learned should be such that it makes it easier rather than more difficult to learn other modes of thought. It may ultimately imply that each learner needs to be assisted in developing a larger knowledge framework that incorporates, at least potentially, all of the available branches of knowledge. It may also be that this is what Faure *et al.* imply when they say regarding “the principle of self education, of self-learning”, that:

With a few exceptions, this does not arise from the individual’s spontaneous development. Learning to learn is not just another slogan. It denotes a specific pedagogic approach that teachers must themselves master if they want to be able to pass it on to others. (p.209)

¹² In other words, the Durkheimian proposition, supported uncritically by Muller (2000, p.79), that “polymathy. . . breeds a smug and false sense of self-sufficiency” and that dependence on experts promotes “civic-minded virtue” is not supported here. My argument for interdisciplinarity supports the converse notion, that a society can only be democratic to the extent that *each* citizen can cognise social problems for him or her *self*.

In this statement we see the convergence between the notion of lifelong learning and that of academic development. It is a moot point as to whether this “specific pedagogic approach” has ever been fully mastered anywhere, but that is not a debate that can be concluded here. It is sufficient to say that any institution that is serious about this matter must be prepared to evaluate what has been achieved through academic development strategies, and to bring various branches of knowledge to bear on the problem of achieving more than that in the future. In other words academic development cannot be a discipline, yet it must be intellectually robust.

Redefining the academic development project

It may be that under certain circumstances at certain points in the past the education system has produced self-directed learners who have been able to continue learning throughout their lives, and that many of these have succeeded in mastering various branches of knowledge. This might have come about through extraordinary convergences of good public education with an exceptional store of private cultural capital. What is doubtful – and here I am in full agreement with Faure *et al.* – is the idea that this is in any way common within the system of mass education, including mass higher education, where many of the learners come from poor backgrounds with little of the cultural capital that really counts for anything within the education-work system.

Given such shortcomings in the higher education system as have been mentioned, let us try to enumerate some of the likely tasks for the academic development project today:

1. Making up for apartheid education and racial inequality. This is the most well known task of all and for some it is almost synonymous with academic development. In South African higher education this began with the notion of ‘academic support’ in the early 1980s, with the idea that black students were ill-adapted to universities and needed extra provision. From there it was a simple ‘flip-flop’ to saying the opposite, that it was the universities that were ill-adapted to their newer students and needed to be changed. Today we should probably not choose between these alternatives, but rather consider the truths that may be contained in both positions. Certainly there is a need for extra provision in the case of particular students, and certainly universities need to be adapted to their broad student bodies, especially in the light of the newer emerging purposes of higher education that I have mentioned.

2. Determining how the curriculum and pedagogy can contribute to a redirection of subjectivities towards grasping the changing nature of work, its requirements and its consequences. The research problems here are enormous; among them must be included: an understanding of the relationship between disciplinary and generic elements in a curriculum and how each may be strengthened without weakening the others; what sorts of knowledge, both disciplinary and generic, really contribute to survival in the job market; how one incorporates social critique into programmes that have traditionally excluded it (e.g. how a biotechnologist or physicist should become aware of economic, ecological and gender issues, etc); the question of what makes knowledge socially useful and therefore definitive of 'graduateness'.
3. Answering the empirical questions: e.g. to what extent our current graduates are turning out to be lifelong learners (this would involve not only constructing measurement instruments, but also first determining what sorts of indicators or criteria could tell us that); exactly what sorts of incoming students need foundational provision, and what this provision should consist of; to what extent traditional methods of university instruction need to be replaced by newer methods and why; the relationship between factual knowledge and conceptual knowledge in the various fields; the relationship between student interests and the requirements of their studies.
4. Developing the relationship between students and the institution. I have suggested elsewhere (Wood, 2005) that the best model for this relationship in the present circumstances may be that of the social contract. In any case there must be a shared understanding of what is *right* in the triangular relationship between university, students and the world of work. Such an understanding must be dynamic and open to renegotiation. A crucial moment in achieving such an understanding, for example, is that of student orientation; this is not always thought of as an academic development opportunity as it should be.

Conclusions

I have argued that the imperatives for developing genuine lifelong learners are real and that they are profoundly implicated in the whole situation of contemporary education and its relationship to work. The paper has also raised some doubts as to whether universities are able to meet this challenge without

some radical rethinking of the nature of an academic degree and what it is meant to achieve today. And I have argued for an expanded notion of academic development that takes on board such large questions.

The latter cannot be achieved if academic development is conceived, as it very often is, as a purely junior form of academic work, not requiring ‘real’ research, hardly different in fact from the sort of nurturing that the weak and infirm in society require as a matter of ‘special needs’ (with all the gender-based disrespect that goes with such a notion). These attitudes are themselves the product of ideologies and attitudes associated with different periods in the history of universities. With traditionalism comes the idea of ‘normal’ (elite) university education that was common some fifty to a hundred years ago; with the newer corporatisation of the university come macho ideas of ‘big science’ (and big money) that makes any sort of social critique seem like a frivolous luxury; and with academic development have come practitioners who have unfortunately often failed to demonstrate that their own field embodies an intellectual competence comparable to traditional culture critique or big science, and who have consequently ghettoised themselves in a mediocre comfort zone.

One of the problems to be considered here is the sorts of competence that need to be found within an institution’s academic development team. Certainly the ability to enquire deeply into processes of cognition and their socio-cultural conditions must be a part of this overall competence. There must also be an element of academic seniority to create sufficient respect.

I have tried to show that some of the gravest issues of our time are implicated in the notions of lifelong learning and academic development, which is why I have linked them in my title with something that has been traditionally seen as rather lofty and philosophical, namely the purposes of education, rather than, as is more customary, with rather restricted practical matters. A good university today should have people who are researching lifelong learning, academic development and the purposes of education from the perspectives of multiple disciplines, and who are sharing their findings with the university, as well as the wider academic community, through seminars and publications on a regular basis. The academic today has no choice but to mediate the relationship between the student and a rapidly changing world of work, and doing this well requires new knowledges and new practices.

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South Africa's approach to school safety: can it succeed?

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Abstract

In 1999, the Department of Education announced the *Tirisano*-plan for enabling the development of a fully-functioning education and training system in South Africa. As a result of this plan the Safe Schools Project was launched in 2000 to create safe disciplined learning environments that “celebrate innocence and value human dignity”. Subsequently, the Regulations for Safety Measures at Public Schools, were published in the Government Gazette No. 22754 of 12 October 2001 and the Amendment Regulations for Safety Measures at Public Schools on 10 November 2006. The Safe Schools Project focussed on the development of policies on school safety, the management of drug usage in schools and a national sexual harassment policy.

This article examines documents such as acts, government notices, policies, national and international case law to understand concepts such as ‘a disciplined school’ and ‘safety and security of learners’. Furthermore, the article provides an understanding of the legal issues confronting educators and departmental officials in respect of school discipline and safety. Providing information through policies is but one way to address school safety. A proactive approach requires both education authorities and educators to protect all learners’ right to freedom and security and to act expeditiously to prevent them from any form of harm.

Introduction

In a safe school, the playgrounds are filled with the healthy noise of happy children. They scuff their knees and scrape their elbows, but they are not afraid of each other or of intruders. The classrooms are clean. The teachers are on time, stand upright, and are firm but friendly. There is glass in the window panes and there are books on the desks. Parents, educators and learners smile. There is an air of work being done and of achievement. These are schools conducive to effective teaching and learning.

This is how the former Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal described a safe school in his speech at the launch of the Signposts for Safe Schools Workbook (June, 2001). In his speech the Minister equated school safety to the maintenance of school facilities, educator professionalism and happiness.

In 1999 four core programme areas were identified in the implementation plan for Tirisano, a plan for enabling the development of a fully-functioning education and training system in South Africa (Department of Education, 2000). The Safe School Project, as part of programme six of the Tirisano¹ plan, was launched in 2000 to create safe disciplined learning environments that “celebrate innocence and value human dignity”. Subsequently, the Regulations for Safety Measures at Public Schools were published in the Government Gazette No.22754 of 12 October 2001 and the Amendment Regulations for Safety Measures at Public Schools on 10 November 2006. The Safe Schools Project focussed on the development of policies on school safety, the management of drug usage in schools and a national sexual harassment policy.

According to the Signposts for Safe Schools Workbook (2002) a safer school strategy needs to include both environmental change strategies which would involve increasing the skills base and expertise of educators, making sure there are norms for behaviour and procedures at school, and managing classes in a way that contributes to learning and building the self-esteem of learners. Schools are expected to offer a nurturing environment to counteract or deal with violence within the community and the family.

In 2003 the MEC² for Education and the MEC for Safety and Security in Mpumalanga jointly and separately embarked on programmes to address school safety such as ‘adopt a cop’, ‘captain crime stop’ and the annual competitions termed ‘sports against crime’. As a partner in this project educators were encouraged to enforce the Department’s school disciplinary codes in order to “isolate the criminal elements from the rest of the hardworking learners”. “Order is found in schools where learners know the school rules, where these rules are enforced fairly and consistently, and where there are clear reward and recognition systems” (Mpumalanga Department of Education, 25 August 2003).

Providing a safe school environment is therefore linked to addressing criminal activities and to enforcing school rules. There is a tendency from government

¹ Education Minister’s Call to Action plan using the slogan Tirisano which means working together.

² Member of the Executive Committee of a province. Often referred to as the Provincial Minister of Education or in this case also the Minister of Safety and Security.

to see a disciplined school as a prerequisite for the safety and security of learners.³ These concepts need to be clarified before analysing the approach of the Department of Education in creating safe schools.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse documents such as acts, government notices, policies, national and international case law to

- understand concepts such as ‘a disciplined school’ and ‘safety and security of learners’
- understand the legal issues confronting educators and departmental officials in respect of discipline and school safety
- determine the legal obligation of educators and education authorities in providing a disciplined school as a prerequisite for a safe education environment

A disciplined school

Discipline is about positive behaviour management aimed at promoting appropriate behaviour and developing self-discipline and self-control in learners (Joubert and Squelch, 2005, p.2). They identified the following factors that are essential for a disciplined school: effective leadership, clear communication, good planning by educators and education managers, shared values, and a positive school ethos. The word *discipline* is derived from Latin words that refer to learn and transmitting knowledge to the learners. A well-disciplined school is usually defined as one where rules, policies and procedures are followed, and where everyone realises the implications and consequences of breaking the rules (Brisco, 2001). A school's code of conduct is a lawful way of limiting fundamental rights. A learner's rights and freedoms can never justify any misconduct of such a learner. The interests and welfare of co-learners and the educators at a school must be balanced against the rights of a learner or group of learners, and in some cases may override the rights of an individual learner or a group (Joubert and Prinsloo, 2001).

Self-discipline implies the achievement of these qualities through one's own efforts rather than through external monitoring or coercion (Porteus, Vally and

³ Signposts for Safe Schools (2002, p.6); Alternatives to Corporal Punishment, (2001, p.58); Tirisano Implementation Plan, 2000–2004

Ruth, 2001). In the context of South African schooling discipline is often understood more narrowly as punishment. Many mistakenly equate discipline with punishment.

Safety and security of learners

In terms of section 24 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 (hereafter the Constitution) a learner has the right to an environment that is not harmful to their well-being. Moreover, it is the constitutional right of every learner to enjoy education in a harmonious and carefree environment. The objective of the school safety project from the Department of Education is to create a safe and tolerant learning environment that celebrates innocence and values human dignity (Department of Education, 2000). This school safety project strives for all schools to be free from crime, violence and sexual harassment.

In this regard The Guidelines for the Consideration of Governing Bodies in Adopting a Code of Conduct for Learners (RSA, 1998) refer to the school environment as follows:

Learners have the right to a clean and safe environment that is conducive to education. Security of property, well cared school facilities, school furniture and equipment, clean toilets, water and a green environment, absence of harassment in attending classes and writing tests and examinations, all create an atmosphere that is conducive to education and training.

The only reference to the role of the code of conduct in providing a safe environment comes under the list of offences that are considered as serious misconduct, punishable by suspension from the school.

