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PERSPECTIVES IN EDUCATION

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Introduction

NAZIR CARRIM

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Here it is at last! We have been receiving many enquiries from very concerned contributors to and subscribers and supporters of *Perspectives in Education* about the current status of the journal. Unlike other editorials, this editorial ought to provide some explanation for the delay in coming out with this issue and proposals concerning the future of *Perspectives in Education.*

Between 1995 and 1997, *Perspectives in Education* underwent a series of developments that plunged the journal into a crisis. These developments included changes in the composition of the editorial board, resignation of some members of the editorial board, the resignation of the administrator and layout artist of *Perspectives in Education* and the sudden realisation that *Perspectives in Education* was in serious debt without any future funding in sight. The Dean's office, the Education Department, the Education Policy Unit and the Research Committee of the Faculty of Education, and the Research Office all of the University of the Witwatersrand have been incredibly supportive and managed to bail us out of the red. It is by virtue of the monies received mainly from these quarters that the production and publication of this issue of *Perspectives in Education* has been possible. However, being taken out of the debt does not equal being able to sustain future editions of the journal. Funding future editions of *Perspectives in Education* still remains a problem.

The editorial board of *Perspectives in Education* has also been involved in protracted discussions and negotiations with a number of individuals, institutions and organisations from whom proposals for the future of *Perspectives in Education* were received. At an editorial board meeting held on 15 May 1998 is was decided that *Perspectives in Education* will be housed at the University of Durban-Westville, for an interim period of two years, with Prof Jonathan Jansen as Editor-in-Chief. Contributions to *Perspectives in Education* should be sent to:

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About this issue. This issue of *Perspectives in Education* is interesting in a number of ways. It has a useful spread of articles in different areas of educational debates. It is quite interdisciplinary. There are articles within history (Fleish), psychology (Van Niekerk et al) and curriculum (Jansen). At the same time the articles cover different educational sites. Smythe and Castle explore issues in adult basic education and literacy. Makgalabone looks at teacher education. Zindi addresses questions of sexual harassment in tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe. Jansen and Fleish, in different ways, help us to understand the workings of the state in formulating educational policies and curriculum development processes.

Another outstanding feature of the articles in this issue is the emphasis on empirical research and the need to engage with stipulating some alternatives rather than remain within a critique mode. Jansen, Smythe and Makgalabone point to the uses of interviews and documentary analysis. Van Niekerk et al argue for the value of an action research approach to develop capacity in materials development and publications. Fleish emphasises the need to validate conceptual claims empirically by a careful, in depth reading of primary, archival documents. Zindi points to the importance of surveys which use questionnaires to verify quantitatively the extent of the existence of a particular practice, in this instance that of sexual harassment. Castle in her review essay also highlights methodological issues in researching adult basic education and literacy practices. As such, the articles in this issue point significantly to the importance and increasing amount of empirical work in researching educational issues in South and Southern Africa.

At the same time, all the articles are concerned with thinking through what may be done to address/redress the problems that have been identified. None of the articles stops at a critique of what exists. Rather this is their starting point and they move on to explore viable and theoretically justified possible alternatives. Jansen is concerned with impacting upon processes and practices of policy formulation for curriculum development. Zindi recommends what may be put into place to address sexual harrasment in tertiary institutions in Zimbabwe. Smythe and Castle are interested in finding the most useful models for intergenerational and adult basic education and literacy. Fleish attempts to equip us with a

more detailed understanding of state educational policy making processes and ways in which we can draw from this in order to impact on current policy making processes. Makgalabone recommends models for future teacher education programmes. And, Van Niekerk et al look at practical ways in which an alternative psychology may be developed, concretely. In this sense, the articles in this issue clearly reflect an engagement with questions of change. They thereby allow theory and practice to be brought together in rather interesting and challenging ways, and point to the authors's locations within contexts that are undergoing various levels of transition. The role of theory in informing societal change is made patently clear in these articles.

We hope that you enjoy reading this issue of *Perspectives in Education* and will continue to support it. We apologise again for the delay in coming out with this issue and the inconvenience we may have caused to so many. Nonetheless, we are convinced that *Perspectives in Education* is a valuable asset that ought to be maintained. It enjoys the status of being a recognised, accredited journal. It is an important critical space of educational intellectual thought in South Africa, and it has a lot of support as evidenced by the amount of queries and expressions of concern we have received from many people, both locally and internationally. We remain hopeful that the future of *Perspectives in Education* will be one that will further the qualitative development of what is a really valuable journal in the educational academic landscape of South Africa. The need for critical, intellectual voices to be heard is now more important than it has been before, and the space that *Perspectives in Education* provides for such voices needs to be supported and protected. We trust you will.

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'Essential Alterations'? A Critical Analysis of the State's Syllabus Revision Process[1]

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In August 1994 the Minister of Education, Sibusiso Bengu, released a series of newspaper advertisements calling for "public comment ... on essential alterations to school syllabuses".[2] On the face of it, this syllabus reform initiative appeared necessary, timely and transparent. In this paper I will argue, however, that the syllabus alterations reflected, and deepened, a crisis within the state which had little to do with changing the school curriculum and much more to do with the politics of transition since the April 1994 elections. After a brief orientation to the study, I begin with an analysis of the political context in which the syllabus revision project emerged; I then sketch the political process through which the syllabus revision unfolded; and I conclude with an assessment of the political consequences of this national initiative.

APPROACH TO THE STUDY

This paper is part of a three-country research project in which I study the politics of transition as witnessed through the lens of the school curriculum.[3]

The theoretical literature on the subject claims that the school curriculum holds important symbolic value in transition societies.[4] In this framework, curriculum reform is not primarily concerned with what it claims--learning objectives, content to be covered, teaching strategies, assessment procedures and so forth--but with addressing political constraints, conflicts and compromises in and around the state.[5] As a consequence,

> the emphasis of many curriculum reforms on the symbolism of change and innovation ... reflects the concerns of decision-makers over the legitimacy of the decision process, and is designed to contribute, in a compensatory fashion, to the restoration of that legitimacy.[6]

In this paper the national syllabus revision process is explained as an act of "compensatory legitimation"[7] by a state which was increasingly vulnerable in its most volatile sector viz., education, during the immediate post-election period.

This study is not, however, concerned with the details of the reforms as reflected in the new interim syllabuses for school subjects.[8] Rather, the paper assesses the political processes which initiated, governed and constrained the syllabus revision project.

The analysis is constructed on the basis of [a] *extensive interviews* with national co-ordinators of the process, some of the participants in the different "field and phase committees", and officials in education departments; and a careful [b] *review of key documents* including the series of materials produced by the National Education and Training Forum (minutes of meetings, progress reports; internal reviews; founding documents; stakeholder circulars; submissions to the Minister), the school syllabuses themselves, assessments by different stakeholders (e.g., SADTU branch reports), newspaper reports and selections from the more than 800 public submissions.

ORIGINS OF THE INITIATIVE

The National Education and Training Forum (NETF) was formed in late 1992 following considerable pressure to address the education crisis in a broad stakeholder forum which included the apartheid government and the extra-parliamentary organisations. The late-formation of the NETF - given already established forums in drought, housing, economics and health - as well as its shaky legal and political status, threatened its ability to intervene effectively in the deteriorating school system.

However, an active sub-committee of the NETF, the Curriculum Technical Sub-Committee (CTSC, then chaired by Mary Metcalfe, now MEC/Education for Gauteng) deliberated on the establishment of a long-term "curriculum framework". Since such a framework would take at least 2-3 years to establish, the CTSC decided to consider short-term syllabus revisions as one means for intervening in the education crisis.

At this point the NETF approached the Ministry of Education requesting political, logistical and financial support for a national venture which would involve a review of more than 100 school syllabuses. After long delays, into the post-election period, the new Minister of Education assumed political responsibility for the national syllabus reform process.

A three-member national co-ordinating committee was formed to establish eleven field committees (e.g., mathematics, natural sciences, life orientation etc) and three phase committees (junior primary, senior primary and secondary) with more than 30 subject committees. The brief, a focus of much contestation within the committees, was both short and vague.

The committees were to address:

1. "the factual incorrectness of subject matter" resulting from socio-political changes and new developments in a field of study;
2. "content which does not reflect sensitivity to the perspectives of different groups in South Africa"; and
3. "the possible consolidation of syllabuses" given that different departments inherited different syllabuses for the same school subjects.

Paraphrased, the committees interpreted this brief to mean the removal of outdated, inaccurate and insensitive content from school syllabuses; and to consolidate fragmented syllabuses. While the original stimulus for this revision was the history syllabus, this brief was now to be applied to all school subjects.

THE POLITICAL CONTEXT OF THE INITIATIVE

All parties to the process (government officials, NETF co-ordinators, committee participants) agreed that on simple technical grounds there were compelling reasons why this syllabus revision should not have happened. First, the limited time frame: the new syllabus would have to be produced in the September-December period, ready for distribution to schools in the new academic year (January 1995). Second, curriculum development is a long-term process which involves more than a simple re-arrangement of content but includes textbook revision, inservice training, assessment reform and a broad political process to generate support for, and understanding of, the proposed curriculum changes among teachers and parents.

In addition, there was an important political reason why one could have expected the process to be blocked. The leadership of the NETF in this process meant a shift in the locus of control for school curriculum initiatives from the ex-DNE authorities – a move which *any* state resists given "the conflicting imperatives of control and legitimacy".[9] Yet, despite these constraints, the Minister insisted on "the most essential changes to syllabuses as quickly as possible [which] should not make it necessary to introduce new textbooks".[10] The question is clear: why would a Minister of the majority party in a Government of National Unity stake his reputation on, and lend support to, a bland and minimalist reform of the apartheid curriculum?

I propose that the explanation for this reformist initiative lies in the emergence of two conflicting pressures on the state in the post-election period – pressures exacerbated by poor, compromised and divided leadership in the nascent Ministry of Education during 1994.

First, a series of consistent, negative media publicity placed considerable pressure on the Ministry of Education. The *Mail & Guardian* published a deeply critical report on the "Ministry of Paralysis"– an unfortunate play on words given the recent stroke suffered by

Minister Bengu. Problems cited include the weak political credentials of the Minister, a relatively unknown national figure in the African National Congress; the entrenched power of the old education bureaucrats; the political indecisiveness of the Minister – an assessment fortified by the decisive political leadership by Steve Tshwete in his Acting role as Minister during Bengu's illness; the education policy credentials of the Minister whom, by his own admission, was not involved in the dynamic policy debates within the democratic movement since 1990; and the slow pace of securing full-time permanent appointments from outside the bureaucracy, including the Director Generalship.[11] An even more critical review emerged in the influential *Financial Mail*[12] which, on its front cover, portrayed Minister Bengu as the Pied Piper of Hamlin leading children to their doom. A third an unsettling assessment came from media comparisons which asked quite simply: "Why could Housing (Slovo), Health (Zuma) or even the lowly Water Affairs (Asmal) Ministries act to sideline old bureaucrats and generate groundbreaking social policies in similar environments to those inherited by Bengu?[13] In its review of "The First 100 Days," the *Financial Mail* issued a blunt assessment and warning:

> it is sad and even dangerous that two of the most important portfolios [education and health] are in uninspired hands. At education, Sibusiso Bengu has even been criticised openly by the ANC-aligned National Education Crisis Committee for his lack of progress ... if his stroke has incapacitated him, he should resign.[14]

Clearly, the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) assessment was the most damaging; under increasing pressure from its own constituency, the Committee called a hastily prepared news conference questioning the Ministry of Education on its lack of visible changes in the education system. And the NETF itself in a "Circular to Stakeholders" records its executive notice to senior Department of Education officials on "concerns relating to the perceived lack of change in education".[15]

Media pressure mounted and in August 1994 Minister Bengu conceded to a Kwa-Zulu Natal meeting of supporters that:

> We (sic) have been getting a lot of criticism both in the media and from within our own organisation about the apparent lack of progress in bringing about fundamental change in education.[16]

In the same speech the Minister announced the formation of "A Sub-Committee on Curriculum" as concrete evidence of action. Since that point the media was fed a steady stream of briefings on the curriculum activities.[17] The Minister also made space in the Draft White Paper on Education and Training to signal his support for "the process of curriculum change which has been developed, with the co-operation of the Department of Education, by the NETF Committee".[18] It was clear that the syllabus revision process was the single most visible national intervention by the Ministry in the education sector in the

months following the election.[19]

A second and conflicting set of pressures was the clearly intractable package of problems inherited by the Ministry and its bureaucratic arm, the Department of Education. First, the elaborate, clumsy and dispersed nature of the education bureaucracy with its nineteen education departments was unique in the public sector. Second, the formal arrangements laid down in the constitution protected civil servant positions from the apartheid government. Third, the informal arrangements generated by the politics of reconciliation, and championed by the President, further mediated decision-making in education. Fourth, the Public Services Commission, a conservative bureaucratic apparatus, consciously slowed down the nature and pace of new appointments. Fifth, the relative autonomy of provinces would limit the intervention and authority of the national Ministry. Sixth, the powerful lobby of the white education/Model C constituency would directly and through political parties press for the status quo as it affected all education matters, including curriculum. Seventh, and most important, the political readiness of the Minister to interpret these constraints as real – rather than subject to strategic intervention-supported the emergence of a minimalist reform position on all education matters, including the school curriculum.

THE PROCESS: WHAT HAPPENED?

Within this context, an intensive process of syllabus revision started throughout the country in late August 1994. Early meetings of the committees were characterised by intense struggles for voice, representation and meaning around the ministerial brief. Two examples should suffice.

One such struggle involved the 'secretariat' for the process – a position offered to the committees by the DNE which, through its officials, soon assumed a guiding voice in the different committees. This generated resentment among some participants who saw these committees as broad stakeholder forums rather than simple government structures. The complaint raised by a SADTU representative on one of the committees was not isolated; it also provides insights into struggles for political authority and voice in these committees:

> Initially there were problems with the secretary ... in that he constantly made input, thus giving the DNE an additional voice. Fortunately, this matter was attended to at an early stage and the Chairman ... ensured that the Secretary did not exercise an undue influence on the proceedings. [20]

Another set of struggles revolved around the interpretation of the brief. In the Science Committee, for example, a large proportion of meeting time was absorbed in discussions as to whether "The Creator Clause" in these syllabuses should be removed. All science syllabuses declare the following objective:

> that the child become aware of the majesty of creation through his acquaintance with the wonder and order of Creation ... and in this way develop a sense of awe and reverence for the Creator.

Some members argued that this clause would interfere with the teaching of evolution and was part of the conservative Christian National Education philosophy. According to the Field Committee report to the Department, "All agreed that the removal of the clause was merely symbolic as it did not in fact impinge on what went on in science classrooms".[21] Yet, despite the symbolic value of the proposed change, this clause became the focal point of deliberations in some science committees because of its broader relationship to conservative politics. No consensus was reached on this matter.

This was not, however, a process which unfolded in isolation of a series of interlocking mechanisms which ensured state control of the syllabus process. First, the senior bureaucrats from the ex-DNE retained final political editorship of the process, one which would ensure a narrow, technical and limited interpretation of the brief. At various stages substantial syllabus documentation was reduced to comply with a "barebones" interpretation of the brief; in History, a legal investigation is underway to determine how decisions made jointly about syllabus revisions was scuttled by conservative individuals editing out the agreements.[22] Second, the matriculation subject syllabuses had to be approved by the Committee of University Principals, another mediating influence in the bureaucratic process. And third, the provincial government departments--still largely controlled by apartheid's bureaucrats--would serve as yet another political filter in the process of "provincialisation" of school syllabuses.

A clear recognition of such editing was raised and conceded in NETF meetings. One delegate warned about "a minimalisation or 'watering down' of the [committees] recommendations" to which one of the three co-ordinators responded that changes "could in any event only be presented to provinces as recommendations, and how such was taken forward was a provincial prerogative".[23]

In the end, the subject syllabuses reviewed by the NETF committees reflected three main outcomes:

1. *non-change* i.e., some syllabuses remained completely unchanged e.g., African languages, "because the existing syllabuses are so flawed that tampering would be futile".[24]
2. *editorial adjustments* i.e., some syllabuses simply added an introductory overview e.g., English, for which a "communicative approach" was encouraged; or Accounting which involved terminological adjustments such as "changing from GST to VAT".

3. *topical reshuffling* i.e., some syllabuses added new topics and scaled down others e.g., History, which de-emphasised European History and expanded "African Nationalism".

More seriously, several of the changed syllabuses simply reflected the existing House of Assembly syllabuses, thereby reinforcing and legitimizing the white education model of curriculum. In other cases,

> ... the new syllabuses represents a fusion of the core curricula of the old ethnic departments, which in itself is possibly the worst basis from which to introduce any progressive syllabus...Thus the point of departure (i.e., the brief) already determined the outcome and defeated the purpose of presenting improved syllabuses.[25]

THE PROCESS: WHAT CONSEQUENCES?

Several participants in the process, at all levels, enumerated the same perceived benefits from the syllabus revision activity. First, it is claimed that the process "created expertise" among those traditionally excluded from curriculum development. Second, the process legitimized state-led curriculum initiatives given the broad base of participation in the committees. Third, the process enabled a working relationship between government and historical opponents on matters of common concern.

While generally accurate, some of these claims are exaggerated: few students actually participated in the process despite being accorded formal representation; few teachers could lead the process given the lack of skills in curriculum matters and the involvement of teachers with full-time teaching commitments; the dominant, shaping voices in these committees were mainly white and male; and the committees functioned largely as insular groups having little systematic connection to the broad base of teachers and students. As one committee representative put it: there was "no mechanism to abet the process of feedback to structures 'on the ground'".[26]

The more serious consequences of the process are political in nature.[27] The process procured short-term political legitimacy for a crippled Ministry without having to demonstrate the need for substantial change. The process further deflated the demand for immediate, fundamental change to the school syllabuses. In the words of one of the national co-ordinators: "this reformist exercise has delayed the possibilities of real transformation". And third, the process set in place, and consolidated, a pattern of curriculum change which is context-blind i.e., delinked from the dynamics and complexities of school and classroom contexts, teacher development and support, systematic assessment reform, genuine grassroots participation and textbook development. The way in which most provinces

recently introduced "continuous assessment" is a case in point. The process has generated a public understanding that minimalist revisions to school subjects are both acceptable and workable.

It will be extremely difficult in the future to change such expectations beyond the reshuffling of syllabus topics towards a national curriculum which challenges the fundamental philosophical and ideological roots of apartheid education. A most perceptive analysis of this political dilemma was provided by a teacher representative in one of the committees, and is worth quoting at length:

> Curriculum change does not happen overnight and at the rate we are going in South Africa the real danger is that we will be weighed down with the burden of reformed Christian National Education for a long time ... The bureaucrats are quite happy to pass off subject revisions as curriculum change because it does not even begin to rock their boat. In fact they are enthused by it all as they now have an opportunity to gain legitimacy in schools as being part of the new which is really the old.[28]

Not only was the status quo retained, but some argued that existing proposals for continuation of curriculum development after 1995 "will entrench the position of the DNE core syllabus committees ... a procedure which could well hinder the advance of equitable and progressive curriculum development".[29] Indeed, the ex-DNE officials are at pains to stress the consistency of the 1994 syllabus revision process with past curriculum work under the apartheid government as well as its continuity with future plans led by resurrected provincial committees of the past.[30] Current struggles over the future of the proposed "41 committees" in relation to the NICD is really a struggle over who controls curriculum and, by extension, the vision of the social order which it represents.

THE TRIUMPH OF CONSERVATIVE POLITICS

To read the NETF process as a mere technical event concerned with syllabus revisions is to limit understanding of the pace, direction and content of these changes. By assessing the process through the lens of political transition enables understanding of both the state and curriculum reform in the post-election period. Using the construct of "compensatory legitimation", the four main conclusions of this paper can be re-stated.

First, the syllabus revision process must be understood in the context of the constitutional and bureaucratic constraints of political transition under a Government of National Unity. These constraints were powerfully felt in the Ministry of Education.

Second, the syllabus revision process emerged in the context of weak and vulnerable political leadership in the Ministry of Education. That is, a leadership which failed to translate political constraints into strategic opportunities for educational transformation.

Third, the syllabus revision was propelled by mounting pressure on the Ministry of Education from the media, allied ANC constituencies and the broad public for intervention in the education crisis. In order to compensate for a lack of visible, durable and long-term changes in the education sector, the minimalist syllabus reform process provided the Minister (and government) with important political breathing space in the early days of transition.[31]

Fourth, the syllabus revision process was made possible by a weak political challenge from the educational community on the *educational terms* of this project. In fact, the participation of most teacher bodies from across the political spectrum further compensated for the loss of legitimacy suffered by the Ministry of Education in the latter half of 1994 and by its predecessors under the apartheid government.

To conclude, this process was not about curriculum. It was about legitimizing a vulnerable Ministry of Education which lacked the political will to re-direct educational and curriculum policies to reflect the broad visions for alternative education which mobilised political struggle in the past three decades and more. With striking consistency, all key participants justified participation in the process with the simple rationale: "something had to be done".

This is not to suggest that a democratic curriculum process would unfold along a linear, unproblematic political trajectory; the terms of South Africa's transition demanded compromises, conflict, consensus and contradictions. It does suggest, however, that in a Ministry in which the key "outside" leadership sees its primary role as bureaucratic rather than political, as placatory rather than interventionist, as legalistic rather than strategic, then conservative politics will triumph without the need for much exertion. For now, the proverbial "balance of forces" is firmly entrenched in favour of the apartheid curriculum and its settled bureaucrats. And this is unlikely to change beyond "essential alterations."[31]

NOTES AND REFERENCES

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25. SADTU Reports (1995) in Document C, Report, Midlands Region Education Desk, undated (3).
26. For some of the pedagogical consequences of the syllabus revision process, R. Greenstein and T. Mabogoane, "The Challenges of Transformation: Policy and Conflict in South African Education and Training." EPU Quarterly Review of Education and Training in South Africa. 2, (1994) 15 December, and *The Education Journal*, 1995b.
27. SADTU Reports (1995) Document C, Report by REDCOM (Regional Eduction and Development Committe), Western Cape Province [8].
28. A. Gordon (1994), Memorandum: Curriculum Development and Pilot Projects Following the NETF and Department of Education Field and Phase Process, 12 December.
29. Department of National Education (1995), Curriculum Development Initiatives at National Level, Pretoria.
30. One of the ambiguities which persisted in this process concerned the leadership of the syllabus revision project. At times the political roles of the NETF co-ordinators appeared to clash with those of the Minister and his colleagues. One critical incident was the calling of a press conference by the co-ordinators to report their preliminary findings. This event outraged the Minister, who clearly felt that the political credits from the process should be located firmly within his Ministry.
31. A separate study is required on the political language of educational reform in South Africa. Architectural or building metaphors such as 'alterations' or 'rehabilitation' suggest an add-on, evolutionary and 'patch-up' reform process rather than one which is radical or fundamental in scope – despite the idealistic visions of activists in the pre-election period. For general readings on 'political language' see M. Edelman (1975), *Political Language: Words that Succeed and Policies that Fail,* (New York: Academic Press).

Reconceptualising Teaching Models in Teacher Education

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The article examines teaching models in teacher education with a special focus on schooling in historically disenfranchised communities. An analysis of the declining quality of matric examination results indicates that only minimal learning takes place in this context.The responses by the public indicate that teachers and teaching are, generally, blamed factors for this. Although the article accepts the notion that poor learning, as reflected by matric results, may be due to inadequate teaching, it argues, however, that current teacher education paradigms which are based on an examination-driven schooling model, perpetuate power inequalities in this society. These paradigms ignore the overall significance of local (cultural) conditions and the hidden curriculum. Hence, the article recommends a teacher education model based on a critical paradigm. The latter commences with a curriculum model which is based on cultural politics and culminates in a teaching model that captures students' experiences and voices by means of teachers who act as transformative intellectuals.

INTRODUCTION

The birth of democracy in South Africa has inaugurated a continuous process of reconceptualising its institutional life. One of the institutions that needs reconceptualisation is teacher education, of course, in relation to schooling and the whole array of the social, economic and political institutions that are inextricably linked to schooling. In this scenario, this article[1] re-examines teaching models in teacher education with a focus on paradigm shifts from behaviourism to critical theory. Its ultimate purpose is to reconceptualise an alternative teacher education model whereby conditions in historically disenfranchised and impoverished communities can be transformed. In essence, while the paper takes a descriptive and illuminative outlook towards the assumptions and priorities that distinguish one paradigmatic perspective from another, it also expresses a preferential orientation toward a teacher education paradigm which gains a holistic understanding of the cultural politics of the schooling process in South Africa.

The article develops through an analysis of data derived from matric results over the past eight years, with a focus on historically disadvantaged communities; continuing public responses by political figures, teachers, administrators and the general public at meetings focusing on the 1995 matriculation results; insights developing from personal observations

during the fieldwork of the research project-in-progress which has been registered with the University of the North senate, of which the author is the leader; critical literature review; current media (press and electronic) reports and recent government documents.

The need for revisiting teaching models in teacher education is a corollary of the failure of traditional models in schooling. Underpinning this is a power tension between residual categories (standards and élitist values), on the one hand, and emergent categories (expansion, democratisation and relevance of teacher education), on the other, and, hence, "the existence of two states at the same time".[2] One such an outstanding residual category is the power inequality that is being perpetuated by examinations and a teacher education practice that is inextricably tied up with public schooling. The purpose of the article is, thus, predicated on the assumption that if traditional teacher education paradigms are explored and their limitations exposed, it may be easier to reconceptualise an alternative teacher education model which is based on a reasonable measure of accountability.

Subsequently, the questions which help in focusing the arguments are: Which teacher education and schooling paradigms are most dominant? What are their knowledge sources? What emerging paradigm challenges their validity? What are the terms of reference of a teacher education model based on this paradigm? Among other authors, Zeichner and Farnham-Diggory [3] provide some descriptive contribution of teacher education and knowledge paradigms, respectively, which serve as a milestone toward an integrative approach attempted in the model envisaged in this article.

