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PERSPECTIVES IN EDUCATION

Volume 18, No 3
November 2000

Special Issue

Higher Education, Globalisation and the Third World State

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Part One

Higher Education, Globalisation and the Third World State

Foreword

Devarakshanam Betty Govinden



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In this closing year of the twentieth century Globalisation has certainly become the irresistible mantra of our time. And yet as we turn our eyes back on the past centuries, we realise that a globalised world began a long time ago, with conquering tribes, colonialist and imperialist excursions that took people beyond their own borders. Whether we are Hypo-globalists—who believe in the pervasive and inevitable influence of globalisation or Globalisation Sceptics, who would rather opt for regionalism, or whether we hover somewhere between globalisation and localisation, we cannot deny its immanence.

South Africa is undoubtedly a country under-going profound social and political change. At the same time that South Africa straddles a global/regional strategy, it has to balance domestic, populist expectations. Among the main problems seeking attention at the present time, together with education, are unemployment, housing, land restitution and land re-distribution, and environmental denudation. The root economic problems, brought about by inadequate resources, are related to capital, skilled labour, and infrastructure. In a perverse way apartheid impoverished the largest part of its human resources.

While some aspects of globalisation may be seen as mere virtual reality—"a transnational imaginary", according to Noel Gough (1999)—we cannot escape its implications for countries like South Africa which are fast tracking themselves into the global arena. We now see a new social engineering taking place in this post-apartheid era. Increasingly, our educational system is being geared to promote the values of a technical-industrial culture. As South Africa locates itself in a knowledge-based global economy, it is being driven to compete with the newly industrialised countries. As South Africa is tempted to imitate the "tiger economies" it realises that it needs to raise it educational standards to compete successfully in the global marketplace. It is keen to develop vigorous innovation schemes in education to participate more widely and fully in the information technology age. It sees education as indispensable for this, and is thus caught between being a facilitative state with a technology-driven emphasis and a developmental one, dealing with rural impoverishment.

South Africa is also part of the South African Development Community (SADC), and cannot view its many challenges in isolation from the rest of the region. The twelve members of the SADC—Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe —all face problems of crime, unemployment, housing, education and health care. These countries are hoping to achieve economic integration early in the new century, and have agreed to take steps to co-ordinate and eventually harmonise initiatives and policies across their borders. Institutions of higher education in the region will have to think far more boldly about the implications this has for "strategic mergers". This in itself should make us hesitant about any narrow cultural and national identity that we might wish to fashion in our institutions of higher learning.

I believe that it is important that we see the complexities inherent in Globalisation, that it is both a process—a set of trends rather than a fixed, stable, definable entity—as well as ideology. We often speak of globalisation and higher education as if its eschatological thrust is inescapable. We also need to deal with the false consciousness that it engenders. What is most important, I believe, is that Globalisation cannot be depoliticised. We have to stress that Globalisation is hierarchised, racialised, and gendered, as we see, for example, with the trans-national labour trade.

It is for this reason that it is important that we as curriculum workers, teachers, academics, researchers, and intellectuals engage with the issues of globalisation and education. We should not see ourselves as silent spectators of these forces, but important players, and dissenters, on the global stage. The questions and questioning should be relentless, and we need more critical perspectives of these matters on our campuses. In this edition of Perspectives in Education we focus on some issues related to higher education both at a macro, international level, and at a micro, institutional one, providing a range of perspectives and vantage points on these salient issues.

At a time when transformation is proceeding apace at institutions, dictated almost solely by fiscal considerations, we need to ask many more questions. Are the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) and the National Qualifications Framework (NQF), for instance, entirely appropriate for the higher education system in South Africa? While adaptation is necessary as universities and technikons are intricably part of the global business order, we should still be circumspect about our wholesale absorption into it. Is adapting to the new system stifling critique and thereby actually hastening our obsolescence and extinction? How are we balancing the imperatives of globalisation and that of equity and access, given that our laudable intentions only recently were the massification of higher education? In what way are our persistent hierarachical educational structures in contradiction to the principles of open access to learning and critical thinking? Should the output norm be the sole arbiter of the future of our disciplines? As we phase out "at-risk" departments and disciplines, how are we ensuring that true intellectual conversations should develop trans-disciplinarily?

How does the discourse around the African Renaissance demand a critique of globalisation with its pervasive "electronic colonialism"? Is the African Renaissance about helping us to adjust to the global new economic order, or is it to challenge it? It is for this very questioning that the call for an African Renaissance must be sup-

ported. The African Renaissance is not about creating a breed of nostalgic Africanists; it is, in my opinion, about reappraising our historical context more circumspectly, and being vigilant about the contradictions in our present economic, political and cultural reconstruction. While the predominant anthropocentric view of human cultural history with its constellations of power must be defined historically, in the end, the African Renaissance is really about education, peace and development for this continent, and ultimately for a world without borders. It should provide us with a critical, open, and long-range approach to our intellectual work, propelling us more and more to think and act 'contrapuntally', to use Edward Said's (1996) famous formulation, rather than in simple and simplistic Manichean terms.

We have heard the question being asked recently: Where have all the intellectuals gone? But are our higher education institutions conducive to independent and eccentric intellectual thought and critique? In particular, are they places for the nurturing of black intellectual thought and cultural autonomy, beyond partisan politics and narrow sectarianisms? In making universities accountable to big business and industry have we undermined its accountability to itself and the intellectual community at large? Are universities so nervous of not being the only ones now in the knowledge-producing business that they see conformity as the surest way of survival and acceptance?

How we are dealing with questions of culture, difference and subjectivity on our campuses? Are the debates around racism — whether subliminal, subtle or incontrovertible — being encouraged or are they suppressed? There is a vast difference between combatting racism and simply forgetting about it. The potency of racism on our campuses is more than a matter of opinion, and a "scholarship of backlash" which, among other things, invokes the gender and class cards, merely exacerbates the problem. We seem to believe that campuses should be stable factories where consent and consensus is "manufactured".

The need to make our higher education institutions places of new community are important now more than ever before, "In this joint discovery of self and Other, it is the role of the academy to transform what might be conflict, or contest, or assertion into reconciliation, mutuality, recognition, and creative interaction" (Said, 1996). In his novel Astonishing the Gods, Ben Okri (1995) envisions a transformed university as not simply as a new place of learning but as a new place of living and loving. Okri's great visionary consciousness is for a new education, for another brave new world ... FOR A NEW HUMAN COMMUNITY.

"Suddenly he saw the city as a vast network of thoughts. Courts were places where people went to study the laws, not places of judgement. The library, which he took to be one building, but he later discovered was practically the whole city, was a place where people went to record their thoughts, their dreams, their intuitions, their ideas, their memories, and their prophecies. They also went there to increase the wisdom of the race. Books were not borrowed. Books were composed there, and deposited.

The Universities were places for self-perfection, places for the highest education in life. Everyone taught everyone else. All were teachers, all were students. The sages listened more than they talked; and when they talked it was to ask questions that

would engage endless generations in profound and perpetual discovery.
The universities and the academies were also places where people sat and meditated and absorbed knowledge from the silence. Research was a permanent activity, and all were researchers and appliers of the fruits of research. The purpose was to discover the hidden unifying laws of all things, to deepen the spirit, to make more profound the sensitivities of the individual to the universe, and to become more creative.

Love was the most important subject in the universities. Entire faculties were devoted to the art of living. The civilisation was dedicated to a simple goal, the perfection of the spirit and the mastery of life" (Okri, 1995, 66–67).

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The Pedagogic Expression and Implications of Globalisation

Jonathan D. Jansen



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Much has been written about the globalisation as an economic phenomenon, less about its manifestation within higher education, and almost nothing about its expression through the pedagogical practices of universities. I wish to posit some initial theses about the pedagogic expression of globalisation within educational institutions and use this argument as a platform for introducing the excellent set of papers in this Special Issue of Perspectives in Education on 'Higher Education, Globalisation and the Third World State.'

I am inclined to go along with Noel Gough (1999) in being less concerned with what globalisation is, than with what it does (73). In this respect, I remain intrigued by a question usefully posed about so-called autonomous institutions: Why it is that universities across the world, at about the same time, tend to do more or less the same things using more or less the same language? In a relatively short period of time, universities all over have sought to reduce expenditure, retrench staff, vocationalise curricula, shift towards contract employment, increase partnerships with business and industry, reduce the number of academic departments, initiate outsourcing of essential services, appoint corporate managers rather than academic leaders, recast academic units as ìcost centresî and compete more effectively with private providers of higher education (among South African commentators, see Bundy 1999, 7; Fourie 1999). Quality assurance, mergers, performance and productivity, qualifications authorities, flexibilisation, knowledge workers, partnerships, restructuring, and associated terms have generated a powerful and pervasive discourse on campuses. Reflecting on the future of the New Zealand University, Peter Roberts (1999) could easily be talking about South Africa:

> 'Education' has become a commodity, to be bought, sold, traded, and consumed. Competition between 'providers'" ... is explicitly fostered. Students become consumers of course offerings, and are expected to wander the educational 'marketplace' making continuous (supposedly 'free', 'autonomous and 'rational)' choices about which programmes to accept or reject (68).

There can be little question that this realignment of universities with the logic of

markets is a profound effect of globalisation. To extend the argument of Carnoy (2000, this issue) about the global economy, the core strategic activities of universities have been reorganised on a planetary scale, in real time. But how does this play-out in pedagogical terms inside the seminar rooms, lecture halls and laboratories of universities?

This dispersion of a globalising discourse has very concrete and recognisable pedagogical features (McLaren, 1999). The emphasis on terminal outcomes and performativity is perhaps the most common feature of a globalised pedagogy. In South Africa, and some other parts of the world, this not-so-new pedagogical form is sometimes referred to as 'outcomes based education' (see Malcolm, 2000). Strikingly, the process-driven pedagogy of the liberation movements in South Africa has been displaced by a pedagogy which stresses that what matters is end-product, not transitional experience (Jansen and Christie, 1999). This is a critical point about globalisation; it not only incorporates, it displaces local discourses, practices and traditions (Jansen, 2000a). The 'well-tempered learner' of Johann Muller (1998) is one who can demonstrate concrete experiences at the end of learning; the meaning of that experience, in all its historical, cultural and political richness, is less crucial to a performance-based pedagogy.

The immediate implication of a performance-based pedagogy is that assessment practices have to fall in line with this ideology. After all, teachers can only measure what is observable through demonstration. Outcomes based assessment or variants, such as authentic assessment, is an attempt to 'really know' what learners have gained over a period of instruction. The elimination of 'fluffy knowledge' is critical since learners do not have the kinds of concrete skills required in the workplace. These skills are achievable through outcomes based pedagogy, and measurable through outcomes based assessment. The danger, again, is displacement. For what could be regarded as crucial knowledge for critical citizenship or cultural affirmation (especially among dispossessed groups) is lost in a focus on occupational knowledge or skills. The question is as relevant in the United Kingdom as elsewhere: "What will this mean for increasing numbers of students in higher education who will experience modular and increasingly prescriptive outcome-based regimes?" (Eccelstone, 1999, 46).

But the global economy nevertheless demands learners who have flexible skills that are 'portable' across employment contexts and national boundaries. The imagery is powerful: a learner with a toolbox of accredited competencies (stated in 'outcomes' format) is able to transfer these credits across time and space, in exchange for monetary reward. The emergence of 'national qualifications frameworks' are designed to keep track of this mobile learner and to ensure that registered outcomes are recorded for ease of movement within and outside of a national education and training system. For this reason, the emphasis in flexibilisation is on non-subject specific, generic and transferable capabilities of learners. The technologies available for the transnational dispersion of this kind of learning capability are many, including computer-mediated learning, open and distance learning, and English-based instruction.

The social cost of this kind of pedagogy has been what Edwards and Usher (1997) call the deterritorialised learner dislocated from familiar cultural or social space, and

located within a globalised learning space. At the same time, this person is the disembodied learner (Edwards and Usher, 1997) whose performance across contexts is detached from emotion, experience and content in favour of external demonstrations of behaviour. In this seamless realm of learning, the role of education in transmitting national culture becomes displaced by a focus on education's role in servicing the global economy, wherein each nation is embraced by the logic of competitiveness. In the words of the most influential advocate of outcomes based education in South Africa,

> Outcomes are CLEAR, OBSERVABLE DEMONSTRATIONS of student learning that occur at or after the end of a significant set of learning experiences. They are NOT values, attitudes, feelings, beliefs, activities, assignments, goals, scores, marks, or averages, as many people believe (Spady, 1998, 3; emphasis in the original).

But perhaps the most successful disseminator of this new pedagogy is the private higher education provider. Described by Altbach (1999) as the fastest growing segment of postsecondary education, private higher education (PHE) has become in effect another form of international trade. The fascinating paper by doctoral student Tatiana Suspitsina (2000, this issue) of the University of Michigan demonstrates clearly how the growth of private education and tuition-based institutions was a product of the movement towards a market economy and the opening-up of national borders in Russia.

Supported in many cases by foreign corporations, and protected by foreign governments, the multinational university has had devastating effects in the third world. Private higher education institutions have virtually decimated historically disadvantaged institutions in South Africa (Jansen, 2000b) and undermined access for rural and poor students to any form of public higher education. In effect, PHE has been an instrument in creating and expanding market conditions for the provision of public education within nation states. I have demonstrated elsewhere (Jansen, 1999) that the third world state is by no means a passive or paralysed victim of this powerful agent of globalisation in education i.e., private higher education institutions. Rather, the South African state has acted to ensure that PHE not only enjoys constitutional protection, but that this is enforced in the national legislation governing private education. To be sure, under pressure from flailing public institutions, the state is being forced to invoke moratoria and regulatory arrangements to circumscribe private education. But to rigidly enforce such regulation is to confront powerful corporations and governments who argue that the rules of international trade and competitiveness applies equally to private education as it does to computer technologies and Levi jeans. It follows, therefore, that private institutions in South Africa would register on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (just like any other companies) "with the exclusive aim of obtaining more capital for extending their operations" (Cloete and Bunting, 2000, 26; see also Vally, 1999).

My focus here, though, is on the pedagogy of globalisation. How does this express itself in private higher education in the third world? Private pedagogies are almost exclusively played out in the domain of commercial and management sciences i.e., those fields of study directly linked to success in business and industry. The pedagogical medium is computer-based technologies supplemented by instructors from

the business and industrial environment thereby consolidating the link between college pedagogy and workplace pedagogy. But even here one is able to observe class differentiation within the pedagogy of private higher education in South Africa. A casual visit to a graduation ceremony of companies like Damelin College will show long lines of mainly poor, black African students waiting to graduate in short-term courses such as basic office computing, telephone techniques, the fundamentals of office management, and basic conversational skills. This rapid-turnover pedagogy is invariably linked to didactic forms of instruction based on manuals listing specific steps to be covered in a mechanical curriculum. The class and complexion of students are markedly different in the high status courses in electronics and degree-based commerce courses, including the MBA, thereby reflecting and, perhaps cementing, the inequalities inherited from the apartheid schooling system. The pedagogy of the high status courses included much more discussion, interaction, group assignments, and work-based exemplars with more highly trained lecturers. It would constitute a worthwhile research programme in higher education to examine more systematically the relationship between class, race and pedagogy within the differentiated curriculum of private higher education, rather than assume absolute distinctions in public-private pedagogies.

As already stated, the impact of globalisation on education on the third world state cannot be read simply as passive dependency (Jansen, 1999). Which raises the interesting question whether the recent re-emergence of discourses of Africanisation and the African Renaissance represent a challenge to or act in collusion with globalisation. There can be little question that the African Renaissance contains two powerful impulses. The weaker impulse is cultural, representing a call for a return to 'roots' (Makgoba, 1999). This call invites a celebration of the local and 'the excavation of Africa's forgotten knowledges' in the words of Professor Pitika Ntuli of the Sonkosa Centre for the African Renaissance. The stronger impulse is economic, representing a call for African recognition and incorporation within the terrain of globalisation. This impulse is most powerfully represented in President Mbeki's refrain that "Africa's time has come" and that rather than focus only on the negative legacies and images of Africa, international investors and foreign governments should rather support the momentum towards democracy and economic development promising to break-out from the colonial legacy. South African politicians, business people and not a few academics have traded heavily on this economic logic of African incorporation from Lagos to Los Angeles.

Against this background, the two papers on Africanisation in this Special Issue of Perspectives in Education present a riveting intellectual challenge to globalisation. Seepe (2000, this issue) invokes imperialism (through the voice of Steve Bantu Biko) as the instrument through which African knowledges remain marginalised and European knowledges retain centre stage within third world institutions. Which begs the question: is globalisation not simply another form of imperialism? In searching for definitions of globalisation, one Indian journalist called it "gobbledization", while academic Wayne O'Neil of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology referred to the subject as: "Americanisation—pure and simple."[1] But Seepe (2000) is optimistic about the Africanisation challenge to globalisation: "Africanisation is about turning the globe over so that we see all the possibilities of

1 Presentations during a recent Symposium on Globalisation at Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 27 February 2000.

the world where Africa assumes a role as a subject rather than an object that is understood at the margins of Europe" (this issue, my emphasis).

While Seepe (2000, this issue) concentrates on the historical marginalisation of African knowledges, Fhulu Nekhwevha (2000, this issue) is adamant that post-apartheid education policies (like Outcomes Based Education) continue to suffocate African cultural heritage. African intellectuals are called on to unearth, rehabilitate and develop this heritage for, "A project of this nature will expose the Western cultural hegemony in education which masquerade as globalisation for what it is: a neo-liberal cultural and economic programme which serves to dominate, exploit and plunder African societies and resources."

If the two contributions on Africanisation in this issue (Seepe and Nekhwevha) offer a cultural response to globalisation, then Vil-Nkomo's case study of the University of Pretoria falls within (even celebrates) the economic logic of globalisation. Of all higher education institutions in South Africa, the University of Pretoria has been the most prominent and articulate with respect to the place of the university in a globalised, competitive economy. The University of Pretoria has rigorously pursued industry-university partnerships through the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research as well as through its own independent partnership programmes with national and international industries and universities. The University of Pretoria has created a network of satellite campuses that has positioned itself competitively with respect to other public and private universities. In a short period of time, and defying the conservative traditions (stereotype?) often associated with Afrikaans universities, the University of Pretoria has become the archetype of a global university on the South African higher education landscape. There lies an extremely important debate in the juxtaposition of the Seepe/Nekhwevha and the Vil-Nkomo papers—a debate we invite from future contributors to Perspectives in Education.

While the University of Pretoria is concerned with the external logic of market position and competitiveness, the University of the Western Cape was occupied with the internal logic of democratisation as it sought to implement the state-mandated 'institutional forum' on campus (Johnson, 2000, this issue). The inward looking stance of UWC perhaps reflects a dilemma faced by many historically black institutions i.e. all-consuming internal struggles over power, status and declining resources that have created a dangerous blindspot with respect to external positioning in the harsh environment threatening extinction of 'less viable institutions.' In addition, as Johnson indicates, the implementation of a legal requirement for institutional forums has not meant that "the competing and complementary interests" of all stakeholders could be met. My sense in reading Bernadette Johnson's insightful contribution is that "co-operative governance" (a buzzword in new legislation) became a strategy for silencing dissent in a model of university administration that was managerialist in orientation and worked only to the benefit of the more powerful stakeholders , i.e. Management and Council.

Adam Habib and Angina Parekh (2000, this issue) also address the issue of power but from the position of inter-institutional relationships. Using a concept adapted from the corporate world, the authors argue for "strategic mergers" as a means by which the higher education sector would be able to "enhance its capacity to both compete globally and address the legitimate demands for real access by the coun-

try's historically disadvantaged" (Habib and Parekh, 2000, this issue). They make a compelling case for the Council on Higher Education (an advisory body to the Minister of Education) to consider strategic mergers as an instrument for achieving greater equity, efficiency and competitiveness in higher education in South Africa.