On a day-to-day basis educators are confronted with learners' use of illicit drugs, bullying, sexual harassment and other anti-social behaviour. National policies developed by the Ministry of Education, circulars and statements issued by the National Department of Education and provincial departments of education all accent the importance of discipline in maintaining a safe school environment. Education authorities dealing with school safety all envisage that governing bodies of schools, acting within their functions under the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996 (hereafter Schools Act) and the Further Education and Training Act (1998), will give operational effect to their policies and projects by developing and adopting management and implementation plans that reflects the needs, ethos and values of the

schools or institutions and its communities. It is assumed that codes of conduct, rules, regulations and disciplinary procedures will automatically provide a safe and secure environment for learners in schools. Consequently, all learning institutions are expected to develop their own safety policies and procedures that they clearly communicate and disseminate to their school community in a culturally appropriate and inclusive way (Joubert and Squelch, 2005).

Not only are there obvious legal implications in respect of injury to learners and staff within the school grounds and buildings, but other areas of potential criminal prosecution which have a significant effect on the risk management of schools and the policies and procedures being developed by the Department of Education and school governing bodies urgently need to be investigated.

Legal aspects confronting education authorities in respect of school discipline and school safety

South Africa does not have the robust history of rights litigation as, for example, the United States. However, the Constitution in sections 12 and 24 provides that everyone has the right to be protected from all forms of violence and to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being. Every educator and learner in a school therefore has the right to physical, emotional and cultural safety (Varnham, 2004).

The Bill of Rights enshrines certain fundamental rights which the state has a duty to respect, promote and fulfill. The individual enjoys a number of freedoms, powers and privileges under the constitution, common law and customary law. Under the former doctrine of parliamentary sovereignty the exercise of common law and customary rights was always under threat of statutory curtailment. Many common law freedoms have now been included in the Bill of Rights. For example, the common law right to freedom and security are now protected by the Constitution in section 12. The Bill of Rights applies to all law and binds the executive and all organs of state (section 8(1)). State departments and their officials are organs of state, therefore, the Department of Education and all employees paid by the department are bound by the Bill of Rights.

Legal duty to provide a safe and secure school environment

The Constitution grants each individual personal rights such as freedom of personal injury, security of life and property. The law imposes corresponding duties and responsibilities on each individual to respect the rights of others. If by speech, act, or other conduct, a person fails to respect these rights, thereby damaging another, a delict has been committed, and the offending party may be held liable (Alexander and Alexander, 2005). The law prescribes a standard of conduct that has its foundations in acceptable tradition and custom, which ensure personal rights against invasion by others, whether as individuals or groups (Alexander and Alexander, 2005).

Section 8 of the Schools Act provides that a governing body of a public school, after consultation, must adopt a code of conduct for the learners. The code of conduct must be aimed at establishing a disciplined and purposeful environment and learners are obliged to comply with the code of conduct. Furthermore, the Schools Act in section 9 says that the governing body may suspend learners, after a fair hearing, as a correctional measure for up to one week, or pending a decision as to whether the learner is to be expelled from the school by the Head of Department.

Although the Schools Act places an obligation on governing bodies to promote the best interests of the school and to administer and control the school's property, buildings and ground (section 20), there is no specific reference to providing a safe school environment.

In the case of *Phillips v Manser and another [1999]* (hereafter *Phillips*) the applicant Phillips was a 17-year-old learner at a public school. The first respondent, Manser was the principal and the second respondent was the governing body of the school. Phillips was suspended by the governing body from attending the school, pending a decision by the Provincial Head of Department (PDE) whether or not he should be expelled from the school. The disciplinary committee found the boy guilty of assaulting and battering a fellow learner. His suspension followed after repeated serious misconduct such as forging letters, writing graffiti on school property, refusing to comply with the school's dress code and inhaling a dangerous substance in a class.

In a similar case *Maritzburg College v Dlamini, Mafu and Kondza [2004]* (hereafter *Maritzburg*) three learners were involved in an incident in which a window of a hired bus was smashed. Two learners were found to be smelling

of alcohol and a bottle of brandy was discovered in one learner's kitbag. The three learners were found guilty of serious misconduct and a recommendation for expulsion was made to the PDE. In *Maritzburg* the departmental official had to be forced by the litigants to attend to the matter because the official did not see the importance of dealing with the matter expeditiously.

Because the PDEs in both *Phillips* and *Maritzburg* failed to respond back to the schools for an extensive number of months, the schools had to reinstate the suspended learners pending the decision on their expulsion. In both cases the school governing bodies fulfilled their obligation of acting in the best interest of the school (section 20) and establishing a disciplined school environment. Although the final decision regarding the expulsion was not revealed in *Phillips* and *Maritzburg*, if the PDEs decided not to expel the suspended learners they were to be reinstated at the schools and no further actions would be taken against them. In both cases the learners were found guilty of serious misconduct and had a history of offences that posed threats to the safety of other learners.

The Education Laws Amendment Act 24 of 2005 provides that if a governing body, after a fair hearing, recommends to the Head of Department that a learner be expelled, the governing body may suspend the learner or extend his or her suspension for a period of 14 days to allow the Head of Department to take a decision. If the Head of Department decides not to expel a learner as contemplated in subsection 9(2) within 14 days of receiving such recommendation he or she may impose a suitable sanction on the learner; or the Head of Department may refer the matter back to the governing body for an alternative sanction other than expulsion. The governing body of a public school must then implement the sanction contemplated.

The presence of large groups of children from different age groups in school premises provides a reasonable risk of delicts being committed (Visser, 2004). Learners are potentially exposed to intentional acts and negligence from educators, but also from such conduct by other learners. In addition, educators may fall victim to delicts that learners may commit against them.

Providing an appropriate standard of care

An appropriate standard of care will ensure personal rights such a safety and security against invasion by others (Mawdsley, 2000). Any act or omission which unlawfully infringes a person's right to safety is called a delict. A delict

or wrongful action is different from a crime. A civil action for a delict is actioned and maintained by the injured party for the purpose of obtaining compensation for the damage or injury suffered, whereas in a criminal proceeding the action is brought by the state to protect the public from the actions of the wrongdoer.

Ground for actions in the case of a delict can be divided into three categories:

- Intentional acts which can result from enmity, antagonism or maliciousness. Assault and battery are classified as intentional acts. Assault, as distinguished from battery, essentially constitutes a mental rather than a physical violation (Alexander and Alexander, 2005). Battery is an intentional delict that comes through physical contact for example hitting, pushing or stabbing someone else.
- Strict liability which means liability without fault. In this case a person has been injured through no actual, identifiable fault of anyone. For example if a person is injured by using potentially dangerous apparatus, sports equipment or participating in ultra-dangerous activities.
- Negligence deals with standards of care related to actions of the school's personnel, maintenance of equipment and adequate supervision (Mawdsley, 2000). Negligence differs from intentional acts in that negligent acts, although foreseeable by a reasonable person do not involve intent to injure. With negligence a reasonable educator/person could have anticipated the harmful results. An accident that could have been prevented by reasonable care constitutes negligence.

In addition to the possible infringement of the physical-mental integrity of persons present on school premises, there are risks to their personality rights involving privacy, good name, dignity and religious feelings that may be relevant for the purposes of delictual remedies (Visser, 2004). Moreover, Visser says there could possibly be delictual claims on the basis of poor and inappropriate education presented to a learner that falls below the standard to be expected in terms of the Constitution and other applicable law (2004).

In the *Minister of Education and another v Wynkwardt [2004]* (hereafter *Wynkwardt*) the trial Court addressing whether the school and Minister of Education were liable for the injuries sustained by *Wynkwardt* after he fell from an unused, locked school gate while attempting to climb over it, found in

favour of the respondent *Wynkwart*. The plaintiff instituted action on behalf of his son who had been seriously injured as a result of a fall on the premises of the school at which *Wynkwart* was a learner.

The school and Minister of Education appealed against the judgment. The question for consideration was whether the defendants were liable for the injuries sustained by *Wynkwart* when he fell on his head, sustaining serious injuries which left him permanently disabled. At the time *Wynkwart* was nine years old, and in Grade 3. The school was surrounded by a wire mesh fence with six gates. Gate six was permanently locked because it led to a very busy road. Learners were regularly warned of the dangers of climbing over school fences and instructed not to do so, but to use gate 5 which was situated near to traffic lights.

The issue before the appeal court was what constituted reasonable steps that the appellants could take in this circumstance and whether they, if taken, would have averted the harm. The Court held that where learners were not kept under constant supervision, that was not in itself a breach of the duty of care owed to such learners. Furthermore, gate 6 was permanently locked to protect the learners accessing a very busy road. *Wynkwart* found himself in normal and familiar surroundings and the learners were regularly warned of the danger of climbing over the fence. Therefore the previous decision by the Court was reversed.

The *Wynkwart* case proves that although a code of conduct existed, that the learners were aware of the rules, that the school enforced the rules contained in the code of conduct, an injury still occurred. Providing security, well cared school facilities and an appropriate standard of care do not guarantee that learners will be safe.

Negligent actions

De Kock v Minister of Public Works [2004] (hereafter *De Kock*) involving an employee who slipped and sustained serious injury in the slippery court in Bisho followed the test for liability enunciated by Holmes in *Kruger v Coetzee* in 1966.

It reads as follows:

For the purposes of liability *culpa* arises if –

- (a) a diligent *paterfamilias* in the position of the defendant

- (i) would foresee the reasonable possibility of his conduct injuring another in his person or property and causing him patrimonial loss; and
 - (ii) would take reasonable steps to guard against such occurrence; and
- (b) the defendant failed to take such steps.

In the *De Kock* case the Court found that the floor in the court in Bisho was slippery, that the defendant was made aware of this fact. The defendant should therefore have realized that the slippery floor presented a danger and should have taken the necessary precautions, which the defendant failed to do. The Minister of Public Works was found negligent and that De Kock, was entitled to the costs of the law suit, including the costs incurred by her injuries.

Analysing the *Wynkwart* and *De Kock* cases show that a negligent act in one situation may not be negligent under a different set of circumstances. The standard of the conduct of the person is the key. In order to strike a balance between the threatened harm and the person's conduct, the court must establish a standard by which such activity can be measured.

To have a valid cause of action for negligence there are four prerequisites (Alexander and Alexander, 2005). They are:

- A duty to protect others
- A failure to exercise an appropriate standard of care either through commission or omission of an act (wrongful act)
- A logical connection between the act or omission and the injury or damage
- An injury, damage or loss.

Courts have expressly held that there is no difference between the position of the state and its servants and that of master and servant in private law as regards delictual liability (Burns, 1999). Wiechers in Burns (1999) holds that in addition to the basic requirement that the servant of the state (educators) must have acted wrongfully and culpably, a broader liability based on the risk principle should be adopted. This means that having undertaken to render wide-ranging services such as the provision of basic and further education⁴

⁴ Schools Act, section 29

for everyone and to perform different functions such providing safe schools,⁵ the state must take responsibility for the risk for which compensation should be paid.

The governing body of a school has to establish a disciplined school environment by adopting a code of conduct and to conducting fair disciplinary hearings in cases of serious misconduct. Legally there are no provisions stating that a school governing body can be held liable for damages incurred through the negligence of educators or persons representing the Department of Education. The assumption that school governing bodies have to develop and implement safety policies at schools cannot be substantiated by law.

The South African Council for Educators Act, 2000 provides for the establishment of a statutory body, the South African Council for Educators (SACE) who in addition to its registration of educators function, is given the functions of promoting the professional development of educators and establishing a code of professional ethics for educators. In order to protect ethical and professional standards for educators SACE commissioned the development of a Handbook for the Code of Professional Ethics (SACE, 2002). This handbook describes how educators ought to relate to learners, parents, colleagues, the community, their employers and SACE. It addresses aspects such as ethics, morals, values, tolerance and human rights in education. Special attention is paid to learner safety and the duty of care responsibilities of educators.

Legal obligations of education authorities in providing a disciplined and safe education environment

The state and its employees' liability are essentially determined by their legal obligations and not by their rights (Oosthuizen, 1998). Providing a safe physical and emotional environment for learners at school is one of the basic responsibilities of the Department of Education and its employees. However, it is one of the requirements that is the most difficult for education authorities to address because there are so many factors that impact on school safety and because safety issues do not always have clear solutions. At times departmental officials, education managers and educators may not know how to respond to potentially problematic situations and as a result may act unlawfully.