BACKGROUND TO PROBLEM AND CONCEPTUAL ORIENTATION

The purpose of this section is to provide a background understanding of the problem at stake and to elucidate some key concepts. The need for reconceptualising teaching models, particularly with a focus on historically black institutions, is depicted, most vividly, by the power inequalities portrayed by matric examination results over the past eight years. The decline of pass rates from 68,6% to 55,2% and matric exemptions from 23,6% to 15,6% during the period 1988 to 1995, respectively, is nothing more than just a manifestation of existing power inequalities - reminiscent conflict between residual and emergent categories. The graveness of this situation is vividly reflected in the following remark: "... according to the inside estimates, the real pass rate in the former DET schools was unlikely to have been much above 30 percent".[4] If this is interpreted against the historical background that"the pass rate for black matriculants in 1976 was reportedly 84,8 percent ... ,"[5] it becomes clear that there has been a considerable decline of the teaching-learning culture over the past eight years.

The unwillingness by the Department of Education to provide a racial breakdown of these results for public awareness,[6] is questionable. There is, however, evidence that predominantly black schools, that is schools in historically disenfranchised communities, performed extremely poorly. The worst pass rates in 1995, for instance, have been recorded

in the most rural Northern Province (38,64%) and Mpumalanga (42,28%).[7] Schools in the Northern Province, in particular, recorded the worst pass rates, to the extent of below 30% in 1989, successively in the past five years.[8]These statistics are comparable to the highest mortality rates of 57.4% (Northern Province) and 37,7% (Mpumalanga), "due to pneumonia, diarrhoea and nutritional deficiency, all highly preventive using inexpensive interventions ...".[9] The correlation of educational and health statistics is clearly symptomatic of more fundamental problems underlying not only teaching-learning, but almost every sphere of life in this socio-political and cultural context.

CULTURAL CONTEXT.

However, under the circumstances, various stakeholders express concern in different ways. Parents complain that their children's poor results are due to poor teaching;[10] local politicians attribute the problem to lack of discipline in schools and poor teacher qualifications;[11] administrators (principals and inspectors) feel that universities and colleges simply send them certified teachers who cannot cope with the daily problems of teaching and, university and college supervisors criticise the subject matter competence of teachers in schools.[12] Addresses by the MEC for Education in the Northern Province in January 1996, subsequent visit by the Deputy President, Thabo Mbeki, to the province, and the great "Education Indaba" held in this province (Pietersburg) focused on the poor examination results.[13] All these, tacitly, indicate how critical matric examination results are in this society. Upon closer scrutiny of the global situation, however, the teacher or teaching factor, is most frequently underlined by stakeholders. This reflects an existing propensity of blaming one factor, most especially teachers, for the ills in schools. Interestingly, no one blames the governement, present or old, capitalism or parents. Concentrating blame on teachers under these particular circumstances tantamounts to nothing more than victim-blaming rhetoric.[14] It is the ideology to which teacher education, both pre-service and in-service, is subjected that must be re-examined. Owing to the unquestioning-public-service disposition, teachers too, generally, tend to view this through the dominant ideology. Ideology in this context refers to that social force that make "the imperatives of class and power bear down on and shape school experience, particularly through the hidden curriculum."[15] The production and mediation of these imperatives often lead to contradictions.

These contradictions are evident in what could be termed the White Paper ideological volte-farce from the spirit of the People's Education. The latter's agenda was a straightforward notion of: education at the service of the people as a whole, education as a tool for the people's power, education as an element in the struggle against exploitation and domination and education as an emancipatory practice preparing people for total liberation by shaping their creative, critical and analytical minds.[16]

On the other hand, the White Paper shows more "concerns with productivity, economic growth, technological advancement .Thus, "what it [schooling] produces in terms of personal learning, marketable skills, and examination results, in relation to what it has cost".[17] This reflects a contradiction between capitalist political economy of schooling and democratic education. In this context, schooling reflects a social field wherein the "... two dominant groups ... were government and industry. The government wanted the schools to produce loyal citizens, and industry wanted obedient and trained workers."[18] Until recently, this culture favoured and legitimised "the voices of white males from the middle and upper classes, to the exclusion of economically disadvantaged students",[19] most especially black females from rural backgrounds.

Some writers observe the existence of these power inequalities in schools. Firstly, the economic-reproductive model maintains that the school is a "selection, socialising and training"[20] mechanism. Among the well-known representatives of this model are Bowles and Gintis and Aronowitz and Giroux[21] Its central theme is that the specific requirements of industrial capitalism shape the nature of the schooling process in society, that is the structuring and mediation of its daily tasks (hidden curriculum).

Secondly, Anyon's fifth-graders in five different schools (executive, middle- and working-classes) resemble significant differences in the way in which conceptions of work, ownership, rules and decision-making were presented to learners by the school through the hidden curriculum.[22] Thirdly, McDermott supports this by observing that students from high reading groups interrupted the teacher quite frequently whenever she/he worked with students from the lower reading groups.[23] Fourthly, Rist also notes that teachers tend to interact most frequently with students coming to school well groomed, and are prone to give more support and attention to these students' academic work.[24] The unbroken thread running through these findings is that the urge for reproducing the relations of production in this society is the cause of the different forms in which the hidden curriculum manifests itself in different schooling contexts.

Fifthly, Bourdieu and Passeron,[25] using empirical evidence, refute traditionalists' claims about the objectivity of tests and examinations as a just selection mechanism. They argue that the vast majority of students who fail, do not lose out in the competition (examination), leading to their being denied admission in prestigious institutions of learning and working positions in industries. Most of these students calculate their prospects of succeeding, often from the standpoint of their disadvantaged social-class position and, subsequently, decide not to enter the competition. Even those who do enter the competition, do so half-heartily, hence their high failure rate. Finally, Willis's[26] most celebrated stance on cultural reproduction represents an analysis of the way in which working class youths resist and oppose school authority and, as a result, inevitably end up in working class jobs. Of cardinal significance in this contribution is that these pupils voluntarily resist the messages conveyed to them by the school.

All in all, the findings in the foregoing discourse shed light on the socio-cultural reproductive tendencies of schooling and examinations in this society. Firstly, the way power is used to select and reward some groups of students over others, is clarified. Secondly, the relative silence of teachers, while blamed by politicians, parents and administrators, represents a negation of teacher control over the curriculum. Inevitably, this simply entrenches a technicist (behaviouristic) form of school education that is tied up to the colonial patterns of power inequalities. Thirdly, the need for parents, teachers, learners and the public to understand how the hidden curriculum operates to discredit the experiences, knowledge and aspirations of students in socio-economically disadvantaged communities, is elevated.

The prevailing state of poor learning, as represented by examination results, is due to the lack of an accountable teacher education model. A teaching model is a decision-making process whereby strategies for implementing, monitoring and revising schooling and teaching plans are negotiated and formulated by teachers.[27] In this regard, however, concern is about a macro-decision-making process, namely, a teacher education paradigm. This is a "matrix of beliefs and assumptions about the nature and purpose of schooling, teaching, teachers and their education that gives shape to specific forms of practice in teacher education."[28] All these, taken against the background of existing practices, imply that changes in the present system of schooling can only be brought about by a total regeneration of teacher education, and not the other way round.

Hence, in this particular context the need for a teacher education paradigm shift is predicated on the assumption that local – cultural – conditions are more significant in curriculum and instructional development. By extension, the local organisation of schools and classrooms and, the meanings attached to concepts, instructional materials and "what-how" teachers teach and evaluate, must be perceived and conducted differently from one cultural setting to another.[29]

It is, therefore, unjustifiable to measure and grade students on a centralised examination scale, when they have not been taught under the same conditions and also by teachers who have been educated according to a paradigm which is sufficiently critical to enable them to reflect upon, re-interpret and implement curricular decisions according to the varying subjectivities of communities. The distribution of culture [knowledge] in different communities is related to the presence or absence of power (social, political and economic) in social groups.[30] For this reason, children from poor families are the least successful when evaluated by centralised and conventional measures and the most difficult to teach by means of traditional methods.[31] Hence, the major task should be to reconceptualise a teacher education model which will recognise and resolve these conditions.

The present teacher education paradigm is ideologically behaviouristic (fundamental pedagogics, idealism and other-worldly) and child-centred (developmental). It represents and treats schools and classrooms as if they were universally similar situations. Its underlying positivistic epistemology is disturbingly misleading because it leaves both prospective

teachers and teachers with the impression that the classroom culture is essentially free from ambiguities and contradictions.[32] It perceives teachers as routine workers and absorbers and transmitters of pre-packaged textbook or teacher-proof knowledge aimed specifically at examinations. Thus, teachers live "lives of mechanical routine, and were subjected to a machine of supervision, organisation, classification, grading, percentages, uniformity, promotions, tests, examination".[33]

In contrast, however, an accountable teacher education paradigm is premised in critical pedagogy which, essentially, means that classroom environments are conceived as dynamic contexts wherein, among other things, power is contested among unequal participants. Thus, teacher education becomes an ongoing cultural politics whereby teaching practices (assumptions and beliefs) are continually reflected upon, reconceptualised and transformed according to democratic principles.

How, then, would an alternative curriculum model of teacher education that supports the construction of a cultural politics be like? The curriculum ought to have the capacity of capturing the socio-cultural dimensions of the schooling process and inserting into it the subjectivities flowing from the family, cultural, political, economic and moral lives of the people.[34] In other words, teacher education curriculum is more than simply the introduction of student teachers to particular subject disciplines and teaching methodologies, but rather as something that serves to expose them to a democratic way of life.[35] This encapsulates in it the notion of a transformative teacher as one "who exercises forms of intellectual and pedagogical practice which attempt to insert teaching and learning directly into the political sphere by arguing that schooling represents both a struggle for meaning and a struggle over power relations".[36]

Implied in this notion of a teacher is a teacher education programme that critically studies power, language, culture and history.[37] Being critical, in this context, refers to teachers' stance of seeing their classroom activities in conjunction with historical, social and cultural contexts in which they teach.[38]

Hence, the role of teacher education must be to equip student teachers with processes to, collectively, analyse and appraise their own teaching methodologies, models and paradigms; engage in processes of discovering what they do and, finally, using that knowledge to legitimise their own pedagogy. This notion is founded on the assumption that "learning for both pupils and teachers, is greater and deeper when teachers are encouraged to exercise their judgement about the content and processes of their work and to give some direction to the shape of schools as educational environments.[39]

AN EXPOSITION OF TEACHER EDUCATION TRADITIONS

Teacher education and public schooling in South Africa are centralised systems of the state. The two systems are inextricably interwoven to such an extent that schooling social injustices are reflected in teacher education. Hence both may be described at this juncture

as "an arena of social conflict in which various economic, political, racial, regional, and ethnic or linguistic groups", continue to contest for power "as a means of realizing their particular interests".[40] For this reason this article proposes a liberated model of teacher education which would be instrumental in emancipating schooling in this society. The following paragraphs explore some of the residual categories manifest in the present practice of teacher education.

Firstly, there has not only been no co-ordination of teacher education initiatives, assumptions and beliefs by a corpse of teachers themselves, but institutions of higher learning, particularly colleges of education in this society had been established, normed, standardised and governed along racial, ethnic and tribal lines for the purpose of serving corresponding interests. Invariably, those institutions in historically disenfranchised communities, in particular, continued to see their roles as absorbing and educating student teachers from neighbouring schools who after completion, are re-absorbed by the same tribal schools, thus, ensuring the processes of nepotism, absence of professionalism and socio-economic reproduction.

Secondly, in the absence of clearly defined admission criteria, selections in teacher education institutions (colleges and university faculties of education) are, from the outset, based, exclusively, on matric examination grades. During the past eight years of remarkable decline in the quality of matric results, admittedly, admissions in these institutions were conducted under political pressure to the extent that even school leavers, contrary to existing practices, found their way into teacher education institutions. Although the need for interviews and aptitude tests is continually mooted, its implementation remains an idle dream.

Thirdly, the use of scales for grading isolated and ill-organised lesson presentations, as criteria for selecting teachers, is a major source of the inadequacy of the existing teaching practice. Morrison and Mcintyre underscore this concern when they write that:

> teaching marks as currently given are likely to be of very little value as predictors of teaching ability, and are certainly inappropriate as criteria for attempts to predict the teaching ability of students. Although their use for both these purposes is still widespread, their lack of value is gradually becoming recognized.[41]

Fourthly, the absolute validation of examination marks based, exclusively, on questions set from single texts and transmittory teaching approaches, which hardly engender critical reflection, personal meanings, decision-making processes and creativity by way of curriculum development in teacher education, is self-defeating as a mode of preparing teachers for teaching in historically disadvantaged schools. Ironically, the structuring of education faculties and colleges of education in historically black institutions, including everything that goes along with it (programmes, courses, teaching-learning material and evaluation) still bear the brunt of behaviourism and other related orientations like fundamental pedagogics. For instance, educational sociology and curriculum studies are not as yet part of the colleges of education curriculum.[42] Thus, these institutions fail to

> develop in student teachers those orientations (toward open-mindedness, responsibility, and wholeheartedness) and skills (of keen observation and reasoned analysis) which lead to reflective action.[43]

Fifthly, in relation to the stagnation in faculties and colleges of education, there is a traditional relationship of teacher education to the process of schooling. By implication, the inequalities and injustice perpetuated by schooling, such as teaching for examinations and reproducing inequalities, are extended into teacher education institutions and eventually re-cycled into the schools.

> The consequence of this process has been a severe limitation on the study and development of meaningful educational processes.[44]

Sixthly, on-going contestations in these institutions may be interpreted as the manifestations of the emergence of the need for a new paradigm of teacher education which has, hitherto, not been realised. Among the visible consequences of the collapse of the traditional value foundation of the National Christian Education, which academically enjoyed the backing of fundamental pedagogics, has been shaken down to its roots which, invariably, suggests that there is an urgent need for restructuring the entire education system, including teacher education on a new value system of democracy. Whereas the traditional value system has been challenged and destroyed, it seems that, unfortunately, it has not been replaced meaningfully and accountably.

Sevethly, the prevailing value-vacuum gives rise to continuing student pressure strategies such as "Pass one, pass all! Admit one, admit all!" leaving some institutions closing for long periods in a year. This means that examination and teaching practice grades have to be improvised in order to maintain institutional names, inter alia, by means of certifying people who are unprepared, even for traditional teaching. Hence, as opposed to planned accountable teaching, even if it may be traditional, teaching in schools at this juncture may well be described as intuitive, if not mechanical or random.[45]

Eighthly, although the system of education in South Africa has no systematically integrated provision for teaching practice, say between university faculties of education and schools, some faculties of education, traditionally, practise home-based teaching practice evaluation, whereupon grades are allocated by home school principals and teachers. Despite gruesome allegations characterising this approach, particularly with regard to the credibility of grades, this practice is vulnerable to immeasurable misuses and questions.[46]

One question arising from this centres around the knowledge-base of teaching practice and its evaluation. How do teacher education supervisors and school-based evaluators arrive at a commonly acceptable version of the "things" student teachers ought to do in order to teach well? All that is known is that the teaching knowledge-base is embodied in a grade schedule commonly used by colleges of education, formerly, under the Department of Education and Training.[47] This may be understood as only producing an overly technical

or a behaviouristic model of teaching, that is "a scientific enterprise that has lost its soul".[48] But above that, it is an ideological instrument whereby those in power maintain their dominance through the process of teacher education.

Ninethly, teachers are generally still understood as submissive, subordinate and unquestioning people, having no political interests beyond the school and classroom and, therefore, as people simply concerned with implementing somebody else's agenda.[49] This explains, partly, their relative passivity when blamed for poor examination results. This disposition is attributable to "'the tradition of public service' (or the unquestioning submission to bureaucratic authority) and the ideology of 'technocratic mindedness' (or the supremacy of technical rational values)".[50]

Tenthly, the severing of the process of teaching from curriculum development, by the state bureaucracy in collaboration with the "corporate economies",[51] due to ideological (power, authority and control) interests, is still at the heart of teacher consumerism, dependency and passivity and, therefore, the dearth of an accountable teaching morale in this society. The ideological discrepancies caused by these educational practices become evident in subsequent analysis of teacher education paradigms.

TEACHER EDUCATION PARADIGMS

Teacher education beliefs and assumptions are best conceptualised within the context of particular paradigms. Similar conceptual frameworks are termed philosophical assumptions.[52] A paradigm is, thus, a broader framework embodying several theoretical teaching orientations and models. The following paradigmatic typologies are noteworthy in this article: "behaviouristic" teacher education, "personalistic" teacher education, "traditional-craft" teacher education, "inquiry-oriented" teacher education, "academic" teacher education,[53] the "behaviour model," "development model" and "apprenticeship model".[54] These are subsequently reconceptualised into four categories.

Among these are those whose tenets lend more credibility to democratic principles, while others tend to be more conservative. Ideally, teachers as professionals may subscribe to one or more of these paradigms. It is also, therefore, expectable that teachers can teach intuitively or mechanically from assumptions and beliefs that are unsupportable by any paradigm, or from traditional paradigms. Since pedagogical style is a matter of choice, teachers owe accountability to their communities (parents and learners) for what or how they teach.[55] In the ensuing exploration is an attempt to elevate the elements of these paradigms into an accountable model of teacher education.

Behaviouristic teacher education

The first and perhaps most primitive of teacher education and schooling paradigms is behaviourism. Its orientations are variously referred to as "technocratic model," "efficiency-centred approach", "application of positivism", "ends-rather-means model",[56] "general systems theory", "behavioural objectives" and "mastery learning"[57] and "competency-based".[58] Based on positivistic epistemology and behaviouristic psychology, these orientations commonly emphasise the development of knowledge pre-specifications, predetermined tasks and, performance observability, productivity and measurability. Lortie sums up the status and impact of behaviouristic paradigm in teacher education in this manner: Teacher training is increasingly influenced by ideas drawn from behaviour science. Those trained in behavioural disciplines are inclined to conceptualize teaching in instrumental terms - to talk of "treatments" and "options" and to assess outcomes in terms of measurable and discrete objectives. One wonders how effectively such professors communicate with the many students who, it appears, see teaching as the "living out" of prior conceptions of good teaching.[59]

This emphasises the fact that the knowledge-base of behaviourism is, firstly, declarative because it is declared, usually, in words through lectures, books, writing, verbal exchange, sign language, mathematical notation and so on[60] by so-called experts (scientists). Quantifiable verbal learning is also the primary means-end of this epistemological framework. Secondly, it is essentially procedural because it is based on pre-specified action sequences that must be demonstrated, for example, skill-learning, especially, in teaching practice.[61]

Behaviouristic epistemology, thus, tends to falsify classroom life in the eyes of both prospective and in-service teachers. It represents it, fundamentally, as a one-dimensional set of rules and practices, instead of a cultural terrain wherein a variety of interests and practices clash continually and, often, in chaotic struggles for dominance. Still, most disturbing, is its concealment of its inherent ideology.

The irresistible, and yet undemocratic, institution of state standardised and centralised examinations always comes to the fore when discussions about evaluation in behaviouristic curricula are conducted. Stenhouse alludes to this when remarking that "If we measure for retention in a terminal or yearly test, ... teaching for the examination enters the picture with all its potential for distorting the curriculum".[62] Admittedly, in this paradigm examinations lead the curriculum instead of the curriculum leading to meaningful learning.

The devastating consequences of this paradigm are expressed by Popham[63] when saying that "measurability implies behaviour that can be objectively, mechanically measured, hence there must be something dehumanizing about the approach".[64] It is dehumanising because it is undemocratic and, it is undemocratic because it ignores the socio-politico-cultural subjectivities of the schooling process.

The competency-based approach towards teacher education embraced in the "Norms and Standards and Governance Structures for Teacher Education,"[65] is predicated on the basic tenets of behaviourism. This is not only a reflection, but a perpetuation, of the spirit of

class stratification in a society whose public schooling continues to be driven by an economic-productivity model. The inherent tension between this model and the need for democratisation is succinctly expressed by Greenstein who writes that "these goals potentially clash, however, with other concerns such as the development of critical thought and of democratic awareness".[66] In short, the behaviouristic paradigm of teacher education and schooling is, potentially, repugnant to the emergent spirit of democracy and democratisation because of its socio-cultural reproductive proclivity.

Personalistic (humanistic) teacher education

The second major paradigm in teacher education in terms of this typology is the personalistic or humanistic. Historically, this paradigm is a product of the American progressive movement of the first half of the second century in reaction to traditional teacher-and- discipline-centred orientations.[67] With its basis on phenomenological, perceptual and developmental epistemologies,[68] the paradigm is predicated on the concept of student teacher self-actualisation.[69] It contends that teacher education programmes should be based on the self-perceived needs and concerns of student teachers.[70] This suggests that teacher education programmes ought to be constructed, of course, with individual student teachers' involvement. This, it is assumed, helps them discover who they are, instead of simply being shaped, as is the case in behaviourism, into predetermined forms.[71]

Its most important underlying processes are psychological maturity, development of the quality of experiences, "becoming" and adult development, "rather than merely ... educating someone to teach".[72] Two implications developing from this are, firstly, that the student is regarded as an active agent of his/her becoming/developing into a mature teacher and, secondly, that what an institution of teacher education ought to do is simply providing him/her with a supportive learning environment. This serves to acknowledge that experienced and inexperienced teachers have different beliefs, and that the fundamental role of teacher education is to enable the latter to acquire all the five knowledge paradigms (declarative, procedural, conceptual, analogical and logical) "in ways that challenge them to reconstruct their beliefs".[73]

The main focus of teacher education curriculum according to this paradigm is, therefore, to promote the psychological maturity of prospective teachers and to support them in re-organising their perceptions and beliefs over specific behaviours, skills and the content knowledge of teaching. In other words, the various aspects of the curriculum (knowledge-base, skills and attitudes) are not prespecified, as is the case in behaviourism. The central question facing teacher educators in this paradigm seems, thus, to be: How are appropriate shifts in perceptions, assumptions and meanings brought about (actualised) in the experiential qualitative lives of prospective teachers? Farnham-Diggory[74] cogently answers this question in this manner: Instruction begins with probes of the student's personal theory. By

questioning, contradicting, and challenging that theory (the process ... called perturbation), the student is pushed to revise it. The result is essentially a whole new way of thinking, a wide-ranging qualitative shift.[75]

This implies that teacher education programmes should evolve by way of exposing student teachers to diverse theories and practices, own experiences, interrogations, debates and discussions as teaching-learning strategies. These ensure conceptual shifts in the student teachers, thus, enabling them to formulate their own theories and models of teaching that are rationalised according to their own needs. Essentially, this paradigm has much to offer towards developing a critical paradigm of teacher education.

Traditional-craft (apprenticeship) teacher education

According to traditional-craft (apprenticeship) teacher education paradigm, teaching is construed as a craft and teachers as craft-persons. The transformation from a novice to an expert takes place through the process of acculturation which, essentially, suggests that teaching comprises cognitive processes of which strategies and knowledge-bases can be taught within the frameworks of behaviour, development or apprenticeship.[76] It goes without saying, therefore, that the source of knowledge of traditional-craft teaching is the wisdom and practices of experienced teachers, that is expert teachers who command an unquestionable track record of teaching excellence, like Nancy.[77]

Novices (student teachers), therefore, through the processes of observation, trial-and--error and, routinisation of skills, copy 'cultural knowledge' from the masters and experts of the teaching craft. As in behaviourism, in this paradigm knowledge (culture) is perceived as essential, absolute, unchallengeable and perennial. Prospective teachers, as in the case of behaviourism, are passive recipients and consumers of this knowledge because they have no freedom in producing, reflecting upon, legitimising and distributing their own. The South African context serves as an illustrative model in this regard because the problem of teacher education is still defined within the state's educational and social parameters, in other words, within values, beliefs and assumptions that must be accepted by teachers as 'givens' from the state.

In summing up the foregoing paradigms, it is important to note that an accountable model cannot be accomplished in terms of the orientations of a single paradigm. Some assumptions and beliefs that are, naturally, emphasised in one paradigm, like pre-specifications and examinations (in behaviourism), self-actualisation and psychological maturity (in personalistic/humanistic) and acculturation and routinisation (in traditional-craft/ apprenticeship), do surface in others. But, of significant importance at this juncture are the commonalities of 'received', 'absolute' and 'certain' knowledge-base evident in behaviourism and traditional-craft (apprenticeship) paradigms which invariably lend themselves to evaluation by means of centralised examinations. Traditional scientific and academic paradigms also have similar connotations.

Subsequent sections are devoted to the formulation of a teacher education model around the tenets of a critical paradigm. It would be interesting to note how these principles evolve from the basic principles of the personalistic (humanistic) orientations, discussed in the preceding paragraphs. The basic principle connecting this and subsequent critical orientations is reflection.

Critical paradigm and cultural politics

The critical paradigm manifests itself in a number of orientations, variously termed critical theory,[78] conflict theory,[79] critical pedagogy.[80] People's Education,[81] radical theory, [82] process model,[83] reconstructionism [84] and inquiry-oriented.[85] Commonly, these orientations maintain that classrooms are not an isolated world wherein students learn without being affected by the inequalities, dominant ideologies and economic policies in the broader society. Freire's[86] most celebrated "banking concept of teaching" model strongly alludes to this non-neutrality of schools. These institutions by, among other means, standardised tests and examinations, are presently teaching conformity to students instead of teaching them how to transform their own world. Thus, a major theme of the critical paradigm is that schools are not ideologically innocent. The most classical, that is extremely radical, view about this notion is expressed by Spring in these terms:

> To use the school to solve problems of poverty is to seek a conservative solution without directly changing the social structure that created poverty. It should also be recognized that schooling as a system of social selection has tended to reinforce the existing social class structure.[87]

Although the various orientations of this paradigm differ markedly in terms of what their precise definition of being critical is, they commonly share the need for a concerted effort to prepare student teachers for skills to do and, the inclination and skill to analyse, what they do in terms of its consequences on the learners, schools and society. Macdonald and Zaret[88] express this in the following words which also draw a distinction between education and schooling: "Education is the activity of liberation, ...: liberation from ignorance, fear, want, disease, and alienation from oppression ... ".[89] This is an appeal for a teacher education model which liberates schools to become "laboratories of freedom."[90]

Two most important purposes of this paradigm, as would become evident in the subsequent model, are inferrable from this disposition. Firstly, it exposes the current realities in traditional teacher education practices and, secondly, it provides an alternative model which aims at inserting teacher education into the broader political and social realities.[91] True to the purpose of this article, the most urgent task of this section is to reconstruct a model that will have the capacity to reconceptualise schooling as a process within the South African

socio-politico-economic arena wherein various forms of student experiences and voices are actively produced and mediated. A teacher education curriculum programme which is capable of making the political the pedagogic, is cultural politics.