Their reference to the role of the state in higher education in the postcolonial period raises questions about the South African state within the globalisation of higher education. In this regard, I wish to conclude with notes about the state, markets and higher education in contemporary South Africa prepared by invitation for the *Pretoria News*. I wrote as follows:

> At the end of June 2000, the Minister of Education in South Africa expects a report from a 13-person task team on "the size and shape" of higher education. The task team consists of prominent persons from labour, higher education, business and government, though none of them are official representatives or spokespersons for their sector. It is my contention that this panel is intended to lend status and credibility to a political task that will fundamentally reshape the profile of higher education in South Africa.
>
> The Minister is clear: the 36 public higher education institutions (21 universities and 15 technikons) reflect "the geopolitical imagination of apartheid planners." In other words, our universities and technikons are products of apartheid; there are too many public institutions too close together doing the same things for too few students. Taken to its logical conclusion, the Minister has no choice but to close down or merge or rename as lesser institutions (e.g., universities becoming community colleges) certain institutions. But is it really that simple?
>
> I believe that the changes in higher education are in essence at attempt at aligning higher education with the logic of the market. It has been increasingly clear since the mid-1990s that government was concerned that higher education become more competitive in the global arena; that universities become more productive; that programmes become more vocationalised; that the core business of universities and technikons are aligned with the demands of the labour market; and that graduates are more flexibly trained. The entrepreneurial university that regards students as clients and Vice Chancellors as Chief Executive Officers and departments as productive units is the kind of institution that would be viable within a changing external environment. Students would "vote with their feet" in choosing some institutions and leaving others; the fittest will survive. It is this logic that allowed private higher education to flourish after apartheid, with such institutions now absorbing more than 300,000 students following post-compulsory education.
>
> But market pressures are not enough. While black universities have seen their numbers dramatically diminished because of competition from viable (read 'white') universities and private providers, many still limp along from one public image crisis to the next. There is increasing pressure from the Cabinet to act firmly against black universities and technikons which, with few exceptions, appear to have mismanaged public resources and accumulated high levels of debt. It is an open secret that the Ministry of Finance is reluctant to continue pouring money into black universities that lack credibility and show very little

in terms of productivity. It is for this reason that Minister Asmal, through the offices of the Council on Higher Education, has created with some urgency a task team as surrogate action for a very risky political exercise. That is, no Minister will risk closing down black universities (like Fort Hare or Zululand) directly, without unacceptably high levels of political fall-out. But a task team may recommend such action, and thereby provide technical justification for an otherwise political task.

The "typologies" being developed of higher education institutions is nothing less than an attempt to create a hierarchy with a few historically white universities at the top, and a second-, third- and fourth-tier of inferior institutions at the bottom. Middle class and privileged students will access the upper tier of universities; poor and less privileged students will be doomed to a second- or third rate education, if anything at all, in the lower tier of institutions. Class will displace race, though not perfectly, in defining the architecture of higher education in the future. In that sense, little would have changed from our apartheid past.

Shortly after I wrote this piece the Task Team of the Council on Higher Education released its discussion document containing proposals on the future "size and shape" of the higher education system in South Africa. We are pleased to include both the Task Team document as well as two responses within this Special Issue of Perspectives in Education. The first response is a "macro-level perspective" articulated by Professor Jairam Reddy, former Chairperson of the National Commission on Higher Education (or the NCHE). Professor Reddy locates his response within a set of critical questions about globalisation and the response of higher education institutions to this phenomenon. The second response is a "micro-level perspective" prepared by the University of the Western Cape, a historically disadvantaged institution. The UWC response points to real dilemmas of equity and redress within these proposals and the implications for disadvantaged students and staff.

The excellent set of papers assembled by Guest Editor D. Betty Govinden in this Special Issue of Perspectives in Education, provides timely theoretical and empirical insights into the dilemmas and challenges of globalisation in higher education in Africa and beyond. They also assist our understanding of education restructuring in Africa's youngest democracy, including the debate on the future "size and shape" of higher education

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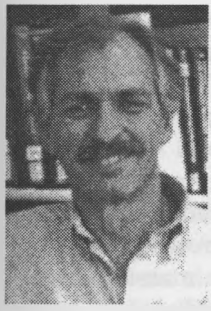
Globalisation and Higher Education

Martin Carnoy



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Abstract

This paper sets out graphically the ubiquitous effects of Globalisation-from national economies and national cultures to relationships among families and friends. Globalisation has a direct impact on how work is organised, goods and services produced, and the way nations relate to one another. The two main bases of globalisation are information and innovation which are highly knowledge intensive. With globalisation so utterly dependent on knowledge and its transmission, I discuss the challenges this poses for higher education in particular.

Historic changes are transforming the lives of people in the developed countries and most developing ones. National economies and even national cultures are globalising. Globalisation means more competition, not just with other companies in the same city or the same region. Globalisation also means that national borders do not limit a nation's investment, production, and innovation. Everything, including relations among family and friends, is rapidly becoming organised around a much more compressed view of space and time. Companies in Europe, the United States, and Japan can produce chips in Singapore, keypunch data in India or the Peoples' Republic of China, out source clerical work to Ireland or Mexico, and sell worldwide, barely concerned about the long distances or the variety of cultures involved. Swatch now sells a watch that tells "Internet time," a continuous time that is the same everywhere in the world. Even children watching television or listening to radio are re-conceptualising their "world," in terms of the meanings that they attach to music, the environment, sports, or race and ethnicity.

A global economy is not a world economy. That has existed since at least the sixteenth century (Braudel, 1979). Rather, a global economy is one whose strategic, core activities, including innovation, finance and corporate management, function on a planetary scale on real time (Carnoy, Castells, Cohen, and Cardoso, 1993; Castells, 1996).[1] And this globality became possible only recently because of the technologi-

1 Real time is, in entertainment parlance, "live," meaning that information is exchanged or communicated as it is produced.

cal infrastructure provided by telecommunications, information systems, microelectronics machinery, and computer-based transportation. Today, as distinct from even a generation ago, capital, technology, management, information, and core markets are globalised.

Globalisation together with new information technology and the innovative processes they foment are driving a revolution in the organisation of work, the production of goods and services, relations among nations, and even local culture. No community is immune from the effects of this revolution. It is changing the very fundamentals of human relations and social life.

Two of the main bases of globalisation are information and innovation, and they, in turn are highly knowledge intensive. Internationalised and fast-growing information industries produce knowledge goods and services. Today's massive movements of capital depend on information, communication, and knowledge in global markets. And because knowledge is highly portable, it lends itself easily to globalisation.

If knowledge is fundamental to globalisation, globalisation should also have a profound impact on the transmission of knowledge. In this paper, I will suggest that it does, and that its effects are particularly great on higher education. Why is this the case? The answer lies in three parts. Rising payoffs to university training in a global, science based, knowledge intensive economy make university education more of a "necessity" to get "good" jobs. Demographics and democratic ideals increase pressure on universities to provide access to groups that traditionally have not attended university. The growing power of "externally defined" global market values (in which universities themselves play an important role) increase pressure on universities to reinvent local communities and culture

Globalised markets and the globalisation of skills

Governments in a global economy need to attract foreign capital and increasingly knowledge intensive capital, which means providing a ready supply of skilled labour. This translates into pressure to increase the average level of education in the labour force. The payoff to higher levels of education is rising world-wide as a result of the shifts of economic production to knowledge-intensive products and processes, as well as because governments implement policies that increase income inequality. Rising relative incomes for higher educated labour increases the demand for university education, pushing governments to expand their higher education, and, correspondingly, to increase the number of secondary school graduates ready to attend post-secondary. In countries that were previously resistant to providing equal access to education for young women, the need for more highly educated low-cost labour tends to expand women's educational opportunities.

In the past fifty years, most countries have undergone rapid expansion of their primary and secondary education systems. This is not universally true. But thanks to a generalised ideology that basic education should be available to children as a right, even financial constraints in many debt-ridden countries, such as those in Latin America (and financial constraints in non-debt-ridden countries, such as those

Southern Africa) did not prevent them from increasing access to basic and even secondary education (Castro and Carnoy, 1997).

University education has also expanded, but given the bias of global demand for the higher educated, the tendency is to push up rates of return to investment in higher education relative to the payoffs to investing in primary and secondary schooling. Rates of return to higher levels of education are also pushed up by structural adjustment policies. These tend to favour those with higher skill levels hooked into the export sector and the multinational companies. Estimated rates of return in countries such as Hong Kong (Chung, 1990), the Republic of Korea (Ryoo, Carnoy, and Nam, 1993), and Argentina (Razquin, 1999), as well as in a number of the OECD countries (OECD, 1998), show that rates of return to university education are often as high or higher than to either secondary or primary education. Furthermore, some of these same studies were able to measure rates of return for several different years in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. They suggest that rates of return to university have risen relative to primary and secondary rates. Rising rates of return to higher education relative to lower levels of schooling also characterise many countries where measured rates to investment in university remain lower than to investment in primary and secondary education.

Rates of return to higher levels of schooling increase not necessarily because the real incomes of university graduates are rising in absolute terms. Real incomes of university graduates could stay constant or even fall, but if the incomes of secondary and primary graduates fall more than those of workers with higher education, the rate of return to higher education rises and pressure on the higher education system increases. Many years ago, Mark Blaug, Richard Layard, and Maureen Woodhall, studied the paradox of Indian universities. Graduates seemed to suffer high rates of unemployment, yet the demand for university education continued unabated (Blaug, Layard, and Woodhall, 1969). They found that although the rate of unemployment was, indeed, high among university graduates, it was even higher among secondary school graduates. This helped push secondary school graduates to go on to university. In the past 25 years in the United States, the real incomes of male college graduates have risen very slowly, but the real incomes of male high school graduates have fallen sharply, again raising the college income premium and increasing enrolment in higher education.

Globalisation may therefore benefit university graduates only in relative terms, but the implications for general educational investment strategies are the same as if university graduates' incomes were rising more rapidly than incomes of those young people with less schooling. By increasing the relative demand for university graduates more rapidly than universities can expand their supply, globalisation puts continuous pressure on the educational system to expand.

Yet, there is another side to this coin. Many analysts focus on the fact that globalisation is reducing demand for unskilled and semi-skilled labour, that the new technology may be reducing demand for labour as a whole, and that countries have to compete for this shrinking demand by keeping wages low. These analysts claim that this is the reason that real wages are falling (or growing very slowly) in most countries (see, for example, Rifkin, 1994).

I have argued elsewhere that this is an incorrect analysis of both the effects of globalisation and of the new technology (Carnoy, 1999). New information technology displaces many workers, just as all new technologies have done in the past, and this may influence short-term education and training investments. But this aspect of labour markets does not negate the more important issue for educational strategies: globalisation and the new technology are knowledge intensive, and the new labour markets are increasingly information-intensive, flexible, and disaggregative, or individualising, of labour, separating workers from traditional communities. This also has important effects on universities, as I shall discuss later in this essay.

Higher rates of return (both private and social) to higher education have important effects on the rest of the educational system and on income inequality. Rising rates to higher levels of schooling mean that those who get that education are benefited relatively more for their investment in education than those who stop at lower levels of schooling. In most countries, those who get to higher levels of schooling are also those from higher social class background. So not only do those families with higher social class background have more capital to start with, under these circumstances, they get a higher return to their investments. This is a sure formula for increased inequality in already highly unequal societies. In addition, higher socio-economic status (SES) students are those who get access to "better" schools, in regions that are more likely to spend more per pupil for education, particularly in those schools attended by higher socio-economic class pupils. Competition for such higher-payoff education also increases as the payoff to higher education increases, because the stakes get higher. Higher SES parents become increasingly conscious of where their children attend school, what those schools are like, and whether they provide access to higher levels of education. The total result is therefore that schooling becomes more stratified at lower levels rather than less stratified, especially under conditions of scarce public resources. National economic competition on a global scale gets translated into sub-national competition in social class access to educational resources.

If rates of return to university are pushed up by globalisation, intensifying the competition for access to higher education, higher-educated, higher income parents tend to step up the amount they spend on primary and secondary school to assure their children's university enrolment. This means that if promoting private education at the primary and secondary levels through vouchers is part of the strategy to expand access, parents who can afford it are likely to send their children to selective private schools. Even in the public system, wherever possible, parents with more motivation and resources will seek "selective" public schools that serve higher social class clientele. These same parents, willing to spend on the "best" (often-private) primary and secondary schools for their children, then end up fighting for high quality, essentially free, public universities. In parts of Africa, elites (largely government civil servants) went farther. They tried to maintain a system where university students are paid competitive salaries to attend. Although this system is gradually being dismantled, generous student loan programmes still continue for university students and these loans are rarely paid.

At the same time, rising rates of return to university place pressure on universities to accommodate more students. But financial constraints on increased public spending for education have pushed countries throughout the world to generate such

higher education expansions by allowing for the rapid growth of private universities, often financed at least partly by Ministry subsidies to students. These private universities compete for students, but, in fact, the number of students wanting a degree is so great, that competition hardly has to be fierce to attract students. Even so, private universities in some countries, such as Malaysia, "twin" with European and Australian universities to draw students. Most of these students are not "good enough" to get into the top public universities, so a private one, high fees and all, is their best hope for a professional career. In Brazil, Chile, and Colombia, and many other countries, commercial, private universities tend to be "diploma mills," serving students from lower rather than higher-income families. The payoff to private university students is generally lower than the return to those who attend the more prestigious public universities.

In addition to raising the payoff to higher levels of education, globalisation appears to have raised the rate of return to women's education. In many countries rates of return to education for women are higher than for men (Ryoo *et. al.*,1993; Psacharopoulos, 1989). The reasons for the increased participation of women in labour markets are complex, but two main factors have been the spread of feminist ideas and values and the increased demand for low-cost semi-skilled labour in developing countries' electronics manufacturing and other assembly industries. The world-wide movement for women's rights has had the effect of legitimising equal education for women, women's control over their fertility rates, women's increased participation in wage labour markets, and women's right to vote (Castells, 1997; Ramirez, Saysal, and Shanahan, 1997). The increased demand for low-cost labour and greater sense by women that they have the same rights as men has brought enormous numbers of married women into wage employment world-wide. This, in turn has created increased demand for education by women at higher and higher education levels. So globalisation is accentuating an already growing trend by women to take as much or more education than men.

This does not mean that women receive wages equal to men's. That is hardly the case. Nor does it mean that women are taking higher education in fields that are most lucrative, such as engineering, business, or computer science. That is also far from true. Women are still vastly under-represented in the most lucrative professions even in the most "feminised" countries, such as Sweden or the United States. But globalisation seems gradually to be changing that, for both positive and negative reasons. The positive reasons are that flexible organisation in business enterprise requires flexible labour, and women are as or more flexible than men, and that information technology and telecommunications are spreading democratic ideas worldwide. The negative reason is that women are paid much less than men almost everywhere in the world, and it is profitable for firms to hire women and pay them lower wages than men. Yet, both sets of reasons gradually seem to be driving both the education and the price of women's labour up relative to men's. For example, the per cent of women in science and engineering university faculties is increasing worldwide. Although such increased "professionalisation" of women may contribute to the transformation of family life, it does serve to democratise societies and raise greatly the average level of schooling.

The demographics of higher education expansion

In the past twenty years, "new" demand for higher education in both developed and developing countries has come mainly from two groups that traditionally did not attend universities: a "rising" lower-middle social class and women. These sources will continue to fuel higher educational expansion and will be fighting for more places in elite institutions. But a major source of growth in population in developed and developing countries is now and will continue to be very low-educated families, many of them disadvantaged majorities in the developing countries and disadvantaged minorities in the developed countries. The increasing proportion of such children in secondary school is already posing a serious dilemma for educational policy. As secondary education becomes increasingly less valuable in labour markets, this growing part of the school population becomes the next "wave" of potential college graduates, yet in the traditional sense, they may not be "prepared" for college education.[2]

Except in a few places such as Sweden in the late 1980s and early 1990s, where fertility rates rose on the effect of postponed child-bearing among older women and hefty monetary subsidies for each child, and the United States, with a bulge in the female population of child-bearing age and a large immigrant population, women in OECD countries are averaging far fewer children than a generation ago. This trend is also spreading to developing countries. One of the many reasons for the drop in fertility may be that women's average education is much higher now than ever, and, at least in the OECD countries, higher-educated women are more likely to engage in "career" work and to postpone marriage and having children. Since they start bearing children when they are older, they end up having fewer children than less-educated women who marry at a younger age. In the developed countries, this appears to be the dominant pattern. In the developing countries, the pattern may be more complicated, especially because infant mortality rates may be considerably higher in low-income families.

Greater fertility among less-educated, lower-income families affects societies, especially in the current global environment. It means that most children may be growing up in families that cannot prepare them adequately for the ever-higher educational requirements needed to succeed in labour markets. This is not to say those higher educated men and women make better parents than those with less education. But being a parent in the global economy requires much more information than in the past, and the stakes in children's educational success are much higher. On average, less-educated parents are increasingly at a disadvantage in supplying what it takes for young children to be prepared to do well in school.

This potential problem is accentuated by three other factors. The first is that in many countries, income distribution has become more unequal in the past generation, with the real incomes of less-educated families stagnating or even declining. The second is that a high fraction of females heading households are not only poor because they are women, but are doubly poor because they have low levels of

2 In many parts of Africa, including South Africa, the AIDS virus could drastically reduce the number of children from lower income families who reach college age, as well as drastically reducing population growth over the next generation. in these countries, population growth rates may approach developed country levels not because of lower fertility rates, but higher death rates. Even so, the pressure for university expansion will be great and the students entering university will increasingly come from low-income, low-education families.

schooling. The third factor is public investment in the early care and education of children worldwide is low. Under these three conditions, the ability of children of less-educated families to escape poverty is the exception rather than the rule. Even in a rich country such as the United States, in the mid-1980s, 37 per cent of children were growing up in poverty or near poverty. Although that proportion declined in the 1990s, it remains the highest in the OECD. Since the family is still the entity responsible for child-rearing, differences in access to information and networks extant among social groups are likely to be reproduced from this generation into the next.

Poverty rates in developing countries are much higher, and this means that universities will face similar or even greater problems as they expand than those in developed countries. Even though most of the children raised in poor families today, especially in developing countries, are unlikely to get access to universities, as universities in developing countries expand more rapidly than incomes rise, they will take increasing numbers of young people from such "disadvantaged" backgrounds. The paradox is explained by the relatively low fraction of young people in developing countries who live in high or even middle-income families. If the university system expands from admitting 10 per cent of the age cohort to 25 per cent, and 80 per cent of young people live in low-income, less-educated families, at least 5 per cent of university entrants (assuming that not all middle-class young people end up at university) would have to come from "disadvantaged" families. This would represent 20 per cent of university students. In addition, the "disadvantaged" would not be distributed evenly through the university system. Most would be concentrated in less endowed institutions known for their poor quality or in night courses at major universities, or in specialities that are "easier" and are not defined as full-time programs. These are usually associated with low completion rates and low economic returns.