⁵ Tirisano, programme: School effectiveness and educator professionalism, Project 6: School Safety

The educational and social development of learners at school is closely linked to their physical and emotional safety (Varnham, 2004). Learners cannot learn effectively if they are physically or verbally abused, victims of violence or bullying, or if their school surroundings are unsafe. A legal duty is one which the law requires to be done or to refrain from doing. Determining a breach of legal duty is measured by the reasonable person and foresee-ability tests. Providing a disciplined and physically and emotionally safe environment for learners at school is one of the basic duties of education authorities, and educators.

The following actions may lead to a proactive approach to safety and help to develop high safety standards in education.

Providing information

With the increasing emphasis on the protection of basic human rights and the need to protect children against harsh and cruel treatment, attitudes towards discipline and punishment have changed considerably in the last ten years. Inevitably increasing attention is given to issues such as child abuse and corporal punishment in schools. Various detailed official policies, documents and publications applicable to many facets of the management of public schools show the government's commitment to establishing safe and effective teaching and learning environments.

Publications such as: *Alternatives to Corporal Punishment* (Department of Education, 2000a), *Signposts for Safe Schools* (South African Police Service and Department of Education, 2002) and *Code for Professional Ethics* (South African Council for Educators, 2002) attempts to address the issue of providing a safe and disciplined school environment. Programmes to address school safety such as 'adopt a cop', 'captain crime stop' and the annual competitions termed 'sports against crime' in Mpumalanga aim to free school communities from fear, risk of victimisation and to promote the realisation of the potential of all youth. The Tirisano plan (Department of Education, 2000b) which Minister Kader Asmal has put forward to give effect to his 'Call for Action' specifically addresses sexual harassment, violence, crime and drugs and the scourge of HIV/AIDS. One of the major factors of school safety is the failure of education authorities to understand their legal duties regarding school safety. The Tirisano project on School Safety activities and outputs do not include providing legal and practical information to educators, education managers and departmental officials in dealing with problematic situations.

However, it is assumed that developing and publishing policies and regulations on school safety will create a safe learning environment. At times departmental officials and education managers do not foresee potentially problematic situations do not demonstrate knowledge and skills in applying basic legal principles, and as a result may act negligently.

In *Phillips* and *Maritzburg* the governing bodies, after a fair hearing, requested the Heads of Department to consider the expulsion of learners who were found guilty of serious misconduct. The PDEs failed to assist these schools in providing safe and disciplined environments by responding back to the schools within a reasonable time limit.

Imposing liability for psychological and physical damages sustained by learners

The SACE code of conduct clearly stipulates that educators are required to take reasonable steps to ensure the safety of learners, not to abuse their positions and not to enter into a sexual relationship with a learner or sexually harass a learner. In the case of the sexual harassment of learners one could ask the question: under what circumstances are employers liable for the sexual misconduct of their employees?

The school principal represents the employer in the school. Should a principal turn a deaf ear to a victim's complaint or decide not to report an incident of sexual misconduct, abuse or bullying it could be held as being 'deliberate indifferent' to the learner's rights to freedom and security⁶ dignity and the right to be protected from maltreatment, neglect and abuse.

The interpretation and implementation of legislation and official policies by education managers and departmental officials remains a contentious issue. Under certain circumstances, an educator or departmental official may be found individually liable. According to Alexander and Alexander (2005, p.657) individuals can be held liable if they exhibit "a callous indifference" to a person's constitutional rights pursuant to government policy or custom and have demonstrated "a lack of objective good faith". What comes to mind here is government officials who fail to carry out their duties and in doing so may infringe on the basic rights of learners.

⁶ See Constitution, sections 10, 12 and 28

In *Maritzburg* evidence was presented that schools had to wait between eleven and 21 months for the PDE to respond back to the school regarding the recommended expulsion of learners. In *Maritzburg* the Court found that the departmental official ignored the obligations of the school governing body to maintain discipline and good standards, but more importantly disregarded the rights of the learners who ‘stand in the shadow of expulsion’. These learners have the right to expeditiously whether they are going to be expelled so that they may be taken up by another school.

In *Phillips* the parents did not accept the fact that their child was not allowed to attend the school pending the response from the Head of Department regarding his expulsion. *Phillips* seriously injured a fellow learner by hitting him with a spanner. This followed after a history of assaulting and battering other learners. Although *Phillips* was found guilty of serious misconduct and was suspended by the governing body, he presented himself at the school posing a threat to other learners’ safety and subverting the authority of the school to maintain a safe and disciplined environment.

Disciplinary sanctions for employees

Another question that comes to mind is what can employers do to employees who refuse to divulge information that could lead to the detection of colleagues’ misdemeanors? If the Department of Education receives a complaint about serious misconduct of an educator at a school, and the actual culprit cannot be identified but there is reason to suspect that the school principal is aware of the identity of the culprit, the possibility of ‘derivative misconduct’ arises. Derivative misconduct originated in *FAWU and others v Amalgamated Beverage Industries [1994]*. The Court said in its judgment that employees who fail to assist in an investigation may in itself justify disciplinary action.

Derivative misconduct is the term given to an employee’s refusal to divulge information that might help to identify the perpetrator of some or other misconduct. The following legislation exists in relation to reporting crimes against children:

Any person, who examines, treats, attends to, advises, instructs or cares for any child, shall immediately report such ill treatment to a police official, commissioner of child welfare or social worker.

(Section 4 of the Prevention of Family Violence Act No.133 of 1993)

The employee, in this case the school principal, can be taken to task not for involvement in the primary misconduct, but for refusing to assist the employer in its quest to apprehend and discipline the perpetrator of the original offence.

Vicarious liability

It is a trite principle of South African law that an employer bears responsibility for the unlawful acts of its employees if those acts are committed within the scope of the employee's duty. If an employee intentionally or through negligence harms a learner, the injured party may sue the employer for damages. But what are the limits of the employer's liability in cases like these? For example, many schools expect their educators to transport learners to and from extra-curricular activities in their private vehicles. From the case *Bezuidenhout v Eskom [2003]* it emerges that the employer will only be immune from liability if the employee was expressly instructed not to carry passengers. If the school principal instructed the educators to transport learners in their private cars, the employer will be liable for any damages incurred by the educators and learners.

Conclusion

The South African Constitution grants each individual personal rights such as freedom of personal injury, security of life and property. In addition to the possible infringement of the physical-mental integrity of persons present on school premises, there are risks to their personality rights involving privacy, good name, dignity and religious feelings that may be relevant for the purposes of delictual remedies. The law imposes corresponding duties and responsibilities on each individual to respect the rights of others. If a person fails to respect these rights, thereby damaging another, a delict has been committed, and the offending party may be held liable.

The flaw in all the departmental documents is that they ignore the fact that schools need the support and assistance of the district offices and PDEs in implementing these very ambitious safe school programmes and projects. Developing policies and publications on school safety without providing adequate legal training for all role players do not guarantee safe and disciplined schools. To continue to hold that school governing bodies alone should develop and implement their own codes of conduct and school safety policies is to ignore reality and maintain a legal fiction that leaves victims to

their own devices and schools with little incentive to change their ineffective practices.

Potential criminal prosecution which have a significant effect on the risk management of schools and the policies and procedures being developed by governing bodies and education authorities urgently need to be investigated. One of the major factors of school safety is the failure of educators, education managers and departmental officials to understand their legal responsibilities regarding the safety of learners. At times education managers and officials may not know how to respond to potentially problematic situations and as a result may act unlawfully.

Individuals can be held liable if they exhibit a deliberate indifference to a person's constitutional rights pursuant to government policy or custom and have demonstrated 'a lack of objective good faith'. Therefore, employees who fail to assist in an investigation may in itself justify disciplinary action.

The Department of Education's failure to implement reasonable misconduct prevention strategies should be viewed as the proximate cause of lack of discipline resulting in unsafe schools. If it is known that the PDEs support governing bodies, and take immediate action in cases where it is recommended that learners be expelled after a fair hearing, the general culture of the schools will not permit uncontrolled violence, bullying and crime to take place. Learners will be aware that serious misconduct will not be tolerated, educators will consistently recognize and report serious misconduct, and school principals will have the resolve and departmental support to address the misconduct firmly and fairly.

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'In search of home' - practices of the self in selected teacher narratives

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Abstract

In this paper we offer glimpses of the way some teachers may work creatively within the constraints of our South African education system. There are many studies that focus on issues such as teacher attrition, low morale, work load, job security, and teacher migration, all suggesting something of the dire straits in which education is located in the post-apartheid era (Hall, Altman, Nkomo, Peltzer and Zuma, 2005; Ramrathan, 2002; Singh, 2001; Manik, 2005; Hayward, 2002). Against these negative impressions, we wish to present counter-narratives of teacher success, resistance and inventiveness, exploring teachers' lives and their narratives through the theme of *home*. The theme of home [and homelessness] has been an important one in post-colonial experience, and a variety of genre of writings have shown how dislocation and unhomeliness [*unheimlich*], and the attendant 'dis-ease' that results, are experienced, managed and contested. We begin the paper by providing a brief theoretical perspective on the theme of 'home' and 'homelessness' drawn from post-colonial literature. We then provide an analysis of the teachers' narratives, extracted from a larger research study, connecting this to the theme of 'home' and 'homelessness'. Finally, we show how teachers creatively resist the constraints of 'the school' to reconfigure what it means to 'be teacher'.

As Chandra Mohanty notes:

Home was not a comfortable, stable, inherited and familiar space, but instead an imaginative, politically charged space where familiarity and sense of affection and commitment lay in shared collective analysis of social justice, as well as a vision of radical transformation. Political solidarity and a sense of family could be welded together imaginatively to create a strategic place I could call 'home'.

Mohanty, 1993, p.352

Introduction

How might we enhance an understanding of teachers' lives and their narratives by deploying the theme of home? The theme of home and homelessness has been an important one in post-colonial experience, marked as it is by migration, exile, travel, border-crossing, dislocation, homelessness, dispossession, dispersion and diaspora. South Africa has also had its internal

politics of homelessness and exile through colonial and apartheid domination, forced removals and the Group Areas Act. A variety of genre of writings in this mode have shown how dislocation and unhomeliness [*unheimlich*], and the attendant dis-ease that results, are experienced, managed and/or contested.¹

The theme of home has been quite developed in English literature and post-colonial criticism. This is not surprising as the history of colonialism has been marked by travel and movement, by the settler or immigrant experience. Of course, dislocation takes on a peculiar meaning in apartheid South Africa, marked as it was by internal uprooting, dislocation and relocation.

The notion of home, generally linked to the domestic sphere of family and belonging and its attendant ideologies, is expanded and used metaphorically in English fiction and literary analysis. Such analysis draws attention to how the idea or memory of 'home' travels or is translated through artifacts, physical objects, or values and symbols as in cultural or religious traditions. It is not surprising that the theme of a 'politics of home' has emerged in such analysis.

One of the discursive features that emanates from reflection on the trope of home relates to setting up of the homes or dwellings and of dismantling them. The notion of the nomad or exile, exhibiting or embracing a state of homelessness is counterbalanced by a desire for rootedness, or the idea of 'feeling at home'.

A key theorist on the theme of home in post-colonial writing is Edward Said. Using his own personal experience of geographical dislocation, through exile and multiple journeyings and his acute political consciousness as a Palestinian intellectual living in the United States, Said has turned thinking on home and homelessness on its head. His memoir, *Out of Place* (2000) shows him viewing his own "ambivalent and contradictory location with an increasing sense of being an outsider" (Walia, 2001, p.4).

Said boldly suggests that the true intellectual should not give in to comfortable, static and sedimented ways of thinking, being and acting, nor should he/she engage in a 'rhetoric of blame'. Instead of adapting and reconciling to hegemonic systems, the intellectual should constantly develop a

¹ The second author has a literature background and has written on the theme of home in different critical essays (see e.g. Govinden, D. 2000).

resistant consciousness and engage in strategies of contestation. Citing Adorno, Said argues: “Dwelling, in the proper sense, is now impossible. . . It is part of morality not to be at home in one’s home” (Said, 1994, p.57).

Said (1994) suggests that the intellectual must travel, emigrate, move beyond confinements, and remain in a state of perpetual exile. The physical experience of homelessness is appropriated here and re-interpreted metaphorically, where the exile or exilic condition is embraced as a desirable state. The state of alienation is not seen negatively as loss, but as a condition that prevents stasis, sedimentation or conformity. Applied to the intellectual, it suggests a disposition and openness to change and newness, rather than to hidebound conservatism or tradition. It suggests the ability to transform the negative connotations of dislocatedness into a desirable state of being and thinking. It is in this sense that the notion of home and homelessness, developed in postcolonial criticism, is used in this article on teaching and education.