RECONCEPTUALISING A MODEL FOR TEACHER EDUCATION

The supreme truism about teaching is that there is no one way of teaching anything or someone.[92] Any particular approach toward teaching is an outcome of a complex set of beliefs, assumptions and circumstances (social, political, economic and cultural) regarding, for instance, who (learner) and what (knowledge) is taught. It is, therefore, not surprising if particular people under specific circumstances tend to emphasise in their teaching practice, what in the view of some academics, would appear to be the elements of a certain paradigm, theoretical orientation or model. This partly explains why there is need for a radical intervention in the educational practices of this society. Hence, the model that follows derives its rationale from the orientations of critical pedagogy. Three basic assumptions, namely, cultural politics in teacher education curriculum, distinction between schooling and education and decision-making in curriculum development, have been identified to serve as a background to this model.

Cultural politics curriculum in teacher education

Cultural politics in teacher education, in simple terms, means making the political the pedagogical. This implies the radicalisation of faculties and colleges of education by inserting the politico-socio-cultural content of the schooling process within teacher education curriculum programmes. Supporters of this paradigm, almost unanimously and unambiguously, identify power, language, culture and history to become the central elements of such a curriculum programme.[93] Others like Spring go to the extreme by suggesting the use of radical groups, students and lecturers to put pressure on faculties and colleges of education to rechart the direction of teacher education.[94] A blending of these elements and strategies constitutes cultural politics in this model.

Power pervades every aspect of the curriculum (production of knowledge, its legitimation and distribution). Student teachers ought to know, as a matter of fact, that the patterns along which power inequalities manifest themselves in the larger society are also reflected in schools through "learning, teaching and assessment"[95] forms. Educational sociology should be introduced in teacher education programmes to study the nature of control and economic exploitation in education, relationships between national and local power elites, on the one hand, and educational control, on the other, and finally, the link between the ideology of schooling with the ideology of a particular class.

Language as an aspect of the curriculum is inextricably related to power. This means that curricular realities must be expressed by means of a language that captures the relationship between the modes and forces of material production and, the system of domination which is related (in some way) to the control of this material reality.[96] Consequently, student teachers must be engaged in discourses that, ultimately, enable them to learn methods of examining, decoding and demystifying power in the language used in texts and the everyday voices of students.

Thirdly, student teachers need to know that educational practices and traditions are historical constructions related to the politico-socio-cultural life and events of a particular time and place. Therefore, educational history, as an aspect of teacher education pedagogy must reflect a critical approach towards the history of workers, women, minorities and indigenous people. In fact, "history and philosophy of education could begin to study the relationship between ideology and educational practice which includes the whole socialization process".[97] Lastly, but most important in this regard is the all-pervasive element of culture. Power and culture must be seen "not as static entities with no connection to each other, but as attributes of existing economic relations in a society".[98] Cultural politics student teachers ought to know, therefore, that the lack of certain forms of knowledge in them and their students is related to where their particular group, or that of their students, stands in the complex process of cultural production, legitimation and circulation which, in the final analysis, relates in some way to their lack of political and economic power in society.[99] Student teachers preparing to teach in deprived communities ought, therefore, to know how to teach their students to appreciate culture as a field of struggle in a democracy.

Distinction between schooling and education

Whereas schooling in South Africa has a long history of being the source of impoverishment and degradation of, most particularly, the lives of indigenous communities, education through the agency of the school can become the vehicle of their liberation. In order to achieve this teacher education pedagogy should draw a clear distinction between schooling and education. A clear distinction between schooling as a planned methodology of socialisation intended to produce obedient workers and citizens through institutional control, and education as a process of gaining knowledge and ability to transform one's world and maximise one's autonomy, must be drawn by student teachers through the disciplines of teacher education pedagogy.[100]

Decision-making in curriculum development

The works of Apple, Aronowitz and Giroux, Carl, McNeil, Orlich , Schubert, Tanner and Tanner and Zais [101] bear testimony to the following principles which have critical relevance to a teacher education model based on the critical paradigm:

1. The roles of teaching and curriculum development are not separable.
2. The same principles that guide curriculum development, also guide teaching, supervision, assessment and evaluation of student-teachers.
3. All these processes are preceded by decision-making, which becomes effective if conducted by teachers locally, with special recognition to socio-cultural conditions.
4. Ideally, teacher education and teaching should be preceded by curriculum development because the latter is research-oriented rather than methodology-bound.

The process of decision-making in curriculum development and teaching is, in turn, guided by some principles.[102] These are, first and foremost, situation analysis (the view of life which is valid for the participants in the learning situation, socio-politico-economic circumstances and teaching learning constraints and, the kind of knowledge and skills valid for a democratic life-style). In as far as knowledge is concerned, the view held in examination-riddled societies is that certain forms of knowledge are produced, legitimised and distributed from the head of the educator/teacher/examiner/scientist and then poured into the learner's head. On the contrary, it is suggested in this model that through interaction by means of writing, talking and debating processes, what counts as legitimate knowledge[103] is produced, published and shared.

Second, is the selection and ordering of content for teaching. What gets selected as content (knowledge) and, how this is ordered (produced), taught and evaluated (distributed) ought not to be taken for granted. These ideologically political processes have a bearing on how power is produced and distributed in the wider social background,[104] and must, therefore, be subjected to interrogation by both student teachers and their students.

Lastly, is the most complex principle of evaluation. Evaluation systems are generally aimed at determining the extent to which intended learner objectives are being achieved and the impact that teaching (projects and material) has on the learner.[105] The following are some of the principles of procedure used in evaluating a teacher education programme based on a critical paradigm and cultural politics: developing the process of question-posing (inquiry method) toward existing knowledge and cultural practices; developing a research methodology whereby student teachers produce knowledge to answer these questions; using a variety of first-hand sources as evidence in developing hypotheses and drawing conclusions; listening to other teachers and expressing own opinions in discussions; legitimising own knowledge by giving sanction and support to open-minded discussions

wherein definitive answers to all the questions are usually not readily available; reflecting on own experiences and, finally, becoming a resource for the learners instead of an authority.[106]

These principles are aimed at reflecting upon existing traditions, knowledge-bases and practices when producing knowledge and legitimising it on the grounds of democratic principles rather than pre-specifications. In this manner teachers become lifelong learners.[107] Several related assumptions then follow.

Assumptions about the learner

By virtue of its focus on teacher education, this model is, essentially, learner-centred. It is so, firstly, because it attempts to link the education of teachers with the socio-cultural experiences of the learner (primacy of student experience). The purpose being to educate student teachers to take the problems and needs of their students as a point of departure. In this manner, they learn how to promote in their students a critique of the dominant forms of knowledge and existing cultural mediation that shape their own experiences and, also the means of examining these experiences.

Secondly, the model attempts to link teacher education curriculum with the everyday means whereby historically deprived students make themselves "heard" and, thus, attempt to self-actualise (student voice and public sphere). Essentially, this implies that student teachers ought to be familiarised with the culture, economy and historical traditions that characterise the neighbourhood of the communities where they teach, as a means whereby their students express their voices. By writing the histories of such communities, for instance, teachers would teach their students "how both local and official knowledges get produced, sustained and legitimated".[108]

Assumptions about educational (teaching) aims

It is, most obviously, in the quest for accountability toward the public (parents and students) for attaining educational (teaching) aims where divergence and conflicts in modelling teacher education stems. Traditional teaching orientations aim predominantly at instructing (about), training (for) and initiating (into) cultural values, norms, mores and skills in order to enable teachers to function mechanically in society.[109] In so doing, perpetuate, though inadvertently, cultural reproduction and inequalities by means of, inter alia, transmittory teaching approaches and standardised examinations. In contrast, however, this model suggests that the aim of teacher education is problem-solving (critical/reflective). Student teachers must have the ability to transform the living conditions of their learners by educating them for democratic citizenship. Since the major lines for the democratic struggle are already drawn in the knowledge-arena, such citizens ought to, in turn, have the ability to critique their own

knowledge experiences and others' and to produce, legitimise and circulate new knowledge. The ultimate aim is that the students should, in turn, transform their own communities and society as a whole for democratic citizenship.

Assumptions about the learning process

The learning process according to traditional paradigms is dictated by the exigencies of examination, technological and economic ends. Knowledge, attitudes and skills in teaching are, therefore, "received" from experts. Such learning products can hardly escape serving the interests of those who already possess economic and cultural capital.[110] On the contrary, however, the new model spearheads learning processes which commence with the student teachers' experiences and voices as politico-economic-historic-cultural resources for further curriculum development and teaching. It proceeds by questioning and interrogating (methodologically by means of research) these experiences and voices in relation to existing knowledge and traditions, through producing, legitimising and circulating new knowledge. All these are aimed at transforming learners, communities and the society for meaningful democratic citizenship.

Assumptions about the learning environment

An appropriate description of a learner-centred environment is "learner-friendliness." This implies that a whole range of the commonplaces of the teaching- learning situation (students, curriculum, milieu and teachers) must be organised in such a manner that they are capable of generating optimum self-propelled learning on the part of the student teacher. Viewed holistically, learning environments must be as loosely structured as possible – though systematically organised – in order to provide for interaction, integration and transformation of experiences and voices between learners and learners, learners and teachers, learners and the curriculum and, finally, learners and the socio-cultural milieu.[111]

Assumptions about the teacher's role

Depending on the paradigm, the roles of teachers range from being transmitters of skills, values and facts through being facilitators of transactions between the learner, teacher and curriculum, to fellow transformative learners. Whereas the first-mentioned possibility (transmitter) is autocratic, the latter two, particularly the last-mentioned, are commensurate with the democratic role of the teacher as a cultural transformative intellectual. As transformative intellectuals, teachers must be able to relate language and power, take

popular experiences seriously as part of the learning process, combat mystifications and help the students to re-order the raw experiences of their lives through the perspectives opened by history, philosophy, sociology and other related disciplines.[112]

The most important implication is that teachers cannot escape research as a methodological approach toward validating "what-how" they do teach and evaluate the performance of their students. In fact, teachers must be educated to work with, instead of working for, and being subservient to, examination boards, political reformers, textbook publishers and administrators, most particularly, in matters pertaining to curriculum development.

Assumptions about how learning is evaluated

Evaluation as the culmination of curriculum development has already been discussed under "Decision-Making In Curriculum Development". In this item concern is about the examination problem. Traditionally, final examinations towards which teacher education is geared, serve as a selection mechanism for, mainly, universities (through the Joint Matriculation Board), of course, in a manner that has, historically, alienated and marginalised important stakeholders in education, particularly parents and teachers[113] The situation is further aggravated by the state's reluctance to provide full information about the majority of historically disadvantaged students who perform poorly in these examinations.[114]

This culture of examinations confines educational activities in South Africa, exclusively, to the academic or economic model of teacher education. Admittedly, not all learners want to be like "physicists, biologists or historians so that if they continued their studies, become specialists themselves".[115] Therefore, the role of the school, particularly in poor communities, must be to educate for the success of all members in society – each according to their potential. Essentially, therefore, schools as democratic sites in communities have the obligation of affording opportunity to individuals and groups of students to, fairly, fight for their rightful place in society, particularly against dominant cultures.

Terminal evaluation leading to certification or licensing ought, therefore, to be left to teacher represented "Independent Examination Board (IEB)" or some autonomous assessment organs of the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), particularly the National Qualification Framework (NQF).[116] Teachers who have been educated according to Freirian, Aronowitzian and Girouxian pedagogy, for instance, could be deployed into poverty-stricken communities in order to establish programmes and projects, outside the public schooling model, aimed at developing the peoples' socio-political consciousness through the Peoples Education.

CONCLUSION

South Africa needs democratic schooling through liberated teacher education. However, owing to an examination-driven schooling model in this society, the poor and the rich, black and white, working- and middle-classes, rural and urban and, able and disabled, continue to be discriminated against one another. For the historically impoverished masses, democracy simply remains an idle dream as the winning posts into the market economy and higher learning institutions are continually shifted in their disfavour. This is because of a teacher education paradigm which is uncritically enslaved to the schooling-economy paradigm. What is supposedly "teacher education" has become, in reality, "teacher schooling".

Transforming this schooling model implies liberating teachers through a cultural politics curriculum model which is informed by a critical paradigm. The traditional connection between teacher education and schooling must be severed. Teachers must be able to fight against ideological conditions such as state monopoly in curriculum development, centralised examinations, subjugation to administration bureaucracy and supervision of cleaning. These conditions bar them from acting as transformative intellectuals.

Through the agency of teacher-unity teachers must be able to engage in clinical or collegial supervision, reflecting upon their students' experiences and voices, researching, developing curriculum and its materials, conducting joint teaching, evaluating programmes and students, writing (for instance history), planning democratically and publishing their experiences.

Teachers must be educated for lifelong learning. In addition to being upgraded in their specialisation subjects, teachers must be educated to learn how to learn. Pedagogy must comprise a radical study of, inter alia, sociology, history, philosophy, psychology and curriculum education. It must also focus on knowledge evolving around the issues of power, culture, history, politics, language, ideology, religion, economics, human rights, exploitation of the minorities (children and women), drug abuse, poverty, sex and health.

Over and above gaining regular credits, teacher evaluation must be by boards of assessors on which teachers, parents, industry and students are represented. In this regard emphasis is placed on production of knowledge, its legitimation in terms of socio-politico-economical problem-solving capacity and its equitable distribution to students. In order to be, finally, selected and promoted as quality teachers, pre-service teacher education should be paced according to individual student teachers' and teachers' progress in designing, developing, implementing and legitimising teaching projects.

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Sexual Harassment in Zimbabwe's Institutions of Higher Education

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The extent to which sexual harassment takes place in institutions of higher education such as universities, polytechnics and teachers' colleges is investigated in this study. Two thousand seven hundred and fifty-six female students responded to a questionnaire on sexual harassment. After quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data, the study reveals that in almost every institution of higher learning in Zimbabwe there exists a significant number of male lecturers who sexually harass female students. Recommendations on how the situation could be improved in order to create a freer and safer campus environment as well as suggestions for future research are made.

BACKGROUND

In 1994, disturbing press reports (Bonde, Chavunduka, Win, 1994) about the wives of lecturers at Bondolfi Teachers' Training College beating up female students whom they suspected of having sexual relationships with their husbands, brought about this researcher's interest in the whole area of sexual harassment and non-consenting sexual relations, particularly as this relates to lecturers and students in institutions of higher education.

Sexual harassment is often an act perpetrated by men against women but when the issue is widened to include unethical intimacy, there appears to be no reason why women should be excluded from carrying this responsibility equally. However, in the Zimbabwean context, almost all known cases of harassment, including rape, are perpetrated by men. This has something to do with the culture which suggests that males should make the first move when they desire to form a relationship with females.

Although there has been debate on sexual harassment recently by some Zimbabwean religious bodies and other organizations, there are still no policy guidelines published specifically for professionals who deal with trainees on a daily basis. According to a former Chief Justice, Enock Dumbutshema[1], sexual harassment is a legal challenge that must be met by all who pursue human rights in Zimbabwe. The University of Zimbabwe Ordinance has some form of guidelines in disciplinary and ethical codes for staff, but this researcher has never seen or heard of any public example of someone being disciplined for sexual harassment.

Win describes the relationship between students and lecturers as a David and Goliath situation, where the one in power or authority uses his power or authority uses his power to get what he wants.[2] She suggests that institutions must design policies and grievance procedures for those who are sexually harassed. Singer[3] conducted a study which demonstrates that those institutions that do have a policy designed specifically for sexual harassment and grievance procedures have a significantly higher number of reports of harassment than those that do not.

In the United States, Glaser and Thorpe[4] conducted research on sexual harassment among psychology lecturers and their female postgraduate students at 16 universities. It was found that postgraduate students, because of their face to face contact with supervisors when seeking advice and supervision in their research studies, were sexually harassed more frequently than those females doing undergraduate courses. In the United Kingdom, Garret and Thomas-Peter[5] also conducted a survey on sexual harassment in postgraduate colleges as well as in places of employment. Their study reveals that there is a significant number of people in authority, such as lecturers, doctors and employers, who refuse to accept their moral responsibility, but instead exploit the vulnerability of those under them.

In the absence of previous Zimbabwean research data on this issue apart from press reports in *The Sunday Times*, *Parade and Moto*, *The Herald, The Chronicle* and *Zimrights News*,[6] it seems most probable that the incidence of sexual harassment - that is, unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, unethical intimacy, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature - is under-reported, particularly in those institutions without policies and procedures for dealing with allegations of sexual harassment. It is also known that some people in authority often implicitly make it a term or condition of an individual's progress at work or at college to submit to their sexual advances. Individuals who refuse to submit are often affected by future employment or grade-award decisions. Such conduct has the effect of substantially interfering with an individual's work or college performance, or creating an intimidating, hostile or offensive working environment.

There is no doubt that a lot of women, even though they are still under-reporting sexual harassment significantly, experience psychological effects such as fear, anger, depression, distress, stress, anxiety, confusion, irritability, loss of self-esteem, feelings of humiliation, helplessness, vulnerability, worry and alienation through harassment at work or college.

The relationship between a supervisor and a trainee has parallels with that between a therapist and a patient[7]. There is power differential. The doctor-patient issue raises sexuality issues quite frequently and because of the doctor's or therapist's more powerful position, it is he who should exercise self-control rather than exploiting the vulnerability of the patient. Similarly lecturers, employers or supervisors, it would seem, should follow their own code of ethics by recognizing the vulnerability of people under them and avoiding situations of eroticised transferences. Yet a significant number of them seem reluctant to identify these dynamics and pretend that their actions are guided by natural impulses. Consequently, they refuse to accept their moral responsibility in such matters.

Win[8] argues that even though some of those grown-up or married women appear to have genuinely fallen in love with their lecturers, they are not really in love. They are simply succumbing to the pressures of the more powerful persons.

The initial aim of this study was to address a wide range of issues including peer harassment, alcohol abuse in colleges, violence, date rape, campus safety, student-staff relationships, cultural values and counselling services in institutions of higher education. However, after discovery that there had been a lot of press coverage in 1994 on sexual harassment of female students at several teacher training colleges, the emphasis shifted mainly to the sexual relationships between male lecturers and female students. As a result it was felt that the subject of sexual harassment needed to be addressed more immediately than others of the equally important issues mentioned above. Sexual harassment thus becomes the focus maintained throughout this study.

METHOD

After permission was granted by the Ministry of Higher Education to conduct a study on sexual harassment, a sample of 3 500 female students from 16 institutions of higher education was used to respond to a questionnaire on sexual harassment. All year groups of students at the University of Zimbabwe and at the Harare Polytechnic were sampled while in teachers' colleges it was mainly the first and third-year students who responded to the questionnaire. The study was conducted over four months from August to November 1994 with the help of 11 research assistants. In all 2 756 (79%) usable questionnaires were returned for analysis (see composition of sample, questionnaires distributed and questionnaires used in Table I below).

Fifty-four questionnaires which had been left with authorities at one teachers' college were responded to by male students despite clear instructions that the questionnaires were to be distributed to female respondents only. These were excluded from the survey. At another teachers' college, questionnaires received from third-year students were not used because they were considered to be influenced by some negative remarks made by one of the authorities during administration. At yet another college only 10 students responded because the authorities were uncooperative.

Table I

Students' Responses to 27 Questionnaire Items (N=2 756)

Name of Institution	No. of Questionnaires Distributed	No. of Questionnaires Used
Morgan Zintec College	120	111
Belvedere Teachers College	120	118
University of Zimbabwe	1250	857
Harare Polytechnic	450	439
National University of Science and Technology	120	116
Hillside Teachers' College	120	119
Bulawayo Polytechnic	120	120
United College of Education	120	120
Gwanda Zintec College	120	120
Gweru Teachers' College	150	137
Mkoba Teachers' College	150	150
Mutare Teachers' College	150	75
Marymount Teachers' College	120	107
Chinhoyi Technical College	120	10
Masvingo Teachers' College	150	110
Bondolfi Teachers' College	120	44
Totals	**3810**	**2756**

RELIABILITY

A split-half, odd-even reliability was computed using the scores of the 2 756 subjects against the 27 questionnaire items. The coefficient, corrected by the Spearman-Brown formula, was 0.76 which shows that the method used to collect data was to a great extent reliable.

RESULTS

Table 2
Students responses to 27 Questionnaire itmes (N=2 756)

Item No	Brief Description of Item	No. of Yes Responses		No. of No Responses	
1	Has college existing policy?	243	(8,8%)	2513	(91%)
2	Has anybody been sexually harassed	1755	-645	1001	(36%)
3	Are culprits dealt with efectively	201	(7%)	2555	(93%)
4	Should rival students be failed?	98	(0.03%)	2562	(94%)
5	Should lecturers wives molest student lovers?	203	(7,1%)	2552	(93%)
6	Are students/lecturer affairs problematic?	2005	(73%)	750	(27%)
7	Would you go out with your lecturer	36	(1.3%)	2511	(91%)
8	Should lecturers ask you about your sex life?	2	(0,007%)	2754	(99%)
9	Ever been asked for sexual favours?	499	(18%)	2066	(74%)
10	Do most lecturers expoloit student vulnerability?	1756	(64%)	1000	(36%)
11	Would you report sexual harassment?	204	(7.5%)	2550	(93%)

After a qualitative analysis of the data, the general comments commonly made by students from all the 16 institutions were summarized under the following 10 categories:

(a) under-reporting

Two thousand five hundred and one students (90%) agreed that incidents involving sexual harassment in colleges are under-reported or not reported at all for fear of victimization by those in authority.

(b) fear of being labelled

Thirty-seven students (1,3%) said that they would not mind going out with their lecturers for the purpose of gaining favours. The only reason that they have not done so is because of the fear they have of being labelled by other students. They also saw nothing wrong with going out with single (unmarried) lecturers.

(c) corrupt authorities

One thousand seven hundred and sixty-eight students (64%) believed that most college lecturers including principals are corrupt. The main question asked was: 'How can one report sexual harassment by a lecturer without the fear of being victimized when the principal or head of department is also involved in the same thing?' They all believed that the police, Ministry of Education or someone who is not in daily contact with the lecturers should be the arbitrators in cases of sexual harassment.

(d) freedom of choice

Two hundred and thirty nine (8,6%) students felt that all students over 18 years of age are free to go out with whoever they like including lecturers. It is up to the student, as a grown up and thinking adult to decide, even in cases where the lecturer is a married man.

(e) spread of aids by married men

Most lecturers, according to 758 (27,5%) students, are married men. Those who sexually harass students are having extra-marital sex at the risk of spreading AIDS to their wives.

(f) victimization

One thousand two hundred and fifty-two (45%) of female students in colleges felt that they were being given low marks (grades) by certain male lecturers after they had turned down their sexual advances or after their 'relationships' had gone on the rocks. Generally, they felt that they were being victimized for saying 'No' to their lecturers.

(g) loss of respect

Almost all the students (2 250, 82%) said that they had no respect for lecturers who go out with their students as this disturbs the whole environment under which serious studying is supposed to take place.

(h) leakage of examinations

Five hundred and eighty-six students (21%) surveyed said that they believe that lecturers who have sexual relationships with their students will end up leaking examination papers to them.

(i) legislation

All the 2756 subjects (100%) felt that there was need for legislation in order to protect those students who had no interest in pursuing sexual relationships with their lecturers.

(j) education

Seven hundred and fifty-three students (27%) strongly expressed the need for female students to be educated on their rights. According to them, some students do not know when to say 'No' to someone in authority and often do not know the difference between a decent proposal and sexual harassment. They regarded some of the so-called "principals' lectures" as a joke and a waste of time, because, according to them, instead of educating the students, corrupt male principals were taking advantage of this privilege in order to exploit and brain-wash female students. They also felt that only those people with a proven record of responsibility, good moral values, maturity and strong ethics should be trusted to educate students on sexual matters.

DISCUSSION

The above results reveal that there is no doubt that sexual harassment is rife in institutions of higher education throughout Zimbabwe. Looking at item 18 in the questionnaire where female students were asked if they knew any lecturers who 'use their influence to exploit female students sexually', all the 2 756 said 'yes' to this item. If this premise is correct, it means that all the 16 institutions in this study are indeed guilty of harbouring at least one or two lecturers who exploit students sexually. The press seems to have covered only three teachers' colleges in its reports, yet the above study reveals that the practice is prevalent in every college. It seems therefore that three colleges that received negative publicity involving sexual abuse, leakage of examination papers and sex discrimination were just the ones to be caught out first. Without this publicity, however, this study would never have been carried out by this researcher. Item 24 regarding the establishment of a Sexual Harassment Office was also agreed upon by almost all students (2 749 - 99%). This obviously means that almost all female students, including married ones, feel unsafe in colleges.

It is not clear why one teachers' college decided to change the instructions of the survey which stipulated that this initial survey was for female students only by proceeding to distribute the questionnaire among male students. A covering note also copied to the Secretary of Higher Education was sent to the researcher suggesting that his topic 'Sexual harassment' was offensive and should have been entitled 'gender issues'. While the researcher agrees with some of these suggestions, it must be pointed out that since the college was not involved in the original research design, instead of trying to change the rules of this particular study, it should attempt to conduct its own research using all the variables it mentions.

In most teachers' colleges it was the first-year and third-year students who responded to the questionnaire items. Although it would have been ideal to find out if differences existed between the two year groups, it was felt that at this stage the research should focus mainly on the extent to which sexual harassment is apparent. At the University of Zimbabwe all year groups, first, second and third including some postgraduate students were used. Analysis of results in which responses from individual colleges are compared would have also been ideal as reading through the general comments made by the University of Zimbabwe students, indicates that they seem to have slightly different experiences from those of their contemporaries in teachers' colleges. University of Zimbabwe students seem ready to challenge authority in their own right when cases of sexual harassment occur. No similar comments were found in the reports made by female students in teachers' colleges. This phenomenon could be explained by the fact that students at the University of Zimbabwe seem to have a greater freedom of expression than those in teachers' colleges. Another possibility is that due to the large numbers of students at the University, their community is not as closed-in as those in teachers' colleges, where students have daily contact with authorities and are more restricted by rules of conduct.

However, it is important to note that only 499 (18%) of the 2 756 students surveyed said that they had actually been asked for sexual favours by their lecturers (item 9). While sexual harassment is prevalent, it is obvious that not every single male lecturer is guilty of it. The culprits of sexual harassment are actually in the minority as revealed in this study.