Globalisation and the struggle for community

Education does much more than to impart skills needed for work. Schools are transmitters of modern culture. The meaning of modern culture as interpreted by the state is a crucial issue for educators and is contested in every society. Globalisation redefines culture because it stretches boundaries of time and space and individuals' relationship to them. It reduces the legitimacy of national political institutions' to define modernity. So globalisation necessarily changes the conditions of identity formation. Individuals in any society have multiple identities. Today, their globalised identity is defined in terms of the way that global markets value individuals traits and behaviour. It is knowledge-centred, but global markets value certain kinds of knowledge much more than others. As noted in the discussion of the changing market for skills, one major feature of global markets is that they place high value on scientific and technical knowledge and less on the kinds of local, artisan skills, which serve more basic needs. The global market does not work well as a source of identity for everyone. Markets also increase material differences among individuals. So that even if the market creates a sense of community among those who share the same professional networks, it also continuously destroys communities, isolating individuals until they are able to find new networks and new sources of social worth. With the individualisation of workers and their separation from "permanent" jobs, even the identity individuals have with work places becomes more ten-

uous and subject to more frequent change (Carnoy, 1999). Today's co-workers are not necessarily tomorrow's friends.

Globalisation is not the only force changing modern culture. Important social movements have challenged globalisation in favour of cultural singularity and local control over people's lives and their environment. Caught in between are the traditional mainstays of culture: religion, nationalism, gender relations, and the power relations rooted in historical place. In Manuel Castells' words,

> They include pro-active movements, aiming at transforming human relationships at their most fundamental level, such as feminism and environmentalism. But they also include a whole array of reactive movements that build trenches of resistance on behalf of God, nation, ethnicity, family, locality, that is, the fundamental categories of millenial existence now threatened under the combined, contradictory forces assault of techno-economic forces and transformative social movements (Castells, 1997, 2).

For those less successful in the global marketplace, the search for identity turns in other directions, and does so more intensely than in the past. When the search for other identities does not coincide with existing national territories, they also seek to redefine nationality. Ethnic identity is certainly one option. In sociologist Gˆren Therborn's words, "Affirming an ethnic identity amounts to discounting the present and the future for the past, to thinking and saying that the past is more important than the present ... Who your parents were is more important than what you do, think, or might become ... So, the less value the present appears to provide, the more important ethnicity, other things being equal" (Therborn, 1995, 210).

Religious identity is another direction to which the less globally successful turn. Religious fundamentalism is on the rise worldwide. It rejects the market as authority, and although fundamentalist groups have targeted the nation-state as a power base, there is an inherent contradiction between religious fundamentalism and a territorially defined nation. The same contradiction does not exist when it comes to local communities or to globalised movements for religious identity. But religious localism necessarily means communities based on exclusion. Even ethnic movements move away from their inclusionary focus. Rather than centring on nation-state legislative and financial intervention that includes the particular ethnic or race group in the national project , they now focus on cultural identities independent from the national project or seek recognition in global terms, above nationality. The fastest growing self-identity group among the world's economically marginalised peoples is Muslim fundamentalists. Christian fundamentalism is an increasingly important movement, not only in the United States, where it appeals to working class whites, but also in Latin America, particularly among the rural poor. Hindu fundamentalism is also mobilising similar groups in South Asia. Such fundamentalism provides a new "self-knowledge" that stands above market success. All the information you need to lead a fulfilling life is in the Qurán or the Bible or the Torah. Fundamentalist beliefs do not exclude being successful in the market. But the appeal to fundamentalism is strongest for those who feel simultaneously threatened by the "inclusiveness" of a multiculturalist version of welfare democracy (or even the authoritarianism of single party state) that offers a bureaucratic vision of nationality, and the "inclusiveness" of the global market that serves the power of money and complex information systems.

Cultural identity, whether religious, ethnic, racial, or gender, and whether local, regional or more global, is an antidote to the complexity and harshness of the global market as the judge of a person's worth. For nationalists, they are also an antidote to the globalised bureaucratic state. But such a trend could mean increased social conflict. If some localities/ethnicities/religious groupings feel increasingly excluded from the high end of the market, a weakened nation-state incapable of reincorporating them socially could mean less stability. Even though the political positions of various nationalist movements may differ considerably, they all tend to play to the sense for many of exclusion from participating in the fruits of globalising national economies.

The market in itself has never been sufficiently inclusive. Strong undemocratic, nonegalitarian nation-states existed before the free market dominated economic systems, so many believe that states are no guarantee of inclusion. But the modern capitalist state developed into a successful market "softener". The decline of that role in the face of powerful global marketisation of national economies pushes the "dispossessed" to seek refuge in new and more exclusive collectives. These collectives generally do not have the power or the funds to help the dispossessed financially nor to develop the skills and knowledge valued by global markets. They can help develop self-knowledge and therefore self-confidence. They can provide community and therefore a sense of belonging. They often do so by defining others as "outsiders" without the "true" self-knowledge or the "right" ancestors. At the extreme end, the communities are often highly undemocratic. If the nation-state does not have the financial capability or the political legitimacy to dissipate such movements by incorporating its members into much broader notions of community and values, societies unable to maintain market success may face serious, unresolvable divisions.

The conflicts in identity formation necessarily affect education. The distribution of access to schools and universities, as well as educational reforms aimed at improving its quality, are all headed toward forming labour for a market conditioned by globalisation. But education can become more inequitable rather then more inclusive. Thus, in any strategy, central governments must still assume responsibility for levelling the playing field for all groups. This is particularly true because left-out groups see the educational system as both crucial to knowledge acquisition yet not serving the needs of their "community." Schools and the educational system become primary targets for social movements organised around "self-knowledge," such as religious or ethnic identity. The educational system has enormous resources devoted to knowledge formation for dominant groups. Why should not education in a democratic society serve all groups, even those that differ markedly from the ideal of the new, competitive, globally sensitive worker? It is no accident that much of the struggle, for example, between religious fundamentalists and the secular, rational state, is over state education. The public sector has the funds to place children in an educational institution, but not the commitment to create a moral community. Instead, the state has succumbed to crass materialism on a global scale. Fundamentalists want to attract those who are not happy with their value in a world economy, and to educate them and their children in way that will strengthen religious affiliation, not economic productivity. The more they succeed, the less the educational system will be able to develop global economy workers. Yet, at the same time that schools and universities are the site of intense struggles over the definition

of culture, they represent to those who are not included in the global economy the single most important route to access global culture. Minority groups may try to control the cultural norms purveyed by schools and universities, but they often engage in such battles believing that their children should have a chance to learn skills valued by the global economy.

Decentralisation of educational management to meet the goal of empowering regional and local social movements makes eminent sense when it is these movements that seek to gain control of the educational institutions that affect their children. Educational democratisation movements have pushed for more power for parents and teachers at the educational site. Again, decentralisation of control could promote greater educational productivity and greater sense of community when it is communities themselves that want that control. It might also effectively assuage groups seeking greater self-identity through influencing the production of knowledge in schools. Whether or not this contributes to a multicultural alternative to globalised individualism remains to be seen.

In addition, pro-active movements, such as feminism and environmentalism, postmodern in their outlook and in direct conflict with globalisation, are attempting to redefine the conception of "global" in the education system. For example, feminism is gradually shaping global culture to include gender equality and equity, first in education, then in labour markets. Environmentalism has had an enormous impact on global culture through environmental programs in schools worldwide. These pro-active movements are having a major impact on how schools define new global culture, and in that sense, are most closely associated with challenges to the techno-economic definition of globalised culture. Education plays and will continue to play a fundamental role in this struggle. The inroads that the women's movement has made into the educational system even in traditional Muslim countries reflects its power over the past generation to shape knowledge institutions at the heart of the globalization process. Even so, as the continued subordination of women in societies such as Pakistan and Afghanistan suggest, other anti-global movements rooted in male-dominated traditional culture see women's equality as a global notion, and oppose it as part of their resistance to globalisation.

Implications for higher education

Globalisation is bringing new kinds of people into universities who want the university to make them valuable in the global economic system. At the same time, universities, as sites of cultural leadership, are under new kinds of pressures because global market culture is highly exclusive and destructive of local culture. These new and contradictory pressures will be played out in expanding university systems over the next generation.

A new accountability

Academic secondary education, once itself seen as elite, college preparatory education, is rapidly being accepted even in many developing countries as part of public "mass education". But university maintains its status as education reserved only for those who can "qualify," and in many countries, this means a highly elite education.

Drop-out rates in universities are very high. In the United States, they reach 40–50 per cent in many state universities. Among low SES students, they are much higher. We have only begun to ask why some universities have high drop-out rates and some low. The general assumption is that only highly selective universities can avoid high drop-out, implying that college education is too difficult for many students and should be reserved only for those of proven academic skills.[3] The corollary of this axiom is that the only way to reduce the academic failure rate in university is to increase selectivity. This is one of the popular arguments against affirmative action or admission policies that admit all those who pass a high school certification examination. It is also one of the main reasons for introducing testing among entering students at universities that previously accepted all comers based only on secondary school leaving exams.

Viewing college as a "privilege" rather than a "right" implies that disadvantaged young people will only begin to graduate from college in large numbers when their primary and secondary education improves sufficiently to prepare them for college. It puts pressure on primary and secondary schools to get better at teaching children who increasingly come from low-income, less-educated families. The standards movement world-wide has pushed many countries to make K-12 schools account for and improve their performance with low-income students. Yet, the "privilege" view of university helps it avoid this same kind of accountability. In effect, the traditional message to universities is that they need not worry about good teaching or diagnosing the reasons for high dropouts their role is to bring together the most capable students from high school so that they become more capable.

Most countries have end of high school examinations that act as college entrance tests. The alignment of high school curriculum with entrance tests can have positive effects on student performance in high school. It clarifies standards and can make schools more accountable. But this potentially positive movement is currently accompanied by a push to raise the standards on high school certification tests or to add university entrance tests that would further screen out "insufficiently prepared" secondary school examination passers. That philosophy takes the pressure off colleges to admit low-scoring students and to figure out how to teach them highly valuable college-level skills.

If lower-scoring groups of students are systematically excluded from college until such time as the primary and secondary schools learn how to get student scores up, an entire generation of disadvantaged minorities may be increasingly distanced from better-paying jobs. The drive to increase standards at the secondary level also faces the danger of actually increasing high school dropout rates. If low-scoring students perceive their chances of post-secondary education as dimmer rather than brighter, they may exit education earlier. In effect, there may be an increased separation between those who respond positively to the standard raising and those who turn-off even more.

The alternative to emphasising accountability only at the primary and secondary level is to place similar demands on colleges and universities. The dropout rate from universities is high. Yet, some universities in every country have much higher success rates and some have worse rates. Today, the tendency is to place blame for this

3 See, for example, Thernstrom and Thernstrom, 1997.

situation on individual students, particularly their capacity to handle a college curriculum. But more and more attention should and will be paid to higher education institutions themselves, particularly their capacity to teach successfully an increasingly diverse student body. The role of testing in higher education may and probably should also shift to assessing colleges in terms of their comparative "success" in teaching various subjects to national standards.

Multicultural universities in a global environment

Universities do not just serve to add market worth to students hoping for a place in the globalised economy. Universities are definers of culture in national and diverse regional and local communities. In many ways universities are also community centres as such. For example, the university may represent for a community a centre of particular culture in a multicultural society, or, may represent new definitions of multiculturalism. Thus, the university becomes an important site of conflict between global culture qua preparing students to be economically successful in a global economic environment (scientific, global, economically valued knowledge) and local cultural forms that build self-identity (self-knowledge). Often, this self-identity is an antidote to a global identity that fails to include even many university graduates in the developing countries. It may be also be consistent with a new kind of globalism that creates incorporative multicultural forms.[4]

Today's more globalised notion of national identity in a period of declining state power makes it less logical to impose a narrow sense of national, regional or local culture. Since markets are increasingly global, an individual's economic value is determined by broader criteria than his or her local "acceptability". Further, declining state capacity to impose norms creates political space for counter-dominant concepts of self-knowledge. In practice, groups that do not do assimilate well into the global market knowledge culture have greater political options today than even a generation ago of forming relatively autonomous cultural groups with their own knowledge institutions. This is true for fundamentalist religious groups as well as particular immigrant groups wanting to preserve language and native culture.

In terms of how universities may react to globalisation, this suggests approaches to self-knowledge community very different from those of the past. Two models come to mind. The first is one where the state allows any community group to create a knowledge institution with public funds as long as it met minimum legal criteria. Each community in society could therefore socialise its children and transmit knowledge in the way that it chose. This implies a vision of society where groups with widely different beliefs are held together by market relations but not necessarily other common bonds. Those who support educational vouchers, charter schools, and ethnic or religious universities catering toward very different groups tend

4 Critiques of multi-cultural approaches to self-knowledge focus on their flight from the classics of Western civilisation and the new "fascism" of political correctness. it is ironic that neo-conservatives critique multiculturalism in the form that could certainly occur under a voucher system or charter school, educational alternatives pushed by neo-conservatives. i agree that there is some validity in these criticisms. They are primarily aimed at minoritiesf and womenís attempt to define culture in new ways, but to be consistent, would also have to critique Christian or Muslim fundamentalists who want to use public funds to socialise their children into values and norms inconsistent with the tolerance and enlightenment. it is also ironic that in their fear of the multi-cultural future, neo-conservatives push for the alternative implicit in these critiques-namely using the state to impose an assimilationist view of language, history and culture on groups that seek their own interpretation of history and culture-at the same time that they want highly localised autonomy over school curriculum, teacher hiring, and modes of socialisation.

toward this approach. The second model is one where the state uses a multi-cultural self-knowledge approach to socialise all young people in the public system. This multi-cultural approach differs from totally autonomous definitions of self-knowledge by each group. It also abandons the imposition of a single dominant culture, but does make all children attending publicly funded institutions learn about the variety of cultures in the community (and their points of view). In that sense, the state (national, regional, or local community) continues to impose an ideological perspective, but one that reflects the diversity of today's post-industrial societies.

The first model assumes that market relations (the profit motive) are enough to keep increasingly diverse societies working together successfully. I have my doubts. To build social capital, diverse communities need to share common social experiences. In a knowledge-based society, a common school and university experience with young people having at least some diversity in background and values serves this function. A multi-cultural approach to socialisation does more: it allows children of various groups to gain an understanding of their own history and culture but also allows them to think critically about it. This makes it consistent with the higher-order problem-solving skills needed for an innovative, democratic society. It is also consistent with a positive, constructive vision of what post-industrial societies are becoming a vision distinctly opposed to the parochial, defensive, anti-globalism of the nationalist Right.

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Changes in Russian Higher Education: Recent Trends and Survival Strategies

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Abstract

Diversification of educational forms and increasing pluralism in university curricula are, perhaps, the most visible changes in the Russian system of higher education occurring as the result of democratisation processes and the growing market economy. While this account of change captures the general picture, it nevertheless fails to explain a wide range of other tendencies directed towards increasing centralised control and standardisation of higher education. This article attempts to uncover the sources and mechanisms of these adaptive strategies leading to homogenisation and standardisation of the field of higher education in Russia. Drawing on the institutional theories of organisational adaptation, I analyse recent laws and policies in higher education from the point of view of coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphism. Placing educational reforms in the context of current economic and political changes in Russia, I examine several strategies of organisational transformation that failed or succeeded in the past decade. I argue that the observed diversification is taking place along a less visible yet powerful process of isomorphism that enables Russian universities to reduce the uncertainty of the environment by modeling successful structures and organisations.

Typically, the changes occurring in the system of higher education in Russia are described in terms of diversification of the forms of education and increasing pluralism in curricula and teaching methodologies. The diversification is believed to be a direct response to the pressures of the market economy, whereas pluralism is seen as the result of the democratisation processes in the society at large. While this explanation captures the general picture, it nevertheless fails to reflect numerous nuances of the transformation processes in Russia, contributing to the mystification of the difficulties surrounding Russian reforms. In this article, I will attempt to uncover the peculiarities of adaptation of Russian universities to the social, economic, and political changes and demonstrate some problems with the application of Western theoretical approaches to the study of higher education in that country. I will argue that the observed diversification is occurring along a less visible yet powerful process of isomorphism that enables Russian universities to survive in a turbulent period.

Theorising change in Russian higher education

Among organisational theories conceptualising the interaction between organisations and their external environment, open systems and contingency theories, population ecology, and institutional theories are, perhaps, the most well-known (Scott, 1995; 1998; Sporn, 1999). Developed in the West, these theoretical approaches share a common context and vocabulary: they are based on the assumptions about the existence of the capitalist market and they operate within the same system of meaning production. By contrast, the Russian vocabulary of organisational development and change is very new. Quite literally, such fields of study as economics and management did not exist until several years ago. In addition, there is a strong cultural and political resistance to the introduction of market principles in the economy in general and in education in particular. In the communist and nationalist discourses specifically, market principles are associated with exploitation and westernisation, and hence the erosion of Russian culture (McAuley, 1997). The rhetoric of democratisation is characterised by similar ambivalence and is often suspected of propagating western values. Thus, the environment of Russian higher education represents a variety of often competing factors: the emerging market economy, political parties and coalitions advocating the large scale adoption of market principles, movements opposing the advent of capitalism in Russia, the government and legislature balancing the two political positions, and various constituencies in the society that make demands on educational services.

This ambivalence in the conceptualisation of environmental pressures on Russian organisations cannot be fully grasped by Western organisational theories. For instance, the analysis of the feedback loop from the open system perspective may be problematic if the environmental input is decoded differently depending on ideological beliefs of the participants. The gap in signification is especially striking in cases when terms are associated with contentious political and economic reforms. For example, in the Russian context, the concept of democracy may have a variety of meanings including negative ones and most of them may have nothing to do with equal opportunity or improvement of society as they do in the West (Miller *et al.* 1997).

From the point of view of contingency theories, the cause and effect sequence may not always be clear when contingent factors involve mutually exclusive interpretations of the law as it happens in the case of the laws on transparent normative financing of educational institutions and the practice of non-transparent budgetary resource allocations inside these institutions (OECD, 1998). Indeed, do Russian higher education survive because of the monies coming from the state budget and grants or does it exist on the money made by the universities on the side and kept secret from the public and the government? Only the rectors who make decisions about allocating these non-transparent funds know the answer perhaps. Yet, it is impossible to establish a clear cause and effect relationship between the funding and economic well being of the university.

Similarly, from the population ecology perspective, it is difficult to explain how the environment selects optimal organisations when it itself consists of conflicting demands, struggling for legitimacy on the societal scale. For example, schools in the

areas with pro-market governors have to meet quite different social expectations than their counterparts in what is known in Russia as the 'red belt'—areas and regions traditionally voting for communist candidates. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the communist leaders themselves were the first to make profit from the privatisation campaign several years ago and they are often the most affluent citizens in their regions (Rutland, 1999). Therefore, the predominance of one political and economic agenda in the environment over another can be seldom established clearly, which makes the definition of optimal organisation even more complex.

In this respect, institutional theories seem to offer a more flexible analytical framework in that they do not have apriori assumptions about causality and legitimacy of meanings and structures within organisations. In fact, they assume that organisations are struggling for institutional legitimacy and that their social fitness is as important as their economic well being (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991). Besides abandoning the assumption of causality, institutional theories challenge two other important propositions of organisational theories: survival based on performance and outcomes and the connection between structure and organisational behavior (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996). The importance of releasing these assumptions for the analysis of the Russian educational system deserves a few words of explanation.

From the perspective of institutional theories, organisations are open natural systems that are strongly influenced by rational and irrational forces in the environment (Scott, 1998). Here rational forces mean factors directly related to the cycle of production and organisational efficiency, while irrational forces are the factors belonging to the field of social beliefs and rules. Institutional theorists believe that the pressure of the myths and beliefs about organisational work is so strong that organisations may adopt them even at the expense of their own efficiency (Meyer and Rowan, 1991). This phenomenon accounts for the possibility of 'permanently failing' organisations that survive by virtue of their belonging to the institutionalised field and despite their inefficiency (Meyer and Zucker, 1989). The proposition that organisational survival may depend on the observance of formal structures rather than on outcomes makes the existence of many universities less paradoxical. In Russia today, for example, social and economic instability seldom leads to the dissolution of educational institutions.