In our readings of the teacher narratives here, we show how teachers constantly seek out new understandings and insights and forge new ways of addressing problems and challenges that confront them in various educational situations. It is their feelings of constant ‘dis-ease’ that makes some teachers refuse to settle for mediocrity (Pillay, 2003; Nieto, 2003).

The study

The analyses of teachers’ narratives formed part of a larger doctoral study where new understandings of teacher success in South African schools were explored (Pillay, 2003). This study was pursued in the early 2000s, six years after the first democratic elections. It was period of change and challenge. The excerpts of the narratives give an impressionistic view of the lives of selected teachers from diverse educational sites in KwaZulu-Natal, and are representative of the South African race categories that were instituted during

the apartheid era. (All names in the narratives have been substituted with pseudonyms.)²

Preliminary sampling considered teachers across the educational spectrum from student teacher and novices to experienced and retired teachers. The final sample for the study comprised teachers who had been trained during the apartheid era for particular schooling contexts but who then proceeded to work in diverse teaching and learning sites both formal and non-formal. This dimension for the study in question reflects the diversity of educational opportunities that have ‘mushroomed’ since the democratisation of the country and the integration of education departments within the broader education and training sector.

Using life history research as the methodological tool, the first researcher accessed several nodes of experiences – the life history interviews were supplemented by photographs, poems, musical favourites, personal sketches/illustrations, and letters. This kind of memory work yielded rich and interesting data. Of the six teachers whose lives were composed and reconstructed in the study, excerpts of two teachers’ narratives are selected and presented here. Camilla is a Coloured female teaching in one of the schools in Durban. Growing up ‘coloured’ is never easy. She recalls very painful and poignant memories of a harsh and alienating city of Durban during the dark years of the apartheid. Her father dies under tragic circumstances when he tried to set up his panel beating business in spite of the difficulties that are placed in his path by the apartheid government. ‘Gogo’, her maternal grandmother lived in Swaziland and it is only through the random escapes to this ‘untouched’ part of the world that Camilla and her family spent many happy weekends and holidays. She remembers those happy days with mixed feelings:

On the farm in Swaziland is where I felt at home, where I experienced that spirit of freedom, the great outdoors and adventure. My cousins and I would race across to the kraals, where we could watch the slaughtering of the cows, sheep and pigs. The smell of the farm and the freshly slaughtered cattle always reminds me of my young days. Living on the farm gave me

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The first author had conducted member checks as she interviewed the six teachers. After a series of interviews, she would often ask the teachers what they thought about the interpretations she was making about their lives. Two-and-half years later, after she had the final version of the interpretation, she visited each one of the teachers and presented them with a copy together with the scanned photographs that were going to be included. Written letters of consent from each of the research participants were obtained for the publication of the study and the findings. Names and places have been changed to ensure the anonymity of the research participants.

the opportunity to see the dissection of the cattle in a biological way. I watched the farm boys pull the cow strap and skin the hide. The smell of animals and the bush is something I grew up with.

Becoming a biology teacher is not Camilla's first choice but is a personally fulfilling one. The teachers in her school are predominantly 'Coloured'. The principal is male and 'Indian'. Camilla's classroom once served as a dormitory for teacher trainees. Her narrative is about her struggles and her desires to continue to find new spaces, new homes, to be 'free' and to 'be teacher'. This is not easy.

The second teacher, Zandile, offers another interesting portrait. Her life is somewhat different from Camilla's but is still determined by the world of apartheid. As an African woman, she faces many struggles. She spends a major part of her young life in an economically impoverished semi-rural area outside Pietermaritzburg – a major city in KwaZulu-Natal. Her liberatory ideas and experiences are forged quite early in her life. Her father discriminates against her because she is a girl, treating her differently to her younger brother. At boarding school as well she and the rest of the girls are treated differently from the boys. She describes some of her experiences:

Our letters were opened and read while the letters of the males were not. We were abused. We carried sand from one point to another and repeated the process until they asked you to stop. We were asked to scrub floors and sweep the dusty, corrugated roads, as punishment for things they (the white nuns) regarded as 'wrong'. My experiences at home and at school created that pressure in me to prove myself as a woman, and actually engage in what we wanted and didn't want happening to us especially as African women.

These experiences serve to develop a sense of mission in Zandile's life and when she becomes a teacher she uses her position as a platform for change. She works as a teacher and member of the management team at the Alcatraz Prison School for Juveniles after serving three years of her teaching career in a small rural school on the outskirts of Pietermaritzburg. As the only woman manager in a team of male managers, implementing her ideas and interests is never easy. Her principal is an African male. Her students are inmates serving long sentences for crimes including murder, hijackings, rape and robbery. Her office is a little room adjacent to the classrooms in which she teaches. An armed guard is posted outside her classroom while she teaches.

These descriptions, extracted from the larger life history narratives, offer glimpses of some of the challenges that beset teachers at both private and public levels.

'Homelessness': the constraints

Camilla

A glance at Camilla's experiences shows her enduring many inconveniences: under-resourced classrooms, bureaucratic pressures, and an unfriendly and uninviting school culture. She complains:

But I really found it difficult coping with fifty learners in the classroom and only forty minutes to teach. I hate the paperwork that I am also expected to do in set time. The volume of recording is unreal. The more I try to put my finger on the pulse, there is something else coming from the office.

She bemoans the constraining realities of formal lesson scheduling and the effect of large classes. She cannot put into practice a pedagogy that can allow learners to develop in leadership, strength and potential. "It does not allow me to see the learners differently and where they can get to see me differently" she argues.

In this educational context, there is an absence of alternative, vibrant and vigorous teacher cultures. The need for teachers to interact more flexibly, to discuss, reflect and explore new ideas and practices, and to learn and work collectively is sadly lacking in Camilla's school. "Oh! What are you doing this for?" is a refrain she hears, and is a constant reminder of the lack of desire among her colleagues to change and/or to support change. They acquiesce to routinised activities and actions and thereby threaten Camilla's need to be different. She says: "When I take my learners out into the school grounds for discussion teachers would comment, "You are not really teaching, are you?" The implication is that no serious teaching can happen outside the traditional classroom space.

Camilla thus positions herself and is positioned by others as disruptive of the norms usually controlling teachers. Camilla tries to construct her identity in opposition to her colleagues and they react with some suspicion and displeasure. Their comments range from, "Oh! What is she up to now?" or "There she goes again". Thus to be defined as a 'teacher' means to think, act and work in set and immovable ways or risk being labelled, alienated and belittled. Camilla summed up her feelings about being a teacher in this school:

Sometimes I feel like I'm pushing away or pulling a wagon of stones. I feel that I need to be continuously motivated because people who are not very motivated for change surround me. Whenever I approach management or the teachers with ideas, I am not given the support to

carry them through and ultimately the other teachers look at me and say, “who does she think she is”. So I take it upon myself to pursue these ideas with my own classes where I am my own manager, my own boss. The teachers look at me differently because I don’t belong to their clique. I don’t like the cliques among the staff. I hate it. I’m me, accept me for who I am. So I would say to them, “do not try and mould me into your kind of thinking”. People don’t like me voicing myself. . . I am different, and I am certainly not going to change for anyone. I enjoy who I am, what I do and how I do it. My children are the proof of the pudding.

Invoking the metaphor of home, we might observe that Camilla reveals dislocation and unhomeliness in the microcosm of the school setting. How does Camilla create alternative choices, alternative homes, we might ask? How does she overturn her unhomeliness? What risks is she prepared to take, given her negative experiences? How can she creatively deal with the uncertainty of taking risks for ‘being teacher’ differently? How does she refuse the predictable modes of thinking and working?

Zandile

Zandile’s experiences of teaching in the different schools (formal school and prison school) on the other hand, are about her struggle to be heard within a male-dominated arena. Her mission as a change agent reflects a constant struggle. She feels constrained because of her gender. The principal (of the prison school), through his position, authorises the male teachers and members of management to speak and, conversely, ‘silences’ Zandile. The following excerpt from an interview, conveys her frustration:

There is no open platform where you can really share what you feel, your vision, and your ideas. That flexibility of trying out new ideas and knowing what works has stopped. I find the atmosphere among the staff, especially the male staff who worked at the prison school for a longer period than I did but who have never been promoted, hostile. The principal is not giving me the space to do what I want to anymore . . . suddenly everything I do is questioned and looked at with suspicion. . . I do not feel appreciated as a valuable member of the team. Often the feedback that I have been getting is that I am too ambitious. . . that I think I am too clever. That has just killed that spirit of working as a team. That is really killing me.

We see here the way male teachers and managers create and naturalise systems of hegemonic power. Her experience at Dalesview Secondary, an ex-DET school for African learners located in an impoverished semi-rural area in KwaZulu-Natal, also confirms this. She says, “I would never have been able to get through to the staff who were predominantly male and who really didn’t understand who this Zandile was. They commented that I wanted to be too big

in a very small space”. How does Zandile resist the traditional cultural constructions of being an African woman? How does she refuse to be one who is suppliant? How does she refuse the easy and complacent ‘homes’ that her colleagues have created for themselves? What creative choices may be forged in what appears to be a hopeless situation? What alternative, life-enhancing ‘homes’ may be imagined?

These crossroads in teachers’ struggles are crucial. To refuse alterity, like many teachers do, is nearly to be interred. Yet many choose this line of least resistance. Every situation, according to Said (2004), is a contest between a powerful system of interests on the one hand and, on the other, less powerful interests threatened with frustration, silence, incorporation or extinction by the powerful. The challenge is to reverse this state of affairs.

In search of home

Faced with near despair it is encouraging to see in the narratives small but distinct attempts by these teachers to redefine themselves. These attempts, which may be seen as ‘practices on the self’, occur in small, elusive moments when teachers are able to forge alternative ways of being and acting. In these moments of creative agency, teachers are brave enough to give expression to their true selves, in spite of institutional demands that point them in another direction.

In the larger study, different metaphors were used to understand teachers’ patterns of agency. These metaphors show encouraging emergent practices of the self in learning situations. These practices were directly related to identities of race, gender, class and political activism. Against the common denominator of apartheid, different teachers displayed individualist responses to their experiential reality. There are different ways in which critique was articulated and change and transformation managed and accomplished. There are, in other words, different ways of dismantling and setting up ‘homes’. Of course this process is never complete, but is on-going. We see in the following narratives of Camilla and Zandile, the unique ways in which they engage in practices of the self to overturn the debilitating circumstances in which they find themselves.

Camilla: soul seeker/bush-baby

Camilla's lived experience, as a female Coloured teacher, offers us a window to particular moments of struggle and desire to be 'free' as teacher. She remembers:

I met with such negativity on the path of staff members, my colleagues, that it actually ended up to be a very confrontational level where you think to yourself, "Why am I doing this". Then you spring back and say well I'm doing this because the child enjoys it. For me everything that I do I thoroughly enjoy and I wanted my children to enjoy it. . . at the end of the day it is me and what is best for me and my learners. . .

This comment from Camilla focuses on the struggles and dilemmas of working in a schooling site in which asserting difference is seen as 'abnormal' and a threat to the institutional culture or collegial norm. Camilla becomes the stranger with strange habits. She is sandwiched between two poles – 'Who am I' and 'What do I want'. She realizes that feeling despondent and 'wanting to jump ship' is to refuse the possibility for change and innovation.

Camilla refuses to be a victim. Her movement out of a debilitating atmosphere to another place, another home, shows her ability to take risks. She abandons an institutional space that diminishes her, and escapes to a place that always gives her back her sanity – surprisingly, the 'bush', typifying in South Africa a place quite the opposite of the amenities-filled modern city. It is in the bush that she turns inwards. In moments of turbulence as she notes, she "goes back to nature, to the bush to find myself and get my sanity back":

Starting up the Enviro-club extended the boundaries for me. I do break boundaries in the classroom, but co-ordinating the club allows me to engage with something that I really enjoy doing outside of the school. I am a 'bush-baby'. It is a place where I see the child grow from a little seed in terms of leadership, strength and potential. The Enviro-club is my passion, it keeps me together. . . It keeps my sanity together.