What is particularly worrying though is the fact that 93% of the students said that they would not report sexual harassment (item 11) to any authority for fear of victimization or because they do not believe that the present structures are set to protect them.

RECOMMENDATIONS

i) There is a need for students and their trainees to be educated on what constitutes sexual harassment.

(ii) Proper reporting procedures on sexual harassment in colleges should be set up immediately. These should give students the assurance that there will be no victimization should they make reports about incidents that involve those in authority. At the moment there is under-reporting because of fear of the negative consequences of doing so.

(iii) Strong disciplinary measures, including dismissal, must be taken against lecturers who sexually harass female students.

(iv) Legislation which protects female students from sexual harassment must be introduced as there seems to be an unwillingness on the part of society to recognize the problem.

(v) There is a need for counselling services for students in every college. These should include both experts in the field as well as lecturers and students.

(vi) Any policy seeking to encourage the maintenance of professional non-exploitative relationships between lecturers and students must include specific reference to propriety and responsibility of lecturers and must provide guidelines for their conduct.

CONCLUSION

All training institutions in Zimbabwe have a responsibility to discourage sexual harassment and unethical intimacy as a matter of explicit policy. There is therefore a need to legislate against such harassment as well as adopting a set of guidelines which raise the consciousness of both lecturers and their trainees about the issue. Offenders such as supervisors of students on teaching practice should either be rehabilitated or excluded from teachers' colleges depending on the seriousness of the offence. This way, it is hoped that those with power over students will in future give this issue great thought before they act.

Future research on this topic which should include other variables such as peer harassment, college violence, and a comparison of the behaviour of students in different colleges is essential.

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Bantu Education and the Bureacratization of African Schooling

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Unlike the standard accounts of the period which focus either on the functional relationship between the new education policy and the reproduction of "cheap labor" or the organic crisis of the 1940s, this article explores the impact of the discourse of social planning, efficiency and expert control on Bantu Education policy. Through a close reading of the text of *The Eiselen Commission Report* (the blue print for Bantu Education), this article documents the influence, not of individuals *per se* (i.e. members of the Teachers College Club), but of an educational discourse on the construction of education policies that would affect the lives of millions of black South Africans and ultimately shape the course of South African history. This article shows the legacy of Loram's concerns about efficiency, systematization and state control, Malherbe's commitment to "facts" and social scientists as policy makers and Cook's ideas about tribal evolution and educational differentiation based on cultural difference. The influence of the Teachers College discourse is evident in the three major themes of the *Eiselen Commission Report*: (1) centralized governance and expert control, (2) educational efficiency and social planning and (3) educational differentiation.

In the first election in South Africa after World War II, the United Party was defeated by the Afrikaner dominated National Party. From the perspective of the Teachers College Club, a number of whose members had strong ties with the United Party, the Afrikaner nationalists' victory must have seemed like the end of a dream of using state power to reform education along "modern" lines. For many intellectuals and social scientists within the English establishment, the newly elected National Party was nothing but a home grown variety of the Fascism that had only recently been defeated in Europe and the Far East. What the social science establishment had not reckoned on was a National Party that would take up the ideology of expertise with a vengence. While liberal intellectuals were trying to make sense of the vague election slogans of "Apartheid", behind the scenes National Party functionaries within the Afrikaans-speaking universities and the bureaucracy were beginning to plan, not only who would occupy strategic positions within the government, but a whole new form of state power. The National Party's ascendance unleashed a silent revolution in the relationship between the intellectuals, civil society, and the bureaucracy. In the long term, the new state would commit itself to social planning on an unprecedented

scale in South African history. One of the less documented features of this change was a dramatic shift in the authority of those groups that came to be defined as "amateurs" and "experts".

The idea that the state should be run by specialists became a key component of the National Party's transformation of South African society after 1948. Although members of the Teachers College Club may not have entered the new government, their belief in expert control and efficiency, in short, their commitment to a particular politics of knowledge, became a major feature of the National Party's new form of governance. Nowhere is this more evident than in Bantu Education, the nationalists' approach to the education for the majority of South Africans. Built on the foundation laid by previous segregationist educational policies, in the hands of the National Party, Bantu Education became a monstrously elaborate social planning scheme that dominated every facet of African education. From the publication of *The Report of the Commission on Native Education in South Africa – 1951* (commonly referred to as *The Eiselen Commission Report*, after its Chairman, Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen) and the passage of the Bantu Education Act two years later, the National Party steadily consolidated its hold over and then dramatically increased its control of African education with a greater degree of ideological fervor and bureaucratic commitment than any previous ruling party.

Unlike the standard accounts of the period which focus either on the functional relationship between the new education policy and the reproduction of "cheap labor" or the organic crisis of the 1940s, this article explores the impact of the discourse of social planning, efficiency and expert control on Bantu Education policy. Through a close reading of the text of *The Eiselen Commission Report* (the blue print for Bantu Education), this article documents the influence, not of individuals *per se* (i.e. members of the Teachers College Club), but of an educational discourse on the construction of education policies that would affect the lives of millions of black South Africans and ultimately shape the course of South African history. This article shows the legacy of Loram's concerns about efficiency, systematization and state control, Malherbe's commitment to "facts" and social scientists as policy makers and Cook's ideas about tribal evolution and educational differentiation based on cultural difference. The influence of the Teachers College discourse is evident in the three major themes of the *Eiselen Commission Report*: (1) centralized governance and expert control, (2) educational efficiency and social planning and (3) educational differentiation.

Before delving into the impact of Teachers College discourse on the Eiselen Commission, the article begins with an empirical engagement with the standard theories within the historiography of Bantu Education. These accounts tend to disregard empirical evidence and reveal a fundamental misconception of the policy making process. Although Bantu Education may have reproduced a particular form of labor power and even addresses some aspects of the organic crisis of the 1940s in the long term, the text of *The Eiselen Commission Report* provides little empirical evidence to support the thesis that the architects

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of Bantu Education constructed the policies with these "problems" in mind. Rather, a close reading of the text reveals that the "problems" and the "recommendations" were constituted in and constrained by the authoritative education language of the period, the Teachers College discourse.[1] Through analysis of the discourse of Bantu Education, we can trace connections between the development of the notions of the education as "social planning", expert control, "the needs of a people" and construction of the divided education state.[2]

BANTU EDUCATION AND HEGEMONIC DESIGN

Standard accounts of Apartheid tend to trace the origins of Bantu Education to the 1949-1951 Commission on Native Education.[3] Within a few months after the National Party's electoral victory in October 1948, the new government established an inquiry into "Native" education policy. With a brief to research and make recommendations on the education of the "Bantu" as a "separate race", the seven member commission set about collecting information and testimony at the beginning of 1949. Two years later, the commissioners made their findings public in what became popularly known as *The Eiselen Commission Report*. Based on the recommendation of this commission, the National Party forced the Bantu Education Act of 1953 through Parliament. In the next few years, the specific recommendations that had been made in *The Report* were implemented by the new Division of Bantu Education.

The liberal English establishment in the early 1950s viewed *The Eiselen Commission Report* as a dogmatic treatise, an outgrowth of some misunderstood anthropological concepts, German racial theory (attributed to Eiselen), and a peculiar insular Afrikaner 'ethnic identity'.[4] These critics dismissed the commission as a half-hearted effort to justify what became a systematic campaign of racial discrimination, indoctrination, control and distortion. The liberals of this generation were content to chronicle the injustice of Bantu Education, but when pushed to explain the new educational policy, fell back on the argument that Bantu Education was an outgrowth of the Afrikaner "frontier mentality".[5]

In the late 1970s, a new generation of critics of Apartheid challenged the standard liberal interpretation of The Eiselen Commission and the practices of Bantu Education. Equipped with Althusserian and Poulantsian Marxism, the South African revisionists argued that The Eiselen Commission was an expression, not of Afrikaner racism *per se*, but of the logic of capital accumulation and particular class interests. They demonstrated the functional compatibility between capitalism and the intentions and practice of Bantu Education as spelled out in the 1951 Report. Christie and Collins, in particular, theorized that Bantu Education was a response to the needs of the capital accumulation process in South Africa in the late 1940s. They argued that there were insufficient number of workers with the requisite skills to meet the increasing demands of the emerging manufacturing sector. Bantu Education, in this account, was also designed to pacify the newly urbanized African proletariat who had been radicalized in towns and cities by capitalist exploitation and

segregation. In general terms, the new education policy was a systematic strategy to guarantee long term accumulation by inculcating the correct values, skills and attitudes into the newly urbanized African proletariat, thus making it South Africa's version of schooling under industrial capitalism.[6]

More recently, Jonathan Hyslop has developed a more nuanced and empirically informed account of Bantu Education that draws on the work of Antonio Gramsci. Although he continues to maintain that the education policies in the 1950s were "above all an attempt to respond to the crisis of reproduction of the labour force, and especially its urban component", he conceptualizes reproduction quite broadly. His analysis of the reproductive capacity of the social order suggests that the physical and social services were not sufficiently developed to ensure an adequate work force. The lack of adequate schooling, in particular, caused resentment within the working class. Hyslop introduces two new dimensions to the earlier revisionist account, the growing white perception that the large numbers of unemployed youth in the new urban townships were responsible for the increase in crime and the fact that the missionaries were unable to cope with the massive increase in student numbers that came with rapid urbanization. He also points to the intellectual challenge posed by African nationalism, particularly the ANC Youth League.[7]

Despite the wide currency of the revisionist account of the origins of Bantu Education, surprisingly little detailed empirical research has been done to verify what are essentially theoretical claims. Implicit in the revisionist account is a conception of hegemonic design, that *The Eiselen Commission Report* was the strategic plan that detailed the means by which the African working class would come to meet the needs of secondary industry and the South African economy in general.[8] But what evidence is there that The Eiselen Commission was a strategic plan to ensure long-term capital accumulation?

An initial reading of the text would suggest that education and the economy were central concerns of the commissioners. In the opening pages the economic viability of the reserves, the condition under which Africans were employed on farms and in the mines, and the utilization of African artisans are described in considerable detail. Extensive statistics on the increasing numbers of Africans employed between 1936 and 1946 were included. The commissioners reported that after the categories of commerce and finance, and professions and sports (which employed only tiny numbers of workers) industrial work was the fastest growing occupation category in 1946. Although the commissioners seemed to have recognized that the segmented labor market and identified rapid growth in secondary industries, they have some difficulties factoring them into the education policy equation. There is a curious absence of any discussion of the human capital needs of these industries and the role that schooling could play in addressing them.[9] One of the most intriguing citations in the text is a reference to a 1948 University of the Witwatersrand "Native Urban Employment" study. Researchers at the University found that there was an over 100 percent employee turn-over in the 251 largest Johannesburg firms, and that four-fifths of all employment in Johannesburg was casual labour. Neither the researchers who

conducted the study, nor the commissioners who cited it, seem to identify the profoundly unstable workforce as "problem." One might have expected that it would have been viewed as evidence of an undersupply of educated workers or a workforce lacking appropriate work-discipline.

In only one place in *The Report* did the commissioners directly confront the relationship between schooling and the economy. Rather than defining education policy in terms of the human resource needs of the fastest growing sector of the economy, *The Eiselen Commission Report* pointed out that:

> what is taught and learnt in Bantu schools is never applied in practice, because the economic incentives that should operate when children leave school are either absent or of such a nature as to undo the work of the schools. The reform of these economic conditions cannot be the function of an Education Department, but the success of the work of the schools is dependent upon the existence of social and economic opportunities for absorbing the products of the schools.[10]

The passage indicates a particular analysis of the relationship between education and the economy, the mismatch between the type of schooling provided by the missionaries and the forms of racial discrimination in the society that restricted the utilization of that education. By implication, the passage seems to imply that the kind of education provided in schools was substantially beyond that which was required for the students' future employment, implicitly acknowledging that little or no education was "necessary" for employment in the major employment sectors of mining, domestic service and agriculture. Although *The Report* made links between education and work, it did not advocate education for work. It did not advocate the vocationalization of the primary school curriculum, nor did it lay undue stress on specialized technical or industrial programs at the secondary level.[11]

The section in *The Eiselen Commission Report* most often cited as evidence in support of the hegemonic design thesis is a list of qualities that Bantu Education would convey to African children. These included punctuality, a sense of duty, persistence, sociability, mannerliness, neatness, and reliability. These values are interpreted in the standard accounts as qualities necessary for an efficient semi-skilled worker to have. Unfortunately, the passage is often selectively cited. The entire list of qualities includes "initiative" and "self-confidence," values not generally associated with preparing children for positions as semi-skilled workers to have.[12]

The absence of a discourse of human capital is not surprising considering that representatives of mining and industrial capital did not feature at all in the Commission. None of the commissioners had direct ties to big business or mining houses. The chair, Prof. W. W. M. Eiselen, was a German trained anthropologist, of missionary parents, who had worked for ten years as the Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal. Jan de Wet Keyter, also of German extraction and education, was professor of social work at

Stellenbosch University. Andrew Howson Murray was an historian at the University of Cape Town. Peter Allen Wilson Cook, the only member of the Teachers College on the Commission, was Malherbe's successor as Director of the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research. Gustav Bernard Gerdner was professor of New Testament subjects, mission science and practical theology at Stellenbosch Seminary. Michel Daniel Christiaan de Wet Nel was a prominent National Party member of parliament who would later serve as Minister of Health, and then Education, Arts and Science and finally Bantu Administration and Development. The last member of the commission, John MacLeod, was Chief Inspector of Education in Natal in the late 1940s.[13] Three of the seven commissioners had German PhDs, and one an American doctorate. The commission was heavily weighted with academic "experts", even if they were not all specialists in "Native Education". Three of the commissioners were high ranking education bureaucrats. Nel was the only person on the Commission to have been elected by a constituency. More revealing still was the list of witnesses who gave evidence before the Commission between 1949 and 1951. Of the almost five hundred witnesses, the list contains no reference to mining, commercial and industrial representatives amongst those that gave evidence before the Commission. In contrast, at least five members of the Communist Party gave evidence, including Moses Kotane and an unnamed member of the Central Committee. African National Congress members Mrs. K. Zuma and Prof. Z. K. Matthews are also listed as witnesses.

What does all this reveal about The Eiselen Commission? The evidence from *The Eiselen Commission Report* suggests that commissioners did not conceive of the policies of Bantu Education in terms of the need to respond to the crisis in social reproduction. Although they were well aware of the general crisis that South Africa faced in the decade following the end of the Second World War, they did not conceptualize Bantu Education as a means of resolving it.

BUREAUCRATIC EFFICIENCY AND SOCIAL PLANNING

While conducting its work within the original terms of reference -- "the formulation of principles and aims of education for Natives as an independent race" -- the Commission recast the "problem" from the viewpoint of bureaucratic efficiency and planning. The commissioners believed that scientific "facts" and technical expertise would provide the "solutions" to the complex "problems" of developing an education policy for "the Bantu". They subscribed to the view that the scientific method and social engineering applied correctly would usher in a stable social order. Values such as equality, individual rights, and democratic participation were ultimately subordinate to rational planning and bureaucratic efficiency.[14] Since technical progress was seen as an inevitable process, few could anticipate the monsters that unbridled social planning could create. Few critics in the age of social planning would anticipate the ways in which a technical discourse would incorporate "low" everyday racism of the society.

The Commission Report made extensive use of the efficiency terminology invented by early twentieth century American educational reformers. *The Report* demonstrated the "inefficiency" of the mission system through an analysis of its "holding power," "rates of retardation and elimination", and "examination scores". Predictably, the commissioners presented evidence of the "inefficiency" of the mission schools as measured by the very high levels of "retardation and elimination" in the substandards. The "facts" showed that a large proportion of African children were kept back every year or dropped out of school. Compared to white pupils of the same age, The Eiselen Commission found that African children began schooling later, spent an additional year in the substandards, and then left on average with less than four years of schooling. This large number of children in the lower classes created what the Commission termed a "traffic jam" in the substandards. The commissioners believed that "the substandards for many have developed into a 'school within a school' where over-age pupils are bogged down and terminate their school career without ever reaching the standards". As the average length of school career was less than four years, many pupils did not benefit from their brief stay in school. The Commission pointed to a number of factors that contributed to this "traffic jam". Children were often admitted at irregular intervals through out the year, classes were overcrowded making it difficult for teachers to teach effectively. Unqualified teachers were regularly assigned to the overcrowded lower classes. Some schools had a so-called "small-A" class, for under-age children, basically a pre-school class. The Commission also found that a large number of schools used English as a medium, an additional educational burden for first year students. The mission schools seldom had sufficient textbooks. Finally, poor attendance made progress difficult. Part of the efficiency problem, the Commission Report noted, was the tyranny of the Standard VI public examination. This examination structured all learning in the primary school, although only ten percent of all students would reach Std VI.[15]

During the course of the Commission, P. A. W. Cook, Malherbe's successor at the National Bureau for Educational and Social Research, collected large amounts of "data" on pupil achievement, average age, and examination results. Achievement tests in arithmetic and English vocabulary, which were administered as part of the Welsh Committee's investigation, were again administered in 1949. *The Eiselen Commission Report* devoted an entire article to the findings of these tests. Cook wrote:

> the achievement of Bantu pupils does not compare favourably, either age for age or standard for standard with that of European pupils. . . . There are many actors which contribute to this state of affairs ... It is sufficient for the purpose of your Commission to establish that the present system of education has been found to be inefficient as measured by the above mentioned criteria and that improvement must be sought in future bold experimentation based on scientific research.[16]

By defining the education in terms of bureaucratic efficiency, the Commission found a very powerful means to discredit the missionaries. This approach to the education measurement and bureaucratic reform shows a striking resemblance to the strategies of the "administrative progressives" at Teachers College and their South African followers, Wouter de Vos Malan and E. G. Malherbe. As was the case in school districts throughout the United States in the first two decades of the century, and in white education forty years earlier, an exposé of the "inefficiency" and "educational waste" justified bureaucratic education reforms.

The analysis of the efficiency of the education system extended beyond the confines of the measurement of internal productivity of the mission schools. Terms such as "the general socio-economic development plan" and "the plan for general development" reveal the extent to which the Commission subscribed to the idea of social planning. This terminology was used both as a way of criticizing the existing system and of conceptualizing an alternative. One of the central criticisms levelled at the mission schools system was that no social planning was involved in its development. Only by carefully planning the integration, co-ordination and articulation of all component parts of the societal machine could schooling achieve precise efficiency. Given this conception of educational efficiency, it is understandable why Eiselen believed that the education system should be an integral feature of the "general socio-economic development plan".[17] Despite the absence of a clearly formulated national plan for "separate development" or "development on own lines", the commissioners were committed in general to the principle that all aspects of education should conform to a grand social plan. Rather than evolving to meet local needs as they emerge, a centrally planned "solution" was to be drafted, with each detail specified in minute detail.[18]

The general socio-economic development plan would involve policies that were integrated, co-ordinated and articulated. For Eiselen,

> education must be broadly conceived as a vital social service concerned not only with the intellectual, moral and emotional development of the individual but also with the socio-economic development of the Bantu as a people. Education, as one of a number of social services, must be *integrated organically with all other State efforts designed to raise the level of Bantu life*, and this integration should be affected at the local and national levels.[19]

Integrated policy would involve the joint planning of all state social services, i.e. housing, recreation, health, and training. Within specific sectors, the Commission proposed co-ordination between different state activities. In contrast to the existing system, where for example, agricultural education in schools was not co-ordinated with the work of government agricultural demonstrators, and agricultural projects of the S.A. Native Trust, the Commission proposed centrally planned co-ordination of all agricultural training and government projects. Similarly, the Commission proposed that government sponsored artisan training program

should be strictly co-ordinated with existing employment opportunities. In addition to the need for thorough integration and co-ordination, the Commission Report stressed the need for inter-school articulation. The Commission criticized the widespread mission practice of arbitrarily extending individual schools to meet community demands (a criticism Loram had made in Natal in 1918.) In many places, more than one school was built on a single site, individual principals controlled numerous schools, lower primary schools offered higher primary courses, and higher primary schools enrolled secondary school level students. The Commission Report proposed a rigid articulation system in which lower and upper primary schools were to be a specific size, with a rational geographic distribution, and a planned feeder system that articulated the lower with the upper levels of schooling. The infrastructural planning was to be calculated on demographic projections based on the norm of one lower primary school per neighborhood or community. Factors such as distance, density of the school population and the demand for education should be taken into consideration in the planning of education facilities.[20]

GOVERNANCE AND ADMINISTRATION

> The State takes over central control from the Provinces and the community takes over the local control from religious bodies.[21]

At first reading, the Eiselen Commission appeared to say contradictory things about how African schools should be governed. The commissioners were at once committed to the centralization of educational governance but at the same time they seemed to advocate strong local control. They recommended that executive authority for African education be transferred from the Provincial Departments of Education to the Union Department of Native Affairs and at the local level, control of schools should fall under Local Bantu Authorities rather than the mission societies. Given this seeming contradiction, historians who have interpreted the Commission's recommendations on educational governance and administration, have either focused on the moves toward centralization or explored the implications of local control. Collins and Christie, for example, interpret the transfer of bureaucratic control from the provinces to the national government as part of a coherent strategy to ensure that the school system meet the human resource needs of mining and industrial capital. In their view, "central control was to be the springboard for educational policies to contribute toward the reproduction of black labour in a stable form".[22] In their view, the national government was the only layer of the South African state with sufficient resources and ideological commitment to ensure that the education system would continue to produce the requisite type of workers. [23] Hyslop, on the other hand, focuses on the Eiselen Commission's recommendations concerning control at the local level. In his view, the type of local bodies that developed under Bantu Education, the school committees and school boards, functioned as mechanisms of what Weiler calls "compensatory legitimation"

and as means by which the new government could shift the financial burden directly on to Black communities.[24] In his words, local school governance was essentially about the "organisationally and ideologically reincorporating of black communities into the education system."[25] Although both of these interpretations provide important insights into the link between governance, legitimation, and social reproduction, they miss other key aspects of the Eiselen Commission's proposed changes to the existing system of governance.[26]

The deceptively simple proclamation in the Eiselen Commission that "the State takes over central control from the provinces and the community takes over local control from the religions bodies" involved far more than the re-allocation of the powers, rights and functions to different layers of system of educational governance. When the governance reforms came into effect after 1955, they dramatically inverted the balance of power between civil society and the State. Within the context of the politics of knowledge, control of African education was taken out of the hands of "amateurs" and given over to "professionals" or "experts". In terms of the class composition of the new knowledge elite, the re-organization of the system of governance meant that African education would be increasingly dominated by Afrikaners bureaucrats rather than English-speaking and European expatriate missionaries. This new group of governors brought with them a different *administrative culture* from that of the older generation of education administrators who had risen through the ranks of the mission system. The new Afrikaner bureaucratic culture was characterized by its secrecy, inaccessibility and unresponsiveness to popular sentiment.