In addition, by postulating that structural elements are only loosely connected to everyday activities and behaviours, institutional theorists suggest that formal structure does not necessarily have control over its elements and organisational members. This loose connection between the organisational structure and behaviour is, perhaps, best exemplified by the difficulty of the Russian Ministry of Education to exercise control over its subordinate units. Despite the vertical hierarchy of communication that puts major decision-making power in the hands of the Ministry, its directives do not always, if ever, achieve the desired outcomes. This tendency was also observed by OECD examiners of Russian educational policies who referred to it as 'the Russian tradition of conforming outwardly to new ideas without changing anything in practice' (OECD, 1998, 22).

In contrast to population ecologists who are interested in the processes leading to organisational diversity (Hannan and Freeman, 1996), institutional theorists focus

on homogenisation of organisational structures. This homogenisation is achieved through isomorphic adaptation of organisations to their institutionalised environments. Isomorphism here means imitation of other organisations and structures that have established themselves as successful in a particular environment. DiMaggio and Powell (1991) differentiate between competitive isomorphism of population ecology with its emphasis on fitness measures and niche selection and institutional isomorphism of institutional theory with its focus on struggle for power and legitimacy. Furthermore, they identify three types of institutional isomorphism: coercive, mimetic, and normative. Coercive isomorphic change occurs under the external pressure from other organisations and from the cultural expectations of the society at large. Mimetic isomorphism consists of imitation of successful organisations under conditions of uncertainty and ambiguity, while the source of normative isomorphism is professionalisation (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991).

Meyer and Rowan (1991) point out that there exists two prevalent explanations of isomorphism in organisational theories. The first one sees the sources of isomorphism in the technical and exchange interdependency between organisations and environments, while the second one suggests that organisations reflect socially constructed reality and their environment as a part of it. In this paper I draw on this second explanation of the sources of isomorphism. This position, however, puts some constraints on the interpretation of organisational change as a response to environmental pressures. If organisations reflect the myths and beliefs of their environment by enacting them in their every day activity, how can we be certain which activity is the response to environmental pressure and which one is an established organisational practice simply informed by pervasive organisational mythology? In other words, where is the boundary between organisation and its environment? As Meyer and Rowan (1991) note, in the extreme forms of institutional theories, there is no boundary between organisation and its environment and consequently, there is no exchange between the two. Without the exchange, the discussion of organisational adaptation becomes quite pointless: all organisational change should be environmental too.

In this paper, I position myself aside from such an extreme perspective, acknowledge the existence of boundaries between organisations and their environments and accept institutional theory as the main conceptual framework for the analysis of Russian higher education. However, a brief overview of the Russian system of higher education is necessary before I proceed to examine the changes occurring in it.

Overview of the system of higher education in Russia

According to Goskomstat (1999), the State Committee on Statistics, the Russian system of higher education consists of 914 institutions of higher education that serve 3 598 000 students. Slightly more than a third of all institutions are private (36 per cent). Russian private schools tend to be of a much smaller size than their state counterparts: in fact, they account only for 7 per cent of all student population in Russia (Goskomstat, 1999). Figures 1 and 2 show the dynamics of growth and the relative sizes of the private and public sectors of higher education in terms of the number of institutions and student enrolment.

Figure 1: Public and Private Institutions of Higher Education in Russia, 1992/1993–1998/1999

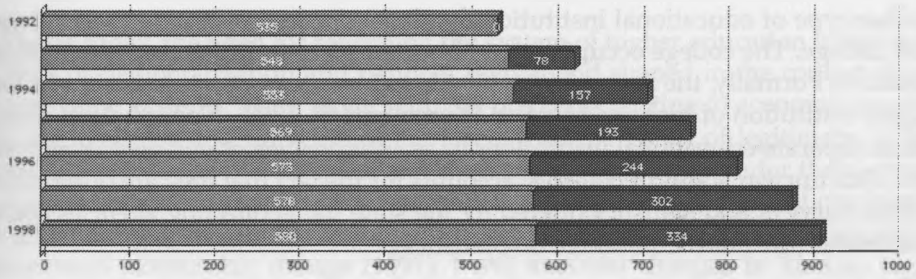

Figure 2: Student Enrolment in Higher Education in Russia, 1992/1993–1998/1999



Furthermore, the system is characterised by uneven geographical distribution that reveals great disparity between large metropolitan areas in the European part of the country and Russia's periphery. Almost a half of all public colleges and universities (49 per cent) is located in 15 cities, while Moscow and St Petersburg only can boast about a quarter of the total number of schools (23 per cent) (Kitaev, 1994, 11).

Similarly, regional disparity exists in the number of students studying at higher education institutions in the European and Asian parts of Russia. According to data of the Research Institute for Higher Education (1998), in 1997 the number of students attending public universities and institutes in the whole of Siberia constituted 84 per cent of the student body enrolled in universities and institutes in Moscow and St Petersburg. In addition, Moscow and St Petersburg students at private institutions made up 42 per cent of the total enrolment in the private sector in the whole country (Research Institute for Higher Education, 1998).

The Russian system of higher education consists of three types of institutions: universities, academies, and institutes that comprise about 25 per cent, 14 per cent and 61 per cent of institutions respectively (calculations are based on data provided by Lugachyov *et al.* 1997). Universities combine all levels of higher education with research in several fields. Academies offer higher education, conduct applied and theoretical research and have the status of leading research and methodological centres. Institutes offer education and professional training in one or several fields of science, technology, and culture. While all universities and academies must offer graduate and postgraduate degree programmes, institutes may limit themselves to

four or five-year professional programmes (Kommentarii, 1998). Institutes and universities may be structurally included in academies.

Another type of educational institution that has appeared in Russia in recent years is the college. The college occupies an ambivalent place in Russian system of higher education. Formally, the Federal Law on education does not recognise it as a fully-fledged institution of higher education (Kommentarii, 1998). Nevertheless, colleges exist as separate educational institutions or as subdivisions of universities and institutes. This unclear status of colleges' accounts for the fact that they are often excluded from surveys and statistics offered by the state data-collecting agencies such as Goskomstat (the State Committee on Statistics).

Programmes in higher education consist of a minimum of five years that earn the student a specialist diploma. A Kandidat nauk, candidate of sciences (roughly an equivalent of an American Ph.D.) requires at least three years of study and research, culminating in a defence of a dissertation. The highest academic degree of doktor nauk, doctor of sciences, is awarded by a special national committee in recognition of outstanding and important research. The average age of the doctors of science is approximately 58, which is close to retirement age: 55 for women and 60 for men (Piskunov, 1996, 25). Since 1992, parallel to the old system of degrees, there exists a multilevel system consisting of four years of baccalaureate and two years of magistrate (Kommentarii, 1998).

Thus, in the past several years, the system of higher education in Russia expanded to include tuition-based institutions and schools granting Bachelor's and Master's degrees. Both of these characteristics stand out as bold innovations in the system where the majority of educational institutions are public, tuition-free, and consist of five-year programs. By introducing some elements of Western and particularly, American higher education, the newly founded schools clearly orient themselves to an emerging market of educational services. Finding a particular niche in the market, they respond to the demand in professional preparation of lawyers, economists, and business administrators as well as other professions. Marked as commercial in the political discourse, the new tuition-based institutions often become subjects of attack on the part of opponents of marketisation of education. At the same time, presumably non-commercial public universities are forced to respond to market pressures by opening new departments with popular disciplines, establishing public relations and marketing offices, and accepting a certain proportion of students for tuition.

However, it is not the variety of types of institutions that is remarkable. What is remarkable is that they also begin to resemble each other in the competition for their share in the market and for political and institutional legitimacy. These common pressures seem to serve as a stabilising factor in the Russian system of higher education. This tendency toward stabilisation will lead in time to homogenisation of the system. The first manifestations of this tendency may be found in the process of institutional isomorphism that accompanies the adaptation of Russian colleges and universities to the environmental changes.

Recent changes in Russian higher education from the perspective of institutional theory

In Russia today, the need for reforming the system of higher education is tied to the projects of democratization and national revival and shaped in the context of conflicting value systems. Thus, along with the problems relating to economic survival, Russian institutes and universities are faced with the issues of legitimacy of their forms and standards of education and their academic values. Under these circumstances, isomorphism has become one of the widely used strategies of overcoming the uncertainty of the environment. Following DiMaggio and Powell 's typology of institutional isomorphic change (1991), I will examine changes in Russian higher education in terms of coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphism.

Coercive isomorphism

According to DiMaggio and Powell (1991), coercive isomorphic change occurs under the formal and informal pressures of other organisations and institutions as well as social expectations. One of the most important forces influencing the structure and content of higher education in Russia today is state accreditation of universities, academies, and institutes. The idea that educational institutions need to be accredited by the state had not occurred until the burgeoning private sector began to occupy a sizeable proportion in the total number of universities, institutes and academies. In 1994, when the proportion of private schools reached 44 per cent, the Ministry of Higher Professional Education, (further referred to as the "Ministry") adopted a temporary provision on accreditation and licensing of educational institutions (Kommentarii, 1998). In the same year, the Government issued a provision establishing a state standard of higher and professional education. The provision delineated the structure of higher education, requirements for programs and professional fields taught in universities, academies, and institutes, and the content of higher education (Postanovleniye, 1998).

In 1996, the Law on Higher and Postgraduate Professional Education (Federalnii zakon, 1996) summarised and reconfirmed the standards of higher education and reinstated the requirements for institutional assessment and evaluation for the purpose of accreditation and licensing. In 1999, the issue of licensing resurfaced with new strength in the Annual Report of Minister Philippov to the collegium of the Ministry of Education. In the section discussing new legislative proposals about licensing of educational activity and institutional accreditation, the Minister admitted "all these documents are directed toward a more strict control of the activities of non-state educational institutions on the one hand... and toward the increasing of autonomy of state educational institutions on the other" (Filippov, 1999).

Along with the pressures of centralised authority in the form of the Government and the Ministry, Russian universities, academies, and institutes are shaped by the cultural expectations of the society. In this time of political uncertainty and economic hardship, scholars, scientists, policy makers as well as the public connect the revival of Russian culture and of the whole nation with the future of the educational system. This sentiment was translated into a project of designing a National Doctrine of the Development of Education in the Russian Federation. The completion of this

project is regarded as a top priority in the documents containing goals and objectives of the Ministry for 1999 (Filippov, 1999).

Thus, there is a strong push from the central authorities toward homogenisation of the field of higher education in terms of general structure, types of programs, content, and goals of education. Legally recognised types of higher education institutions, universities, academies, and institutes are likely to continue to dominate the field, forcing colleges and other possible types of institutions out of the sphere of fully-fledged higher education. At the same time, universities, academies, and institutes themselves struggle for survival, adopting isomorphic mechanisms of adaptation and imitating other organisations that are considered to be successful by the experts or the public at large.

Mimetic isomorphism

According to DiMaggio and Powell (1991), imitating other organisations that are recognised as successful is a way of coping with environmental uncertainty. Russian experience of the introduction of baccalaureate and magistrate degrees is an instructive example of mimetic isomorphism.

In the beginning of the 1990s, when Russia was exploring the terrain of market economies, the West seemed to offer an array of social institutions and ways of organising that proved to work well. One way of responding was through a multilevel system of higher education consisting of baccalaureate and magistrate. After the 1992 temporary provision on the multilevel structure of higher education, some universities and institutes began to cut the existing programmes in two parts, awarding the completion of the first four years with a Bachelor's degree and the further two years of study with Masters. In 1994, this programme structure was officially recognised in the Statute on the Standards of Higher Professional Education (Kommentarii, 1998).

Although Bachelors' and Masters' degrees are not completely novel to Russian higher education (the system existed before the revolution of 1917), it was new enough to cause numerous problems and disappointments. The employers were reluctant to accept graduates of four-year baccalaureate programmes, regarding their degrees as certificates of incomplete higher education (Kolichev, 1998). Since the majority of institutions did not participate in the experiment, graduates of those schools that did had a limited choice of fields of specialisation for their graduate studies (Bulgakova, 1998). In short, it was found out that the baccalaureate and the magistrate could not be simply transplanted from Western colleges and universities to the Russian system of higher education.

In 1998, the subject of multilevel education disappeared completely from the Minister's Annual Report and the statement of main objectives for 1999 (Filippov, 1999). Instead, the Ministry of Education identified a new priority in the transformation of the educational system: integration and convergence of higher education and applied and theoretical science (Filippov, 1999). The extremely difficult financial situation of research institutes prompted them to offer courses and open educational institutions on their location (Kirinyuk *et al*, 1999).

Thus, in the struggle for survival, Russian universities, academies, and institutes modelled and continue to model other organisations and structures that are considered to be successful. The failed experiment with the introduction of the baccalaureate illustrates how in order to reduce uncertainty of the transition to the market economy, universities borrowed the structure that was believed to be successful in that environment. Similarly, mimetic isomorphic change is manifested in the recent tendency of research institutes to converge with educational institutions that are believed to be doing better in the situation of chronic lack of funding for education. The scarcity of financial resources made the issue of professional excellence and competition an important concern of faculty and administration. The resulting revision of professional norms and rules accounts for normative isomorphic pressures on Russian schools of higher learning.

Normative isomorphism

The issue of cadres in higher education can be broken into two problems: professional preparation of faculty and training of administrators. Moscow and St Petersburg not only have the largest numbers of universities, academies, and institutes in the country, but they are also the largest centres of graduate studies. Therefore, most of the future professorate undergo their rites of passage into the academic profession in a relatively limited number of institutions (Bolotin and Berezovsky, 1998). Presumably, having acquired their degrees in Moscow, St Petersburg or another large city, young academics would leave for different cities and towns across the country, bringing with them the knowledge, skills, as well as cultural norms, attitudes and behaviours acquired during their graduate studies.

Professional communication and sharing of knowledge, skills, and norms is best exemplified in the practice of co-teaching in different institutions. Typically, the faculty at the ill-paid departments in public universities and institutes co-teach in the private institutions that offer a higher salary and better teaching conditions (Kirinyuk *et al.* 1999). The issue of continuing the academic tradition has become especially important now when the faculty is ageing and the mobility of young faculty towards research and educational centres is hindered by financial reasons. Thus, in his Main Objectives for 1999, Minister Filippov proposed a series of measures directed at supporting graduate students and faculty in the attainment of academic degrees (Filippov, 1998).

Training of managers and administrators in Russia is still a novelty: for instance, it was only in 1999 that the Ministry of Education decided to examine the possibility of introducing programmes in business administration similar to the American MBA (Ob organizatsii, 1999). Most of the administrators, particularly in higher education, still rely on their own skills and experience in learning their jobs. While the highest administrative positions are no longer appointed by central party authorities from Moscow but elected, the "rectors corpus" remains largely very homogeneous. The majority of rectors traditionally comes from the field of natural sciences and is male: the first woman rector in the three-hundred-old history of Russian education was elected in 1995 (Bain *et al*, 1998).

Thus, the norms and values of the professions in higher education tend to be pro-

duced and reproduced by the people who share common educational backgrounds, career aspirations, social status, and, especially in the case of the "rector corpus", common gender and discipline identities. The practice of co-teaching at different institutions, usually in a public and a private school, further contributes to homogenisation of the field of higher education.

Conclusion

The Russian system of higher education is characterised by the growth of public and private sectors of higher education, great geographical disparity in the student population and number of institutions located in the European and Asian parts of Russia, and a multilevel structure of educational programmes. As I have tried to demonstrate, this diversity of forms and types of institutions is subject to isomorphic pressures that seek to stabilise and homogenise the field of higher education. Law and policy makers design reforms for national education systems that eventually lead to standardisation of procedures and curricula. Colleges and universities copy other organisations, and the professorate guards the standards and values of the academic profession. These coercive, mimetic, and normative isomorphic tendencies reduce the complexity of the environment, by focusing the transformational effort on legitimate and well-tested forms that are considered to be successful. Since the modelled structures may be borrowed from entirely different environments and have been designed to respond to a different set of pressures, isomorphic change may not always result in the desired outcomes. The attempt to import the baccalaureate system from the West is an example of isomorphic change that failed to bring positive outcomes: taken out of its social and economic context, the system did not take root in Russian higher education.

If the legislative activity directed towards more centralised control over education continues to increase and institutional convergence remains the most effective survival strategy in the difficult economic situation, Russian reforms in higher education will take a definitive direction towards homogenisation. Besides stabilisation and the reduction of uncertainty, such direction may have broad political and social ramifications for the faculty, administration, and students. How will the increasing centralised control and homogenisation affect the decision-making powers of faculty and student councils? Will they promote or impede curricula changes and institutional restructuring? What will happen with the rectors' non-transparent funds and what proportion of funding will be coming from regional and municipal budgets rather than from the federal centre? How much of a say will the institutes and universities have in resource allocation and tuition rates? These are some of the issues that are likely to become central on the agenda of Russian higher education in the coming years.

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Transforming South Africa's University System: The Case for Strategic Mergers

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Abstract

A critical issue facing the higher education sector today is the need to transform the system in ways that fundamentally address the broad goals of equity, access, quality and efficiency. This article argues that South Africa is no closer to realising these goals than when these were first established as the basic tenets of the new government's legislation on higher education. The principle reason for minimal progress in this regard is the lack of political will on the part of all the stakeholders to fundamentally change the present structure and capacity of the higher education system to reflect these broader transformation goals. A case is then made for institutional mergers as a possible solution to addressing the systemic crisis confronting our higher education sector. The article concludes with some recommendations on how this could be facilitated.

Introduction

At the beginning of 1999, Sibusiso Bengu, the Minister of Education in his first term of office, announced that he would not be standing for a second term. The first foray of the African National Congress (ANC) into macro-educational restructuring had come to an end with mixed results. Bengu had presided over the development, passage and promulgation of an impressive range of new and innovative education and training policies. But the successful implementation of these policies remains questionable. Administrative weaknesses, escalating failure rates, increased costs of education, and financial crises and improprieties in many secondary and tertiary institutions has undermined public confidence in the education system and created a perception of a downward spiral in the quality of public education (Jansen, 1999).

Nowhere is this truer than in higher education. The ANC came into office promising to transform higher education. Central to the ANC's reconstruction and development framework was the need to transform the South African higher education system to reflect the overriding goals of equity, quality, efficiency and competitiveness (Report of the National Policy Review Conference on Education and Training, 1998). Yet despite these goals being firmly established in The Higher Education Act of 1997, a critical review of higher education suggests that the system is no closer to the realisation of these goals than when these were first established as the basic tenets of ANC education policy. Granted, some universities have undertaken or are currently undergoing a far-reaching restructuring of the academic programme in order to make their curriculum more relevant to the labour needs of the economy. But such restructuring is highly uneven within the university system.[1] Just as significant is the fact that the university system at the macro-level is still defined in racial terms with regard to both student and staff composition.

It has been argued in some quarters that recent shifts in higher education, namely, the declining student enrolment at historically Black universities (HBUs) and the increased enrolment of black students at historically Afrikaner universities (HAUs) will become a trend that may eventually lead to the deracialisation of the university system. This argument, however, is problematic. The increasing enrolment of black students in HAUs will merely, in the best case scenario, postpone the systemic crisis of higher education. Sooner or later, the problems prevailing in the HBU sector will begin to engulf the Afrikaans institutions.