Momentarily, she embraces this new found space with pleasure and pride:

Children need to see you differently, and I get to see the learners differently. The teachers need to accept that I am different and the Enviro-club gives me that space to be different, to be myself. This I believe will provide the learners with the confidence to develop and be proud of who they are. The song, 'I believe the children are the future' by Whitney Houston is the theme song for the Enviro-group. It captures what I believe, what I think about myself and my learners and what I want to do as a person and as a teacher.

Camilla's investments in social practices and the relationships she forges through these activities give her pleasure and restores her sanity. Working within the regulatory normative structures of educational practice, the Enviro-

club as a collective project becomes the key feature of how Camilla relates to each of the learners differently and provides the space within which to express her sense of ecological justice. In this private space, or alternative home, which nature offers her, away from the oppressive spaces of her school and work life, she is rejuvenated with fresh ideas about teaching and learning. The wide open space – the enticing African veld – becomes an embracing and hospitable home.

The sense of oneness she forges with nature and her family in this space, gives her a new understanding of the meaning of her life and her mission as a teacher. She is able to transgress the boundaries that usually separate a teacher's private life and a teacher's assumed, public or professional responsibility. She is aware of this intersection:

Mark, my husband is my strength for a lot of what I am doing now, in the way that I might approach things, or teach things. He is my soul mate. Taking the Enviro-group on an excursion, or going on a hiking trip has become a family thing. He has always been there to say, stop crying about it, deal with the problem and get on with it.

Camilla breaks free from the rigid separation of work and family, of private/public boundaries and tests out other ways of being and doing 'teacher'. Through her ecological activities she 'feels free' to recreate herself so that she is equipped with a disposition to love and hope. As pointed out already, she is able to draw strength from nature to resist oppressive practices and to strategise for alternative ways of being, both for herself and her learners. These *practices of the self* yield a rich harvest in different ways.

Zandile: the rehabilitator

Like Camilla, Zandile, in her own way, engages in practices of the self that are life-enhancing. The narrative of her family background, her life as a student, as a teacher/manager and later as a post-graduate student indicates her creative responses to different challenges. Her liberatory ideas and experiences are forged during her early years when she had to endure living with her abusive, alcoholic father. She tries to overturn the oppressive home family context in which she finds herself. As she recalls, "My experiences at home created that pressure in me to prove myself as a woman, and actually engage continually in what we want and don't want happening to us especially as African women". The place where she lived is not the safe, nurturing space that she would have liked; yet these very negative encounters of home were the means of making her resilient, of making her create alternative 'homes'.

Zandile had questioned the political system when she was a student and continues to this as a teacher. While Zandile's formal *teacher identity* legitimates her as a 'professional', her political consciousness, produced by her embeddedness in her apartheid reality, re-shapes her identity as a teacher and compels her to redefine what 'being professional' means. As Camilla does, Zandile also uses her teacher status, in spite of the negativity that permeates it through the legacy of apartheid, as a platform for change. Her ideas on collective engagement and transparency do not go well with the rest of the school community. The challenge to disrupt the oppressive practices that continue to dominate the educational experience of learners burdens her. She is intent on:

Instilling in the teacher's minds the fact that you just don't impose things on learners as we have been doing all along. I remember the school meetings where parents had to attend to discuss important school matters without the learners being present. I challenged that too. I wanted the teachers, management, parents and the learners to work together towards a common goal but the teachers took a lot of time to buy into it. Some people hated me for that, while others liked me. . . so I just looked ahead.

Zandile crosses the border between the classroom and the rest of the world by adapting her strategies of activism to suit each space. In the semi-rural school in Dalesview, where she started her career as a 'new' teacher, she recalls:

I remember that day when I walked into school and realised that all the chairs had been stolen from the school, stolen by a guy who started a beer hall in the area. After requesting permission from the principal, all the male students and I walked to the beer hall and returned with all the chairs. That day was an important day in my life as a teacher at Dalesview Secondary School because I succeeded in developing in learners a sense of ownership, a skill for life.

Although she may not articulate it in these words, her life is that of an 'organic intellectual', as she focuses mind and body creatively and constructively in the context in which she finds herself. What is noteworthy is that she creates critical spaces to express her political views. She reconstructs her experiences, imputing alternative meanings to them, so that her responses are not run-of-the-mill, predictable, conservative. When faced with barriers against meaningful engagement with her context, she continually reflects on the choices she should make to change this state of affairs:

Every day is a new day, learning about yourself and the kind of person you are in dealing with the learners, the subject and the colleagues you work with. . . I often question why all the learners need to specialise in Zulu, especially if they wanted to become engineers, I believed that they could spend the time improving their Math and Science results. What about learners who were wanting to pursue seven subjects? Why do we have to treat the boys at prison differently? I was called up to the office. . . to be reminded that I was not the principal of the school.

Zandile is not to be suppressed. This is the point in her life when the prison setting becomes her new home, and she recreates this repressive space into its opposite. Zandile finds strength to challenge and resist the effects of oppression and inequality from a strong moral sense. Through a deep understanding of the dominant and stifling discourses of being 'man/male' she seeks out creative and alternative ways of ensuring that the young juveniles in prison can reflect on their gender constructions and ways of thinking.

Dominique³ and I have become involved in numerous initiatives and projects at the prison to enable the students to participate in various activities like sport, dance and music. Dominique and I have set up links with the Natal Playhouse Company and we have started a project with the University of Natal where the students from the drama department come to the prison and train the boys. We now have boys who are writers and directors of plays. They write their own plays for Christmas or Human Rights Day and they even act it out.

Zandile's desire to develop as a critical reflective practitioner is also seen in her pursuit of a Masters Degree, and her choice of the Social Justice Education specialisation is no accident. She enlists the support of a like-minded male colleague and friend, Mike. The following excerpt reflects her taking her destiny into her own hands:

I had to do something. I spoke to Mike about studying. . . I spoke to the new teachers, many who were complaining that very often they sat around not knowing what to do. While Mike and I decided that we would register for our Masters degree, the others engaged in doing their degrees in varying specialisations (ABET, BA). We have managed to restore the culture of studying once again. I feel alive once again. Registering for a degree in Social Justice and Peace Education is just what I needed. For the first time this year I felt I reached out to most of the female teachers on the staff.

Zandile enrolls at the University of Durban-Westville, which was described for many years as a 'historically disadvantaged institution' and a site renowned for political activism. As a teacher, formal university study offers her yet another space or home. It is a space for the germination of new ideas, for intellectual activity, for collective, critical reflection and action.

Throughout her experiences we see Zandile claiming the right to question systems, structures and practices. She refuses the conventional, identities of being a Black woman, a student, a teacher, manager, and adopts a transformatory identity. The practices of self that she enacts show her refusing to be 'othered'; she claims selfhood and identity. She creates a new 'home'.

3

Dominique is a male teacher who is a colleague of Zandile.

Resistant readings

Our firm conviction, reading these narratives, is that the educational terrain need not be soul-destroying and debilitating. The context can offer possibilities for thinking and acting differently as teacher. The emergent practices, ideas and values that we celebrate here are often not recognised. Highlighting these practices, which have been subsumed and muted in the homogenized category of 'being teacher', is a powerful means of understanding the slipperiness of identity and the caution necessary in fixing teachers' identities. Affirmed by their own histories – that nourish the cultural experiences that make up the texture of their daily lives – teachers may create and carve out spaces for their unique experiences. For these teachers the educational sites are interpreted as spaces for creative responses, unencumbered by staid and withering formulas.

Though the messages that the different teachers provide may be uneven, ambiguous and imperfect, we recognise the potential for change and transformation that the narratives signal. For us, the narratives highlight not the importance of technical expertise, of disciplinary or subject knowledge of narrow curriculum expertise, but they emphasise wider notions of truth, conscience and humanity – *of love*.

Instead of seeing alternative practices of the self as deviations from or variations on school policy, as being problematic and dangerous, we need to be sensitive to other understandings. We need to develop oppositional and resistant readings of teachers and their work. How can we open up spaces for teachers to be moved by ethical imperatives, and to experience 'being teacher' as a space for the continued formation of their political will?

As teacher-educators bent on developing teachers for new and different imaginings of curriculum, how do we reconstitute the teaching and learning world so that more opportunities emerge for hearing the voices of teachers? How do we deconstruct the taken-for granted categories, and read teachers' lives and their work differently?

The category 'teacher' is open to new meanings – meanings that may be strategically reworked, renamed and reconfigured. Instead of framing the fluid and multiple identities of teachers as a problem or an obstacle, we need to recognise powerful ways in which teachers can recreate themselves and become agents of change. Change and movement, both material and

metaphorical, may form the very basis for how these teachers move from 'what is' to 'what could be'.

When teachers see the possibilities of constantly rearranging and re-negotiating their identities, both personal and professional, as the teachers described here do, they will become freer agents. When there is a continual search for 'new homes' teachers may demonstrate surprising and remarkable tenacity. Refusing to withdraw, abdicate, or merely survive, some teachers may show an exilic, restless spirit. Ferreting out the stories that show teachers on a relentless quest for creative ways to deal with complex challenges of 'being teacher' in our present day South African context can become an exciting and hope-filled exercise.

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Book Reviews

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Wayne Hugo

I might desecrate all that we believe in just in order to find out where we are

Hothouse flowers: Better days ahead, 2003

The wise man of South African education has brought out his second collection of essays. If *Chains of thought* (1989) was set against the backdrop of the Apartheid struggle (and had an appendix of quotes translated from Afrikaans), *Learning to teach in South Africa* (2007) critically engages with post Apartheid attempts to address the aftermath, providing specific diagnoses of our current smarting. Three key issues run through the collection: a critique of what Morrow calls the ‘hothouse’ model of teaching and learning; his suggested definition of teaching as the ‘organization of systematic learning’; and a preference for a ‘politics of equal dignity’ within South Africa rather than a ‘politics of difference’. The first detects a significant failure of the pedagogic imagination in South Africa to overcome its contextual limitations; the second points to a key conceptual move that could help teachers and teacher education out of the current impasse; and the third argues for a crucial missed step in the attempt to redress discrimination within South African education. Taken together they form a potent medicinal cocktail that hones in on specific maladies within our educational body.

The first pedagogic malady is a fixation on small classes as the ideal form of educational delivery, with all other forms taken as inferior options almost by definition. Very early on in Morrow’s teaching career he was nearly destroyed by this vision. As a young English teacher at Jeppe High School he found that the picture of teaching given to him in training ‘generated a suicidal project. The intense personal contact it demanded was exorbitant. . . , and the marking load took up many hours every night and most of the weekends. “My personal life shrank to nil, and although I was young and healthy, my physical condition declined alarmingly” (p.14). Such a primal inscription of pain on the body could result, if we take Freud’s *Beyond the pleasure principle* as our guide, in a repetition compulsion, and so we find, with Wally Morrow

engaging again and again with this issue throughout the book. Small classes, we might ask, why would one of South Africa's key thinkers in education spend so much time critiquing an obsession with small classes. Surely the problem we have is with big classes and how to reduce them. But by the end of the third chapter of *Learning to teach* Morrow has built a convincing case as to why this obsession is unhealthy and damaging, what the root causes behind the obsession are, and what we, as a professional educational community, can do about it. It is a vital practical problem that is his focus and he never uses more of his substantial intellectual armory than is necessary to isolate, analyse and deal with the issue. Morrow's own response to the issue was not to attempt various ways of reducing big classes to small classes but rather to ask how we could teach large classes better. Again, he draws on his own particular experiences, this time as a post graduate student at London University forty years hence doing an academic diploma with 1200 other students. The course successfully dealt with its large numbers through excellent organization and a carefully constructed reading programme. As Morrow goes on to argue, they had thought through the issue in a way that combined both formal access and epistemological access to their course. They enabled large numbers to access the programme, explicit guidance to its contents, and sustained feedback. In South Africa there was, and is, a tendency to see formal access as antagonistic to epistemological access. The post Apartheid imperative to increase formal access to higher education, it was feared, would result in a reduction of epistemological access as more students meant larger classes and therefore inferior education. Morrow condemns this equation in the strongest of terms, pointing to how it has paralysed our professional intelligence (p.19), cramping us into either/or options where we should be going and/and.