In characteristic thoroughness, the commissioners went into considerable detail in their criticisms of each level of educational governance. At the national level, the Commission acknowledged that the establishment of the Union Advisory Board on Native Education in 1945 had greatly increased the capacity of the central government to regulate African education since the Board had been granted advisory powers on financial planning. Despite the advances that had been made by the Union Advisory Board since World War II, Eiselen's commissioners believed that its powers, rights and functions continued to be too weak. Moreover, the composition of the Board, which included a large number of representatives from the mainline mission churches, meant that the Advisory Board was controlled by a group of "non-experts" who had a vested interest in preserving the system of mission control. The few individuals on the Board who might have been classified as "experts" were "either directly responsible to Provincial Administrations or represented other bodies concerned with Bantu Education, e.g. the churches or the S.A. Native College" and were disqualified in the eyes of the commissioners as they served vested interests. Without disinterested "experts", the commissioners argued, it was nigh on impossible for the Union government to plan far-reaching and coherent national policies for the social development of the "Bantu". More specifically, the commissioners pointed out, without the oversight of "experts", the four separate provincial budgets submitted by the Board to the Minister of Education could not be "correlated with the budget of any other Department

dealing with the Bantu". The Advisory Board, the commissioners argued, also lacked the "objectivity" to assess the four provinces' actual requirements, as the non-experts who drafted the provincial budget estimates were "seldom in the possession of sufficient facts".[27]

The Eiselen Commission recommended that the Union Advisory Board be replaced by the far more powerful Union Board for Native Education. The fact that the word "advisory" was dropped signalled a change in the nature of this particular body. The new Board had substantially expanded powers including control over examinations, discipline, development and planning, the budget, and crucial policy to do with regional planning. The real change was not just in the expansion in the rights, powers and functions, important though they may have been, but in the composition of the new Board. The 1945 Advisory Board was heavily weighted in favor of the major English-speaking mission churches. The Commission recommended that the composition of the Board be changed in such a way that the majority of the members were to be drawn from the various divisions within the Department of Native Affairs, including the national Director of Bantu Education, the Director of Bantu Technical Services, the Director of Bantu Administration, and representatives of the Development Authority. The new Board included two "experts", defined as "Europeans with specialized knowledge of Bantu life and education, representing the Sotho and Nguni groups". Mission representation was greatly reduced. The mainline English-speaking Protestant churches were to be represented by only one member from the Christian Council of South Africa, the same number as the less powerful Die Federale Sendingraad van N. G. Kerke and Catholic Bishops Conference of South Africa. African teachers were to be represented by two nominees from the Federal Board of Bantu Teachers. Eiselen believed that the composition of the Board with the large number of government bureaucrats and experts would, "ensur[e] the closest co-operation at the highest administrative levels between the various departments concerned with Bantu development". Eiselen envisaged the Board as a vehicle of inter-departmental planning, rather than a means by which education could have lay input. In fact, it seems clear from the structure of the new Board that Eiselen did not see any real need to incorporate the missionaries into national governance of Native education. Control over policy and planning would be in the hands of the Bantu Development Authority and the Department of Bantu Education, both parts of the bureaucracy that were firmly insulated against lay participation. Accountability was upward toward the Minister, rather than downward toward civil society. Policy and planning were specialized functions left to "experts" within the State bureaucracy.[28]

Thus the Commission's understanding of the "problems" in the governance of African education, and the "solutions" they provided, revealed a great deal of the source of its intellectual inspiration. Loram had developed an identical model of "expert control" of national educational governance in 1924 when he began to advocate Union control of African education. Malherbe too had made similar kinds of recommendations as far back as 1925 in his Teachers College dissertation.[29]

Although the focus of the Eiselen Commission's recommendations concerning governance involved changes to the powers of the national government, it devoted considerable attention to provincial government.[30] Having had extensive experience in the Transvaal Education Department, serving as chief inspector of Native Education between 1936-1946, Eiselen did not believe that the average provincial administrator had the necessary expertise to develop educational plans involving large scale schemes for "social development". In addition to not having the trained personnel with a broader understanding of what it would take to view educational planning as part of the broader process of social engineering, Eiselen believed that only the central government could "wield the requisite power" to allow it to plan "development schemes of national compass", and "execute such schemes". In his view, "provincial attempts to do educational planning were ineffective because the provinces lacked both the vision and the capacity to do this planning."[31] He also believed that the concentration of control at the provincial level had contributed to what he saw as the separation of education from "the other agencies set up by the State". The provinces were either unable or unwilling to finance and control education as part of an integrated system of social services which included "the active participation of the Bantu as a people". From a national financing perspective, the Eiselen Commission pointed out the weakness of the existing budgetary process by pointing to the discrepancies between provincial unit costing. This was seen as a major obstacle in the way of the development of a uniform and equitable model of educational financing. The Commission recommended replacing the four provincial departments of education with a system of six regional administrative units. Rather than having an autonomous role in formulating policy and planning, the principle function of the regional structures would be to implement decisions taken by the central Department of Native Affairs.[32]

At the local level, Eiselen was critical of mission control and management. Rather than leading to a rational education system, Eiselen observed that local mission control had resulted in an informal system where local "administrative units" were of "very unequal size and efficiency, and with widely different conceptions as to the aims and practices of education." In specific regions of the country, denominational rivalry had led to "wasteful duplication in certain areas and a very unsystematic distribution of educational facilities" because of "overlapping distribution of schools of rival societies". Given Eiselen's background in ethno-linguistics, he was particularly concerned about the missionaries' practice of lumping different language groups together in a single classroom. Above all, mission control had failed in the eyes of the commissioners because it was "divorced from a system of local government". Following the argument that P. A. W. Cook had developed in his dissertation two decades earlier, the Commission argued that mission control did not allow communities to take ownership of the schools, both financially and socially. To remedy this situation, the Commission recommended that local governance of schools be transferred from mission managers to the Bantu Local Authorities. These local structures

had a series of administrative responsibilities including the collection of taxes, employment of officials, clerical staff, budgeting for various local services. Despite the emphasis of local control, the Commission argued for strict supervision by white administrative officers appointed by the Union Government. Although Eiselen made use of the rhetoric of local participation, he believed that it was "necessary to give considerable guidance to these local bodies in framing their budgets and for this purpose the technical officers of the various Government Departments functioning in the areas should be available".[33] While *The Eiselen Commission Report* stressed the importance of community governance, the presence of technical officers meant that they had little real decision making power.[34]

The Commission's governance and administration recommendations effectively eliminated local and regional autonomy as the real decision-making power was vested in the national Department of Native Affairs. The change of government in 1948 meant far more than new faces in the bureaucracy, it involved real changes in the form of the state. Under the new regime, administrators and "experts" became the actual policy makers. Given the balance of power within South African society on the eve of the National Party victory, it seems clear that this particular form of state power served the specific career interests of Afrikaner bureaucrats. One of the major consequences of the new political arrangement was a state that was increasingly inaccessible and insulated from the broader society.[35]

THEORETICAL ORIGINS OF BANTU EDUCATION

At the heart of *The Eiselen Commission Report* is a theoretical discussion on the very nature of the educational enterprise and the constitution of the polity. Hidden deep in the recesses of the text, in a small number of paragraphs under the title "Aims of Bantu Education," the reader finds the essential philosophy of Apartheid education. The philosophy begins with the assumption that education is that set of activities that transmits culture[36] from one generation to the next. As such, education involves a set of activities that are much broader than those associated with schooling. As the commissioners understood it, the social world was made up of a series of "social institutions", e.g. the family, organized religion. These social institutions are necessary for the successful functioning of any society. Each social institution engages in education of a particular kind, an education *The Report* characterizes as "social education".

As societies become more complex, the argument continues, specialized institutions need to be constructed to transmit elements of the culture that are not easily transmitted by the existing social institutions. One of these specialized institutions is the school. The distinguishing feature of this new institution is that its educational methods are formal. For

specialized social institutions like the school to be effective, they need to be in harmony with the individual's experiences in other social institutions. The school needs to complement and reinforce other social institutions of society.

This preliminary argument bears striking resemblance to an argument John Dewey developed in the first article of *Democracy and Education*. In this text, Dewey argued that human renewal takes place through the process of cultural transmission. In Dewey's words, "this transmission occurs by means of communication of habits of doing, thinking, and feeling from the older to the younger". In his view,

> In undeveloped social groups, we find very little formal teaching and training. Savage groups mainly rely for instilling needed dispositions into the young upon the same sort of association that keep adults loyal to their group ... For the most part, they depend upon children learning the customs of adults, acquiring their emotion set and stock ideas, by sharing in what the elders are doing.

As civilization advances, Dewey continued, the process of informal education broke down because imitation was insufficiently developed as a means of learning. As a result, intentional agencies or schools were developed. In Dewey's view, without the specialized educational agency, it would have been impossible to transmit all of the resources and achievements of a complex society.[37]

Returning to *The Eiselen Commission Report*, the philosophical argument for Bantu Education identified colonialism as the disruption that upset the smooth functioning of the existing social institutions. In the context of the colonized world, the European school undermined the already weakened "Bantu" social institutions. The schools did not reinforce, nor were they reinforced by, existing indigenous social institutions. The formally harmonious relationship between social institutions, the very cornerstone of an efficient educational enterprise, was disrupted. If an African family or community wanted to adapt itself to the European school, they would encounter hostility from "Bantu" institutions. This caused a rupture between school and home, which in turn created individuals who either rejected all "Bantu" social institutions or rejected the European school culture. Because of the incredible power and prestige of Western civilization, Eiselen believed that individuals tended to reject their own social institutions in favor of that of the school. The effect of the mismatch between the Western oriented school and the pre-existing "Bantu social institutions", was on the one hand, inefficient school education, and on the other individuals who were alienated from their social world.[38] If the central problem in the education of the indigenous people of South Africa was the mismatch between the Western oriented school and the existing "Bantu" social institutions (defined earlier as the problem of integration and co-ordination) then the solution was to reconstitute the nature of the school so as to bring it in line with existing "Bantu" social institutions.

This is the background for the Commission's definition of the aims of Bantu Education:

(a) From the viewpoint of the whole society the aim of Bantu Education is the development of a modern progressive culture, with social institutions which will be in harmony with one another and with the evolving conditions of life to be met in South Africa and with the schools which must serve as effective agents in this process of development.

(b) From the viewpoint of the individual the aims of Bantu Education are the development of character and intellect, and the equipping of the child for his future work and surroundings.[39]

The aim of the "Bantu" school was to be the promotion of a "modern progressive culture." In order to achieve this aim, all social institutions needed to be in harmony with each other and with "conditions of life". In other words, the school would need to be enforced by the existing social order. The efficient school would be functional in two ways. First, it needed to be functional with other social institutions with educative functions, e.g. the home and the community. Second, it needed to be functional in terms of "conditions of life", that is, the child's "future life and surroundings".

The Eiselen Commission Report seems here to be a restatement of Dewey's earliest educational ideas. While still in Chicago Dewey had written,

> The school is primarily a social institution. Education being a social process, the school is simply the form of community life in which all those agencies are concentrated that will be most effective in bringing the child to share in the inherited resources of the race ... the school life should grow gradually out of the home life, that it should take up and continue the activities with which the child is already familiar in the home. It is the business of the school to deepen and extend his sense of the values bound up in his home life ... Much of the present education fails because it neglects this fundamental principle of the school as a form of community life.[40]

In addition to the central "social institution" argument, the text contains a number of important corollaries. The commissioners, a number of who came from a religious base, believed that "Bantu" culture could not be truly "progressive" without first being Christian. For the school to be "efficient" and in harmony with other social institutions, the school needs to be in "the care of a Union Government department". Under the care of central government, education planning would be integrated and co-ordinated with an overall plan for Bantu development. Due to the emphasis placed on the development of a "modern progressive culture", the school would need to be directed at the "masses", with a curriculum that included both "social" and "school" education. Furthermore to ensure that the new "Bantu" school was close to the "Bantu" people, mother-tongue would be used as the medium of instruction. In order to achieve this closeness, schools would use only "Bantu personnel"

as they would be more in tune with the "Bantu" social institutions. The presence of "Bantu personnel", it was believed, would also facilitate parent involvement thus harmonizing the school and the home.[41]

How did the Eiselen Commission conceptualize Bantu "conditions of life" and "future life and surroundings"? The commissioners believed that the reserves (later referred to as the homelands) were areas where "Bantu culture functions most completely". Although they acknowledged that the reserves were fast becoming "economic and cultural slums, places to be avoided by the educated and enterprising", they advocated orienting education toward the rural because they were the only areas left which still had functional "Bantu social institutions". The "Bantu" who had moved to the city or the white farm had forsaken his own distinct social institutions. The commissioners believed that if the "Bantu" was educated in "developed reserves", he would not be "demoralised" by farm or city life.[42]

The most distinct characteristic of Bantu Education was the emphasis on differentiation. Unlike Fick and van Rensburg, Eiselen's argument for educational differentiation did not depend on "evidence" of physical or psychological differences. Differentiated education was justified on the basis of the argument that efficient education was that education that was in harmony with existing social institutions. It was also justified on the pedagogical principle about "leading the child from the known and familiar the unknown and unfamiliar." In the commissioners' view, what was known and familiar to the "Bantu" child were those things learnt through the "Bantu language . . .at the knee of a Bantu mother." They believed that that the known and familiar should "dictate to a very large extent the content and methods" of early education. Educational differentiation was necessary, the commissioners argued, to ensure that the school product be able to fit into his or her society. For the commissioners, this was a segregated society in which the "Bantu" would find educational, social and political expression in the reserves, but work for the "European" as migrant laborers in factories, farms, mines and homes.[43]

Professor Murray was the only member of the Commission to dissent. In Murray's view, the emphasis that the Commission gave to the "social" purpose of education was in direct conflict with a Christian standpoint. "Man", Murray argued in dissenting remarks published at the back of *The Report*, "is an end in himself and his social institutions merely means to aid him to a better life". The aim of education should not be to produce any particular kind of society or culture, rather the aim of education was human freedom. For Murray, the power of reason, which makes freedom possible, was precisely what separates human beings from other animals. "Since human beings achieved the condition of freedom in which they thought for themselves, it has often happened that education has turned against the 'culture' of the group by way of self-criticism passed by reasonable thinking members of the community upon its way of life". Following Victor Murray's criticism of Adapted Education, Commissioner Murray argued that the "aim of Bantu Education" confused sociological "facts" with moral "values".[44]

Murray traced the problem back to what he saw as a misunderstanding of the Aristotelian doctrine of man as a political animal. Bantu Education, in Murray's view, assumed that social institutions emerged because man could not live in any other way except in a herd, and "depended for his personal survival on his existence within the group". This erroneous argument, Murray posited, failed to recognize the centrality of reason in the constitution of individuals. "The power of reason enabled man to live with other men without losing his individuality". In his conception of the relationship between individuals and society, the aim of education was not to serve a specific social purpose, but rather, the aim of deliberate instruction should be the development of the individual:

> For a human being is primarily an individual, compelled to observe and to learn things by himself and for himself. . . his education is essentially the development of his own potentialities, through his own faculties as well as under the stimulus of his physical and social environment.[45]

For Murray, education should not prepare the individual for already existing society. Society was to follow the will and reason of the rational individual rather than the other way round. "If education centres round the individual; the community would become adjusted to his needs, and in this way the community would develop from the individual".[46] Murray's clearly argued response to the philosophy of Bantu Education was not followed by a thorough critique of *The Report's* emphasis on efficiency and social planning. The bulk of his dissenting remarks were of only minor significance.

Murray's insights into the philosophy of Bantu Education enable us to situate this particular policy development within international education discourse. Rather than a bizarre and tragic exception to the general trend in educational thought in both the industrialized and the third world, Bantu Education was the logical extension of a commitment to efficiency, expertise and a social philosophy of education applied to a society were a disproportionate amount of wealth and power lay in the hands of a minority. Because the South African system of Apartheid was ostensibly so deviant, the tendency has been to search for its origins in the darker recesses of a racist past or in the inner logic of the capitalist accumulation process. Although the particularities of the South African capitalist mode of production, class and property relations, political authority, and ideology must be central to any explanation of the development of Apartheid, this article has shown that a specific politics of knowledge was also an important ingredient in its development.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. On a theoretical level, this article shows the ways in which discursive practices or sets of ideas, in this case the discourse of the Teachers College Club, had significant generative power. Education policies, such as Bantu Education are not explicable with reference to the social function they may come to serve, nor are they reducible to some underlying economic base, notwithstanding the needs of the capital accumulation process, the class interest or intergroup conflict. Educational policies are constituted by and in discourse. But these discourses or ideas have particular histories, they are not free floating. Their production, regulation, transmission, and distribution are determined by specific power relations, power relations that may have little to do with a society's accumulation process or intergroup conflicts. In the South African context, Adam Ashforth's *The Politics of Official Discourse in Twentieth-Century South Africa* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990) comes closest to the approach. My one criticism of Ashforth is that he fails to explore the origins of the discourse that he so brilliantly dissects.
2. I have chosen not to examine the institutional processes of the Commission, but rather, the inner logic of the text. At first appearance, the institutional process appears to be similar to the commissions of which Malherbe was so critical. On closer inspection, however, it is clear that the Commission was far more "scientific" and "expert" oriented than the commissions that Malherbe had criticized in the 1920s. Only one of the commissioners could rightly be referred to as an "amateur" as all the others were either experienced administrators in "Native Education" or were university trained "experts".
3. In the judgement of one historian, the Bantu Education Act of 1953, which became the cornerstone of Apartheid education legislation, gave "expression to the main ideas embodied in *The Eiselen Commission Report*". E. G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa* Vol. II (Cape Town: Juta & Co., 1977), 547.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Muriel Horrel, *African Education: Some Origins and Developments until 1953* (Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations, 1963); John Shingler, "Education and the Political Order in South Africa, 1902-1961" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1973); I. A. Robertson, "Education in South Africa: A Study of the Influence of Ideology on Educational Practice" (Ph.D. diss., 1973). For a more critical early perspective see J. B. Tabata, *Education for Barbarism* (Durban, 1959); and F. Troup, *Forbidden Pastures: Education under Apartheid* (London: JDA, 1977).
6. Pam Christie and Colin Collins, "Bantu Education: Apartheid Ideology and Labour Reproduction," in P. Kallaway, *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984).
7. Jonathan Hyslop, "Destruction Coming: Social Origins of Bantu Education" (MS), "State Education Policy and the Social Reproduction of the Urban African Working Class: the Case of the Southern Transvaal 1955-76" *Journal of Southern African Studies* 14/3 (April 1988), 446-476, and his dissertation, "Social Conflict over African Education in South Africa from the 1940s to 1976" (Ph.D. diss., University of the Witwatersrand, 1990). Chisholm and Cross give perhaps the best recent overview history of South African education, summarising the "new" narrative. They argue that Bantu education was a response to the labour and social crisis brought about by the process of secondary industrialization and

the rise of monopoly capitalism. Following the Christie and Collins line they argue that Bantu Education restructured the conditions of social reproduction of the black working class and created the conditions for stabilizing the black urban underclass of semi-skilled laborers. Adopting Hyslop's argument, they note that Bantu education was also about preventing juvenile delinquency and political militancy among urban working class youth. Linda Chisholm and Michael Cross, "The Roots of Segregated Education in Twentieth Century South Africa," in *Pedagogy for Domination,* ed. M. Nkomo (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1990).

8. Since the publication of these accounts there has been a major revision of the standard Marxist interpretation on the origins of Apartheid. Rather than focusing on the social and economic functionality of Apartheid, Lazar and Posel point to the tensions and conflicts within Afrikaner nationalists circles. Rather than a single unified conception of Apartheid, they point out that the policy that finally came to be referred by that name was the outcome of a struggle between "pragmatists" and "idealists". While Afrikaner businessmen and farmers advocated a utilitarian and pragmatic concern for separation, Afrikaner intellectuals were committed to total separation and social engineering. John Lazar, "Conformity and Conflict: Afrikaner Nationalist Politics in South Africa, 1948-1961" (D Phil, Oxford, 1987); Deborah Posel, *The Making of Apartheid 1948-1961: Conflict and Compromise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press); and Phil Bonner, Peter Delius & Debbie Posel (eds.), *Apartheid: The Genesis* (Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press, 1993). Recently, Kros has pointed out that Eiselen himself, like Verwoerd, straddled the divide between the so-called pragmatists and the idealists. Although the introduction of the idea of internal contestation between different factions of Afrikaner nationalism have significantly deepened our understanding of the roots and evolution of Apartheid, these recent studies still do not provide comprehensive accounts of the intellectual contexts within which these ideas were formulated. Cynthia Kros, "Eiselen and the Clash of Languages" (Paper presented at the African Studies Seminar, University of the Witwatersrand, 1990), and her paper, "Eiselen: Idealists and Idealism Revisited" (Paper presented to South African Comparative and History of Education Society, Scottburgh, October, 1993).

9. *The Report of the Commission on Native Education in South Africa--1951*, Chairman, Dr. W. W. M. Eiselen (henceforth referred to as *The Eiselen Commission Report.*) paragraph 119-145. Rather than referencing pages, I have chosen to refer to paragraphs in *The Eiselen Commission Report.*

10. *The Eiselen Commission Report.*, para. 215.

11. In response to "European" witnesses' "concern" about the difficulty that skilled African artisans had in finding employment, *The Eiselen Commission Report* made a bland recommendation that a government board be established to co-ordinate, regulate and monitor the training of skilled artisans to ensure they fit with industry's needs. *The Eiselen Commission Report*, para. 570-578.

12. *Ibid.*, para. 776.

13. The Republic of South Africa, *Parliamentary Register, 1910-1982*, 32; *The Encyclopaedia of South African Biography* (Pretoria: Butterworth, 1981) 176.

14 See Walter Feinberg, "Progressive Education and Social Planning" *Teachers College Record* 73/4 (1972), 485-505.

15. *The Eiselen Commission Report*, paras. 266-76, 579-88, 689-93.

16. *Ibid.*, 515-543.

17. *Ibid.*, 1052.

18. Although the word "apartheid" was used in the National Party election platform in 1948, it appears only once in the entire text. In an obscure note, it was used by Commissioner Nel to refer to a more stringent form of separation, rather than as a blueprint for the social planning of South Africa. *The Eiselen Commission Report*, note on para. 959.

19. *Ibid.*, para. 1051.

20. *Ibid.*, paras. 934-6.

21. *Ibid.*, para. 911.

22. Christie and Collins, op. cit. 171.

23. Krige makes the important point that the debate about levels of centralization was not polarized between supporters of segregation and integrationists. It is evident that "some members of the missions [integrationists] felt that the neglect of African education was the result of provincial miserliness and hostility, and that this could be rectified by the creation of a sub Department of Native Education under the Union. Commitment to Union control did not necessarily mean a commitment to differentiation ." Sue Krige, "Trustees and Agents of the State? Missions and Post Union Policy Formation Towards African Education, 1910-1920" (Unpublished paper, August 1992).

24. Hans Weiler, "Legalization, Expertise, and Participation: Strategies of Compensatory Legitimation in Educational Policy", *Comparative Education Review* 27 (1983), 259-77.

25. Jonathan Hyslop, "Destruction Coming," and his "School Boards, School Committees and Educational Politics: Aspects of the Failure of Bantu Education as a Hegemonic Strategy, 1955-1976," in *Holding Their Ground: Class, Locality and Culture in 19th and 20th Century South Africa,* P. Bonner et al. (eds.) (History Workshop 4. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1989).

26. The central problem with the existing Marxist interpretations of the new system of governance stems from an inadequate theory of the state. In the classical formulation, the state is viewed as a tool of an economic class or class fraction. While not neglecting the ways in which state power came to serve long term class interests, I believe that it is also important to see the ways in which the state and state employees exercised partial autonomy. Struggles between intellectual elites, the missionaries and the government experts is not reducible in any simple way to societal economic imperatives or interests of particular class fractions. The partial autonomy of state employees and the outcome of struggles in the politics of knowledge are important "variables" that explain the inner workings of the Apartheid State. See David Yudelman, *The Emergence of Modern South Africa: State, Capital, and the Incorporation of Organized Labor on the South African Gold Fields, 1902-1939 (*Westport, Cape Town: Greenwood Press, 1983).

27. *The Eiselen Commission Report*, para. 581.

28. *Ibid.*, para 804.
29. Charles T. Loram, "A National System of Native Education", *South African Journal of Science* 2 (1924). It is interesting also to note that Malherbe had advocated not only Union control of African education, but Union control over all education. He used many of the arguments that would later emerge in *The Eiselen Commission Report*, particularly on the problem of dual control, lack of co-ordination between services, lack of local participation, and the politicization of provincial councils. He did differ though in his stress on centralization of education as a major means to develop a national culture rather than Eiselen's stress on social planning for "the Bantu". Other similarities are also evident. Malherbe advocated the re-organization of the provincial administrative authority, and expert and professional control. See E. G. Malherbe, *Education in South Africa, 1652-1922: A Critical Study of the Development of Educational Administration in the Cape, Natal, Transvaal, and the Orange Free State* (Cape Town: Juta & Co., 1925), 439-482.
30. Prior to the introduction of Bantu education, the provincial departments of education had significant fiscal and policy making powers. For many mission educators opposed to more extreme forms of segregation, the appeal of provincial control lay in the fact that a single provincial department controlled White, Coloured, Indian and African schools. For Eiselen, the appearance of non-racial provincial education bureaucracies was an illusion. In reality, the Commission argued that the "integrated" departments actually practiced administrative, financial and curriculum segregation.
31. *The Eiselen Commission Report,* para. 582.
32. Although no systematic research has been done on the impact of the Bantu Education Act on the provincial education bureaucracies or the level of "expert" control in the Department of Native Affairs, the anecdotal evidence that I have come across suggests that the shift from provincial to national control had little to do with the rhetoric of *The Eiselen Commission Report*. It seems that the transfer of authority from the four provincial education departments to the Union Department of Native Affairs was neither particularly popular nor a success from the perspective of the inspectorate. One inspector specifically reflected how unqualified the senior officials in the Department of Native Affairs were for their task of administering African education. He reflected, "administration was thrust upon officials who had no experience of educational matters, worse they lacked the common courtesy to which inspectors of school and teachers, black and white, had been accustomed." The Cape Provincial Secretary of Education in the early 1950s actually advised his office staff not to accept transfers to the Department of Native Affairs. See Jack Dugard, *A Piece of my Fleece* (Pietermaritzburg, 1985), 85-95.
33. *Ibid.*, para. 802.
34. Hyslop, "School Boards", op. cit.
35. I have taken some of these insights from parallels in American bureaucratic reform. See Michael Katz, "How Urban Schools Systems became Bureaucracies" in *Class, Bureaucracy and Schools* (New York: Praeger, 1972).

36. Culture is defined in the broadest sense as the "the sum total of all those patterns of thought, behaviour, and feeling that characterise the social life of a group or society". *The Eiselen Commission Report.*
37. John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillian, 1916), 3-9.
38. The conception of schools breaking down existing social institutions is evident in Cook's dissertation. Cook wrote in 1934, "It [the school] is serving to break down tribal institutions without creating other institutions to take its place ... The schools are not re-creating the social organization so that the whole community can go forward together, they are educating individuals but not a people. . . What is more, the education is creating unhappy people . . . too advanced but because the country is too backward to want him ... The school, to gain the support of the people in order to increase its efficiency, must became a real part of the social order". P. A. W. Cook, *The Education of a South African Tribe* (Cape Town: Juta & Co., 1934), 50-59.
39. *The Eiselen Commission Report,* para. 764.
40. John Dewey, "My Pedagogic Creed" in *The Philosophy of John Dewey,* John McDermott (ed) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). This is not to suggest that Eiselen, the architect of Apartheid education was a follower of John Dewey (although he might have been.) Educational thinkers like Dewey, by orienting the philosophy of education toward the "social individual", provided racists like Eiselen and his Commission with a powerful justification for segregated education.
41. *Ibid.*, para. 766.
42. *Ibid.*, paras. 767-771.
43. *Ibid.*, paras. 772-778.
44. *Ibid.*, 158.
45. *Ibid.*, 170.
46. *Ibid.*

Shifting the Publications Game: The Case of a Textbook Project at a Historically Black University

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During 1995 a small group of psychologists initiated a writing project which has culminated in the publication of a textbook for South African students. This paper describes the conditions and factors which motivated the project and contributed to its success. The data for this paper comprises themes which emerged from the transcripts of interviews conducted with members of the editorial collective and several contributors to the textbook. The objective in doing this is to stimulate similiar initiatives in other contexts.

INTRODUCTION

South African psychology in crisis

During the past decade or more psychology as both an organised profession and as an academic discipline, has been subjected to intense critical scrutiny from within its own ranks. Psychologists such as Lionel Nicholas, Saths Cooper and Mohammed Seedat were notable among those who argued that the practice of psychology in South Africa was

problematic, if not seriously flawed (Nicholas & Cooper,[1] Seedat,[2]). The growing intensity of this critique marked a crisis in South African psychology which resonated with contemporary changes within the international and national context.

At a worldwide level, psychology has undergone what has been reported as a succession of "revolutions" (Swartz,[3]). Prominent among these changes were, as summarised by Swartz[4] and Lazarus[5]

a. a shift in focus from the individual to the group (such as the family or larger groups) as the site of psychological theory and practice;
b. a rejection of positivist methodologies as appropriate for the study of human phenomena, in favour of methods more hermeneutic in orientation;
c. increased flexibility as regards what constitutes the theoretical boundaries of psychology, with increasing efforts to incorporate the influences of history, ideology, socio-economic contexts, culture and language more explicitly into psychological theories;
d. a switch in emphasis from pathology and human deficit to human potential and health.