Bengu would have us believe that the financial and academic crisis of the HBU sector is the result of financial mismanagement (Bengu, 1999). The fact that some HBUs have been plagued by fiscal and managerial improprieties is indisputable. In fact, a tax paying society has every right to be alarmed by the real possibility of gross negligence in the use of public resources by some of its higher education institutions. However, a critical analysis of the higher education system strongly suggests that managerial improprieties are not the only cause of the crisis of HBUs. Indeed, even if financial controls and management systems were to be executed successfully, systemic problems such as the discriminatory funding formulae and the racialised admissions to universities, which Bengu's Ministry had not succeeded in addressing, would subvert any well-intentioned plan to transform these institutions into centres of academic excellence.

1 For a critical assessment of such restructuring in higher education, see Cooper, 1997 and Bertelsen, 1998.

This article argues that the systemic problems of higher education in South Africa is inextricably linked to the politics of transition and in particular to the lack of political will on the part of all stakeholders to fundamentally change the present structure and capacity of the higher education system to reflect the broad goals of equity, quality, efficiency and development. It begins by providing a historical overview of South Africa's higher education system with a view to contextualising the crisis and challenges confronting higher education. After describing how different universities responded to the challenges generated by South Africa's democratic transition, the focus shifts to institutional mergers as a possible solution to addressing the systemic crisis in higher education. The article then explores the reasons why there has been minimal progress in this regard, despite the Ministry's commitment to this goal. Finally, after offering some recommendations on how to facilitate institutional mergers, the article concludes with some reflections on how the strategic merger of South Africa's universities may serve to mediate the existing tensions between the principles of university autonomy and systemic redress in the higher education sector.

Contextualising the crisis

South Africa's post-secondary education system has always been a diversified one with vertical and horizontal divisions. Horizontal divisions differentiated the tertiary education system along the lines of colleges, technikons and universities, each of which was intended to provide a particular level of training. Vertical divisions took a racial/ethnic form and split all three horizontal sectors so that different institutions within each sector serviced particular ethnic and racial groups (Hugo, 1998, 11–13). These divisions coalesced to form three distinct categories of universities, namely, Afrikaner, English, and Black institutions (today the term historic is attached as a prefix to these descriptions).

Each category of institutions had a very distinct history. HAUs, while differentiated along lines of status, generally had a close relationship with the apartheid regime. Established mainly after 1948, these institutions benefited from preferential funding from the state. Their student base was predominantly Afrikaner speaking whites whose careers lay either in government departments, parastatals, or business. In this sense, HAUs served as the research and training centres for the Afrikaner political and business establishment. Similarly, English universities were financially well endowed institutions, in particular because of their ability to supplement government funding with alumni support from the English speaking business community. Furthermore, given their roots, these institutions tended to have a far more international outlook than their Afrikaner counterparts, resulting in a liberal institutional ethos. However, while these institutions appeared critical of the cruder features of apartheid, they nevertheless remained complicit in the maintenance of white domination. Their student and staff base was mainly English-speaking whites, a minority of who played important intellectual and activist roles in the struggles against apartheid. This, then, gave these institutions an aura of legitimacy in the international arena that was often denied to their Afrikaner counterparts.

With the initial exception of the University of Fort Hare, black universities in South Africa were essentially the stepchildren of the apartheid system.[2] Given birth by an illegitimate racist regime, they became archetypal institutions of segregation servic-

ing distinct ethnic and racial groups. The management of these institutions were either directly appointed by and/or firmly under the control of the National Party government or its surrogates in the homelands. The primary function of HBUs was to train individuals for service in the segregated state institutions of apartheid South Africa and its homelands. This then delegitimised these institutions in the eyes of the national liberation movement and the international community. Yet these institutions, given the fact that their student base was almost entirely black, were hotbeds of militant political activity in the post-1976 period. The result was institutions in constant turmoil, with pro-apartheid management and students aligned to the national liberation movement continually pitted against each other in a decade-long political battle for the heart and soul of black universities.

This political battle culminated in the early 1990s with the liberalisation of South Africa's political system. In almost all cases, the old government-aligned administrations at black universities were removed by either 'palace coups' or as a result of staff and student revolts, and was replaced by new managers with progressive credentials. This rehabilitated the image of the black universities, opened up the first real prospects for their progressive restructuring and transformation, and offered the hope that they could be developed into stable centres of academic excellence. But this was not to be; in particular because the burden of meeting the new educational challenges posed by political liberalisation was disproportionately located at the doors of the black universities.

Political liberalisation enabled the 'massification of higher education' to be posed as a serious possibility for the first time in South Africa's history. Indeed, political elite's across the ideological spectrum expected universities and technikons to address the increasing demand from black students for access to higher education. Yet no guidelines were given to institutions specifying whom among the disadvantaged should have access or how institutions were to meet the demands for increased access in a context of shrinking state funding. The result was that each category of institution varied in the manner and extent to which it adhered to these policy imperatives. HBUs with their new progressive managers responded to the political challenge by opening the doors of learning to all disadvantaged students through reducing admission requirements and keeping a check on fee increases. The HAUs, still dominated by old National Party oriented managers, ignored the challenge and continued with business as usual. English universities, in characteristic style, said one thing and did another. Preaching a commitment to facilitating the entry of black students, they increased fees and maintained high entrance requirements thereby effectively excluding thousands of African students. The result was that although university student enrolments increased from 23 400 in 1986 to 38 2000 in 1996, the bulk of this occurred in the HBUs whose proportion of the total residential students grew from 26 per cent to 40 per cent (Centre for Higher Education Transformation [CHET], 1998(a), 27). Admittedly, African students were given increased access to white institutions in the early 1990s. But they represented a small minority and were the cream of the African student populace. The differen-

2 The following black universities were established by the successive apartheid governments: University of the North (1960), University of Zululand (1960), University of Western Cape (1960), University of Durban-Westville (1960), Medical University of South Africa (1976), and Vista University (1982). in addition, the homeland regimes established the University of Transkei (1977), University of Boputhatswana (1980) [renamed the University of North West in 1995], and University of Venda (1982). The University of Fort Hare, which was established in 1916, was incorporated into the Ciskei homeland.

tial responses by the various universities thus ensured that Black institutions bore the burden of training the academically weakest and poorest of South Africa's students.

The result was that within a few years, black universities were bursting at the seams with far more students than their infrastructure could support. Failure rates at these institutions skyrocketed, threatening the government subsidies of future years. In addition, the contradictions played themselves out more starkly at these institutions. Given the fact that the poorest and weakest of South Africa's students were located at these universities, the contestation around increased fees, and financial and academic exclusions became an annual event. Continual boycotts plagued these institutions leading to a public perception that instability reigned at these institutions and that their programmemes were of poor academic quality. Graduates were unable to find jobs, and the best staff and students left these institutions as soon as other offers became available. Low morale, high staff turnover and high failure rates bred corruption and instability. By 1995, black universities in South Africa were in crisis.

This downward spiral continued throughout the ANC's first term in office with the result that by the late 1990s a new image dominated higher education discourse. Invoked unreflectively and automatically by commentators on education, the concept of "HBUs on the verge of collapse" dominated the images of these institutions. Crude and menacing descriptors were invoked to capture and reinforce this image of HBUs; descriptors such as rampaging youth, poor pass rates, declining student enrolments, and financial corruption. The Ministry of Education, confronted by criticisms of its failure to deliver, reinforced these images by explaining the crisis of HBUs as the result of weak management and unruly students (Bengu, 1999). But these factors, as indicated earlier, are symptoms rather than the cause of the crisis.

The crises confronted by the HBUs result in the main from weaknesses in the structure of higher education. The discriminatory funding formulae and the racialised nature of admissions in the higher education system lead to a situation where institutions are financially penalised for addressing the educational needs of the academically weakest and poorest of South Africa's students.[3] This systemic contradiction lies at the root of the crisis of HBUs. As long as this systemic contradiction is not addressed higher education cannot truly be transformed. Closing the current 'crisis-ridden institutions' without addressing the systemic contradiction will not resolve the crisis. It will merely postpone the crisis and subsequently transfer it to other institutions. A long-term solution, then, must be directed to addressing the systemic contradiction in higher education. This would entail revising the funding formulae and compelling all higher education institutions, and in particular the historically white universities, to share equitably the burden of addressing our racialised educational legacy. The case for a strategic merger of South Africa's universities must be understood in this context.

3 The problem is compounded by the fact that the South African Higher Education system is highly dependent on private as opposed to government costs. A *Sunday Times* survey in 1998 concluded that more than 20 percent of the income of South African universities comes from student tuition fees. This places South Africa in the company of the United States and Korea, and not in the lower-ranking category housing Kenya, Nigeria and Pakistan where student fees constitute less than 10 per cent of institutional income, nor in the middle-ranking category of New Zealand, Australia, and the Philippines where such fees constitute between 10 to 20 per cent of the income of higher degree institutions (Center for Higher Education Transformation, 1998(b), 32).

The case for strategic mergers

The idea of merging South Africa's universities is not new. Jairam Reddy first mooted it in 1990 in his inaugural address as Vice-Chancellor of the University of Durban-Westville. In the early part of his tenure at the university, Reddy together with his counterpart from the University of Natal hosted a series of discussions to explore the possibility of establishing a single university in the KwaZulu-Natal region.

These initiatives ultimately culminated in the establishment of the Eastern Seaboard Association of Tertiary Institutions (esATI) whose mandate is to encourage the establishment of a single system of higher education institutions (includes universities and technikons) in the region. esATI was singularly unsuccessful in particular because the management of the various institutions was not forthcoming in this regard.[4] Reddy's departure in 1994 to the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE), however, had the beneficial effect of ensuring that the idea of a single, coherent, co-ordinated higher education system in a region was at least encapsulated in documentation and legislation emanating from the Ministry of Education. This enabled a discussion to be opened on the possibility of institutional mergers serving as a solution to the crisis of higher education.

Why should the merger of universities be considered a reasonable solution? Jairam Reddy is, once again, instructive in this regard. In a widely circulated paper authored after his retirement from the NCHE, Reddy (1997) advocated the separate mergers of universities and technikons in KwaZulu-Natal on the grounds that it would lead to the more efficient use of scarce resources in the region's higher education sector. Recommending a single multi-campus university, with campus specialisations, Reddy argued that the rationalisation of programmemes, departments, units and services resulting from such a merger would lead to significant cost savings that could be poured back into enhancing the quality of university programmemes. The result would be, for Reddy, the more efficient use of scarce resources and a strengthening of the region's higher education system so that it competes more effectively with both national and foreign public and private sector educational institutions.

But cost efficiency is not only achieved through the eradication of duplication. A strategic merger of universities would also enable a more effective deployment of the nation's higher education resources and infrastructure. As indicated earlier, South Africa has, even after the transition, not deployed its higher education resources in a way that addressed the inequities bequeathed to us by our racialised legacy. Table 1 indicates that although the enrolment of African students to universities (excluding UNISA) increased from 41 per cent in 1993 to 57 per cent in 1997, their distribution is highly uneven within the university sector. Even as late as 1997, 'English' HWUs enrolled only 11.7 per cent of African students while their Afrikaner counterparts registered 20.4 per cent of such students. The remaining 67.9 per cent or 93 000 African students, in most cases the financially poorest and academically

4 The difficulty arose in part from a different set of understandings of what constitutes a single system model. For some institutions, a single system model implies a single, multi-campus institution with campus specialisations and a central governance body. For other institutions it means a federal arrangement that lends itself to some degree of institutional collaboration, but continues to allow for the retention of institutional autonomy.

weakest, were enrolled at the HBUs. The most well endowed institutions are thus servicing the historically advantaged, while the nation's most under-resourced institutions cater to the academically weakest and poorest of South Africa's population. This disjuncture between resource deployment and problem location has to be corrected if South Africa is to address the higher education crisis.

Table 1: African Students In Head Counts Enrolments in 'Contact'

	HBU	HWU (Afrik)	HWU (Afrik)
1993	86 000 (85,2%)	5 000 (5%)	10 000 (9,9%)
1997	93 000 (67,9%)	28 000 (20,4%)	16 000 (11,7%)
2001	91 000 (51,7%)	65 000 (36,9%)	20 000 (11,4%)

Source: Department of Education. "Higher Education Institutional Plans: An Overview of the First Planning Phase—1999/2001."

As an aside, it must be stated that the increased enrolment of African students at HAUs, which is projected to reach 37 per cent in 2001, is unlikely to resolve this problem. The figures and projections of HAUs must of course be interrogated. As a recent paper released by the Ministry of Education (1999, 15) demonstrates, a significant proportion of African students at HAUs are either enrolled through distance education programmemes and/or are at satellite campuses. This effectively means that there is little shift in the student demographics of the main campus. More importantly, however, is that a number of HAUs have established partnerships with national private colleges to whom they lend their name, status, and offer quality certification. In exchange students enrolled at the colleges are registered by the HAU as their students. The private college's pocket the student fees while the HAUs collect the government subsidy for the students. Other than the quality problems this scheme poses, it effectively amounts to an openly acknowledged scam in which the HAUs are charging the national treasury for servicing a student base that they do not have (Pillay, 1999).

But even if such gerrymandering is set aside and HAUs figures are taken as a true reflection of the situation, it does not resolve the problem of the disjuncture between resource deployment and problem location. Although Afrikaans institutions are better endowed than their black counterparts, they are still unlikely to address the crisis on their own. Indeed what is possible is that they could in a few years become submerged in the crisis with all the attendant problems that now afflict the HBUs. As was indicated earlier, what is required is the reorientation of the entire higher education system to address South Africa's racialised education legacy. This would require the equitable distribution of the academically weakest and poorest students among all the universities in the country. The strategic merger of universities would facilitate this goal.

Strategic mergers will also contribute to rectifying the staff equity profile of South Africa's universities. In a recent study, David Cooper (cited in CHET, 1998(a), 2–3) demonstrates that whites comprise 97 per cent and 87 per cent of permanent academic staff at Afrikaans and English universities respectively. African academics, by contrast, comprise 64 per cent of academic staff at HBUs while the proportion of white academic staff has declined to 30 per cent by 1998. These figures suggest that the distribution of academic staff in the higher education sector is consolidating

along racial lines in the post-94 period. This trend, however, could be arrested with the strategic merger of universities.

Presently most universities have neither the political will nor the academic and infra-structural capacity to meet their part of the equity challenge. The identities of universities are still primarily determined by their racialised historical evolution. In 1992, Mahmood Mamdani in a report reflecting on a South African visit questioned the transformative capacity of English HWUs by reporting on an incident in which Aki Sawyer, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ghana, posed a rhetorical question to HWU managers: "you expect 'black' students to adjust to white universities, but are the universities adjusting to these students?" (1992, 1059). Seven years later the situation has not fundamentally changed. Indeed, the "Makgoba' and "Mamdani" debacles at the Universities of Witwatersrand and Cape Town respectively, provide evidence for this claim.[5] The challenge in higher education is thus the development of universities whose institutional identities and culture are transformed in such a way that they develop the political will to respond to education challenges thrown up by the inequities of apartheid.

The strategic merger of universities could achieve this. If the units involved in a particular merger are chosen carefully, one could ensure a greater diversity of identities and culture so that the outcome is an institution that is more representative of and in tune with addressing the challenges confronting South African society. Strategic institutional mergers may thus facilitate the evolution of universities with new institutional identities and the political will to equitably share the challenge of training the academically weakest and poorest of students. They would also facilitate the establishment of academic, administrative and infra-structural economies of scale that ultimately enhance the capacity of the higher education sector to deliver, in a non-racial way, on the human resource needs of post-apartheid South Africa.

But what of the fear of HWUs that institutional merger with HBUs would lead to a decline in academic standards? One of the biggest myths of the South African higher education system is that HWUs are the sole repositories of academic quality and excellence. These institutions have only looked good when compared to their black counterparts. And, this of course should not be surprising given the institutional disadvantage that the latter have been subjected to since their establishment. When HWUs are compared to their foreign counterparts they fall far short of being world class institutions. This is the conclusion of the *Sunday Times* survey on higher education, which indicates that the qualification and research output of academic staff at all South African universities (including HWUs) is way below the international norm. Table 2, which lists the ten universities with the best staff qualification profile, indicates that in most South African universities (including the HWUs), less than 50 per cent of staff possess a doctoral degree. The publication record of South Africa's universities fares no better. Again the same survey indicates than only Rand Afrikaans University (RAU), University of Natal, University of Witwatersrand (Wits) and University of Cape Town (UCT) have ratios of publication units to full-time equivalent academic staff members greater than 0.5. This in effect means that

5 The 'Makgoba debacle' refers to a conflict at the University of Witwatersrand where a group of senior academics investigated and questioned the authenticity of William Makgoba's resume. For Makgoba's side of the story, see Makgoba, 1997. The 'Mamdani debacle' refers to a conflict that emerged at the University of Cape Town between management, senior academics and Mahmood Mamdani around the substantive content and pedagogy of the Africa module offered to all in-coming social science students. Papers reflecting the views of the major participants in this conflict is published in Social Dynamics, 1998. A particularly useful and controversial interpretation of this conflict is made by Jansen, 1998.

academic staff at most South African universities produce on average less than half of an accredited publication per year (CHET, 1998(b), 7).

Table 2: Percentage of Permanent Academic Staff with Doctorates

Universities	Percent
Rand Afrikaans University	60
University of Cape Town	58
University of Potchefstroom	55
University of Stellenbosch	54
University of Port Elizabeth	51
University of Free State	50
Rhodes University	48
University of Witwatersrand	47
University of South Africa	45
University of Durban-Westville	44

Source: Centre for Higher Education Transformation (1998), "The Best in Higher Education,"

These figures are indeed disconcerting. In the new millennium, South Africa's universities are not going to have to compete with one another, but rather with an increasing number of private (local and foreign) institutions that are offering programmemes in the country. In preparing for this new competition, South Africa's higher education authorities should be careful of falling into a trap of developing simple notions of quality and excellence. Left on their own, HWUs are incapable of representing South Africa, not only because they are representatives of a small sector of the population, but also because they will be poor academic players in the new global environment. To be truly representative, universities would need to reflect the goals of both equity and enhanced quality. This can only be achieved by disaggregating institutions, taking the best from each and developing new higher education institutions that are not only reflective of the demographics of the country, but also capable of being quality academic players in the new highly competitive national and international environment.

The strategic merger of universities would facilitate this. If done properly, it would bring together in one university the strong academic departments and units and the highly qualified, skilled staff that presently are strewn across two or three institutions (including the HBUs). This concentration of strong departments and skilled staff would optimise the academic strengths of the higher education sector so that it has a collective impact on the capacity and credibility of the new universities produced by the institutional mergers. The collective effect would be the development of universities that are better academic players and more representative of South African society.

Inadequate progress and some recommendations

If the case for the strategic merger of universities is so overwhelming the question arises as to why is it that so little progress has been made in this regard? In an era where cost-cutting is the norm and mergers the rave, why is it that the higher education sector has been left untouched? The simple answer is inadequate leadership from managers in the higher education sector. To date, officials in the Ministry of

Education and managers at tertiary institutions have developed what can only be described as a romanticised view of how mergers will occur. In essence, their plan has been to encourage collaborative ventures among universities in the hope that this would automatically lead to a growing consensus among staff in these institutions that mergers are both feasible and preferable (see Ministry of Education, 1997, 24). To effect this process, they have established regional consortia with a mandate to encourage collaboration among higher education institutions in a region.