It is in one of the underlying reasons behind this failure of professional intelligence that we shift to the usefulness of the second major theme in *Learning to teach* – the definition of teaching as the 'organization of systematic learning'. Morrow points to a clinging onto a material image of teaching and learning as a key factor behind the failure of the pedagogic imagination. By hooking good teaching and learning up to a material state of small classes rather than an abstract concept that transcended contextual conditions, the 'hothouse' vision of teaching cut off from its ambit all the variations that did not fit its material conditions. Rather than holding an abstract idea of teaching and asking how it adapts and fits various contextual variations, one contextual set of conditions holds sway as the only possible option. Chapters 5 and 6 elaborate both on this malady and the power of using

an abstract definition of teaching like ‘organization of systematic learning’ to break the blindness.

Morrow demonstrates two very different intellectual styles in approaching this key definition. Chapter 5 deals with his attempt to develop a coherent policy of teacher education by proposing a clear response to the question ‘What is teacher education’. He begins boldly and simply with his own definition and then proceeds to elaborate point by point, term by term, on why he is justified in being so forward.

Teacher education is a kind of education which enables someone to become more competent in the professional practice of organizing systematic learning, and nurtures their commitment to do so (p. 69).

Why ‘practice’? Because practice is about a community of practitioners with a history and a tradition that shapes its ideals and results in specialized conceptions and articulations of excellence recognized as such by the community. This enables a separation of what is *ad hoc* in teaching from what is essential.

Why ‘systematic learning’? Because modern societies have specialized forms of knowing that demand continual openness to new possibilities and this requires specialized forms of learning beyond unstructured modes of learning continuously going on in an informal way across communities. Professional teachers are engaged in organizing systematic learning, not gathering or disseminating the enormous varieties of information currently available to us. Also, by using a formal definition like ‘organizing systematic learning’ Morrow does not limit teacher education to the contextual set of pre-service primary and secondary schooling. Adult basic education, educare, healthcare, tertiary education, industrial training are only some of the other types of professional teaching that fit under the definition, as do our much neglected designers of learning programmes for distance education. The concrete image should find its place within a higher concept that has moved beyond extensional context into intensional abstraction. And so he continues, making 22 points on why the abstract definition holds by taking each term, unpacking its meanings, and relating it to the other terms until a sustained mosaic is achieved. R S Peters would have been proud.

But in chapter 6, ‘What is teachers’ work’ we come across a more Socratic Wally, the kind of Socrates who saw through the pretensions of his peers and

wielded his intellect as a gadfly to critically sting them out of their bemusement. And a prick certainly is needed, given how inflated teacher workloads have become with the heavy breathing of educational transformation. What with the expectation that teachers design their own learning programmes from scratch to suit their own learners and then obsessively assess them as they continuously perform to the exacting outcomes demanded by resource rich, learner centred lessons, all done in collapsing school buildings within drug and gang infested territories riven by HIV/AIDS. The reform fell in love with impossibility, Morrow provides the disillusionment. If he had personally suffered under the whip of hothouse teaching, imagine the suffering of the current teaching cadre who took the reform demands seriously, especially as articulated by the Norms and Standards with its bloated seven roles of teaching. If a youthful Wally Morrow had met with this new vision of teaching as a young teacher we might have had no Wally at all. The basic move he makes when critiquing the Norms and Standards 'Madhouse' version of teaching roles is the same move he has made to telling effect for three decades and one we have already seen sketched out above with the hothouse model – he nails a fixation on material particulars by showing how they are transcended by an abstraction that takes what is essential and articulates it as pure essence beyond context. It is the same move he made in *Chains of Thought* with the distinction between 'schooling' and 'education', and the same move he now makes in 'What is teachers' work' with the distinction between material and formal elements of teaching. What makes this abstracting move so telling is how Morrow continuously uses it in the correct context, he performs the abstraction at the right moment, in the right register, on the right problem. And here lies his deeper similarity to Socrates, the snub nosed philosopher standing in the agora, engaging with those around him, asking how they would deal with a key problem and then getting them to move beyond answers fixated on the particular, getting them to hone in on the essence.

And this is the Wally Morrow we meet at Kenton conferences, the man who continuously puts silly questions in our faces like "what is the difference between the work a waitron does and that of a teacher", forcing us into the necessity of dealing with the essentials of education.

The third malady Morrow addresses is the uncritical embrace of multiculturalism and difference within our educational systems. It is not that Morrow is against the celebration of difference, rather that he feels it is based on a foundation of equal dignity that works with a deep underlying sameness.

The ethics of difference is parasitic on equal dignity, it needs a neutral meeting ground where procedures are in place, rights are embedded, equality has been lived. The danger is that over emphasis on difference could rupture an already ragged social fabric. What is currently needed, given a past that pathologically emphasized difference, is a period of social stitching. Morrow is awake to the powerful wager from the politics of difference that an emphasis on equality obscures power relations and results in the perpetuation of inequality, but this must not come at the cost of moral essentialism or relativism where contextual factors are twisted into epistemic claims. Beyond who one is lies the realm of reasoning and truth, and this must be pedagogically fought for even while being sensitive to cultural difference. Both apartheid education and resistance eviscerated education, politicized it in such a way that it lost its internal coherence and form, Morrow wishes to assert the internal form of education rather than lose it in a welter of difference.

If the book review is partly a celebration of Wally Morrow, so it should be. He embodies the Kenton spirit and the *Journal of Education* is the Kenton journal. If one looks at *Chains of Thought* one sees that seven of its chapters were papers given at Kenton conferences from the late 1970s onwards. ‘What is teachers’ work’ was presented at Kenton in 2006, and continues the Kenton tradition of located intellectual critique, only now the Morrow that speaks has the heavy experiences of Deanship and Ministerial Reviews behind him. With many these duties cause intellectual collapse, with Morrow they seem to have honed his thought into tighter, simpler formulations. Not many educational intellectuals in South Africa have brought out one good book, never-mind two. But it is in precisely this Kenton spirit that we have to turn on our fathers (as Freud so clearly saw in *Totem and Taboo*), struggle against them, ask what they have left us with to continue the struggle. And it is here that the comparison of Morrow to Socrates can help us see what he has not done and where we still have to go. The crucial educational work of ancient times was not one of the Socratic discourses where *elenchus* was forced, it was the *Republic*, a sustained positive account of what education should be. We might disagree with its vision and the principles that inform its construction, but it has given the educational world something substantial to either build upon or to resist. Socrates does not clearly provide an elaborate educational vision, he provides the archetype of what it is to live and die as a teacher who has critically seen into a world beyond concrete images. It is with Plato that levels of delicacy in elaboration of what education is, not critique of what it is not, come to the fore. And to some extent I am laying this accusation at the door of all our intellectual fathers and mothers in South African education – where is

the detailed, sustained, articulation of what education is in all its depth and complexity so that we have something to work with, something to build on, something to fight against?

Morrow does provide a definitional discussion of why he takes teacher education to be about entering into the professional practice of organizing systematic learning but I for one, was alarmed by the lack of sustained reference to the educational traditions and research dealing with this issue. There is, for example, no in-depth engagement with Shulman's conceptual and research work on teaching and teacher education. There is a carping concern that Shulman conflates teacher work and all its contingent hassles with the concept of teaching (Morrow's classic move), but if we look for substantial engagement or elaboration on Shulman in a way that systematically builds up a detailed account of what teaching is, then we struggle, apart from an endnote here and there. This would be acceptable if, in one essay, Morrow presented an overview or critique that obviously disabled detailed elaboration, but then in another, went on to provide the requisite detail, but this never seems to happen. It could be a matter of intellectual style, a kind of cognitive habitus, where Morrow works hard at getting to the essence of things without belabouring the point, a practice of philosophy that works at the coalface with the key conceptual tools needed, nothing else. But as one reads the corpus of Morrow's work, noticeable repetitions of intellectual moves, rather than an attempt to build up a delicate, intricate, educational model presents itself. It is almost as if Morrow continuously engages in an educational project with his peers, simplifying the issues for them into key formulations that are easy to understand and refusing to write beyond them, into a space where they would have to climb hard and breathe rarified air in order to understand, into a space where Morrow was himself struggling to see further.

But these criticisms are made partly with a wry smile. To expect Morrow to be both Socrates and Plato and walk the intellectual heights like Nietzsche is to be as in love with impossibility as our educational reformers were. The critical clarity of his work is of inestimable value to the educational community of South Africa. He might leave other people to scratch under what he has put his finger on, but when these 'other people' are intellectuals of the stature of Yael Shalem, Shirley Pendlebury, Heila Lotz-Sisitka and Stephanie Allais, then the work of elaboration is in good hands. In the field of academia only a select few are allowed to point in new directions with deceptive simplicity, Wally Morrow is one. But this intellectual insight has combined with what he has taught us as a person, an intellectual, a teacher. We hold out in anticipation for

what his next contribution will be. But we can, I think, articulate where we as an intellectual community have to move towards using teacher education as an example. Firstly we need to look at how other intellectual communities are tackling the problem and learn from them in a critically constructive manner. When, for example, one compares the work in South Africa on teacher education to the final report of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) on researching teacher education (Cochran-Smith and Zeichner 2005) one cannot help but feel a little dissatisfied, if not alarmed (see Darling-Hammond and Bransford 2005 for another example). There is no shortage of critique or conceptual work within the report, but its main concern was “(a) to create for the larger educational community a critical but evenhanded analysis of the empirical evidence related to practices and policies in pre-service teacher education in the United States and (b) to recommend research directions that are most promising for what the educational community needs to know in order to prepare strong teachers for the nation’s school children” (p.49). We need an educational research organization in South Africa that has South African educational research as its focus (oxymoronic as that is), one that is not driven by old apartheid divisions or institutional logics, one that works like, and has links with, AERA in America or AARE in Australia and EERA in Europe. Secondly, and here I am addressing those of us engaged in the project of thinking about what education is and should be, we need to work on our levels of delicacy in educational thinking. Key distinctions are not enough, we need to develop languages that track the field of education in all its complex variety and strata. To juxtapose schooling to education, material conditions to formal conditions, a politics of difference to a politics of equal dignity, cannot carry the day anymore. Our educational lexis is poorly developed and systematized, that is why someone like Spady could arrive and dominate educational reform, and why someone like Bernstein could arrive and dominate educational theorizing in South Africa. We still suffer from what Apartheid forced on us, the comfort in having a clear enemy to fight with simple tools. A far more subtle, difficult and positive intellectual future awaits us.

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Reflections

Reflection on Kenton 2007

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My first Kenton was in the late eighties when I was a B.Ed Honours student. It was a tumultuous emotional and intellectual experience. I felt socially and intellectually self-conscious, awkward, and out of my depth. I was too shy to talk to people and was not sure I really knew enough to say anything. I was also enthralled. I was amazed to see my lecturers and authors of prescribed papers in our courses having intensely passionate, frequently heated, arguments about theories, evidence, interpretation and policy. They argued as much about the concepts underpinning the research as they did about its implications. They weren't just sharing information, they were prising open and reflecting on the very grounds of knowledge production, and its implications for teaching, education research and societal transformation.

I was astonished to see people coming at issues and questions in such different ways depending on the disciplinary and theoretical frameworks being recruited and critiqued. There were moments when I was a bit shocked by the styles in which people asked questions – not always polite! But, even in its most 'aggro' form, somehow there was still serious acknowledgement of and engagement with the kernel issues in the position under discussion. It was my first experience of truly being *in* a thinking/knowledge community, rather than simply accessing it via texts produced within such communities, and it opened my intellectual and educational imagination. I went home with more questions than answers but with a new sense of what it means to think and teach. I had a clearer recognition of areas in need of research and sense of conceptual resources and methods to explore them. I was hooked!

Umpteen Kentons later, I'm still hooked. For me, the 2007 conference ranked as one of the best in contemporary times. In fact, those who know me would have seen that I was so excited I couldn't hold back my enthusiasm in sessions, nor stop talking in between them. Maybe I felt such intense excitement because I have now reached a point in my own intellectual, social and emotional development where I feel confident enough to sit down with people I don't know and start a conversation. Maybe it's because I'm more able to position myself without feeling self-conscious and apologetic. Perhaps it's because the more I spoke to people about their projects and life stories, the clearer it became that our research questions are never simply a response to

policy problems but are rooted in our own histories and life quests. Perhaps I was so excited because every session I went to and every conversation I got involved in, helped me to reflect more deeply on the inner logic of my teaching and on questions I'm wrestling with, and to see new ways forward.

Beyond this deeply personal set of reasons, I was also excited because there seemed to be a widespread 'buzz' of excellent and interesting research that should contribute significantly to local and global educational concerns. I was amazed at the number of papers presented and the diversity of the issues addressed. So much so, that for every session I attended there were at least two or three others I wanted to go to but had to miss. Very frustrating!