On the national level, the intensification of anti-apartheid resistance campaigns in the mid-1980's, prompted a critical questioning of all areas of society, including psychology. During this time the collusion of psychology with the apartheid state was made apparent.

> ... the practice and study of psychology in South Africa developed and flourished nestled securely within the institutions and ideology of apartheid. The work of psychologists includes a legacy of direct and indirect contributions to this system of racial exploitation and the profession has certainly reaped the privileges and benefits it bestows upon the educated white elite.[6]

A landmark event in marking the crisis in South African psychology was the 1988 conference organised by a group of black psychologists at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). It was events such as this and the formation of other progressive organisations (OASSSA is an example) within the discipline that culminated in the call for psychology to address the following criticisms:

a. that psychology in South Africa is based almost exclusively on the theories and research findings generated in Western and Northern cultures;
b. the irrelevance of these psychological theories to the concerns and needs of the majority of South Africans;
c. the general neglect of the oppressive socio-political contexts within which the majority of South Africans live;
d. general support of the social, political, economic and educational structures which

have brutalised and demeaned the majority of the South African community; and

e. the iniquitous provision of segregated psychological services, favouring the minority white sector of the population;

f. the widespread racist practices and attitudes within psychological and health-care services.[7]

MEETING THE CHALLENGE

The challenges facing psychology are enormous. Seedat outlined it as follows:

> The silences, inadequate representation of blacks and women at the level of knowledge production, the paucity of distinctive conceptual and methodological inquiry and the absence of an organised constituency of progressive psychologists represent some of the obstacles impeding the growth of a liberatory psychology of South Africa.[8]

At an organisational level, the profession has indeed recognised the need for fundamental conceptual and practical restructuring if it is to address the concerns of the majority of South Africans. The demise of the old Psychological Association of South Africa (PASA) and the launch of the Psychological Society of South Africa (PsySSA) in January 1994, significantly again at UWC, may be seen as an important milestone. At this meeting the president of what was then PASA publicly acknowledged the collusion of psychology with apartheid.

But, the task facing us is immense; it requires that the entire scope of the discipline, its value framework, its theories and interventions, and its teaching and research practices be transformed. Whether these broadly defined needs and objectives are to be realised remains an open question.

AIM OF THIS PAPER

The purpose of this paper is to describe the conditions and factors which motivated a project in the Western Cape. This project ostensibly made its goal the empowerment of disadvantaged and marginalised academics within psychology. Our vision in writing this paper is to stimulate similar initiatives at other institutions around the country. While the major part of the paper is devoted to reflections on the factors that made such a project possible, a short description of the project itself is given below. Such description and critical reflection may prove useful for those contemplating similar undertakings to ensure that a fertile and enabling environment is created.

THE TEXTBOOK PROJECT

The initial focus of the intervention was research and publications, but through a process of discussion, it evolved into a project to publish a textbook for South African psychology students. While it is difficult to demarcate a specific date when the idea for the project was borne (as will be made clear below), the first meeting to discuss the idea of writing a textbook was held in June 1995. A detailed description of the process of the project will be published at a later date. Suffice it here to mention that part of the process of empowerment comprised a writing skills workshop and a conference which was funded by the ACCESS Programme of the Centre for Science Development (CSD). At the time of writing this paper, the task of editing the chapters for the textbook is in progress. The textbook will be published in July 1997, if all work goes according to schedule.

METHOD

In our quest to critically reflect on our actions, interviews were conducted with members of the editorial collective who are co-ordinating this textbook initiative, as well as with other individuals who were part of the group who initiated the project. These interviews form part of a research project supported by ACCESS, which seeks to document and analyze the successes and failures of the processes undertaken in this textbook project.

The interview format was semi-structured. All interviews were tape-recorded and then the transcribed data was subjected to a thematic analysis. The trends revealed through the data analysis comprise the substantive material for the rest of this paper.

ANALYSIS OF MOTIVATING CONDITIONS AND FACTORS

Upon reflection the participants identified particular events and or changes that they saw as crucial to the initiative. Elucidation of these preceding events and conditions is important if we accept that "...the task of the social science of liberation is to provide people who have been excluded from access to knowledge, the profession or the university, *an opportunity to learn from their experiences*." (Webster[9], own emphasis)

Two major areas salient to the development of the project emerged from the data analysis. One area comprised several contextual factors while the second area was the unfolding nature of the project itself. Contextual transformation was seen as crucial in creating both the necessary conditions for the project and for sustaining and supporting such an endeavour. However, there were also obstacles and inhibiting factors within some of these contexts but these were seen as challenges for the success of the project. The nature of the project itself, that is its process and structure, was also seen as a positive motivating factor for the initiative. A further sub-theme related to the nature of the project was the personal motivations and commitment of those responsible for its overall co-ordination. Each of these motivating factors are discussed in further detail below.

1. Contextual factors

The socio-political environment

Momentum for the initiative came from the macro political changes sweeping throughout the country. The writing of the textbook was initiated in June 1995. This was approximately one year after the national elections and the installation of a government of national unity. As reflected by one of the interviewees "I think that the present climate, with the new government of national unity actually means that there is more space for it. It is easier."

The political climate within South Africa had changed sufficiently to enable individuals to embark on the project. The significance of political transformation, and the need to continue this transformation within all institutions of society, was emphasized by those who were interviewed.

> I suppose that there are a lot of factors which would have influenced it. The first factor being that we are living in a different political period. Blacks are increasingly realising that despite the fact that political power has moved from the hands of white people to black people that white people are still dominant in our society and specifically in academia.

Macro political changes seemed to therefore filter through to different aspects of South African society, in this instance academia and the manner in which it has been and continues to be structured. An urgency to transform institutions following broader political changes, enabled and inspired individuals to initiate the project.

2. Developments within South African psychology

Participants were asked to reflect on whether developments in psychology as an organised profession had any influence on the development of the project. Ironically, it seemed that an anticipated lack of support together with a sense of disillusionment with the existing professional bodies played a facilitative role:

> The dominant group of academics are not going to support us in reaching our objectives because that is threatening to their position in academia. To that extent possibly the professional boards could have influenced the way we are doing things, not through their support but through lack of support.

As indicated earlier in this paper, the profession has faced a range of challenges in recent years. Amongst efforts to respond to this crisis, was the attempt to form a more representative professional organisation. The success of this organisational restructuring was questioned by those interviewed:

> The one obvious change has been the organisational change from the old PASA to PSYSSA and people started talking as if this was an appropriate forum, 'is this going to bring about some transformation?'. I think that many, as well as myself, started off optimistically but realised that it is actually not going to bring about the transformation that we might want, for example, we might look at what happened to SAJP since then, it is very hard to see any transformation. So too with the discipline itself.

and

> I think by the time we started this initiative people were disenchanted with PSYSSA. I am not sure that they could have had a supportive influence on the development of this initiative.

While one of the group acknowledged some change in the profession, she emphasised the continued domination by white males of professional structures and resources, and knowledge production:

> Psychology has a lot of changing to do, not only in the kind of texts and the resources that we use, but also in who teaches and who represents us both as an academic profession as well as a practical profession. I think that it has not changed fast enough. I think that white men still dominate in South African psychology.

And again, the continued exclusion of black people from the profession's governing structures was emphasized: "Just the realisation that the more things change, the more they remain the same and that things will only change fundamentally if black people change things".

The project was therefore seen as playing a political role in challenging South African mainstream psychology and academia. One of the group emphasized his frustrations with the exclusionary and racist nature of the discipline of psychology in South Africa:

> That might have also have brought us to the realisation that we had to make things change for ourselves. When I speak of we, I speak of primarily black people, but secondly women as well, from all shades and backgrounds, and younger people. What frustrates a lot of academics in psychology and specifically at UWC given our youth, the psychologists' youth, in general is the fact that the profession is still run by a number of old people – established academics who are not going to approach younger academics and empower them into doing things.

It is the frustration experienced from the above-indicated context, that strongly motivated this group member: "When people doubt your abilities that is when you become more resolute about it. Then what you are tackling will come to a resolution or come to a conclusion".

A further motivating factor within psychology itself, related to the curriculum. The continued lack of an appropriate, critical and relevant texts from which to work was in the words of one of the group the "straw that broke the camel's back". Another reported that:

> ... North American and European textbooks were totally inappropriate for us; that understanding had always been there. I think last year was just the limit when we were looking for textbooks and we realised that we were not going to find an appropriate text book.

This realisation was echoed by the entire group and who recalled how they felt:

> ... excited about the initiative which would be a collective initiative that possibly would be a developmental text that was drawn from South Africans and written by South Africans and particularly by a group of South Africans whose voices were not heard.

The frustration about the lack of a book detailing the experiences of South Africans was not seen as unique to this group, but it was connected to the context "of the circumstances outside, ... a new found sense of empowerment, ... a new found imperative to produce, ... a new found movement towards self affirmation". It was evident that the daily annoyance of teaching from foreign texts provided a necessary motivation to organise the launch of the textbook project. It reflected a desire to develop more appropriate, critical and relevant South African texts from which to teach.

3. Other research and authorship development initiatives

Notwithstanding the significance of political and other contextual factors, it was a range of other initiatives promoting authorship, which preceded and coincided with the launch of the project, that impacted most powerfully on the project. The group involved in the early discussions and organisation of the textbook initiative all pointed to the influence of these preceding authorship meetings and workshops which included a workshop in Pretoria hosted by the ACCESS programme; the subsequent launch in the Western Cape of a Black Research and Authorship Forum; and a range of writing projects developed and sustained by the Psychology Resource Centre at UWC. The influence of each of these projects was outlined by those interviewed.

The ACCESS Workshop was initiated in late 1994 by the Centre for Science Development's ACCESS Programme. Entitled "Towards developing a programme for black authorship development", the workshop brought together an array of social science academics and journal editors from across South Africa to examine various aspects of local publication systems. The publication system in the social sciences was seen by the

workshop participants as exclusionary and not conducive to drawing in black authors. Two members of the textbook editorial collective were at the workshop, as well as two of the other contributors. This workshop was reported to be an:

> important event which motivated us to go forward..., where we realised that there was in fact a need for an initiative for black people to collaborate and for black people to get their work into print.

In the words of one of the editorial collective members:

> [The ACCESS workshop] put us all in the same place at the same time, discussing the same issue [and allowing workshop participants] the opportunity to meet up with people at other universities and to see that our experiences are very similar, that everyone has frustrations around publications.

This workshop is reported to have had a "consciousness raising function", bringing into focus the range of obstacles impeding historically disadvantaged scholars and others from writing and publishing their work. Furthermore, it motivated at least two of the initial textbook group to subsequently call for a first meeting to discuss the idea of such a writing project.

This materialised when, a few months after the ACCESS workshop, a group of psychologists from UWC organised a meeting, calling upon black psychologists and other social scientists marginalised from mainstream psychology, to support the launch of The Black Research and Authorship Forum. The objectives of the Forum were recalled by one of the participants, who would later also assist in the launch of the textbook initiative:

> ... it [the Forum] wanted to encourage black people to do research and publish papers that they were working on ... Also to offer support to black and marginalised people to do just that ... The forum helped the [textbook] initiative.

Practitioners, academics, school psychologists and current and past students all attended the first Forum meeting. The attempt to include as many people as possible appeared to have been important in the legitimacy of the Forum and the projects which would directly lead from, or be associated with it. Since the launch, the Forum has been approached by the South African Journal of Psychology to guest edit a special issue on black scholarship. The decisions taken at the Forum meeting were seen to have complemented and supported the momentum which led to the subsequent launch of the textbook initiative. In fact, many of those who attended the Forum subsequently joined the textbook initiative at its first meeting in June 1995.

A number of other writing initiatives were reported to have played a part in the successful launch of the textbook project. The Psychology Resource Centre (PRC), of the UWC Psychology Department, has been promoting authorship amongst psychologists and other social scientists at UWC for a number of years. A number of the textbook contributors

have previously had work published in the PRC's three publication formats: i.e. the *Occasional Publication Series*, the *Working with Children Lecture Series*, and the *Psychology Bulletin*, previously the *Psychology Quarterly*.

> From the outset we had decided in the Resource Centre to enable staff members to start the publishing process or the authorship process by having their notes typed out and published or printed by the Resource Centre and these could then ideally, be sold to students ... Quite a number of people utilized the facility ... Out of that flowed the notion that perhaps we could take all those things that were published as part of the publication series, and bind, or publish a number of them together as a book.

Publication in the *Psychology Bulletin* was also believed to have influenced the later involvement of some contributors in the textbook project:

> The *Psychology Bulletin* has developed very slowly but very systematically and in a solid manner. I am very proud of the last issue and last year's issue and the one that is going to come out. We are getting more people that recognise the value of the *Bulletin*, people off campus and outside the country. This is related to initiatives such as the textbook.

In the words of another interviewee: "we went through the mechanics of publishing and the publication cycle all on our own ... That was an important way to demystify the manner in which publication happens". The process of submitting work, whether "flimsy or superficial", of receiving comments from peers, and seeing one's work coming back in printed form, is reported as important in promoting the confidence to write up work and then submitting it for publication in the textbook project. These experiences of previous exposure to supportive, non-threatening writing and publication formats are reported by the group to have facilitated the process:

> ... exposure to writing and writing for peers to comment and to see and to not feel threatened by that. That has contributed as well, the whole kind of way of working has made it ideal for the initiative to take off.

Besides the PRC initiatives, a number of other authorship and textbook projects apparently had been proposed in the past. While these initiatives and their outcomes were not clearly specified or clarified in the interviews, one of the group noted the difficulties these initiatives encountered, particularly around the collaboration with partners from advantaged backgrounds and universities.

> In the other initiatives I must add that you had people at various academic development levels, in terms of their knowledge and skills around publishing. People from historically white institutions came to UWC and you had black people. And because people from the two groups functioned very differently, not only at different levels, but I think their existential being in the world is very different, the project could never gel, because the people were not together. Many of the people who had already published and especially those people from the white universities felt that they were being held back by the others and it was not in their interest to get involved in a project which was taken up collaboratively.

These previous "failed" initiatives appear to have lacked the supportive features common to the projects undertaken by the PRC, the Black Research and Authorship Forum and ACCESS.

4. Institutional support

Changes within UWC, especially in its research mission, were significant as this was the institution from which the textbook project was launched and was subsequently based. Support from UWC, and other related institutions was identified as an essential element in the conception of the project. The types of support that were mentioned included financial and infrastructural, as well as an endorsement from the university and related academic and other institutions. While these were identified as important for the project, not all of these forms of support were in fact readily available.

The PRC was identified as the major unit which provided the infrastructure for the project. This factor was highlighted by many of the individuals who were interviewed:

> I think one can say that the initiative was in the making for several years already if one looks at the way the Resource Centre is structured and what the Resource Centre endeavours to do.

The pre-existence of such facilities is a critical factor, given the under-development of infrastructure at historically disadvantaged institutions, as noted by an interviewee:

> I would also believe that other projects did not materialise because they were not initiated with the support of the Resource Centre, instead they were initiated by one or two people , but not by a structure which had the necessary infrastructure to see the project to its conclusion.

The availability of funds for the initiative was identified as a further critical factor.

> ... I think that the funding helped a huge amount because it made possible meetings and workshops. We could have had the meetings without the funding, but the funding allowed them to be an event, an occasion, so that people felt nurtured and supported and they saw that this was of value. So I think that access to funding was very important.

Endorsement and support from the institution was seen as a potentially important source of encouragement. Unfortunately, the verbal support for the project expressed by key individuals within UWC did not materialise in the form of financial or other material support. Perceptions were that, on a practical level, very little institutional support was provided, although the institution endorsed the initiative in principle. While this was a disappointment, it did not appear to dampen enthusiasm, since support was provided by other institutional structures such as the afore-mentioned Resource Centre and the funders.

Specific experiences in the history of the UWC Psychology Department, such as working under extremely adverse conditions with large student numbers, inadequate resources, staffing problems and continual crises were noted as influences which prepared participants for undertaking such a project. But certain changes within the Department were also seen as important for the establishment of this project. The appointment of new staff was mentioned as a possible contributing factor:

> We had energy that the rest of the staff did not have. When you have been around and you know of all the old initiatives and how they failed, you kind of get flattened by trying and not getting things off the ground. New people come in with energy. They don't have that baggage. I think that does help in getting things started.

The direct participation of the head of department as a member of the editorial collective was another contributing factor according to the interviewees. Overall, the Department was perceived to provide a supportive climate for the project.

5. The Nature of the Project

The manner in which the initiative was launched and managed throughout was mentioned by many of the respondents as a factor that contributed to its success. Two characteristics of the initiative that were emphasised were firstly, the collective manner in which decisions were taken and secondly, the empowering nature of the project.

The opportunity to work collectively was a prominent reason for involvement in the project. Most of the group indicated a strong preference for working and writing in a collective:

> I was comfortable as I prefer to work in a collective situation. I had before worked on a collective book and it was a wonderful experience and I saw this as not only being an end product but also a pleasant, empowering process.

And speaking of a previous attempt to write a text:

> It would not have been a collective project like the present one. I don't want to sound like this principled person. It is just when you realise that people are egocentric and egotistical there is agreater chance of you being abused in the process. So if I look for a collective process, it is not because of any magnanimous aspirations on my part. The collective would be more nurturing for my own developing skills. So I was not involved in previous initiatives.

It appears that the collective nature of the initiative allowed for both a positive consultative process as well as an efficient one:

> I have worked in organisations where commitment and democratic decision making have become an obstacle because it makes things slow and unmanageable, but here there has been a fine balance between collective decision-making and autonomy of the editorial collective. The autonomy has enabled us to get things done without organising too many meetings. We have never taken policy decisions as an editorial collective but for example, at our last workshop we were given the freedom to explore possible publishers and to make the best decision and people trusted us to do that and they let us get on with it.

The empowering nature of the initiative was explicated as follows:

> The goals that I had in mind and which we discussed was the commitment to a collective process. The commitment to an empowering process...it was not an empty notion of empowerment as we all had knowledge in some ways, and none of us were experts. We all needed development in some nature.

and

> It was a department initiative ...an empowering endeavour. Initially mpowering as it was located in the psychology department at UWC. As we gained momentum and as people became aware of the black expertise, that principle aim or objective broadened to include people from other universities.

6. Developmental focus

The initial focus of the text on developmental psychology was cited as a motivating factor for contributors. It seems that by choosing from the outset to focus on a particular area, the project attracted collaboration from a group of psychologists interested in, and teaching in this particular area, and who therefore had vested interest in the success of the outcome. This was evident in statements such as:

> The people who were initially interested in the initiative were developmental psychologists or developmentalists.

and

> Well, it started as developmental psychology because a number of people involved in the first set of discussions were teaching human development. From the outset everyone knew that is was not going to be a narrow definition of human development. It was going to be a social definition of human development and an inclusive one. Our focus has been on development in the sense of changing over time, ranging over a lifespan, but it has been quite broad-based...

The choice of a particular area of psychology also ensured that the initiative was perceived as a manageable one which would not overwhelm the participants, most of whom had very little, or no previous experience in writing a textbook. It also played the role of keeping the writers focused. This was confirmed by one of the editorial collective members during the interview.

> ... what distinguished this from any other initiative was not only the climate but also the fact that we did have a focus. It was not a broad psychology textbook. We were very focused and that is what held it together ... It did not seem too big, it seemed manageable.

7. Commitment to the process

Commitment to the process and maintaining the collective nature, especially by those elected to manage the process (the editorial collective), was further cited as promoting and sustaining the initiative:

> I think to a large extent it has also been the individual commitment of the people involved. When I think about it, it has been a lot of work, time and effort and somehow each of us has stayed with it. I am guessing that we do have something in common as each of us feel a really strong commitment but we all seem to be the kind of individuals who feel guilty if we don't complete what we set out to do. I know I am like that.

The importance of the editorial collective in facilitating a supportive, collective process as well as leadership is expressed:

> I do think the editorial collective does play an important role - a leadership role. I think that they have, we have worked incredibly hard in keeping the project going and making it a collective one. I would not talk about individuals as it could have been any individuals from the actual writing group, I don't think that it is necessarily the kind of individuals that we are, although there might be an element of that ... I think what all the members of the editorial collective had in common was the vision of a collective project ..., one that really involved everybody within the group and lead in terms of that.

8. Personal motivations

A final important motivating factor are the contributors' personal motives which also overlapped with those of the project itself. The interest in research, writing and publishing appears to have been an important and central thread to the group members' personal motivation and reasons for their early involvement in the project:

> [The] project came at a time of my personal development where firstly I was committed to start taking writing seriously.

Some of the group elaborated on this personal significance of writing:

> Firstly, I have a story to tell and it is a good way of doing so. It is a good way of telling my story and it is a particular new story and this book will allow for this story to be heard by virtue of the reader. Secondly, it is a search for affirmation and empowerment that I have spoken about before at an individual level. Thirdly, it is the affirmation of power at a collective level in the sense of togetherness in the endeavour.

The strong personal sense of being affirmed and validated via one's writing was woven into all the group member' responses. Some went further to indicate the important external, institutional and academic support for writing:

> It is a new sense of discovery, of producing, of creating and that has always been very valuable for me and that is what sustains me. More so than the other reasons which are also valid, namely that there is a sense of prestige in publication,... a sense of achievement ... and it does offer promotion opportunities and it does look good on a CV etc.

CONCLUSION

While there are many factors which contributed to the course and outcome of this project, those which seem most salient to us relate to the ways in which the political, professional, and institutional contexts provided a fertile space for those who felt inspired to move beyond "victim" status to a position of empowerment; from the margins to centre of knowledge (re)production. Through the initiative we have undertaken we believe that we have engaged with the process of scholarship in a broad sense - publishing research and critical reflection in a form which we can use in our teaching. In the final analysis, this has been an experience in which the means (the process) has truly been as important as the end (the textbook).

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Perspectives on Intergenerational Literacy and Learning

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This paper reviews current international perspectives on intergenerational literacy and learning, and relates these to recent research findings on the topic in South Africa. The paper concludes that intergenerational literacy and learning approaches in South Africa should be conceived as a social and community development project – a project from which good practice and sound theory may emerge, although programmatic approaches will necessarily vary.

> Families must be bound together. If we are scattered bits of wood we are easy to break. But if we are bound together tightly, we are impossible to break.[1]
>
> Adult education must be all-inclusive by including people of all ages, genders, ethnic and social backgrounds. It must take into account the numerous aspects of lives and identities of the individuals (i.e. citizens, parents, caregivers, workers, educators,) and therefore needs to incorporate the learning needs of all adults, their children and their families in all their capacities.[2]

The quotations above – one from a grandmother and caregiver in South Africa, the other from the International Council for Adult Education (ICAE) – highlight the socio-economic project of intergenerational literacy and learning, a project which has not yet received much attention from educators in South Africa. The objective of this paper is to redress this state of affairs by reviewing current international perspectives on intergenerational literacy and learning, and relating these to recent research findings in South Africa.

The first part of this paper will define and describe the key features of family and intergenerational literacy. Next, some of the theoretical and practical issues which emerge from a review of international experience and literature on family and intergenerational literacy are discussed. The third part of the paper presents the outcomes of research into intergenerational literacy undertaken recently in Johannnesburg, and interprets these findings against the background of international experience and local contexts.

1. INTERGENERATIONAL LITERACY AND LEARNING

Taylor[3] first used the phrase 'Family Literacy' when she undertook ethnographic research in the United States to explore the links between children's literacy development and family reading and writing practices. She documented the many and specific ways that

the family and home environments influence and support the literacy development not only of the child, but of the parents and other family members as well. To this complex web of relationships between families, their cultural and socio-economic environment and their reading and writing practices she gave the term family literacy.

Intergenerational literacy is linked to the concept of family literacy and acknowledges that children, siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, and those who are not biologically related, such as friends, and significant others in the life of the learner, also contribute to literacy and learning development. The term `intergenerational literacy and learning' is appropriate in South Africa where extended families and social networks are inclusive, span across extended households interacting between urban and rural environments, and are led by adults who are not always the parents of the children in their care, yet influence and shape the environment of learning in the home.

In this article, 'intergenerational literacy and learning' refers to initiatives in literacy, basic education and skills development initiatives using a family or intergenerational approach. An intergenerational approach is one which includes, directly or indirectly, family members and people of different age groups in educational programmes.

Wider Opportunities for Women (WOW), based in Boston describe the origins of family and intergenerational literacy programmes in the United States thus:

> Family and intergenerational literacy caught the eye of policymakers and practioners as research began to indicate that adults' educational levels affect children's educability, and that home environments and adult-child interactions create conditions for literacy development. At the same time, the view of literacy as a specific set of "coding and decoding skills" began to shift toward a view of literacy as a set of practices that are built upon and given meaning by the context in which they occur. Such contexts include, in addition to literacy purposes or applications (such as employment) the social context (including the home environment, neighbourhood and cultural community). This evolving view of literacy also increased attention to the relationships of family/community and literacy development.[4]

Early Childhood educators are aware of the links between home, family and learning through their research with children and their own families. The work of Vygotsky[5] underscores the importance of adult-child partnership in the psychological, social and cognitive development of the child. Piaget,[6] while emphasising the role of peer interaction over adult-child interaction in the cognitive development of the child, highlights the importance of a safe, secure and nurturing home environment in the developmental process.

More recently, cognitive theorists have expanded on the work of Vygotsky and Piaget to show that children's cognitive development and experiences with literacy and learning influence parental cognition. Valsiner argues for an integration of social development and cognitive development theories which explore "... how both children and adults are

collective participants in one anothers' psychological development that takes place in culturally structured environments".[7] The field of 'Emergent Literacy' also focuses on intergenerational literacy and learning relationships. Researchers and theorists such as Strickland, Morrow, Taylor, Strickland and Taylor, Sulzby, and Teale and Kamberelis[8] are concerned with pre-literate young children's induction into and experiences with literacy. A current focus in this area is the role of culture in literacy development, and parents and teachers' role in providing a context for literacy development in both home and school learning environments.