Not surprisingly, very little progress can be claimed to date with regards to mergers. Some regional fora like KwaZulu-Natal's Eastern Seaboard Association of Tertiary Institutions (esATI) have established innovative collaborative projects like the Regional Access Programmeme, the Central Applications Office and the Tourism Research Network. But as Reddy (1998) argues in a recent assessment study on regional consortia in South Africa, "... there is little evidence of significant cost savings or improvements in efficiency ... (as) most of them are add on programmemes...Additional incentives will be required for more profound change to occur" (54). The essential problem with the process to date is the belief that collaboration would automatically lead to mergers. However, all indications are that this is not going to happen,[6] in particular because collaborative projects are being established in a vacuum, without an overriding goal in mind. Indeed, for most HWUs collaboration is now being seen as an alternative to institutional mergers. It provides them with political mileage while simultaneously giving them an opportunity to continue with business as usual. Regional fora thus become institutional mechanisms used by HWUs to undermine or avoid progress towards merging South Africa's universities.

It can be argued of course that regional collaboration is a worthwhile compromise between the extremes of the status quo and institutional mergers. This in effect, however, is asking the disadvantaged institutions to accept a second rate solution that does not resolve the primary systemic weakness of the higher education system, namely the lack of equitable access of financially poor and academically weak students to the financially and infra-structurally well endowed universities in South Africa. Institutional collaboration will not prevent HBUs from being plunged into financial and academic crisis. Instead, it will enable the historically privileged universities to continue using public resources to serve the interests of narrow sectional groups within the society. In this sense, collaboration in the absence of a commitment to institutional mergers essentially amounts to an abrogation of the promise made by the existing government to transform and non-racialise higher education in South Africa.

What, then, is the alternative? What would it take to make institutional mergers a realistic possibility? First, it would require the Council of Higher Education, which is the statutory advisory body on higher education, to play a leading role in advancing the cause of mergers. Second, it would require an education ministry that uses its financial muscle as leverage to compel institutions to consider strategic mergers seriously (Reddy, 1998, 56). It could for instance develop time frames by which institutions must have drawn plans and implemented them. Failure to comply should lead to financial and/or other forms of penalties. Finally, institutional mergers

6 A recent paper by the Ministry of Education (1999, 19) admits that, to date, there has been very little academic collaboration among universities.

would require managers at both HWUs and HBUs to develop the foresight and the courage to tackle entrenched interests within and outside their university in order to realise a goal that has been acknowledged by all major players in education as being in the interests of the country. Without any of this, the strategic merger of universities and the transformation of the higher education system are likely to remain one of those government promises intended to pacify rather than being fulfilled.

Concluding remarks on the tensions between university autonomy and systemic redress

The recommendations suggested above are likely to elicit strong protests from academics and management in HWUs on the grounds that it empowers the state and undermines the autonomy of universities. These sectors, however, need to be reminded of the experience of the higher education systems in the countries north of us. Mahmood Mamdani, in an address to the University of Durban-Westville in 1993, reflected on this experience and its lessons for South Africa. Speaking of his own academic home at Makerere University in Uganda, Mamdani (1993) argued that staff at this institution was sharply divided at the dawn of independence. Senior expatriate staff defended their racial privileges under the guise of university autonomy, while local staff demanded that the state take the initiative to Africanise the universities and develop them into representative institutions reflecting the new interests and values of the nation in the making. The expatriates lost, the state moved in, and never left. While the governing elite africanised the universities, they began to treat these institutions as mere apparatuses of the state. The local staff who had not so long ago argued for the state to come into the university, now had to raise the banner of institutional autonomy to defend their own interests.

This experience, as Mamdani(1993) argues, has been replaying itself in South Africa, "this time not in individual universities but between them, not between expatriates and locals, but between two groups of locals: those historically privileged and those historically deprived" (6–7). How do we avoid the same outcome? Mamdani (1993) believes that the lessons from the African experience are twofold. He maintains,

> The expatriates lost the battle because their notion of rights was so exclusive that it ran counter to any notion of justice for those who had been historically excluded on racial and national grounds. The local staff were short-sighted in not seeing beyond that immediate context, in confusing university interests with the interests of its immediate occupants, in not recognising that the language of rights does not have to be a minority language, it can also be a vehicle for defending majority interests (5–6).

To date, the HWUs are behaving exactly as the expatriates of yesteryear. If this behaviour is not checked, the counter will be a call for the state to move in. The recommendations suggested in this article have fallen far short of this. They have been restrained, and are merely requesting of the state to plod forward the process of institutional mergers so that new universities can emerge with the political will and momentum to transform themselves on their own, and in a way that develops academic excellence while simultaneously addressing the just demands of the historically disadvantaged. The strategic merger of universities must therefore be seen as

the last line of defense for maintaining institutional autonomy in the higher education sector. Should institutional mergers not be realised in the short to medium term, and should HWUs continue with business as usual, a political dynamic is likely to emerge that is going to lead to louder and louder calls for the state to move in, and transform universities on its terms. The likely result would be universities becoming mere appendages of the state. Such an outcome can and should be avoided. But it would require the HWUs to sacrifice their narrow selfish interests, and participate in institutional mergers that will restructure the higher education sector and enhance its capacity to both compete globally and address the legitimate demands for real access by the country's historically disadvantaged. Should HWUs fail to do this, South African universities are destined to replay the history of higher education in Africa.

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Higher Education and Africanisation

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Abstract

Starting with the premise that education should be reflective of the culture, experiences and aspirations of the majority, the paper provides an analytical framework for the Africanisation of education. In doing so, it revisits previous struggles around education in South Africa, paying particular attention to the apartheid education system and its enduring legacy in our institutions. Since curricula are produced within the prevailing socio-economic and cultural milieu, the paper argues that the new political dispensation provides an opportunity to re-formulate the goals of education that resonate with the aspirations of the majority. It is in this context that the paper provides a description of what Africanisation entails. The paper then moves to debunk the myth that nothing of value comes from Africa. In cataloguing Africa's technological and scientific products, the paper provides an overview on the creative genius of African people. The paper concludes by submitting that the utilisation of knowledge and skills embedded in the cultural practices of African people is necessary if the potential located within the indigenous knowledge system is to be harnessed and used for further development.

Introduction

In South Africa as elsewhere, there is now an established radical tradition in educational scholarship (Apple 1982; Apple & Weiss, 1983; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993; Giroux, 1981, 1983; Freire, 1993; McLaren, 1985) which accepts Richard Shaull's assertion that:

> There is no such thing as a neutral educational process. Education either functions as an instrument to facilitate the integration of the younger generation into the logic of the present system, or it becomes the practice of freedom, the means by which men and women participate in the transformation of their world (Richard Shaull in Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 1993, 16).

However, the promises of radical education remain under threat. Writing in Politics and Government, Plank & Boyd (1994) argue that the ends and choices about education (e.g. economic competitiveness, provision of equal opportunity to racial and linguistic minorities) are too important for national identity to be constructed in an arena characterised by narrow interests and conflicts. In this vein, it could be argued that education policy after apartheid has not addressed the cultural and ideological impressions stamped on the minds of black (and white) South Africans by the Verwoedian curriculum of apartheid. Instead, the shift has been towards placing emphasis on accountability, efficiency and cost-effectiveness. This shift is perhaps captured by the recent survey called "The Best in Higher Education" whose objectives include measuring and ranking universities in terms of excellence. It is worth noting that while the stated aim is to identify and critically debate different forms of excellence, the survey collapses excellence into one indicator ñ a measure of efficiency (Cloete, 1998). In doing so, the survey runs the risk of hiding significant historical, racial, geographic and other variations among higher education institutions (Kgaphola, Seepe, Lansink & Mthembu, 1998). In other words, the failure of higher education policy to address curriculum and the conservative quest to "get learning right" [sic] (Taylor & Vinjevold, 1999) has focused attention on narrow concerns of effectiveness and efficiency whilst neglecting the political heritage of the apartheid curriculum. Africanisation of education is the latest attempt to foreground and to revisit the cultural and educational debates of the 1980s in South Africa. It is a culmination of a series of previous struggles in education that sought to challenge and reverses the cultural and ideological orientation of apartheid-informed education. In this article, I first trace these struggles before going on to advocate an Africanised higher education curriculum.

Curriculum legacy of apartheid

It is important to remember that the apartheid curriculum was used effectively as a tool not only to reproduce and promote the values, cultural norms, and beliefs of apartheid society but also as an instrument to maintain and legitimise unequal social, economic and political power relations. By controlling and maintaining dominant beliefs, values and oppressive practices, the curriculum shaped the mindset of the population to sustain the apartheid system. Professor MW. Makgoba (1997) eloquently states this point

> what is common between a judge, a doctor, a politician, a policeman, a priest, a journalist, or editor and the ordinary citizen is the type of education they received or the curriculum that provided the foundations of their education (*Star*, 21 November 1997).

For the African community, the psychological damage caused by the ideological slant of apartheid education was enormous. Reflecting on the psychological impact on the African child, Biko (1978) noted that one of the first lessons that an African child learns is that school is learning about white people, their languages, who they are, what they value, where they come from, etc. Coupled with this was a incessant bombardment of an African child with negative references about its people. So negative are images of African people that by the time African children finish gradé 7 (primary school) they have accepted the inferiority of their race. At this tender age

they learn to hate their heritage. Celebrated achievements of whites in the fields of science and technology, which are hazily understood, convince the African child of the futility of African resistance against colonial oppression. As Biko[1] (*op. cit*) succinctly puts its:

> In order to destroy completely the structures that had been built in the African Society and to impose their imperialism with an unnerving totality the colonialists were not satisfied merely with holding a people in their grip and emptying the Native's brain of all form and content, they turned to the past of the oppressed people and distorted, disfigured and destroyed it. No longer was reference made to African culture, it became barbarism ... Religious practices and customs were referred to as superstition. The history of African Society was reduced to tribal battles and internecine wars (29).

Typical and consistent with the machinations of colonisers everywhere, it became necessary for the educational authorities and white intellectuals to create historical and scientific myths. One such myth is that Africa and regions outside Europe contributed nothing to world civilisation. This myth was mediated through a number of strategies, some of which are listed by Emeagwali (1989) in Eurocentrism in the history of science (see http://members.aol.com/sekglo/racism.htm). The strategies entailed the selective omission of information with respect to non-European predecessors of significant inventions; the conferment of honorary Western nationality through westernising names of outstanding scientists and their devices, and the Europeanisation of scientific documents. In those instances where Africa's inventions were acknowledged, they were placed in museums. Even then, the "museumisation" of the technological and scientific artefacts was restricted to artistic designations and confined to fine art museums. The effect of this practice was to trivialise the scientific and technical processes underlying the creation of such inventions. Rumour and innuendo was also used. One needs only refer to a common refrain that Africa, given thousands of years would not be able to invent a wheel. This occurs despite the fact that, for example, African Saharan rock paintings reveal chariots and wheeled vehicles of great antiquity. Emeagwali (*op. cit)* points further that not only are printing, gunpowder, the stirrup, the sternpost rudder, the lateen sail, the abacus, and the pendulum all of non-European origin but so too are the axle, the bow drill, the chisel, and the wedge, many of which are of ancient Northeast African origin. Other strategies include manipulation of dates, euphemisms and circumlocutions. Despite eurocentric strategies of misinformation, distortions and colonial intimidation, African knowledge systems have shown remarkable resilience. Engaging the inevitable globalisation of the 21st century requires a confidence in not only Africa's economic potential, but also in its capacity to participate as a scientific, technological, and cultural equal in this enterprise. From the above, it follows that education was intrinsically linked to the process of colonisation. Inevitably, the struggle against colonialism involves the struggle against colonial education.

1 Stephen Bantu Biko – martyred at the age of 30, is among South Africa's greatest 'transformative' intellectuals. He is acknowledged by friend and foe as the driving force behind the Black Consciousness philosophy—a philosophy popularised by the slogan '***black man you are on your own***'.

Educational contestation

The crisis in African education, generated by apartheid policies, led to an intensified contestation and conflict around schooling, both in terms of educational provision and curriculum content. Ironically, it was a contestation in education, triggered by the government's imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction that unleashed political forces that ultimately brought the racist South African government to a negotiated settlement. The contestation was not confined to schools. From their inception, historically black[2] institutions have been at the centre of educational conflict and embroiled in turmoil. This was to be expected since these were products of apartheid. As Mamdani (1999) aptly puts it:

> Black universities coming out of apartheid were the intellectual counterparts of Bantustans. They were designed to function as detention centres for black intellectuals than as centres that would nourish intellectual thought. As such, they had little tradition of intellectual freedom or institutional autonomy. They were driven by the heavy hand of bureaucracy. Yet they were far more socially responsive than their white counterparts (131).

Prior to the deracialisation of historically white institutions, the common understanding was that the turmoil that visited historically black institutions was an expression of frustration by African students about the conditions at the latter. These, like African schools, were under-resourced and staffed by poorly qualified people, both academic and administrative. This understanding fails to explain why the turmoil has spilled over to white universities, as more African students joined the historically white institutions. One compelling reason, pointed out by some scholars, is the irrelevance of the curriculum and the Eurocentric nature and orientation of the institutions. Put differently, African students are subjected to social, cultural and political alienation in South Africa's institutions of higher learning – this alienation cuts across the spectrum of white and black institutions. Alluding to this Mamdani (1999) comments further:

> Both the white and black institutions were products of apartheid, though in different ways. The difference was not only in the institutional culture, that the former enjoyed institutional autonomy and the latter was bureaucratically driven. The difference was also in their intellectual horizons. It was the white intelligentsia that took the lead in creating apartheid-enforced identities in the knowledge they produced. Believing that this was an act of intellectual creativity unrelated to the culture of privilege, in which they were steeped, they ended defending an ingrained prejudice with a studied conviction. The irony is that the white intelligentsia came to be a greater, became a more willing, prisoner of apartheid thought than its black counterpart (131).

It is precisely because of feeling unwelcome in these institutions that African students organisations such as the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), the Azanian Student Movement (AZASM), and the Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA) were formed. The objectives of these organisations included crystallising the needs and aspirations of African students, articulating their griev-

2 The term 'black' is used in the historical sense of apartheid. It refers to Indians, Coloureds and Africans. These were groups that were classified as non-white.

ances, and establishing a solid identity thus ensuring that African students are treated with the dignity and respect they deserve.

To fully appreciate the racial disparities and the impact apartheid informed education has had in South Africa, consider the participation rates of Africans in postgraduate studies.

University Masters and Doctoral Degrees Awarded by Population Group (1996)*

	White	Coloured	Indian	African	
Natural Sciences & Engineering	964	27	48	116	1 155
Health Sciences	411	11	25	52	499
Social Sciences & Humanities	2 281	106	144	495	3 026
Total	3 656	144	217	663	4 680

Source: Human Sciences Research Council (1998)

The figures above must be considered against the following statistical background:

- In 1995 the total university student enrolment in South Africa was 374 131, and African students totalled 230 871;
- In 1996 the total university student enrolment in South Africa was 382 348, and African students totalled 245 302.

What we glean from the above figures is that in 1996 the number of science and engineering postgraduate degree awardees in South African universities was a mere 0.31 per cent of the total student population of the 1995 enrolment; of these, white graduates constituted 0.25 per cent while African graduates constituted the remaining 0.051 per cent. These statistics clearly indicate that the current system in South Africa has been hopelessly inadequate in providing a viable skill base for a technology-driven economy. If South Africa is to meet the challenge of producing sufficient graduates for the economy, it must contend with the historical legacy of apartheid colonialism. African people continue to face multiple hurdles in educational and professional life, and innovative ways need to be found to confront this strategic challenge (Kgaphola, 1999).

Possibility for change at the societal level

The new political dispensation presents a unique opportunity for the country to examine fundamental political, social, cultural and economic concerns that are common to all South Africans. This should renew the country's commitment and resolve to deepen democracy, and to strive for social and economic justice as enshrined in the historical documents of liberation movements.

The deepening of democracy will be from the perspective of the African condition. This perspective should provide the nation with a benchmark for improving the lot of the most disadvantaged in the society. As Nkondo rightly puts it:

> Nowhere is the intensity of human deprivation—the persistence of poverty, wide disparities in the quality of life, high levels of unemployment, the adverse social effects of market-based strategies of economic management, disintegration of the social fabric, environmental degradation and pollution, instability wrought by ethnic divisions, and illiteracy—more acutely felt than among Africans and in African communities (Nkondo, 1996).

The challenge of economic development, psychological rehabilitation and cultural affirmation falls squarely on the shoulders of the historically marginalised intellectuals and their communities. Despite its economic might, white South Africa has failed to grasp and to tackle issues which resonate meaningfully with the aspirations of the majority in this country. As we crawl out of the darkness of oppression and begin to inaugurate a new consciousness, the process of necessity should involve re-examination of our history, interrogation of cultural symbols and re-configuration of models of intellectual emulation. African intellectuals and scholars must, as a matter of urgency, critique, engage and analyse the values, assumptions, ideologies and interests embedded and reflected in the bodies of knowledge in our institutions. This would require going beyond treating people the same, and/or removing the negative references to African people in the curriculum. It should as a matter of urgency involve cultural and psychological rehabilitation. Coupled with this would be a process of unmasking whiteness and Eurocentric tendencies, especially those typically projected as 'neutral' and 'universal'.

Within the political and social spheres, the process of re-building a new consciousness began with the destruction of apartheid physical symbols; from the dismantling of some (too few) of apartheid monuments and statues, to the re-naming of streets, cities and provinces. While much reconstruction has been achieved at the symbolic level, much more work is required in the area of psychological rehabilitation, cultural affirmation, economic emancipation and intellectual independence. Reading from events in the country, it would appear that a significant number of Africans still derive their intellectual inspirations and validations from people other than themselves. Even their models of emulation remain non-African. While encouraging manoeuvres have included the belated honours to heroes of struggle such as Albert Luthuli, Mangaliso Sobukwe, Bantu Stephen Biko, Oliver Tambo, this should be coupled with a process that will lead to the interrogation and 'problematization' of all non-African models that have been imposed on the indigenous majority.

Possibility for change at the educational level

Since a curriculum is produced within social, cultural and historical conditions, the changed political scenario suggests a need for the (re)-formulation of liberatory philosophy and goals of education that will resonate with the aspirations of the majority. Prominence should be given to questions dealing with the type of society envisaged, the kind of knowledge, skills and values required for cultural, societal and economic development. While recognising the need for economic development, and the need to provide the labour market with graduates in the science and technology sector, South Africa cannot afford to over-emphasise a narrowly defined labour market perspective in education at the expense of the development of critical, enlight-

ened and responsible citizens. The future of our democracy, not only in this transitional phase, depends on the capacity to integrate people in society and the widespread acceptance of the democratic ethos and values founding our constitutional order (Lansink, 1997). It is precisely for this reason that curriculum as a terrain of competing goals warrants a comprehensive debate. Given the critical role curriculum plays in inaugurating a new consciousness, it is nothing short of scandalous that the 1996 National Commission of Higher Education (NCHE)—a commission appointed by the President Mandela to transform higher education—failed to advance or propose a philosophy of education and as a consequence of this shied away from tackling the critical issue of curriculum. The transformation of education in our country—or in any country at any time for that matter—will ultimately be a statement on the curriculum (Nkondo, 1998).

This exercise demands a formulation of a new philosophy of education—a philosophy that would inform a pedagogy of liberation and affirm an African experience, an experience that has so far been consigned to the periphery of South African debates. It also demands an overhaul of the system, and a serious interrogation of the intellectual edifice that supported apartheid colonialism. While there may be elements of a liberatory philosophy of education in some proposals from the new democratically elected government, these have not lead to a bold pronouncement by government for a formulation of a coherent philosophy of education. Equally disturbing has been the under-representation of Africans in the policy making process, and by extension in the policy formulation environment. To see this one only has to refer to the racial compositions of the various commissions and task teams involved in the drafting, formulation and writing of the policy documents. Unless addressed, the marginalisation of African input will lead to the perpetuation and legitimation of racial inequality. It is to be expected that the process of de-colonising the education system is likely to be resisted by those who historically considered themselves intellectual masters. As the struggle for intellectual independence intensifies, there is bound to be serious intellectual bruises and casualties on both sides.