This is the first Kenton I have been to where every one of the sessions offered something interesting, and contributed to pressing applied and/or theoretical issues. Relative to the Kentons I have attended in recent years it seems like there is more widespread acknowledgement that conceptual work is key to how we cast problems, and to developing principled analyses and strong languages of description for our objects of analysis. There appears to be a growing realization that if we are to find solutions to the deep educational problems in this country, there are no quick fixes – we are going to have to travel a 'crooked path' between theory, empirical inquiry, analysis, reflection, evaluation and critique. I was also excited that there are emergent young researchers who appreciate and are walking this crooked path. They are bringing fresh voices to Kenton, and making fine contributions to teaching and research in this country.

It is somewhat unfair to single out papers at the conference because I can only refer to sessions I attended. Nevertheless, I want to point to a few which reflect the kind of qualities I am so excited about.

For me one of the highlights of the conference was a session I attended purely by chance, because I love jazz music. Papers by Nolwasi Ndamase, *Gender Issues in Jazz* and Zoliswa Twane, *Music Behind Bars* showed the power of deep theorising and fine empirical research. Ndamase's ethnography of Simpiwe Dana's life history and analysis of her music and lyrics, all contextualised in a history of South African jazz, powerfully illuminates the relation between social structures and relations, gendered experience, and creative agency. Twane's exceptionally powerful work investigated the phenomenal rise in the number of prisoners participating in the National Offenders Choir Competition through an exquisite combination of

ethnographic and action research. Significantly, though the project was an action research project, Twane framed the research within theoretical arguments – Foucault’s theory of the ‘panopticon’ on the one hand and Freire’s theory of conscientisation on the other. Her preliminary findings show in an exceptionally nuanced way how ostensibly constraining, regulative mechanisms are being appropriated and transformed by the prisoners with emancipatory consequences. I think it is fair to say that the power of Twane’s grounded, intensely scholarly work illuminated the room.

The paper by Dalvit, Mapi, Thinyane, Kaschula, and Terzoli, *Integrating ICT-based Indigenous Knowledge in the Teaching of isiXhosa to Rhodes University Pharmacy Students* offered an account of an imaginative research and teaching project which couples systematic research on traditional healing methods with cross cultural communication, teaching and ICT. The project is researching traditional healing practices, systematising the knowledge in these practices and working with this knowledge as the context for a course in isiXhosa for pharmacy students. This move is premised on the fact that locals who visit pharmacies are frequently also being treated by traditional healers, and that some traditional remedies and allopathic medicine could interact with life threatening consequences. Part of the project also involves connecting traditional healers in Dwesa to an ICT portal to which pharmacists are also connected. I think this project offers an extraordinary and exemplary model for those who argue for the inclusion and promotion of Indigenous Knowledge in university curricula. The project is also developing a team of fine ethnographers and rigorous academics.

To my mind, the paper by Shalem and Hoadley, *The Political Economy of Teachers’ (low) Morale*, is a ground breaking paper which does for our understanding of teachers’ work and accountability what the New Sociology did for our understanding of the ideology of meritocracy and the systematic disadvantaging of working class learners. The paper develops a sophisticated but accessible model, which shows that arguments about the low quality of teachers are extremely simplistic. More significantly, it argues that the very teachers most frequently accused of not knowing, doing or contributing enough have to invest far more labour, and in fact produce more value than those teachers who generally escape such critiques. I think many of the people who listened to this presentation would have experienced the kind of relief that comes from a sense that now one is getting closer to a more truthful, or deeper understanding of a persistent problem; perhaps teachers and teachers educators who were there felt relief that at last the real struggles of teaching in

this country were being described and explained in a manner that may enable policy makers reconsider subjecting teachers to even more accountability measures and to think about other ways of supporting them.

One of the most thought provoking, but also troubling, sessions I attended at Kenton was a symposium on a collection of essays by Wally Morrow, entitled *Learning to Teach in South Africa*. Morrow has been a leading presence at Kenton over the past two decades; customarily presenting papers on what it means to teach, the practice of teaching, and teaching for transformation in a society too often trapped in ‘doctrinaire thinking’ or ‘chains of thought on both sides – left and right. Over the years, he has developed strong critiques of the growing tendency towards relativism and a ‘politics of difference’ in arguments about, and justifications for, post-apartheid educational practices and discourses. It is precisely in response to these ‘chains of thought’ (through which we inadvertently perpetuate the legacy of our past) that the concepts of ‘frames of thought’ and the concept and practice of ‘critical thinking’ have been abiding concerns in his work. He has deeply impressed these two concerns into the Kenton ethos, in all of his Kenton papers and Kenton conversations.

Morrow is committed to the power of rational argument and a ‘politics of equal dignity’ and, more specifically, to the possibility of resolving disagreement through argument and evidence (without which there can be no claims to knowledge). He is clear that unless we learn to resolve disagreement through critical thinking, rational argument and a principle of ‘equal dignity’ we are unlikely to develop an enduring democracy in this country. Morrow of course recognises that these practices rest on epistemic access to education, arguing that this cannot occur without teachers who can organise systematic learning that can promote such access for all.

The papers in the symposium presented a range of responses to Morrow and focused predominantly on systematic learning, epistemic access and the practice of teaching. Lotz-Sisitka’s case study offered a powerful illustration and analysis of the deep problems of knowledge acquisition and development for learners in the Natural Sciences who, in line with widespread interpretations of the new curriculum, are expected to complete projects and independent investigations. However, without systematised instruction into the methods and conceptual resources of the discipline, these projects do not support epistemic access. Shalem’s paper prised open curricular conditions at the level of content, framing, and pedagogic mediation and judgments

necessary for promoting epistemic access to subject knowledge. Pendlebury excavated fine threads in a web of temporal relations and moments in the classroom, illuminating qualities of decisions about timing, sequencing and rhythms in pedagogic practices and the relations of trust necessarily entailed within systematised instruction and learning. Van Rensburg explored how students' competence and consciousness are radically transformed when they are taken through a systematic programme that takes them out of the classroom into the wider community. Finally, Allais explored some of the key underlying structures of the NQF, which have undermined the promotion and development of deep knowledge. Taken together these papers deepened understanding of the conditions necessary for systematic instruction that promotes deep knowledge and epistemic access. Several of the papers offered powerful critiques of our current curriculum policies and pointed to ways of addressing some of the most pressing problems of epistemic access inherent in the policies. The symposium vividly exemplified a key aspect of the Kenton ethos, namely that the ways in which one frames a problem, and the conceptual resources one brings to it, are central to research and the development of knowledge. Conceptual analysis matters, both in itself and as the basis of empirical work.

I want to briefly summarise Morrow's opening presentation in the symposium in order to contextualise some of the discussion in the sessions. His argument was situated in all of his concerns outlined above. He began with the claim that, if we are to transform this society then we have to transcend a 'politics of difference' and relativist arguments. We must share an intention to talk across disagreement and practice a 'politics of equal dignity' and respect. However, he went on to argue that if we are to do this, then we must proceed from a principle of 'charity'. As I heard him explain it, the principle of charity is that we cannot assume that people we disagree with are evil or stupid. We must start with the assumption that no matter how much we disagree with, or oppose people's actions there are reasons that underpin their actions, which make sense to them. In other words, we must try to understand their 'frames of thought' as a first step to addressing and engaging with differences. Importantly, this does not imply that we may not judge their reasons wrong or flawed – we must be able to do so. This is because critique of knowledge claims, premises, reasoning, evidence, and conclusions are the very grounds of critical thinking, rational argument and debate.

Rightly or wrongly, Morrow proceeded to illustrate his point about charity by suggesting that to dismiss the architects and upholders of apartheid as evil or

stupid would be to fail to develop and practice the very forms of thinking and discourse necessary for an enduring democracy. I shall say more on this below. He then proceeded to develop a deeper analysis of generative ‘frames of thought’, proposing that schooling and research should promote systematic inquiry and systematised knowledge. It is such knowledge that may enable us to transcend beliefs or doxa that lock us into perspectival views of phenomena or events and block transformation. He referred to Piaget’s work to explore some key aspects of critical thinking and inquiry. While Piaget was employed as a young man in Binet’s psychological laboratory – checking children’s IQ tests – Piaget came to the unorthodox view that the children doing the tests and getting ‘wrong’ answers were not ‘stupid’ (deficient adults) but were working in terms of different ‘frameworks of thinking’. Adopting this ‘charitable’ starting point he revolutionised conventional views about child development, problematising taken for granted assumptions and beliefs about knowledge and development. He noticed that there was a more general logic underpinning the contents of thought and how the structure of thinking frames how we experience the world. In other words Piaget questioned, explored and brought premises and evidence into a relation, to point to generative mechanisms of learning and development. Morrow proposed that in explaining the world and each other and attempting to transform our society into a more just society, we as educators and researchers need to develop and promote ‘frames of thought’ which promote deeper understanding and transformation and we cannot do it by talking past each other.

Ironically, the discussion that followed, exemplified some of the very problems that Morrow seeks to address. Based on the anger expressed by some Kentonites, and questions and comments which followed the session both publicly and in more intimate discussions, it seems that many people stopped hearing Morrow very early in the argument, i.e. at the point where he mentioned that we cannot assume that the architects and upholders of apartheid were ignorant and stupid. There is no doubt that if the point is taken out of the context of the broader argument in which it was made, it could be misinterpreted. For those who suffered so much under the apartheid regime it could be taken as a very insensitive and hurtful remark. Yet, the point was never to legitimate the doctrinaire thinking of those who promoted apartheid but to propose ways in which we can transcend their devastating epistemic legacy. The point is that we must transcend the kinds of frames that legitimated discrimination and violence based on a ‘politics of difference’ and a dualistic division of the world into ‘us – good’ and ‘them – bad’.

Perhaps, Morrow needs to develop his oeuvre further with a deeper exploration of the relation between argument, emotion, narrative and a politics of human dignity. Perhaps he also needs to do more work on the ‘pragmatics of communication’ and his style of presentation and inquiry. If we believe this, then we must engage with him in a manner which takes seriously what he is saying and how, and point to ways he could go beyond where he is now. At the same time, if we are committed to education for social justice we cannot afford to dismiss the point of his overall project or his argument in this symposium. As teacher educators, we must organise learning which promotes teachers who can promote frames of thought that will allow us, our students and their students to transcend the legacy of the past. As researchers, we must promote frames of thought which respect the integrity of our subjects, or objects of analysis, and that promote knowledge development and a ‘politics of dignity’.

I was deeply concerned that although we are academics and socialise others into academia, we don’t always seem to respect people enough to do internal readings of their work (i.e. looking at their quests and questions, and the inner logic of their work) before we start doing external readings (from our quests, projects and other research or evidence we have read, or from what we wanted to read). Perhaps, its not about respect, but another very uncomfortable social and intellectual legacy of our past. This Kenton I consciously sought out those I disagreed with and tried to explore their reasons, and their thoughts. We did not always resolve our disagreements, but I left our conversations understanding them and myself a bit more.

I am probably more of an educator than an academic. Usually, when I attend sessions I try to see what people are saying, to show them where there is something wonderful in their research that they are not yet seeing (a Zone of Proximal Development for their work), to show where the work could be strengthened, and to share what their work illuminates for me. Towards the end of this Kenton I had a kind of epiphany. It struck me that so many of the comments I made in sessions were comments I actually needed to make to myself, but could not see until I pointed them out in other people’s work (a kind of ZPD for my work). The example that I remember most clearly was something I said to Kiren Gokar after he presented his paper *Issues of Race and Language in Racially Diverse Schools*. I pointed out that in his analysis of the comments made by the teachers he interviewed, he seemed to be stuck in the concepts and categories he started with, and therefore was not seeing significant aspects of what the teachers were actually saying. I noted that

while the teachers blamed and even ‘otherised’ the students, their comments about students were usually situated in comments on how the presence of these students were affecting their pacing, sequencing, coverage etc. I proposed that this was highly significant – the teachers were actually pointing to the fact that all of their own habitual practices and taken for granted assumptions about the curriculum and teaching were being challenged at their very foundations. As I pointed this out to Kiren, I suddenly understood that, in all of my despair about working with students who did not seem to be ready for the level at which they were studying, I had failed to think about how the situation was challenging all of my taken-for-granted about teaching. I saw that instead of rethinking my baseline assumptions, I had been displacing the problem onto my students. This may seem obvious, but this is a key property of doxic knowledge – we do not always know why we do what we do or recognize the frames of thought that underlie our own positions and actions. In my case, it was my teaching, but I think others would have come up against their assumptions about intellectual work, research, policy, management and evaluation.