INTERGENERATIONAL LITERACY AND ADULT EDUCATION

One of the most important implications of intergenerational literacy and learning for the field of adult education is the move toward breaking down rigid divisions between the education of pre-schoolers, the education of pre-adolescent and adolescent children, and the education of adults. In his discussion of lifelong learning and new trends in education, Schuller comments,

> The experience of different generations may be interpreted as showing that there is an imbalance in the attention being given to the various needs of the younger and older generations. This imbalance is also reflected in educational theory and practice. But for many people learning is heavily influenced by their relationships with other generations, notably within their own family. Thus it is not a question solely of how far and in what ways older people differ from or resemble younger people in their learning, but of how they affect each other's opportunities and achievements. Parental influence on children's educational attainments is a well established aspect of modern practice at several levels. Yet the potential for mutual support seems seriously neglected. The challenge, in short, is not only to give scope to adult development, to give it the attention which has been given over the last half-century to schooling, but to achieve an integration between the learning patterns of different generations.[9]

The relationships between family, community and literacy development, and the suggestions of recent research[10] that children's literacy development influences that of their parents and caregivers poses particular challenges to adult educators and the field of adult education. One challenge is to extend the present focus in adult education on literacy and learning opportunities for adults to include future adults as well. A second challenge rests with educators generally to emerge from field-specific concerns such as adult education, or early childhood and formal school education, to a concern for literacy and

learning for all. This becomes particularly important when the changing realities of adulthood and childhood are considered. A commission on lifelong learning of the International Council for Adult Education comments,

> At a time when children are taking on traditional adult responsibilities (i.e. working for an income, caring for their brothers and sisters, housekeeping and competing for survival in the streets and sweatshops, etc.) and an increasing proportion of adults are being treated as children in the sense of being seen as passive and unproductive members of society, the differentiation between adult and children's education is becoming nebulous.[11]

Torres[12] argues that adult non-formal education emerged as a worldwide movement in response to weaknesses in the formal school system, and since then the fields of adult and children's literacy have developed into two very separate specialist areas which are at best barely concerned with each other, and at worst, in conflict for resources and recognition. Dichotomies between literacy for adults and children, suggests Torres, are false and retard us in our goal of achieving literacy for all.

> The effort for quality primary education for all children must be made in conjunction with an effort for adult basic education. The universalisation of quality primary education is the most important and effective strategy towards the goal of literacy for all. Accepting this implies, for adult educators, an acceptance of the need to consider children's education and formal schooling as an integral part of their work. Dealing with illiteracy means dealing not only with the remedial side of the problem but also, and most importantly with its prevention.[13]

This is not to say that adult literacy and adult basic education are not important concerns. Torres continues:

> Adult basic education is also a necessary condition for universal primary education, because it is parents, families and communities who decide whether children should or should not go to school, and adults, therefore, who do or do not provide the support and the appropriate environment needed to learn, who can demand quality and accountability from the school, and who educate the children at home.[14]

The concept of intergenerational literacy is concerned with breaking down the dichotomy between child and adult literacy. 'Literacy for All' may be seen as a goal to which intergenerational literacy and learning programmes aspire.

INTERGENERATIONAL LITERACY AND LEARNING PROGAMMES

From about 1985 intergenerational literacy programmes were initiated in the United States with the objective of addressing parents' low education levels so they could better support the educational needs of their children in relation to reading development and scholastic success. Since then, family and intergenerational literacy programmes have proliferated in many countries and are based in early childhood centres, schools, adult literacy groups and places where members of a given community congregate. The aims and objectives of family and intergenerational programmes vary according to country and community contexts. In North America, Europe and Australia, intergenerational literacy and learning initiatives tend to be primarily concerned with promoting a 'reading culture' and stimulating parental involvement in schools.[15]

In developing countries family and intergenerational literacy and learning is referred to more often as 'Family Education' or 'Community Development' and such programmes are concerned with household income generation, skills training, health education and other development issues. For example, in Afghanistan, the aims of family and intergenerational literacy programmes are twofold.[16] One aim is to provide family members with carpet making skills through which they can earn an income, become literate and at the same time participate in an activity which has important cultural, religious and artistic meaning in Afghan life. The second aim is to provide informal and nonformal education opportunites for people who cannot, or do not want to, attend schools. Such opportunities may be found through "community centres which are multi-purpose centres to be used as a meeting hall, vaccination centre, and where vocational training with literacy, numeracy and health education can be practised. It is not a place only for school age children, but for all members of the community who also contribute to its construction and maintenance".[17] There are some parallels between the Afghan experience and the recent history of South Africa, where schools were both targets of state oppression and the focus of resistance to apartheid legislation. In the post-apartheid dispensation, the shift from resistance to reconstruction has been a difficult one, and in many cases formal education has broken down. Opportunities for learning in informal and nonformal contexts for children as well as adults thus becomes as important in South Africa as it is in Afghanistan.

The ideological orientation, approach and curricula of family and intergenerational literacy programmes vary according to country and context. In Indonesia, strong links are made between family education, citizenship and national development. Its family education programmes operate through the Family Welfare Education Movement (PKK) and Village Reading Corners. The goals here are, "to achieve a just and prosperous family/ society based on Pancasila (Indonesian State Philosophy) and to build a strong and democratic nation".[18] Here, intergenerational literacy is used as a state apparatus for nation building, an approach well-documented in developing countries.[19] As is the case in more conventional adult literacy programmes, there lies a danger of family and intergenerational programmes resorting to prescriptive interventions into how family members should relate to each other, and what literacy practises families should value and maintain.

Table One illustrates the variety and flexibility of intergenerational literacy and learning ranging from informal, non-formal and formal learning opportunities.

The typology, adapted from Nickse, provides a useful framework for conceptualising and implementing intergenerational literacy programmes. In practice however, intergenerational literacy programmes may reflect characteristics of two or more of the programme types described above. A drawback to Nickse's typology is its restriction to literacy events involving adults and children only. Nickse does not problematise the concepts of adulthood or childhood, or recognise that adolescents are also caregivers, provide a context for the literacy development of their younger siblings and parents, and play many other adult-like roles. In South African contexts, Nickse's typology could, perhaps, be adapted to include a range of family support activities connected to health care, agriculture and skills development, and to people of all ages, paying particular attention to the needs of older children, between eight and sixteen years old, whose literacy, learning and social needs are often overlooked.

Table One: Typology of Intergenerational Literacy Programmes [20]

Direct Adult: Direct Child:	This is a highly structured programme which offers formal literacy instruction to adults and children and is characterised by a high degree of adult-child interaction. Typically, adults and their young children attend the programme together. Parents may participate in literacy or ABE classes while children are read to or involved in other educational activities. Adults and children then share books, storytelling, songs or other activites together. Such programmes may range from one hour a week to five days a week, depending on family needs and available resources.
Indirect Adult: Indirect Child:	This is characterized by less formal instruction and may include activities like storytelling, family days and other literacy events aimed at adults and children who may or may not be related. Again activites and venues for such programmes vary: family days at school, library-based storytelling or storybook reading, drama and theatre productions. The aims of this type of programme is to provide opportunities for adults and children to interact informally and share in educational activies together.
Direct Adult: Indirect Child:	Programmes using this model are involved in direct educational provision to adults. Adults participate in literacy, basic education instruction and training as well as workshops and seminars which address parenting issues, reading to children and other activites that affect their own and their children's literacy and learning development. The usual venue for this is adult learning centres, and curricula and delivery are designed in such a way as to meet the needs of adults as parents and family members. Curricula may include dealing with schools, reading to children, family health, housing and finances, dispute resolution within the family, parenting under difficult circumstances (in the context of South Africa this could be migrant labour conditions, communicating with and understanding young teenagers and so on). The rationale behind this type of provision is that adult education programmes can support the family and community by supporting parents, providing opportunities for them to share problems and ideas around parenting, and acquire knowledge that will contribute to their self-confidence. All this indirectly benefits children.
Indirect Adult; Direct Child:	This type of programme is directly concerned with the learning needs of children. Parents and/or family members are involved through workshops, discussions and literacy events connected with the child's school. A typical site for this type of provision is an early childhood education centre where parents are involved in discussion groups, income generating activites and/or adult literacy, basic education and health care classes.

2. ISSUES IN INTERGENERATIONAL LITERACY AND LEARNING

According to Auerbach[21] three general trends can be identified in the field of intergenerational literacy and learning, each reflecting different ideological positions, implementation experiences and policy imperatives. She calls the first trend *intervention and prevention* and associates this with functional literacy approaches. The second trend is identified as *social-contextual,* is linked to the "new literacies" literature,[22] and is grounded in ethnographic research. Auerbach identifies the third trend as *social change* approaches, noting that such programmes aim to link intergenerational literacy and learning to movements for social change.

These trends are relevant to current educational policies and practices in South Africa as they reflect not only experiences in the USA, but longstanding points of contestation around class, culture and the purposes of education. The trends are not mutually exclusive, but provide a useful framework for considering intergenerational literacy internationally and in the context of South Africa.

The Intervention/Prevention Model

Some of the most prominent programmes and most accessible literature in the field of family and intergenerational literacy in the USA argue implicitly or explicitly for the need to intervene in the relationships between parents and their children. Such programmes tend to prescribe to parents `more appropriate' models of interacting with their children in order to improve the childs' scholastic success. Their aims are to `prevent' children from poor and illiterate homes, from turning out like their parents. Literature and programme design reflecting this approach propose that illiteracy is an intergenerational phenomenon, and intervention is needed to `break the cycle of illiteracy' passed from parent to child. The main proponents of this view in the U.S. are programmes linked to government initiatives such as The Barbara Bush Foundation, as well as the National Center for Family Literacy. The founding of this centre has been described as,

> A bold attempt to improve education for "at risk" youngsters and their" "at risk" parents by going beyond the confines of elementary , secondary and adult education classrooms. The project intervenes early to break the cycle of illiteracy and undereducation by combining efforts to provide quality early-childhood education with efforts to improve the literacy and parenting skills of undereducated adults (quotation marks in text). [23]

The intervention/prevention model is closely linked to what has become known as the "transmission of schools" approach[24] which sees undereducated parents as a primary cause of poor school performance and the high drop out rate among children. The following newspaper excerpt gives a sense of how intergenerational literacy and learning is conceptualised as `a preventative measure' against illiterate parents:

> 40% of five year olds in South Carolina are not ready for kindergarten. These young children too often become at-risk middle schoolers, high-school drop-outs and adult illiterates. Adult illiterates parent at-risk children. The cycle continues through generations. Family literacy programs can break this cycle of illiteracy and undereducation through early intervention with at-risk families.[25]

The term 'at risk' is not fully defined in this literature. However, one may surmise from the context in which it is used that it refers to people who are illiterate, poor, and marginalised from the mainstream society and economy. Sticht, in a review of research on the effects of parents' education on their children's cognitive development and educational achievement concluded that

> Poorly educated mothers are more likely to suffer malnutrition, to smoke, to abuse alcohol and drugs and become pregnant at a young age than more highly educated parents.[26]

Furthermore, he argues, if mothers were educated then some of the probable outcomes would be:

> Higher economic productivity, better personal health care, lower fertility rates, smaller families, better development of language, cognitive and literacy skills, better preparation for school work.[27]

Sticht's solution is to educate parents (this literature refers most often to mothers) as to what the school expects of them, and to teach them how to carry out school-like activities at home in order to assist the teacher and provide a role model for their children. Implicit in this approach are three assumptions:

1. Undereducated adults do not engage in literacy activities in the home, and thus do not pass on positive attitudes toward learning and schooling to their children.
2. Poverty, bad parenting and early pregnancy are caused by undereducation.
3. It is the mother's education which influences the child's cognitive abilities and scholastic success.

Also prominent in this literature is an emphasis on parenting skills, whereby the objectives of family and intergenerational literacy programmes include the teaching of family values as well as changing parental behaviours and home environments to conform to the school environment. In this vein, teacher-researchers suggest that more research should be carried out to "determine how to succeed in school and how to change home environments without seeming intrusive".[28]

In community and national development discourse, Indonesia draws on the intervention/ prevention model to promote the objectives of its Economic Restructuring Plan:

> The government has tried hard to change parents' negative attitudes to positive attitudes among others through Family Education which is a new program carried out by the Directorate of Community Education. The aim of Family Education is to develop human resource (sic) by teaching morals, norms, religion and cultural values to the poor families. [29]

In South Africa, the Department of Education and Training (DET), the former government department responsible for the education of black children, planned in 1987 to implement a school readiness programme for five year olds as a response to the 58% failure rate of children in the first few years of school. The rationale for such a programme was predicated on the (unsubstantiated) assumptions reflected in this exerpt from a 1984 government document:

> Previous discussions indicate that the major educational deficiencies in the homes of children growing up in a tradition-oriented cultural environment include: deficient language and number concept development resulting from lack of meaningful communication and conversation between children and mostly illiterate parents; lack of parental solicitude and affection in the day-to-day relationship with their children.[30]

In a critique of such positions, Liddell[31] observes that programmes based on culturally biased and uninformed views of home contexts for learning do not enjoy a great measure of success. One of the main obstacles to the success of Project Headstart (a school readiness programme in the USA) lay in overcoming parental antipathy that resulted from their feeling `blamed'.[32] Moreover, childraising practices are not static, but change with shifting social and economic conditions.

The conceptualisation of intergenerational literacy and learning reviewed above echoes Street's autonomous model of literacy[33] and undergirds many functional approaches and deficit models of literacy and education. Within this paradigm, family and intergenerational literacy programmes are presented as benevolent antidotes to poverty and the education crisis facing many countries. This approach conceives of poverty as a cause of undereducation and assumes that `at risk' families can break out of the cycle of poverty by breaking the cycle of illiteracy. There are also racist and sexist undertones to this intervention/prevention model. In the South African example, the ways in which black families raise their children are defined as `tradition-oriented' and deficient. Auerbach points out that in the United States, black families are the primary target of intervention/ prevention models of intergenerational literacy.[34] In the same vein, it is often the mother who is blamed for her children's problems in school.

The structural causes of poverty, the particular educational and socio-economic needs of parents and families, the pressures they may be under from other sources, and the strategies they already undertake to provide the best possible futures for their children are unaccounted for in the intervention/prevention model. This discourse also disregards literacy practices outside the formal schooling context, and interprets intergenerational literacy as a process whereby the mother passes on skills and attitudes surrounding literacy and learning to her children in a direct and uninterrupted flow.

Interactions between home and school, the connection between caregivers' education levels and the educability of their children, and relationships between intergenerational literacy programmes and poverty are themes taken up in the social-contextual approach to intergenerational literacy and learning to which we now turn.

The social-contextual approach to intergenerational literacy and learning

The intervention/prevention model is contested by educators who advocate a social-contextual approach to intergenerational literacy and learning.[35] These teachers and researchers argue, from a range of perspectives, that the intervention/prevention model is indicative of a deficit model of the family and the illiterate parent. They feel it is erroneous to assert that illiterate parents `breed' illiterate children, and are therefore endangering the success of the school system, the growth of the economy and the stability of democracy.[36]

Instead of blaming parents for their illiteracy and the failure of schools, and attempting to induct them into a rigid school culture, they feel that schools should try to be more welcoming environments for parents and caregivers. In the same way, adult learning centres should be concerned with exploring and building on the strengths of adults as parents and caregivers, and bringing their concerns and struggles into the classroom. The social-contextual approach thus promotes a view of the family and community as a resource rather than an obstacle to learning. A central feature of the social contextual approach to intergenerational literacy is the use of ethnographic research to inform the context of teaching and learning in the family, the community and the classroom.

The outcomes of such research have prompted a reassessment of dominant views of the powerless and voiceless adult learner and assumed links between poverty and illiteracy.[37] This literature suggests that for children from homes whose language and culture is different to that of the school, it is the demonstration of behaviours and attitudes that conform to the dominant school culture, rather than particular abilities to read and write for a variety of purposes, which determine success in school.[38] Moreover, the creation of a context for literacy and learning development in the home seems to depend more on the resources available to the caregiver, than on his/her formal education level.[39] Such resources include the availability of physical space, time to spend with the child, a stable job, a safe and secure living environment which promotes emotional health, proper nutrition, and the availability of positive role models for learning. In short, it is not the

undereducated parent who adversely affects the child's ability to learn, but rather conditions related to poverty. Thus, illiteracy is not intergenerational, although the "cumulative perpetuation of disadvantage" can be.[40]

Positive role models for learning are important for children's and adults' literacy development. In the social contextual approach, the dictum 'educate the mother and you educate the nation' merits closer examination. Ethnographic research documents the experience of many home environments where literacy skills and learning behaviours are shaped not only by the mother, but by one or many other caregivers and members of a family and social network. This also includes a recursive influence that children have on older family members' literacy, by virtue of the school books, homework and letters introduced by the school into the home via the child. David Barton expands on this:

> Family is more than mum. There is a wide variety of households, including single parents, grandparents and other relatives in the home or nearby. Related to this there is a wide variety of support for literacy: it is not just associated with mothers. Often when adults recall who were the significant people in their childhoods in terms of education, it is not their parents whom they mention but other relatives or family friends.[41]

Barton's research does not suggest that women should not be specifically targeted for literacy and education programmes, but rather that there is a danger of 'motherising' women, and placing an added burden on women to be not only breadwinners, but the main source of knowledge in the home. Moreover, targeting mothers for intergenerational literacy programmes can have counter-productive outcomes. In some parts of North America and Europe young girls and women with low-incomes have children so that they can benefit from state sponsored educational opportunities, food and housing schemes that would be denied them if they did not have children.[42] Heath suggests that such state-sponsored intergenerational literacy programmes give young women the impression that they are important members of society and deserving of government services only when they have children.[43]

According to Barton[44] developing and maintaining social networks is a key strategy in providing a context for literacy and learning development for caregivers and their children. In these networks, people (including family members of all ages, colleagues, fellow church members and members of community associations) interact through literacy and learning activities on an everyday basis. The role of social networks in literacy development is also examined by Fingeret, who found that

> Individuals create social networks that are characterized by reciprocal exchange; networks offer access to most of the resources individuals require, so that it is unnecessary to develop every skill personally. Therefore, many illliterate adults see themselves as interdependent; they contribute a range of skills and knowledge other than reading and writing to their networks.[45]

The importance of social networks in child raising is also considered by Richter in research on economic stress on South African families. She observes,

> In the ecology of human development, families do not exist as separate units but are closely linked into wider social environments ... Social support networks are thought to affect parental behaviour through at least three paths of influence. The first is through the provision of emotional support, the second through the exercise of social controls over parenting styles, and the third through the provision of models of parenting and social behaviour. However, social support networks in very impoverished communities often mean survival. For example, Stack and Wilsworth in South Africa have described the way in which people in poor areas manage to maintain their dwellings and avoid periodic starvation through access to mutually cooperative social networks. Where economically stressed families and individuals live in isolation from each other, their social impoverishment is likely to exacerbate their economic impoverishment.[46]

Richter's work is based on the ecological model rooted in sociology which holds that individual parents and children are part of complex societal systems and social networks. The relationships between children and adults, and the context for literacy and learning development in homes can, perhaps, be better understood in the context of wider social, political, cultural and economic forces which shape family and community life.

The assumption that undereducated or poor parents do not support the education of their children is also contested from the viewpoint of social-contextual literacy. Auerbach reviews several ethnographic studies which refute the notion that undereducated parents do not support and encourage their children's literacy development and (by definition) success in school. Citing a 1988 study by Taylor and Dorsey-Gaines, she writes,

> (They) studied the literacy contexts of families living below the poverty level, in conditions where neither housing nor food could be taken for granted, where the parents often had not completed high school, and where families had been separated. They found that even in these homes where day-to-day survival was a struggle, "families use literacy for a wide variety of purposes (social, technical, and aesthetic purposes), for a wide variety of audiences, and in a wide variety of situations." Homes were filled with print and literacy was an integral part of everyday life (quotation marks in text).[47]

Rather than assuming that there is no context for literacy development in homes in which family members have had little formal education, or homes where languages other than English are spoken, Auerbach asks,

> How can parents with low proficiency in English and literacy find ways to integrate learning into their busy lives and, at the same time, provide a context for literacy development in their children's lives?.[48]

Linked to this question is the role of educators. Auerbach continues,

> If educators define family literacy more broadly to include a range of activities and practices that are integrated into the fabric of daily life, the social context becomes a rich resource that can inform rather than impede learning. In this more inclusive view, doing formal schoolwork and developing literacy are not necessarily synonymous.[49]

The theme of 'undereducated' parents and educational values is an important one in South Africa, as many parents and grandparents here have had little or no formal education, yet have children who have matriculated, gone on to tertiary level education and assume top positions in government and business. This suggests that it is the context of learning, and the value parents place on learning which affect children's education, rather than their own educational levels. This is illustrated by Mandela who maintains that his childhood learning experiences and his parents' values lay the foundation for his future scholastic and political career:

> As boys, we were mostly left to our own devices. We played with toys we made ourselves. We moulded animals and birds out of clay. We made ox-drawn sledges out of tree branches. Nature was our playground (...) After games such as these, I would return to my mothers' kraal where she was preparing supper. Whereas my father once told stories of historic battles and heroic Xhosa warriors, my mother would enchant us with Xhosa legends and fables that had come down from numberless generations. These tales stimulated my childish imagination, and usually contained some moral lesson.[50]

Mandela concludes this chapter on his childhood by stating,

> ... my father who, despite – or perhaps because of – his own lack of education, immediately decided that his youngest son (9) should go to school.[51]

The parental involvement (PI) discourse within the social contextual approach to family and intergenerational literacy takes seriously the relationship between home and school and maintains that it can be an empowering experience for parents to play an active role in the formal education of their children. However, whether parental involvement is empowering or alienating depends partly on its aims and objectives, and partly on the broader context of state, school and community relationships in which parental involvement initiatives operate. If the aim of PI initiatives is to change the home environment so that it conforms more to the literacy activities and learning behaviours of the school (such as formal instruction around homework) this could be alienating for parents. Auerbach observes,

> These are often activities in which many parents cannot participate by virtue of their own educational history and may contribute to a sense of powerlessness and marginalisation with regard to the education of their children and schooling in general.[52]

In her research on parental involvement of Mexican families in American schools, Delgado-Gaitan highlights the success of co-operative parental involvement models whereby the school explores and builds on the home culture, and the parents in turn become familiar with the culture of the school. She argues,

> The purpose of parent involvement must be seen beyond an increase in test scores, as important as that may be. Although research has shown that parents may learn specific school strategies to work with their children in the home and to intervene in the school through parent-teacher conferences, the school-designed programs may constrain parents to specific tasks in the home or the school...It is not efficient for children, parents or the school to view parent involvement as a discrete set of activities that satisfy federal mandates or teach a specific assistance skill (...) It is important to consider the need for parents to work collectively with each other and the school to learn the meaning of parent involvement by becoming literate about the culture of the school, including the classroom curriculum, and how resources are accessed. ..and the more the school recognizes and values the children's home culture in its curriculum and its communication with parents, the more effective home-school communication will be.[53]

Many successful parental involvement initiatives provide a variety of opportunities for parents (in the very wide scope of the word which includes caregivers and other members in the social network and commmunity) to participate in school activities. These include informal, unstructured activities such as family days, informal parent visits and sending story books and letters home, to more formal encounters such as parent-teacher meetings,

adult literacy and basic education classes, skills training, and even employment in the school as paraprofessionals assisting the teacher or running activities for other parents and children.[54] Not only do these activities provide parents with choices as to the extent and nature of their involvement, but they provide opportunities for informal learning and the building and extending of social networks that contribute to home and family resources.

Mashishi[55] has documented her experiences of initiating parental involvement programmes in Soweto. She describes how the specific conditions affecting parents in Soweto have shaped the kinds of parental involvement activities they wish to engage in. Apartheid education entrenched poor quality and under-resourced education systems for black people, and restricted parents' involvement in their children's schooling. These factors have resulted in a situation in which children today experience high failure rates, schools are under-resourced, children come to school hungry, and there is little or no contact between teachers and parents. Mashishi argues that the most successful approaches given this context are regular workshops in which parents and teachers meet to discuss their children's education. The workshops use group work and problem-solving methods aimed at helping parents to express their opinions and ask questions about their children's schooling, understand what their children are learning in school, and provide the kind of support which children need. These Parent/Schools Learning Clubs are encouraged to become self-sustaining and run their own programmes. The activities which parents are encouraged to take up with their children at home honour cultural traditions and rapidly disappearing local knowledge such as children's rhymes, songs and games. A Parent/Schools Learning Club newsletter is produced to which parents and teachers are encouraged to contribute.

The significance of Mashishi's work lies in the way parents' educational and social needs are met through addressing the educational needs of their children. The broader societal conditions which affect schooling and home life are also addressed in these clubs. This parental involvement initiative is closely linked to intergenerational literacy approaches geared toward community development and social change. These approaches, and the literature which surrounds them are described below.

3. FAMILY AND INTERGENERATIONAL LITERACY PROGRAMMES AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: SOCIAL CHANGE APPROACHES

The extension of income generation activities from an individual family member to the family as a whole has proven successful in development projects documented in Afghanistan[56] and Zimbabwe.[57] The objectives of the intergenerational literacy approaches to community and skills development used in these projects address the socio-economic needs of families. Literacy and basic education were not the focus of the projects, but rather spin-offs.

In Afghanistan, carpet making workshops with a family and intergenerational focus recognise the social and cultural context of income generating activities, including the roles of different family members in the production process.[59] They also build on the relationship between skills and literacy development activities in the workshop and their impact on the home environment. This generated unexpected spinoffs into other areas of education and development, as experiences in carpet weaving and dyeing workshops in Mazar-i-Sharif and Herat, villages in Northern Afghanistan, suggests:

> Purposely, the dye workshop was closely associated to the weaving workshop. Dyeing and weaving are two separate professions, but within the family structure, the two in association can permit the flourishing of a home carpet weaving industry. (The designs) were put onto the loom by both men and women weavers who well understood their qualities. A large part of the family was present. Women brought their babies and small chidren to the workshop, and were often accompanied by their husbands ... It became apparent in the Mazar-i-Sharif workshop that many out of school youths, women and girls had been deprived of all forms of educational services. The structure of the skills training workshop on natural dyes and carpet weaving was a perfect situation into which other elements of Basic Education were introduced.[59]

It is here that the socio-economic project of family literacy becomes important since "the quality of people's lives affects their learning".[60] It is, at best, a partial exercise to attempt to create an environment for learning in the home if the social and economic needs of families remain unmet. Imbedded in this is the fundamental recognition that family and intergenerational literacy can contribute to, but not replace key initiatives in the broader society to improve living conditions, job opportunities, and access to resources which ultimately contribute to healthy community and family life.