Whereas the ushering in of the new dispensation heightened expectations that finally people's education—a rallying call of the 1980s among progressive students and academic movement—will assume concrete expression, the new policy environment brought with it a new discourse. The languages of redress, social and cultural liberation, retreated to the periphery, and have been replaced by the language of the market forces. The new discourse places emphasis on efficiency, limiting public expenditure, accountability and cost effectiveness. Given this development, the call for Africanisation of education could not have come at a better time. The call provides an opportunity to rekindle the debates around education philosophy and the nature of our education.

Towards the Africanisation of higher education

Despite witnessing a flurry of articles on 'Africanisation', this term seems to have generated much confusion, anxiety and irritation in some quarters. This confusion, we are told, is derived from lack of clarity, coherence and detail on the definition and implications of 'Africanisation'. The anxiety is derived from the images that Africanisation evokes. The images cover a whole spectrum of existence; in politics it

is military coups, unstable governments; in economics it is poverty and famine; in development terms it is total lack of education, campus trashing and poor scholarship; in health it is memories of mutilated bodies, witchcraft, disease, etc.

On the other hand, the advocates of Africanisation have also fallen into the trap of allowing themselves to be bogged down by the obsession to search for a proper, unanimous definition. It is this obsession that has prevented the debate to advance beyond mere rhetoric. At the same time, it is intellectual mischief to expect a new and evolving concept to assume the same meaning to all people, and intellectual dishonesty to expect it to immediately provide details on how it is going to be acted out. What is required is not a definition per se, but common elements and meanings that can be associated with the concept. For instance, even though terms, such as democracy, science, technology, university autonomy, academic freedom, Christianity, and Marxism are used widely, it is unlikely to find scholars coming with the same definitions for each of these. As a matter of fact, in a study commissioned by UNESCO in 1993 the phrase 'technological literacy' had no less than 300 definitions presented by scholars in the area. This does not however detract from an understanding of elements and meanings that could be associated with the terms/concepts. Why should Africanisation be treated differently? Is it because its proponents happen to be largely African that standards of procedure have to be different? Africans have been consumers of European production for so long that the notion of their suggesting those things can be viewed differently is seen as heretical.

Perhaps the best definition of 'Africanisation' is provided by Ramose (1998):

> Africanisation holds that the African experience in its totality is simultaneously the foundation and the source for the construction of all forms of knowledge. On this basis, it maintains that the African experience is by definition non-transferable but nonetheless communicable. Accordingly, it is the African who is and must be the primary and principal communicator of the African experience ... [Africanisation] holds that different foundations exist for the construction of pyramids of knowledge. It disclaims the view that any pyramid is by its very nature eminently superior to all the others. It is a serious quest for a radical and veritable change of paradigm so that the African may enter into genuine and critical dialogical encounter with other pyramids of knowledge. Africanisation is a conscious and deliberate assertion of nothing more or less than the right to be African (vi).

By Africanisation of the higher education system, therefore, one starts from the premise that the majority of the people in this country are Africans. As such higher education should be reflective of and be informed by the culture, experiences, aspirations of this majority as well as addressing itself to national objectives. It refers to a process of placing the African world-view at the centre of analysis. Asante (1998) puts it as a perspective which allows Africans to be subjects of historical experiences rather than objects on the fringes of Europe. It is not a matter of colour but an orientation to data. Apart from the fact that one can be pro-African and not necessarily anti-white, the concept of Afrocentricity is pre-eminently about how one views data/information. The truth of the matter is that the content of our syllabi, the approach to, and presentation of literature, language, ideas, history, science, etc., the machinery for determining the choice of texts and their interpretation continues to

be made by non-Africans. The Afrocentric perspective provides an opportunity to make the best of us and not to try to be the best or worst of others.

In suggesting that there are other ways in which to experience phenomena, rather than viewing them from a Eurocentric vantage point the intention is not to question Eurocentricism's validity within its context, but to indicate that 'such a view must not seek an ungrounded aggrandizement by claiming a universal hegemony' (Asante, 1987, 4). Thus instead of saying that Columbus 'discovered' America, native Americans might prefer the phrase Columbus 'invaded' America. And instead of saying Livingstone 'discovered' Lake Victoria or something like that, it might be closer to the truth to indicate that the African people led Livingstone to the lake. Better still, an Afrocentric perspective would challenge the notion that European classical music is the only classical music in the world. Seen from this angle, Africanisation is therefore not about having enough African faces in institutions. It is about the grounds for knowledge, about epistemology, about objects of our intellectual inspiration.

Recognising that educational institutions are primarily vehicles for the production, dissemination and evaluation of knowledge, Africanisation and transformation is about much more than the change of structure of management, or change of the racial composition of both staff and students; it, entails an interrogation of the curricula and language of instruction, its relevance and appropriateness in addressing itself to national objectives and societal demands.

Last but not least, to the same extent that one can refer to European and Eurocentric traditions, it should be conceptually plausible to discuss, articulate and advocate the African and the Afrocentric traditions. It is this view of Africanisation that is daunting to those trained in the Eurocentric tradition and especially those of European extraction. That this fear afflicts universities should come as no surprise since this is where ideas of white supremacy were expounded for centuries in Germany, France, England and the USA by the likes of Hegel, Toynbee and others. If anything, Asante (*op. cit*) argues, modern day 'universities are the inheritors of this vicious virus that erodes the very nature of our seeing, our explanations, our methods of inquiry, and our conclusions'. Lest the Afrocentrists are misunderstood, they do not claim that historians, sociologists, literary critics, philosophers, do not make valuable contributions, but rather that by using a Eurocentric approach they often ignore an important interpretive key to the African experience. In other words, in viewing phenomena involving African people, the Afrocentrists will no doubt raise different questions.

In defence of Africanisation

Issues that emerge with alarming monotony whenever the concept of 'Africanisation' is raised, include African culture(s) and standards. Tied to the former is its relevance to the learning and teaching of science and mathematics. The latter is often brought to create an impression that there exists a distinction between the ill-defined concept of internationally competitive standards and 'African standards'.

It is obvious that those who raise such questions/issues above are oblivious or

deliberately forgetful of how political and social interests are tied to the scientific enterprise. Firstly, those who fund research determine the research agenda. It is not an accident that most of the research in the United States of America (USA) is driven by the military. Before and when funding is provided, hard political and economic decisions are made. The notion of research for research's sake has fallen into disfavour all over the world. The shooting down of the 'Supercollider' by USA Senate on the one hand, and the support of AIDS-research on the other, are telling examples. The detractors will be well advised to watch the movie 'And the band played on' which offers a clear description of how politics interfered with funding in the research on AIDS.

Secondly, if the basic ambition of scholars' worldwide is to attain international recognition, publications are important. Unfortunately in this area, politics continues to interfere. Many a paper is rejected not because of lack of substance but due to other usually ill-defined reasons. A USA trained Ghanaian scholar was recently told his article would not appeal to an audience in the USA since issues he was addressing have minimal relevance to them. The experience brings into focus questions that need to be addressed: Who sets our research agenda and in whose interest? What are the sources of our intellectual inspiration? Are we going to do research because Harvard or Cambridge universities are doing it? Are we not going to do solar energy research just because it doesn't interest Cambridge, Harvard or Princeton scholars?

Without trying to belabour the point it is pertinent to refer to the article 'Lost science in the Third World' in *Scientific American*, August 1995. The article indicates that although the number of contributions by African scholars in scientific journals has grown phenomenally, the rate of their publications has remained the same. The author indicates that often this has little to do with the quality of submission. Some editors had indicated that because of spelling mistakes and grammatical errors, they were not convinced that some errors could not have occurred in the research-process 'due to inattention'. This is in spite of the fact that such spelling and grammatical errors are common from scientists from Europe who speak and write in languages other than English. The same prejudices that prevent contributions from certain scholars in our newspapers is enacted in a larger plane in academic journals.

Thirdly, a glimmer of hope is that there seems to be a new orientation in the academy that has begun to recognise the contribution of experiential knowledge that does not necessarily derive from Europe. This orientation has produced a growing research industry in ethnomathematics, ethnobotany and ethnochemistry. In The Lost Science of Africa appearing both in *Blacks in Science*, 1984, Ivan van Sertima (ed), and the *African Renaissance*, 1999, MW. Makgoba (ed), Van Sertima provides a compelling overview of the creative genius of the African people. The overview catalogues an array of technologies produced by people of African origin prior to colonialism. Van Sertima submits that these technologies were often concentrated in a centre (scholar, priest, trading post or royal capital). The concentration of knowledge and technologies in a centre was not peculiar to Africans; it is a phenomenon that has played itself throughout the world. In modern times this phenomenon and practice has assumed material expression in the form of laboratories, universities and centres for scientific and industrial research. For Van Sertima, this observation—the concentration of knowledge in centres—is important if one is to understand how sci-

ence and technology may rise and fall within a civilisation; that is, a destruction of a centre could lead to an almost instant evaporation and disappearance of knowledge and technical skills. By way of illustration, he points out that "a nuclear war could shatter the primary centres of the twentieth-century technology in a matter of days. The survivors on the periphery, although they would remember aeroplanes and the television sets, the robots and the computers, the space machines now circling our solar system, would not be able for centuries to reproduce that technology... A Dark Age would certainly follow. Centuries afterwards, the technological brilliance of the twentieth century would seem dreamlike and unreal" (Van Sertima, 1984, 306).

It is in this vein that Van Sertima argues that the effects of colonialism in Africa, the uprooting of large populations of Africans, and European diseases that descended on Africa, decimating both cattle and people had a similar cataclysmic effect on the African people. Fortunately, the African genius could not be suppressed forever, thanks to the work of archaeologists and anthropologists. The following overview of a number of pre-colonial technologies, skills and knowledge highlighted by van Sertima is illustrative and provides a glimpse into the past. It is not meant to be comprehensive and does not pretend to be. Comprehensive details and information regarding quotations may be found in Van Sertima's (1984) *Blacks in Science.*

Metallurgy

Discoveries by archaeologists and anthropologists suggest that Africans have been involved in some of the intricate technological processes centuries before the colonial encounter. Alluding to this Peter Schmidt, professor of anthropology and Donald Avery, professor of engineering, both of Brown University announced in 1978 that, based on the evidence before them, between 1500 and 2000 years ago, Africans living on the western shores of Lake Victoria in Tanzania produced carbon steel. Schmidt and Avery found the technological processes so complex as "to be able to say that a technologically superior culture developed in Africa more than 1500 years ago overturns popular and scholarly ideas that technological sophistication developed in Europe not in Africa"(Van Sertima, 1999, 308).

In examining the thirteen Iron Age furnaces dug during excavation near Lake Victoria, the two researchers found that the "temperature achieved in the blast furnace of the African steel-smelting machine was higher than any achieved in an European machine until modern times. It was roughly 1800 degree Celsius, some 200 to 400 degree Celsius higher than the highest reached in European cold-blast bloomeries". The smelting process was technologically original and sophisticated. This observation led Avery to make the following comment, "It is a very unique process that uses a large number of sophisticated techniques. This is really semi-conductor technology – the growing of crystals – not iron smelting technology" (*op. cit*).

Astronomy and mathematics

The same year (1978) another team of American scientists, Lynch and Robbins of Michigan State, uncovered an astronomical observatory in Kenya. It was dated 300 years before Christ and was found on the edge of Lake Turkana. It was the ruins of

an African Stonehenge. Informed and guided by the knowledge that modern Cushites in East Africa had a calendar based on the rising of certain stars and constellations, Lynch and Robbins suspected that they had discovered one of the pre-Christian calendars. Upon examination of the arrangement of the stones, they found that every stone, except one, made it quite clear that this was no random pattern but that a definite relationship existed between the pillars at Namoratunga and the stars. The team concluded that the evidence "attests to the complexity of pre-historic cultural and complex calendar system based on astronomical reckoning was developed by the first millennium BC in Eastern Africa"(Van Sertima, 1999, 309).

Within this context Van Sertima brings to light another discovery in West Africa among the Dogon people—a discovery by far more remarkable than the megalithic observatory in Kenya. The discovery bears testimony to an extremely complex knowledge of astronomy among the Dogon people. Available evidence suggests that the astronomer-priests of the Dogon, had for centuries, a very modern view of our solar system and of the universe—the rings of Saturn, the moons of Jupiter, the spiral structure of the Milky Way Galaxy, in which our planet lies. New light in this aspect has been put forward by Hunter Adams III, a scientist at the Argonne National Laboratory whose contribution included a summary on work done by anthropologists on the Dogon people. Adams III exposed the prejudices of Eurocentric scholars "who simply would not accept that any African astronomer-priest could have developed a science of the heavens so advanced that it could yield knowledge which, until the twentieth century, escaped European observation"(Van Sertima, 1999, 310).

Van Sertima ascribes this tendency to deny an African astronomical science "to the fact that such accurate observation over long periods involve the most precise record-keeping, a capacity to measure complex distances and times, to calculate orbits and azimuths and convergences. That calls for mathematics and not just the simple hand count of one, two, and many. Very few anthropological works have ever mentioned a mathematical system in Africa. At the moment only a single book exists—*Africa Counts: Number and Patterns in African Cultures* by Claudia Zaslavsky —which attempts to deal with mathematics south of the Sahara" (Van Sertima, 1999, 314). At the heart of this denial is the assumption that the African was incapable of developing an abstract body of thought.

Coupled with this denial is the fact "that anthropology has a love affair with the primitive and would rather set its tent down among the Bushmen of the Kalahari than among African traders who are accustomed to dealing in large sums of currency. There is a world of difference between the mathematical thinking of a hunter and gatherer and a trader from an African city state" (Van Sertima, 1999, 314)

While conceding that not all Africans were involved and practised mathematics as an abstract body of thought, Van Sertima is quick to point that the same can be said of Europeans. To support this point, Van Sertima refers to the history of mathematics. This history indicates that most Europeans got their mathematics from the Greeks. History shows also that it was not until 1202 that Hindu numerals were introduced into Western Europe.

In sub-Saharan Africa, among the earlier evidence of the use of numbers is a find in

the Congo (Zaire) known as the Ishango bone. These are markings—a notation count—on a bone 8000 years old. It is a numeration system used as a lunar calendar. This was the first numeration known in Africa and is among the first in the world.

Furthermore, Van Sertima (1999) points to another obvious fact—"mathematics develops according to a need. If a situation calls for a simple count of objects, a people will develop a simple set of numbers. If their cultural demands are more complex, a more complex mathematical system will evolve. Systems of numeration may range in Africa from a few number words among the San people, who have been pushed into the least hospitable areas of the continent, to the extensive numerical vocabulary of African nations having a history of centuries of commence" (315).

With regard to the latter, the Yoruba and the related people of the city of Benin in Nigeria are exemplary. These groups have been urbanised farmers and traders for centuries. Their complex numeration system based on 20, abound in West Africa. The system relies on subtraction to a very high degree. To those using it, it seems perfectly natural and is used with the same ease with which we write IX (ten minus one) for nine in the Roman numerals. Commenting on this system Robert Armstrong, a scholar who studied the Yoruba numerals, states that "it is testimony to the Yoruba capacity for abstract reasoning that they could have developed and learned such a system" (Van Sertima, 1999, 315).

In raising the cultural dimension of mathematics, Van Sertima suggests that mathematics, both in terms of process and skills is hidden in the architectural design. One need only refer to architecture south of Sahara. The south of Sahara boasts several architectural wonders, one of which is the over 800 year old Great Zimababwe—the most immense construction site in Africa outside of the pyramids of Egypt. Despite its expanse it was only after Zimbabwean independence that scholars ventured to study it.

Mathematics is also expressed in other forms such as "in abstract patterns, like that obtained from the combination of two geometric operations, translation and reflection on an axis" (Van Sertima 1999, 316). Regarding these forms one may refer to decorations on bowls and cloths of the Kuba of the Congo. Or the measuring systems like the exquisite brass weights for measuring gold dust currency among the Asante, or in the complex network games the Shongo children play, or mathematical recreations, which are the delight of many Africans (*op. cit)*. There is little doubt also, that mathematics is required in many, if not all, great engineering projects, such as the construction of enormous palaces, churches or ceremonial centres. A number of engineering feats such as Africa's major temples come to mind. Alluding to this a British engineer remarked that suspension bridges built with vines by the Kikuyu, equalled in engineering skill and potential durability any comparable bridges of wood he had seen in his own country (Van Sertima, 1999, 316).

Pointing to the fact that the engineering skill of Africans was not confined to architecture, Van Sertima submits that the most ancient mines in the world are found in Africa. "Several such ancient mine works and rare minerals were discovered by the German treasure-seeker, Karl Mauch, not far from Great Zimbabwe itself. Yet when this great stone city was found, Europeans not only began to steal the treasures but even the (right of the native) Africans to lay claim to their own civilisation. Many

books have tried to prove that this architectural site, which is right in the heartland of Africa, approximately 800 kilometres away from any seacoast, was built by Persians, Phoenicians, Portuguese, Arabs or Chinese. The fact that there are no prototypes for Zimbabwean architecture, art and ritual among any of these foreign peoples does not seem to bother the conjectural historians" (Van Sertima, 1999, 317).

African engineering skills may also be seen in the construction of boats. A variety of these are documented (e.g. Van Sertima's *They Came Before Columbus*, 1976). They range from reed-boats with sails, rope-sewn plank vessels, jointed boats fitted out with woven straw cabins to enormous dugouts as wide-berthed, long sturdy as Viking ships (318). The Portuguese found African boats with sails on the Congo estuary. Africans were also found to be using nautical science in the Sahara desert. Van Sertima cites EW. Bovill's famous work, *The Golden Trade of the Moors*. The work details the Africans' use of the compass and astronomical computations to guide the African caravans across the desert. The journey across the Sahara is "twice as long twice as hazardous as a journey by Africans across the open sea from Africa to America (2 400 kilometres). Africans had to cross thousands of kilometres of trackless wasteland. Africans had to solve problems of storing grain for months while traversing the barren sands, whereas the sea is a mobile food-store"(Van Sertima, 320).

The above suggests, that in addition to the use of nautical science, there was a high level of sophistication regarding agricultural science among Africans. There is also evidence that the earliest technological leap from hunting and gathering activities to the scientific cultivation of crops occurred in Africa at least 7000 years before it did on any other continent. Citing a discovery by Fred Wendorf reported in 1979 Science magazine, Van Sertima alludes to the discovery of the agricultural sites near the Nile that go "back more than 10 000 years before the dynasties of Egypt. There, Africans were cultivating and harvesting barley and einkorn wheat" (*op cit*). When the grains of these cereals were carbon-dated at Kubbaniya, they gave a reading of 17 850 BC plus or minus 200 years.

In dealing with other aspects or elements for the development of civilisation, Van Sertima submits that not only were Africans the first in crop science but also the first in the domestication of cattle. Corroborating this is work by Charles Nelson—a University of Massachusetts anthropologist. In 1980 Charles Nelson announced in the New York Times that his team had unearthed evidence in the Lukenya Hill district in the Kenya Highlands, about 40 kilometres from Nairobi, that Africans had been domesticating cattle 15 000 years ago. The "findings led them to conclude that the pre-Iron Age African in that area had a relatively sophisticated society and could have spread their mores, living modes and philosophy, eventually reaching the fertile crescent of the Euphrates River Valley, which many had once thought was the cradle of civilisation" (322).