In the end, Kenton is more than is a forum for sharing research. It is about ‘troubling’ doxa, shaping research, promoting deep knowledge, developing an imagination for the possible, and forming new communities of inquiry and friendships. In doing this, it contributes to an understanding of, and potential solutions to, troubling problems and questions in a deep way and offers policy makers an imagination for possible solutions. Kenton is rooted in the knowledge that academic research is, and must be, governed by a different logic and different sets of imperatives to policy development. The excitement of Kenton is that it takes knowledge production and research about teaching seriously.

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Reflection on Kenton 2007

Busisiwe Alant

In my reflection, I will focus on 3 things:

- the crisis in education;
- the role that the Kenton Education Association can play in nurturing young talent;
- the centre versus the margin in building a discourse of talking across differences.

All the papers presented in these last three days have alluded to the major crises in South African education – whether it be at primary or secondary level; whether it be in the field of language education or that of science, mathematics and technology; whether in school governance or music education. The book by Braam Fleisch, *Primary Education in Crisis*, speaks volumes about the crisis; also Wally Morrow's *Learning to Teach in South Africa*. Both these books were launched at the conference.

Now that we know what we are up against, the questions remain:

What is our role as individuals, as civil society, as educational activists in improving the situation?

Maybe we need to reiterate the question posed by Professor Vithal, who, in opening the conference, asked whether we haven't become irrelevant. How come our research hasn't made a difference in improving the situation? Is this symptomatic of a country steeped in the tradition of studying problems rather than exploring solutions? This tendency results in policy makers not having adequate information about what works and what doesn't. Our research, through joint actions, can contribute towards the aim of *addressing* the crisis.

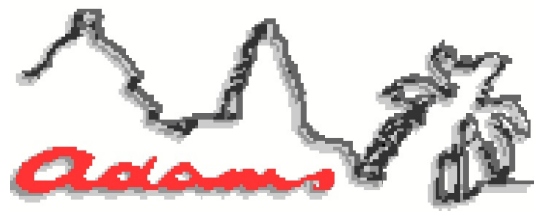
The second point, which relates to the role of the Kenton Education Association in nurturing talent in research, comes from my own observations in the work that I do in identifying young talent in Science and Technology. In the last three days we saw a lot of talent being displayed by our young researchers working in different disciplinary areas. A wonderful example was presented by the innovative work of two dynamic researchers in Music

Education, both from the Walter Sisulu University. Ms Nolwasi Ndamase presented her work on gender issues in jazz, entitled ‘An investigation into the perceptions and attitudes of female jazz musicians’. Ms Zoliswa Twane delivered an equally thought-provoking piece on music ‘behind bars’, entitled ‘Reflections on theoretical and methodological trajectories from Umtata Prison’. What was striking about Ms Ndamase’s work was the unassuming way in which the protagonist’s music (Simpfiwe Dana) is explored through the lens of the aural and the written, showing how traditional oral forms are adapted to address the very contemporary issue of patriarchy in jazz/society. (In similar ways, during the years of struggle against apartheid, traditional oral forms were frequently used in songs of protest). In the case of Ms Twane’s work we saw the sophistication of an analysis which uses Foucault’s idea of the panopticon to make sense of the experiences of prisoners who continue to engage in music behind the bars of uMtata prison. Through their music, the prisoners are able to rise above the limitations of their prisoner status – they ‘invert’ the imprisoning gaze to which they are subjected.

The last point relates to the issue of insiders versus outsiders *within research*. I suppose the notion of insiders and outsiders is inevitable. We will always have those who are on the margins vis-à-vis those who occupy the centre stage. What is depressing though is that we build such strong borders that we fail to talk across our differences. I would like to relate an incident that happened during a panel discussion which focussed on evidence based research. The exposition of one of the six panellists, who had shared his story about the difficulties of doing queer research, was met with such coldness – no response. Instead of addressing the issues of exclusion he had raised, the audience, in the discussion that ensued, chose to focus its attention on the qualities of ‘good research’ – an altogether ‘neutral’ area of concern. In this way, the researcher’s peers, who could have been expected to provide a measure of understanding for the predicament illustrated – how is the gay researcher perceived within the confines of the school? – clearly refrained from such engagement. On this occasion our discourse – our empathy – as educational researchers had failed us.

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Notes for Contributors

Journal of Education will appear at least twice per year.

Submissions

Unsolicited papers are welcome for consideration and should be addressed to the Editor of the *Journal of Education*. Submitting authors should note that a per page fee of R75 will be levied on published submissions. Institutional Research Offices of higher education institutions usually pay this type of fee. Authors whose affiliated organisation may not have instituted this practice are asked to contact the Editor, as the levy is a means of sustaining the journal, and is not intended as a deterrent to aspiring authors!

Articles and review essays are reviewed by anonymous external referees. Appropriate papers will be refereed for significance and soundness. Papers are accepted on the understanding that they have not been published or accepted for publication elsewhere.

Articles and essay reviews (maximum 6 000 words); debate, discussion and research notes (2 500 words); book reviews (2 000 words); and book notes (200 words) will be considered.

Contributors should submit three clear, page numbered copies of the manuscript, and bearing the title of the paper. Manuscripts will not be returned. The name(s) and full address(es) of the author should appear on a separate sheet. Each paper should be accompanied by a 100 – 150 word abstract. Hard copies should either be accompanied by a 3½ inch diskette bearing the article, or followed by the file sent as an email attachment to the Editor at JoE@ukzn.ac.za. Articles sent by e-mail only are not accepted except in cases where this might be the only reasonable means of communication.

The electronic version of the article should not be formatted, and should preferably not use a variety of fonts and font sizes or use paragraph styles. Where necessary, however authors may wish to indicate levels of subheadings (i.e. first level, second level). Footnotes should be kept to a minimum, and authors are asked to keep tables and diagrams to the most feasible level of size and simplicity. Tables and diagrams should also be sent in separate files.

Each author will receive a copy of the journal in which the paper appears.

Copyright resides with the publishers of the journal.

Readers are free to make a limited number of copies of articles for non-profit research and educational purposes. In cases where multiple copies are required for teaching purposes, we trust that South African institutions affiliated to the Dramatic, Artistic and Literary Rights Organisation (Pty) Limited (DALRO) will follow normal procedures with respect to the reproduction of publications. Educators or publishers outside South Africa wishing to reproduce articles in publications or compilations of readings should contact the Editor.

Referencing style

Journal of Education style of referencing is a requirement. References in the text should appear as follows:

No country in the world can afford the schooling its people want (Reimer, 1971) and it has been argued that “of all ‘false utilities’, school is the most insidious” (Illich, 1971, p.60).

The references should be listed in full at the end of the paper in an acceptable standard format, preferably the following:

Books

Surname(s), Initial(s). Year of publication. *Title: additional title information*. Edition (if other than the first). Place of publication: Publisher.

Chapters in edited or compiled books

Surname(s), Initial(s). Year of publication. Title of chapter or article. In Surname(s), Initial(s) of editor(s) or compiler(s). (Eds). or (Comps). *Title of book*. Edition (if other than first). Place of publication: Publisher. Inclusive page numbers of the chapter.

Journal articles

Surname(s), Initial(s). Year of publication. Title of article. *Name of journal* volume number (part number (if there is not continuous pagination)): inclusive page numbers.

Articles and reports in magazines and newspapers

Surname(s), Initial(s). Year of publication. Title of article. *Name of magazine or newspaper* day and month: inclusive (and additional) page numbers.

Book reviews

Surname of reviewer, Initial(s). Year of publication. Title of review (if there is one). [Review of] *Title of book reviewed* by Name of author in its most familiar form. *Name of periodical* volume number (part number) or date (if applicable): inclusive page numbers.

Theses and dissertations

Surname, Initial(s). Year. Title: additional title information. Description of work. Location of university: name of university.

Seminar papers

Surname, Initial(s). Year. Title: additional title information.
Unpublished seminar paper. Location of university: name of university, name of department, programme or unit.

Conference papers (unpublished)

Surname(s), Initial(s). Year. Title: additional title information.
Description of occasion (including the nature and subject of the conference or meeting, name of the society or group, the place at which it was held and the date(s) on which it was held).

Duplicated materials

Surname(s), Initial(s). Year. Title: additional title information.
Description of material. Location of issuing body: name of issuing body.

Interviews

Surname of person interviewed, Initial(s). Year. Interviewed by initial(s) and surname of interviewer. Place where interview occurred, further details of date (day and month). Details of location of transcript, if available.

Personal communications

Surname of person with whom communicated, Initial(s). Year.
Description of communication, further details of date (day, month).

Microforms, audio-visual material, CD-ROMs etc.

As for works above but with the addition of the format in square brackets at the end of the reference, e.g. [Microfilm] or [Videotape] or [CD-ROM], etc.

Online sources of information (published or unpublished)

Surname(s), Initial(s). Year of publication. *Title*. Version (if any). Place of publication: Publisher.
<Address of web page between> Day, month (and year if different to publication year) of visit to site.

Frequently asked questions

Is the Journal of Education SAPSE accredited?

Yes

How many issues per year?

In terms of a recent policy decision, we aim to produce at least two ‘normal’ editions of the journal each year in addition to at least two special issues (one of which will be the Kenton Special Edition).

Most journals now have a per page fee which contributors are required to meet should their articles be accepted. Does the Journal of Education levy such charges?

Yes. This step was necessary to cover the costs of the increased number of issues each year. A levy of R75 per page will be applied to successful articles submitted to our office. The central research offices in most institutions of higher education routinely arrange for such payments to be made. We encourage individual authors who do not have such cover to contact us.

Are articles peer reviewed?

Yes. Our goal is for articles to be refereed by three experts in the field.

What is the waiting period after submission?

Referees provide their crucially important service for no reward, and are sometimes unable to oblige on time but we endeavour to respond within three months.

Can I send my submission by e-mail?

Only if you live in a place where submission of three hard copies is inordinately difficult or expensive, please. The norm is three hard copies sent to our office. The electronic version of the article may be sent as an email attachment, or on a disk included with the hard copies.

To what extent should an article being submitted be presented in ‘the style’ of the journal?

Citation and referencing should be in the style of the journal (see the previous section ‘Notes for Contributors’). Authors are not expected to reproduce the particular fonts and font sizes used in the journal, but the levels of headings and subheading should be clear on the hard copies submitted. With regard to the electronic version of the article, we prefer as little formatting as possible.

Does the journal have a policy to encourage and support budding novice researchers?

Unfortunately not – this is simply beyond our capacity. While we welcome extended comment that referees may be able to offer, we cannot impose on their good services beyond the expectation of an overall judgement on the article, together with brief justification of that judgement.

What is the rate of acceptance/ rejection?

The following statistics for 2002 and 2003 provide an indication of the pattern of acceptance/ non acceptance:

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

Even an increase in the number of issues each year will not keep pace with the ever-increasing number of submissions. We can do little to mitigate the competition engendered by state funding policy and the kinds of incentive schemes that have become a feature of the higher education landscape.

Is there an appeal mechanism should my article not be accepted?

Beyond summarizing reasons for rejection – where applicable - we regret that we are unable to enter into detailed discussion on decisions reached by the Editorial Committee on the basis of referee reports.

The journal describes itself as providing “a forum for scholarly understanding of the field of education”. What does this really mean?

We understand this as implying that articles should represent a rigorous enquiry (conducted through argumentation or empirically) into the understanding of educational issues. Such inquiry originates in a problem rather than a solution, and it is rare for such enquiry to have no reference to, or engagement with, a broader literature and theory. Advocacy in the form of prescriptions or ‘how to do it’ recipe knowledge for practitioners seldom finds favour with referees. The question of audience is key. The assumed audience is the collective body of researchers rather than those more narrowly concerned with the effective implementation of specific policies.

Recent non-acceptances include a high proportion of undeveloped research reports, summaries of dissertations, and even sound but small-scale case studies that are purely context specific and unconnected with broader issues, literature or theory. Similarly, even a successful conference paper is usually in need of further development before it merits publication.