In rural Zimbabwe, political strife and the severe drought in recent years jeopardise both family survival and the ability of poor families to keep their children in school. In response to these hardships, villagers, with the help of a local NGO, have organised themselves into 'family units' or community-based support groups, to better access resources and equipment for income generation activities. These organisations are,

> ... modelled on long-standing forms of communal solidarity between extended family groupings, mainly but not exclusively composed of women. It is a measure of the perceived importance of education, and for some, the financial difficulties entailed in keeping children at school, that a major priority among these groups is sustaining the education of children.[61]

These two examples of community development projects indicate that while literacy development and improving school performance were not the aims of these projects, they nevertheless deal with important social and economic conditions which shape learning possibilities for adults and their children. It is not only the product of such initiatives, but the process that is important. Foley[62] points out that the process of collectively challenging conditions which affect learning and access to quality education is itself an important type of informal learning. He defines informal learning as "learning that is embedded in, and incidental to, other activities".[63] In two case studies of women's involvement in community learning centres in Australia, Foley found that women learned through the inevitable conflict and contestation which is part of working co-operatively in organisations. Increased self esteem and confidence were central to these learning experiences.

Foley's work suggests that learning in intergenerational literacy programmes cannot be measured adequately in terms of improved reading ability, or improved school marks, but should take into account caregivers' subjective experiences of personal growth and self-esteem, which according to Richter's ecological model mentioned above, contribute to a healthy and stable family life.

Three main trends in research and programme implementation in the field of intergenerational literacy have been reviewed in this section. These included prevention/ intervention models, social contextual models and social change models. It was pointed out that these models are not mutually exclusive, and represent general trends rather than strict programme descriptions. However, it was suggested that the intervention/prevention model reflects Street's autonomous model of literacy and is based on functionalist and positivist interpretations of social relations. These interpretations often lead to false assumptions about relationships between parents and children from non-white, low-income homes. Social contextual approaches to intergenerational literacy and learning are generally based on ethnographic and classroom-based research. Such programmes are sensitive to cultural diversity and advocate an informed and critical view to parental involvement programmes. Such approaches stress the need to explore cultural values and everyday literacy practices in the home and use this information as a resource for literacy development. Social change and community development models of intergenerational literacy are commmonly found in developing countries, and in racially and economically marginalised communities in industrialised countries. Here, literacy needs are addressed within the context of initiatives to improve the socio-economic well-being of families. It is against this background that the outcomes of research into intergenerational literacy and learning in South Africa may be read.

4. INTERGENERATIONAL LITERACY AND LEARNING IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 Resesesearch Methodology and Sample

The findings summarized here emerge from a recently completed Masters' dissertation on intergenerational literacy in South Africa. The aim of the research was to explore the conditions for and application of intergenerational literacy approaches in South African contexts. Using Nickse's typology of family and intergenerational literacy programmes as a frame of reference, one case study was carried out in an Early Childhood Centre which displayed features of the Indirect Adult-Direct Child model. A second case study was carried out in an adult literacy centre which displayed features of the Direct Adult-Indirect Child model. Data was collected over a period of eight months in each centre, by way of participant and non-participant observation, discussion groups with fifty caregivers, and in-depth interviews with sixteen caregivers and two teachers. The sample of caregivers in both case studies consisted mainly of domestic workers (90%). All the caregivers in the early childhood centre sample had one or two young children living with them, and other children and dependents living 'at home' in the former homelands. Only 10% of the caregivers in the adult literacy centre had children living with them. Most visited their families on a monthly basis, or, less frequently, their families came to visit them.

The research results are organised under the following headings in the text which follows:

* Personal Histories and the Changing Context of Family Life.
* Values and Strategies: Caregivers Involvement in Children's Schooling .
* Caregivers Participation in Education Programmes.[64]

4.2 Personal Histories and the Changing Context of Family Life.

Some of the main features of caregivers' personal and family histories are: the effects of the Group Areas Act, migrant labour, the desire to be near schools in town, marital breakdown and economic difficulties. These contribute to a phenomenon whereby family members are separated from one another and the primary caregivers of children are often not their biological parents but rather grandparents, aunts, friends and older siblings. The following observations are drawn from interviews and discussions with caregivers:

* Most respondants said that television, violence and the need to work long hours had eroded storytelling traditions and family cohesion.
* Most parents and caregivers felt that unless there was someone at home to care for children and make sure they attended school and did homework, any reform in education, including making it free and obligatory, would be fruitless.
* 90% of those interviewed over the age of 30 years had three years or less of formal schooling, yet all of their children had attained levels of formal education at Standard Eight or higher. Many of these children qualified for entrance to higher education but financial constraints prevented their entry.
* Of this 90%, 75% had lived in the same suburb, and worked for the same employer, for more than five years. They were therefore connected to church, school and other social networks, and in general had a steady source of income.
* 80% of the women interviewed in both case studies had left school between the ages of nine and eleven to care for their younger siblings, and because "at that time girls didn't go to school". All had higher aspirations for their daughters, and wanted them to go to university.
* The greatest fear of mothers and grandmothers interviewed was that their daughters or granddaughters might fall pregnant before finishing school.

4.3 Values and strategies: caregivers involvement in children's schooling

All the respondants cited the education of their children as one of their biggest concerns, typically adding: "I don't want my children to be like me." This frequently repeated comment suggests that caregivers want to ensure that their children have access to a form of schooling which provides access to the mainstream economy.

One of the main strategies caregivers use to provide a context for learning for their children is the development and maintenance of social networks. Many parents and caregivers compensate for the absence of family support structures by extending social networks to include teachers, employers and other parents and caregivers at the early childhood centre and adult literacy class. These people were often considered 'like family' and played significant roles in socialising young children, providing access to resources, giving advice, and listening and helping to solve problems. However, some members of social networks create more problems than they solve. The degree to which social networks contribute to the resources of the family depends on the extent to which they foster interdependence.

80% of parents who live with their children said they make time everyday to read to their children, and help them with homework (or ensure that someone else, like an employer, does so). Difficulties were reported where the schooling level of the children had surpassed that of the parent, and caregivers had to read and sign homework assignments they didn't understand.

Some parents used the storybooks sent home from school as literacy resources for their own as well as their child's literacy development. Apart from the primary caregiver, other family members, employers and friends read the books to the younger children, and shared the books among themselves. A very small percentage were aware of , or used the local public library.

Caregivers who read to their children used a variety of strategies such as translation, asking comprehension questions, relating the story to a moral lesson, and asking children to repeat what had been read to them. Caregivers who had low English literacy skills used the pictures in the children's story books as clues to the meaning of the text.

In cases where respondants lived apart from their children, they did so in order to find work in the urban areas and meet the costs of their children's schooling. Thus, one major strategy for supporting children's learning was leaving home to look for work.

Correspondence between parents and children living apart consisted mainly of exam and test results from the children, and monthly money orders from the parents.

Employers often played a key role in the education of their domestic worker's young children, modelling school-like behaviours at home, speaking the language of the school (English), paying school fees, buying and reading books to the child, and helping with homework. Caregivers expressed gratitude for this 'help', however, the resources employers provided were withheld in situations where the employer and the employee had a falling out.

Although all the caregivers interviewed felt they should help the teacher and the school to teach the children well, most caregivers saw their main responsibility with regard to their children's education as paying school fees and making sure that the children stayed in school. This feeling was best expressed in the comment of one father, "Schools have time to teach, we don't". For all the parents interviewed, covering school costs involved major commitments to work and other income generation activities, participation in stokvels and burial societies, and continual shuffling and reorganising of resources, including housing arrangements.

Almost all the women who were married complained that their husbands felt it was the women's job to see to the education of the children. The men did not help with the children at home, did not read to them or help with homework. Generally the burden of caring for children as well as making sure they performed well in school fell solely on women's shoulders.

4.4. Caregivers Participation in Education Programmes

A. The Early Childhood Education Centre

Although the coordinator of the centre encouraged parents to drop in during song and storytime few parents did so, because of work responsibilities, and for reasons such as, "I know what they are doing there, I know my baby is fine."[65] Parent discussion groups, by contrast, received overwhelming attendance on the three occasions they took place during the course of the case study. They featured speakers with particular expertise in areas of concern to caregivers such as the role of the parent in child and language development. The success of the discussion groups was attributed to their relevance to caregivers' concerns, participative and multilingual facilitation techniques, the opportunity they offered to meet other caregivers, and the ample notice given in order to arrange for time off.

End-of-year family days on which children performed songs and dances were also well attended. Although they did not address caregivers' educational needs directly, seeing the fruits of their children's learning proved highly motivational. Moreover, family days also served to integrate the school into the community fabric. The children's performances were followed by a bring-and-share luncheon. Caregivers used these occasions to informally exchange information, network for employment, advertise the sale of second-hand clothes, and make childcare arrangements.

Three caregivers interviewed at the early childhood centre said they attended adult literacy classes so they could understand what their children were doing in school. Two caregivers expressed interest in joining adult night schools during the course of the interview. The remaining caregivers were aware of adult education opportunities but said they didn't have time to attend, it was too dangerous to go out at night, they were too old, or they preferred to learn to knit or sew.

B. At the Adult Night School

Almost all the thirty-five men and women who attended the adult literacy class at the time of the research were from rural backgrounds and attended classes to learn English. They hoped that this would help them get around Johannesburg, get access to jobs, and understand what their employers were saying.

Apart from discussion groups, successful intergenerational literacy activities introduced in the adult literacy classes included letter writing, writing family histories, sending books home with friends and family via the bus and taxi or bringing books and reading materials home over the holidays. These activities work best when preceded by discussions around the reasons for sharing storybooks with children.

Discussion groups initiated here were also well attended, and gave rise to the initiation of sewing and cooking classes, because caregivers identified income generation skills as their primary need. Discussion, reading and writing around issues such as preventing teenage pregnancy, drug awareness, gender issues, housing, reading to children and other topics of interest to caregivers proved highly motivational. Caregivers expressed feelings of increased confidence in broaching sensitive issues such as AIDS and pregnancy with their children. They also reported that they felt more confident about approaching teachers about their child's schooling, that they write letters to their children directly, inquired about homework and shared with their children the fact that they too were going to school.

5. CONCLUSION

The outcome of the research reported above suggests that intergenerational literacy and learning approaches in South Africa can best be conceived as a social and community development project. Supporting a culture of learning in the home cannot be separated from supporting family economic and emotional well-being.

Developing and maintaining social networks seem to be a key strategy in providing a context for literacy and learning development for caregivers and their children, suggesting that these networks should be included and built upon in programme delivery and design. Social networks are effective vehicles for literacy and learning development to the extent that they promote interdependence and not dependence.

In early learning centres, caregiver discussion groups are a popular and successful way to empower caregivers to assume an informed and confident role in the education of their children. They represent a nonformal learning opportunity which responds to local concerns and contexts. Family days and other activities to which whole families are invited to participate in school-based activities can create opportunities for families to be together and share in a common activity. They also help to integrate the school into the fabric of the community and demystify their existence for people with little formal schooling background. In a broader sense, family days can also take place at adult learning centres, health clinics, and other places where people of different ages can congregate.

The fact that reading materials are often shared by family members and others in the social network suggests that early childhood development centres and adult night schools can reach out to more people by making books and other resources available to family units or others in the social network of the targeted learner. This would mean stocking materials of appeal to various age groups and interests and encouraging learners to take the materials home and share them with others.

With respect to developing intergenerational literacy and learning approaches in South Africa, good practice, and sound theory may arise from a combination of useful information (i.e. a research base) reflective practice, participant feedback and ongoing evaluation and

development. Programme approaches will necessarily vary, but what is important for the purposes of this article is that the traditional barriers between adult and child education be dismantled in favour of a more developmental and holistic model of lifelong learning.

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BOOK REVIEW

The Social Uses of Literacy: Theory and Practice in Contemporary South Africa,

Mastin Prinsloo and Mignonne Breier (eds.), SACHED Books, Johannesburg (1996), ISBN 0 636 02751 1, 279 pages.

A Survey of Adult Basic Education in South Africa in the 90s,

Anne Harley, John Aitchison, Elda Lyster and Sandra Land, SACHED Books, Johannesburg (1996) ISBN 0 636 028224, 532 paces.

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How welcome are these two new books on adult literacy and basic education in South Africa, releasing educators, if only temporarily, from the mind-numbing thrall of the NQF and SAQA. Both books are the products of research commissioned by the Joint Education Trust in 1993 to inform policy on adult literacy provision. The *Social Uses of Literacy* is the outcome of an ethnographic research project jointly undertaken by adult educators at the Universities of Cape Town and the Western Cape, while *A Survey of Adult Basic Education in South Africa in the 90s* was conducted by staff of the Centre for Adult Education and the Department of Adult and Community Education of the University of Natal. Both books make a significant contribution, in very different ways, to our understanding of how literacy should be understood and taught, and the weaknesses of current educational provision for adults.

The Social Uses of Literacy sets out to fulfil a number of ambitious aims. These range from a detailed study of local literacy practices across communities often depicted as illiterate (farm-workers, residents of squatter camps, members of tsotsi gangs, factory workers, minibus taxi operators), to an enquiry into the social and cultural values which

underpin literacy practices. The study also aims to explore local forms of literacy acquisition and to reflect on the implications of the research for policy and provision in South Africa. The book succeeds admirably in the first three of these aims, but fails to convince the reader on the fourth count, as will be shown below.

The book has its theoretical and methodological roots in the 'New Literacy Studies' whose main propositions are set out in the preface by Street and the introduction by Prinsloo and Breier. Advocates of the New Literacy Studies[2] see the teaching of literacy as a politically implicated process. They reject the view, rooted in Human Capital Theory, that literacy is an autonomous set of technical skills learnt **in** formal education, contributing to greater labour productivity and thence to economic growth and development. They believe instead that there are multiple literacies, or literacy practices, embedded in specific contexts. The meaning and significance of these literacy practices can only be understood through detailed ethnographic and linguistic study which shed light on the social and political processes which shape reading, writing and talking. In keeping with this approach, the researchers involved in The *Social Uses of Literacy* developed accounts of local literacy practices in South Africa, then linked these to theories developed in the New Literacy Studies on the one hand, and to the formulation of policy on adult literacy provision on the other.

The study is organized in three parts. Part One, 'Literacies at work', shows the ways in which literacy is used and valued in various social contexts. These include the 1994 national elections (Prinsloo and Robins), farm work in the Western Cape (Gibson), communications in a Cape factory (Breier and Sait) and work in a private church school (Watters). These studies confirm a central tenet of the New Literacy Studies, that the terms 'illiterate' and 'literate' are socially constructed dichotomies and not precise descriptions of capacity or skill. Gibson's study, for example, shows the ways in which an 'illiterate' male farmworker exercised a range of numeracy skills in making a purpose-built wagon for his employer. His competencies won him greater respect and recognition in the farm community than those of his 'literate' female counterparts on the farm, who were perceived to have more 'school knowledge' but not the 'common sense knowledge' needed to secure better wages or positions on the farm. Thus we see that farm workers' literacy practices, and the value attached to them, are embedded in the power relationships which exist between men and women, and between workers and employers, and are not neutral, apolitical, technical skills at all.

The major themes of the first part of the book are the great diversity of literacy practices, including 'literacy events' such as the elections, and the insularity of both dominant and marginalised literacy practices and discourses. The latter is clearly evoked in Breier and Sait's account of a communications gap between managers and workers in a Cape factory which produces goods moulded from a material which contains asbestos. The origin of the communication gap lies partly in the conflicting interests of managers and unschooled workers around productivity and safety, but also in mutual ignorance about the nature of literacy and communicative discourses and practices in the factory. Management

communicates to workers by means of written notices and signs, and insists that technical documentation and inspection forms related to production and safety be completed by safety or union representatives in English, a language in which few workers can read and write proficiently. Workers' concerns about their safety and health go unheard, or are repeatedly deflected by management, which, ironically, wishes to introduce an adult literacy programme to improve communications, productivity and industrial relations in the factory.[3] The study raises intriguing questions about the theoretical relationships between literacy and discourse, literacy and control, and literacy and power - questions which are not answered in this book, but which have been opened up for study in a later stage of the project.

The second part of the book , 'Mediating Literacies', again locates literacy practices in social contexts, but the focus here is on the ways in which literacy is negotiated for different social purposes, and the ways in which literacy contributes to the formation of identity. The process of mediation is traced in the work of non-governmental organisations involved in the struggle for land of communal farmers in Namaqualand (Robins); and by the interventions of 'cultural brokers' in an informal housing. settlement in the Cape Peninsula (China and Robins). In these two studies, the authors conclude that the mediation of dominant development discourses and bureaucratic literacies for unschooled local residents facilitated their access to social power. Malan, too, shows the ways in which mediators deploy their skills to span the gaps between the local discourse of working class people and the dominant discourses of schooling and development. These positive outcomes of mediation stand in sharp contrast to a study by Kell in the final section of the book. Kell contrasts the literacy practices of women in a Cape squatter community with the new government's development discourse and with the literacy practices of the local night school. She shows the loss of confidence and identity of adults who are drawn into the planning processes and structures of the modernising state in the domains of local government, development and education. Each of the three studies cited above clearly reveals the power of institutional cultures and communicative practices to shape literacy practices, including strategies of compliance and avoidance in relation to 'formal literacy'. The studies by Kell and Robins implicate the new, modernising South African state in the process of rapid social stratification.

The third section of the book, 'Contextualising literacies: policy lessons' points out ways in which literacy is acquired and valued. This section also draws inferences from the research for adult education policy. Here the acquisition and uses of literacy are shown to be interlinked; people often learn or hone their literacy skills through informal apprenticeships while on the job. They are motivated by their need for employment and status, or by their desire to escape from, or improve upon, their situations. Different orientations to schooling are traced in the personal histories of four adults living in Khayelitsha (Mpoyiya and Prinsloo). The theme of different values attached to literacy

and schooling of older and younger generations is taken up again by McEwan and Malan. The strategies devised by unschooled minibus taxi operators to deal with the literacy demands of their work are the subject of a lively chapter by Breier, Taetsane and Sait.

Important findings in this section are that ways of acquiring literacy are not uniform or predictable. Informal, on-site, sporadic learning may be the only viable way for some adults to develop literacy skills. Several studies in this section and the previous ones show the ways in which literacy, language and numeracy skills may be shared among family members or negotiated with other community members. A picture of mutually rewarding and conflict-free, literacy networks' is built, a picture which is then contrasted with the remoteness of school learning from the patterns of communication and the concerns of everyday life. Such representations will surely encourage educators to rethink their role as literacy facilitators in night schools, and to review new trends in curriculum and classroom practice. But doubts linger in the mind of the reader about the polarisation of literacy practices which is set up in this research. If literacy networks are so effective and beneficial for participants, why do so many adults enter literacy classes claiming to have experienced problems of dependency and abuse in such associations? Are literacy classes not places where social, learning and literacy networks can be formed? Are night schools as uniformly dismal and misguided as the research suggests?

The book abounds with rich examples of the complexities and ambiguities of literacy in everyday life in the Cape. Many of the studies succeed in capturing the salty, earthy texture of the languages and landscapes of the region. However, Street's preface declares that the book deals with "everyday social life in contemporary South Africa at a major point of transition", and the subtitle of the book also implies a wider selection of contexts than the regional perspective provided in the book. The literacy practices of communities in the industrial heartland of South Africa, and in other regions of the country, are unseen. Many voices (such as hostel residents, unionised workers, second and third generation township dwellers, and youth) are not heard. A rather different picture of the relevancy and desirability of formal education might emerge from a study of the literacy practices and needs of unionised workers in secondary industries on the Witwatersrand. Clearly there is scope for much further ethnographic research into literacy practices in South Africa, and it can be expected that such studies will be stimulated by the fine examples in this book.

It may be difficult for some educators to take up this challenge, however, because of the curious absence from the book of an account of the research methodology. Not only are research procedures hidden, but the identities of the researchers and their relationship to research subjects are not usually disclosed. A further problem related to methodology is that in some of the studies the voice of the researcher dominates the narrative to the extent that research subjects are silenced. A case in point is the chapter by Mpoyiya and Prinsloo, in which the personal accounts of four older adults resident in Khayelitsha are

overwhelmed by the researchers' interpretations of their life histories. Fortunately, other chapters in the book, notably those by Gibson and Kells, provide detailed evidence of the conditions, actions and people involved in literacy practices, helping the reader to understand, if not always share, their interpretations and conclusions.

Throughout the book, emphasis is placed on the distinctive and the particular, rather than the generality of practices and contexts. This makes for fascinating reading, but undermines the fourth aim of the study - that of drawing implications from the research for policy formulation. The book succeeds when it raises misgivings about the quality and relevance of literacy work in state night schools and NGO provision, and when it questions the scales and standards of literacy attainment being demanded by the NQF and the IEB, based on generic skills and competencies. It fails when it slips into a judgemental and condemnatory mode, drawing broad inferences from narrow evidence.

Perhaps the fault lies in the original brief from JET to contribute to policy formulation in adult literacy. A more fitting direction for this research might have been (and may still be) towards theoretical critique and development. The New Literacy Studies have provided a home and an inspiration for this research. Now it is time to test the foundations of that home, to demolish the weak portions and build on the strengths. For example, one of the intriguing questions raised indirectly by this book is whether a clear distinction between 'autonomous' and ideological literacies can be sustained in the South African context. There is potential in this book for more and tougher theorising.

A peculiarity of *The Social Uses of Literacy,* manifest mainly in the preface and introduction, is that readers are cast as ideological opponents, as reprehensible and recalcitrant upholders of the old order, in cahoots with business interests and bureaucrats. So it is with a sense of relief that the reader turns to *A Survey of Adult Basic Education in South Africa in the 90s,* which proceeds from the assumption that readers are intelligent and sensitive people seeking information about adult literacy and basic education for the purposes of decision making, planning. and research.

A Survey of Adult Basic Education in South Africa in the 90s contains a wealth of information, some of which was specially collected by means of questionnaires, field trips, interviews and literature reviews, and some of which has been culled from earlier policy research by a variety of contributors. The book is organised in five parts. Part One examines the need for adult literacy provision in South Africa and provides a demographic profile of learners currently enrolled in adult basic education classes. The frequently cited figure of fifteen million illiterate adults in South Africa is shown to be unrealistically high, and the reasons for accepting seven and a half million illiterates, or 29% of the adult population, as a more realistic figure are explained in some detail, supported by tables and graphs. Another important finding of the research is that there are many more learners in Adult Basic

Education (ABE) classes than had been acknowledged previously. Increasing numbers of learners are found in private sector ABE provision and in classes run by municipalities, non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations.

Part Two of the book reviews international models of ABE policy and implementation, and human resources development in ABE. Key issues in ABE internationally, including ways of defining and organising literacy provision, policy and political will, institutional location, modes of delivery and support systems, are addressed in the introduction to Chapter Three. The selection of international models of ABE provision is interesting, containing examples from both developed and developing countries: the USA, India, Tanzania, Botswana, Brazil, Indonesia and Australia are reviewed. Short commentaries follow each national profile, pointing out the significant achievements and problematic features of each model, and relating these to the South African context. This international and comparative perspective informs the next chapter of the book, which highlights issues in the professional development of educators in South Africa. This chapter concludes that a coherent plan for the development of ABE personnel at all levels should be initiated and developed.

The third part of the book traces the process in which national policy in ABE has been constructed over the past five years. It also offers a critique of the current dominant model of competency-based outcomes in education and training. An assessment of the commitment and capacity of various providers of ABE, organised according to region and sector, is one of the most useful parts of the book. State policy comes in for some sharp criticism in an informative chapter on the financing of adult basic education and training.

Part Four reviews the nature and scope of ABE provision in South Africa. Separate chapters on the providers, curricula, materials, teachers, teacher training, evaluation and research, and support systems inform the reader about what is in place in the field, and how ABE work is affected by policy shifts and fluctuations in resources. These chapters contain not simply reliable, factual information, but valuable insights and commentary on a wide range of issues in adult basic education. For example, the chapter on materials and materials development contains virtual essays on computer technology, the electronic media and the role of libraries in ABE. Mini case studies of innovative programmes contribute interest and variety to the text.

At the time of writing this review, *in November 1996, A Survey qf Adult Basic Education in South Afriica in the 90s* was incomplete. The fifth part of the book, which was to contain the conclusion, had not been finished, and there was neither a table of contents, an index, nor a list of references. Clearly, then, this review, too, will be incomplete. It is possible to say, however, that this survey promises to be a very valuable sourcebook for practitioners, policymakers, researchers and others who wish to know more about ABE in South Africa. Sound organisation, clear narrative and interesting layout make this book attractive and accessible to the reader.

1. I wish to acknowledge the valuable contribution of my colleague, Suzanne Smythe, to this review.

2. Geidt, J. (1994) 'Literacy Research and the New Literacy Studies: Criticisms and Reflections'. Unpublished paper. University of the Western Cape, Centre for Adult and Continuing Education.

3. An exception to this is the study by Watters on the communicative practices of the service staff of a Cape school (Chapter Four).

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

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For book reference:
P. Kallaway (ed.), *Apartheid and Education: The Education of Black South Africans* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984), 2-5.

For journal reference:
A. Simon and P. Beard, "Discriminatory Factors Affecting Women Teachers in Natal", *Perspectives in Education*, 9, 1 (July 1986): 59.

For chapter in a collection:
F. Chikane, "Children in Turmoil: The Effects of the Unrest of Township Children", in S. Berman and P. Reynolds (eds.), **Growing Up in a Divided Society: The Contexts of Childhood in South Africa** (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987), 20.

For referral to work listed directly preceding:
Ibid., 20.

For referral to work listed above, but not directly preceding:
Simon and Beard, 61.

Unpublished sources:
Phillips to J. Rheinalt Jones, 10 September 1934, Ray Phillips Papers, A1444-1446, Church of the Province of South Africa, University of the Witwatersrand.

Published government reports:
South African Native Affairs Commission Report, 1903-1905 (Cape Town, 1905), 71.

Newspapers:
The Star, 3 September 1986.

Unpublished thesis and papers:
M. Cross, "Capital State, Missionaries, and the Foundations of a Segregated Schooling System on the Witwatersrand, 1900-1924" (M.Ed. thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 1985), 1.

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N. Ncube, teacher at Citrusdal Primary, interview with author, Citrusdal, July 1988.

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