There is ample evidence to suggest that African plant medicine was more developed than any other in the world before the disruption of its cultures. In spite of the tremendous knowledge that was lost and the fact that African medicine today does not reflect the best of what the earlier doctors knew, the fragments that survive still tell us a lot; an observation authenticated by Dr Charles Finch of the Morehouse School of Medicine. Writing in the *Journal of African Civilisations*, Finch sketches the background to African traditional medicine, not just its plant science but its psy-

chotherapy, its approach to the diagnosis of disease, its very early knowledge of anaesthetics, antiseptics, vaccination, and the advanced surgical techniques in use among African doctors (324).

With regard to herbal medicine, studies suggest that Africans knew several western medicines before Europeans discovered them. Van Sertima proffers:

> The Africans had their own aspirin. The Bantu-speaking peoples use the bark of Salix capensis to treat musculoskeletal pains and his family of plants yields salicylic acid, the active ingredient in aspirin. In Mali they had one of the most effective cures for diarrhoea, using kaolin, the active ingredient in the American brand Kaopectate. Nigerian doctors developed a herbal preparation to treat skin infections which rivals the best in modern world ... Finch introduces us to far too many plant medicines to mention here—for abortion, for retarded labour, malaria fever, rheumatism, neurotic venoms, snakebite, intestinal parasites, skin ulcers, tumours, catarrh convulsions, veneral disease, bronchitis, conjunctivitis, urethral stricture ñ all effective as those used in western medicine ... The African herbal pharmacy is staggering. The Zulus alone know the medicinal uses of 700 plants (325).

Van Sertima's essay touches on other aspects such as surgery which suggests that African doctors had attained a level of skill comparable with, and in some respects superior to, that of Western surgeons up unto the twentieth century. The most impressive is that of the Ceasarean operation sketched by Dr Felkin in 1879, at a time when such operations were rare in Europe. The skill demonstrated in this operation startled readers of Edinburgh Medical Journal, where it was reported. Van Sertima notes that "Africans were not only found to be doing the Caesarean section with routine skill but to be using antiseptic surgery, which Lister had pioneered only two years earlier than this event, and when the universal application of his methods in the operating rooms of Europe was still years away" (327).

In the light of the above, it is apparent that much of the knowledge, skills, technologists, medical practices and prescriptions described above were lost due to major cultural disruptions wrought by colonialism. The fact that most of these were transmitted through oral tradition was also not helpful. It should be pointed out however that the annihilation was not complete, as attested by information that had survived for centuries. The survival of this information suggests that oral tradition may be as durable as written documents.

Van Sertima concludes his essay by asking a pertinent question. Why did the Africans leave no written documents? On this note Van Sertima submits:

> First of all, the assumption underlying these questions—that Africans did not develop writing systems – is a myth. There is evidence that probably half a dozen scripts were invented and used by Africans before the holocaust, although many of their manuscripts perished in the sack of Alexandria, the razing of Timbuktu, and the burning of the Moorish documents in the squares of Granada on the order of Cardinal Ximencz (327).

Emeagwali's website http://members.aol.com/Gafrin/afrihist.htm#BKG, last

update February, 1999) details evidence of a range of writing symbols and motifs for communicating various ideas and concepts in various African countries. The variety of writing material used, she argues, reflects the complex history of Africa's writing systems. The systems were inscribed on materials such as parchment, papyrus, leather, skin, fabric, sand, clay, and metal more extensively in some parts of the continent than others. Since the use of specific scripts were confined to priestly hierarchy, some of the African writing forms may not have been known (Emeagwali, *op cit.*) Among some of the writing systems were the following- Geez (Ethiopia), Meroitic (Nubia), Hieroglyphics (Egypt), Bamum(Cameroon), Vai (Liberia), Nsibidi (Nigeria/Cameroon), Ajimi (Nigeria/Niger) and the Adinkra pictographic system (Akan-Ghana, Ivory Coast).

There is ample and compelling evidence (Emeagwali *op cit.*) that Africans developed a wide range of sophisticated systems of expression involving the preservation and transmission of information in an oral format. In certain cases the oral systems coexisted with the writing systems. Texts such as the epic of Sundiata (Mali) or the Abuja Chronicle (Nigeria) are a case in point. (For fuller details on pre-colonial writing visit Emeagwali's website.)

The challenge facing (South) African scholars is to engage themselves in unravelling the mathematical and scientific skills, knowledge, and process embedded in the indigenous technologies and cultural practices of the African majority. Once these are identified, they can then be used to re-structure, redesign and reformulate the present curricula. The utilisation of indigenous technology and African knowledge systems is the key to unlocking the door that has prevented the masses from accessing mathematics, science and engineering.

This orientation to education will harness and unleash the potential located within indigenous knowledge systems to address Africa's human and economic development. This will not only reconcile the development of indigenous knowledge with modern scientific and technological frameworks, but would also encourage the custodians to conduct their own empirical studies, educational projects and technological productions to meet new challenges. With the re-establishment of African confidence in her scientific and technological capability, we will then confidently manipulate and recreate the tools and symbols of global discourse.

Lastly, can science and mathematics be taught in an African language? The answer is a resounding 'yes'! Those who have argued differently often refer to the absence of certain scientific words in our languages. Aside from the fact that these can be coined, this line of reason is faulty in that it places emphasis on labels and not concepts. The absence of certain words (labels) does not necessarily imply absence of concepts. In the same way that the English do not seem to have different words for mangoane(aunt), mamogolo(aunt) does not suggest lack of these concepts.

Some scholars (Rutherford, 1993) have advanced the argument that since most African languages do not have articles ("a" and "the"), they would not be suitable for scientific communication. Such comments can only come from people with little knowledge about languages and the history of science. For instance, there are many European languages that do not have articles. Russian is one of them—and it so happens that it is capable of transmitting certain 'nuances' that are more difficult to

transmit in English. Nobody would ever say that the Russians cannot learn and teach science in their own language.

It is pertinent to mention also that Latin—which was the language of scientific communication for centuries—does not have articles. When Latin ceased to be the 'lingua franca' in the sciences, it was not because it did not have articles, but it was because the use of national languages proved more effective in the transmission of scientific knowledge to a large number of people. Also, if the presence of articles was a criterion, then we would argue that since Italian has nine articles, seven more than English, then it must be more 'scientific' than English. Evidently, the argument regarding presence or absence of articles is not persuasive.

In addition, research has shown that African students appeal to their mother tongue when discussing science concepts outside their classroom (Nangu, 1994). Equally important is research evidence that suggests that bilingual/multilingual students when taught through bilingual instruction mode perform better. This research shows that it is in language that people find their mental home. They can hardly be themselves, and barely creative and innovative in an idiom they have difficulty understanding or expressing themselves (Prah, 1995).

Furthermore, the same people who argue against the use of African language are the first to remind us of the need to emulate the emerging 'Asian Economic Tigers', none of which are developing on the basis of colonial languages. What the Asian experience suggests is that sustained development must be structured on indigenous culture with selective inputs and adaptation from outside. Among linguists, including eminent scholars from the USA and Europe, it is common knowledge that no language is inherently incapable of incorporating modern science and technology.

To conclude, Africanisation is about turning the globe over so that we see all the possibilities of the world where Africa assumes a role as a subject rather than an object that is understood at the margins of Europe. Understandably, we should expect that there would be some Africans who will find it difficult to extricate their ideas from the grip of their Eurocentric (white) intellectual masters. For Asante, a leading Afrocentric scholar they represent the modern day 'house Negro' who when confronted with the theory about freedom, liberation, and escape would run right to the master and say "There is a crazy African talking of escape in this plantation". By using this analogy I am not suggesting that any black person who challenges 'Africanisation' is a 'house Negro' but to indicate that we can never be sure that our place is as secure as we want to be. We are, however, in deep trouble when Africans need to make apologies and claim ignorance about their cultural position.

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Co-operative Governance? A Case Study of the Broad Transformation Forum at the University of the Western Cape[1]

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Abstract

This article examines the governance transformation process within higher education in South Africa and attempts to address a central question, "What has been the politics of the governance transformation process?" It is argued that although the notion of "governance transformation" was initially in the 1980s associated with Marxist notions of revolutionary transformation, these ideas have receded throughout the policy making process, and have been replaced by notions of "co-operative governance" and "co-determination". The central reason for this has been the political changes within South Africa and the associated ideological attack upon Marxism. The most appropriate theoretical tools with which to analyse the shift away from oppositional politics is Gramsci's concept of hegemony (Simon, 1991) which has been de-politicised by the main theoretical proponents of "co-operative governance" in the debate on the transformation of governance in higher education.

Introduction

At the time of this study, I was a member of the Student Representative Council (SRC) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and involved in the process of transformation. I was asking questions that were also being posed by the student movement. Questions such as: "What would governance transformation mean for the student movement?" And more specifically, "Would co-operative governance facilitate a process of real transformation within higher education?" It was in this period that Co-operative Governance emerged as the dominant position on governance within the higher education policy process.

1 This paper is a synthesis of a research project entitled, "Governance Transformation in South African Higher Education institutions—A case study of the Broad Transformation Forum (BTF) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC)" 1996—1997 (Johnson. B, 1997).

In addressing these questions, I was particularly interested in understanding the actual process of contestation between various social forces at UWC. To explain this, I turned to Gramsci's (Simon, 1991) notion of hegemony as lucid theoretical lenses through which to critically analyse and not just describe the unfolding events on the campus and the way in which the Broad Transformation Forum (BTF) and the sectors related to these events. The thesis is pertinent not only to UWC but to the higher education sector at large because it attempts to explore new institutional arrangements or governing structures within higher education.

The existence of new governing structures is an important historical development as it represents a shift from the Apartheid regime's Extension of the University Education Act of 1959. At the time, this Act provided the framework for individual higher education institutions to be racially segregated. As a consequence, the relationship between the state and higher education institutions was strongly racialised. The Historically Black Institutions were largely underfunded by the state and had a confrontational and authoritarian relationship with the government. The state largely controlled these institutions through legislation with respect to the composition of management, administrative and academic structures. The Historically White Institutions which, on the other hand, were much better resourced by the state, experienced more of an autonomous relationship with government by the 1980s. In these institutions, the state played more of a supervisory role. During periods of unrest, however, the state would freely intervene in the affairs of higher education institutions (National Commission of Higher Education Discussion or NCHE Document, 1996).

A further feature of the old apartheid governance structures was the lack of representativity of the communities within institutions. The bodies which existed such as the Advisory Committee for Universities and Technikons (AUT), the Committee for University Principals (CUP) and the Committee for Technikon Principals (CTP) were statutory advisory bodies and operated at a national level but were undemocratic and unrepresentative of the higher education community.

The Higher Education Act of 1997 abandoned this framework and redefined the way in which the state relates to higher education institutions. This paper examines the way in which state and higher education relations have been redefined by looking at the tenuous process of governance transformation within a single, Historically Black Institution—UWC.

The paper is divided into two sections. The first section sketches the nature of the political conjuncture at the time and the national policy context as important parts of a framework through which to appreciate the governance transformation process at UWC. The second section of the paper specifically focuses upon the process of contestation among various social forces over governance transformation at UWC.

Exploring the conjuncture and the national policy context

The process of hegemonic contestation at UWC, and more specifically the role of the Broad Transformation Forum, needs to be understood within the national policy and political context. The periods explored are the pre-election period of 1990–1994 and the post election period of 1994–1996.

Exploring the conjuncture

The mass democratic movements were actively preparing the African National Congress (ANC) for government during the pre-election period of 1990 to 1994. The organic intellectuals of the time were involved in preparing the ANC at the level of policy formulation. This was a time when policies that were being put forward by the democratic movement were largely inconclusive, as no definitive positions were being presented except for "policy options" as in the case of the National Education Policy Investigation or NEPI (Badat, 1994). There were at this stage clear signals of what the future options might be as it was openly stated that a future government's policies would have to be far more realistic and tailored to a context of limited financial resources. The role of the organic intellectuals of the working class of the 1980s lead neither to strong working class organisations nor the strengthening of their ties to the working class. The involvement of this intellectual layer in policy work meant that it was not available to provide the working class with a sense of its homogeneity. This had an adverse effect upon organisations as they were weakened and left with an inexperienced activist layer.

By the end of the negotiation period, the apartheid government and capital had been able to secure numerous gains for themselves while the mass movement had been significantly weakened. This was, however, not a complete defeat as expressed in the nature of the ANC's elections platform, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Although the RDP did not provide concrete proposals for all areas of social life, it provided a social democratic framework for a new democratic government, which committed itself to meeting the basic needs of the black South African majority (ANC, 1994).

The 1994 elections represented a historical compromise between the mass movement on the one hand and capital and the apartheid forces on the other. The democratic elections played an important role in bringing into power a democratic, popularly elected ANC government with mass support. This was significant in creating the necessary conditions for consensual rule.

During the post 1994 period, the nature of the new emerging hegemonic project became more apparent. A landmark position of this period was the ANC government's endorsement of the macro-economic strategy, entitled Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR). GEAR was decried by many within the mass movement including the country's leading trade union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). Many activists at the time felt that GEAR was a self-imposed or home-grown structural adjustment programme that would lead to job losses and the generalised decline in the living conditions of the poor (Lehulere, 1997). What this illustrated, similar to the democratic elections of the ANC government, was that the adoption of GEAR was necessary for setting in place a neo-liberal legislative framework. This, however, was not sufficient to create consensual rule. In this sense, the new hegemonic project was still in the process of emerging.

Exploring the national policy context

Within the policy development domain a new discourse can be traced. This new discourse is understood within the context of how the new hegemonic project was facilitated within this period. The main actors within higher education and society at large were no longer referred to as sectors rather they were referred to as stakeholders. The notion of "stakeholder" within higher education policy development is best understood within a regulatory framework and more specifically, the notion of co-operative governance. The work of Cloete, Muller and Moja (1995) was fundamental in clarifying the essence of this discourse and directing government legislation, originating within the National Commission on Higher Education's (NCHE) Discussion Document (1996).

Initially, during the 1990s, there were contested understandings of the role of transformation forums or BTF's. Badat (1994) traces the emergence of Broad Transformation Forums within higher education at an institutional level. He argues that they initially emerged with the focal aim of challenging any unilateral decision-making on the part of the state within the negotiation period from 1990–1994. He refers to the National Education and Training Forum (NETF) which was established in March 1993 as a forum that aimed to develop a common approach to the process of transformation within education (Badat, 1994).

The need for a common approach emerged from the diverse understandings of governance transformation between and within different institutions. Cloete and Mohammed (1995) captured this when they discussed three distinct approaches to governance transformation. The first position argues that BTFs should give advice to the existing structures of authority. The second position argues that BTFs should overthrow and replace existing apartheid structures with structures which are representative of the marginalised. The last position argues that BTFs should facilitate the transition from Apartheid institutions to new institutions. Cloete and Mohammed preferred the first position of advisory transformation forums as the most appropriate form of institutional governance.

In 1996, the post-apartheid state commissioned the National Commission of Higher Education (NCHE) to investigate the transformation of Higher Education in South Africa. The first document released by the Commission was entitled "The National Commission of Higher Education Discussion Document: A Framework for Transformation". This document also captured the debate with respect to governance and more specifically the role of the BTF or what is referred to as institutional forums (NCHE Discussion Document, 1996).

The document was released for discussion among the various stakeholders within higher education. Thereafter the NCHE presented its Report (NCHE Report, 1996). Once these key documents were discussed publicly, the White Paper on Higher Education was released and culminated in the promulgation of the Higher Education Act in 1997.

The central proposal consistently appearing throughout most of these policy documents and which frames governance transformation within higher education is the

notion of 'co-operative governance'. The NCHE Discussion Document states that the co-operative governance model:

> ... is to be located within a legitimate state that is striving to become democratic and encourages a strong state model in the sense of an assertive government bureaucracy that has capacity and has a multiplicity of autonomous civil society constituencies which acknowledge their different interests, maintain separate identities and acknowledge their mutual interdependence and responsibilities for attaining a common goal" (NCHE Discussion Document, 1996, 96).

The co-operative governance model addresses one of the most important questions that confronted organisations before and after the first democratic elections of April 1994, namely, "How should organisations relate to the new democratically elected ANC government?" The co-operative governance model addresses this challenge by defining the role of civil society and higher education institutions as supporting, strengthening and contributing towards the creation of a democratically strong state.

One of the key assumptions underpinning the co-operative governance model is that:

> no single actor (including the state) can address, or resolve societal problems. Modes of governance in complex societies are thus necessarily interactive. This is especially appropriate in the South African context where the state and civil society have to be reconstituted (*Ibid*).

The key assumption here is that 'no single actor' can bring about governance transformation within higher education. It means that a range of actors, referred to, as stakeholders need to be involved in the process of governance transformation. The central aim of the co-operation with each other would be to reconstitute the way in which their higher education institution relates to the state and vice versa.

According to the NCHE, this process would be guided within a regulatory framework. The notion of the regulatory framework refers to the roles played by civil society and the state. Within the regulatory framework, the state would play a guiding and not enforcing or controlling role, while civil society will offer advice to the existing structures of authority such as the state.

Guided by this notion, the policy documents further clarify institutional arrangements within various higher education institutions. The NCHE discussion document, the NCHE Report, the Green Paper on Higher Education, the White Paper Three on Higher Education, the Higher Education Bill and the Higher Education Act all consistently express the states' commitment to BTFs.

In the NCHE Discussion Document, the commission indicates its preference for the institutional forums being advisory bodies. According to this Report, because revolutionary forums have largely failed, and transitional forums have collapsed, marginalised stakeholders have gained access to decision-making structures, so that BTFs as advisory structures are far more feasible (*Ibid*). It further supports the restructuring of the Council and Senates to be more representative of institutional

stakeholders. The BTF would therefore play an advisory role to the council which is the highest decision making body within institutions (*Ibid*). The Higher Education Act enacts this position when it states that, "... Council must govern the public higher education institutions..." and "Institutional Forums must advise council on issues affecting the institution." (*Ibid.*, 108). Therefore the advisory role of the BTF is consistently supported within the official policy process and has emerged as dominant within the Higher Education Policy Process.

The Act further states that institutions should establish Institutional Forums. Even so, in instances where Institutional Forums do not exist, the functioning of the institution will not be impaired, as the councils of institutions remain as the highest decision-making structures (Higher Education Bill, 1997). By implication, the old authority structures occupy a powerful place within the process of decision making. While the initial document, namely, the NCHE discussion document, expressed the initial contestation between contending stakeholders over the role of the BTF, the dwindling of this contestation is explicitly captured in the single most dominant position that BTFs should be advisory bodies. What is therefore evident, is that with the progressive development of a range of official policy documents, the state has been fairly consistent in its approach to governance transformation and, more specifically, institutional governance transformation.

In the next section the actual concrete experience of institutional governance transformation is explored within the context of the political conjuncture and the national policy context at the time of the launch of the BTF.

The case of the Broad Transformation Forum (BTF) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC)

This section explores the case of the BTF at UWC as an example of governance transformation within a single institution, in the context of a co-operative governance model. The guiding question of inquiry through this single case is, "Can co-operative governance bring about real transformation within higher education?"

This section explores this question by looking at the following: Firstly, the launch of the BTF and its immediate surrounding context. Secondly, the formalisation of power of the BTF within the institution and thirdly, the process of contestation within the institution and the location of the BTF within the process of contestation. The information for this section was drawn from in-depth interviews with stakeholder representatives, observations and documentary analysis.

The context surrounding the emergence of the BTF at UWC

The BTF emerged out of a historical period of the 1980s in which UWC was united around its vision of People's Education and became internationally known as the "University of the Left". In many respects UWC was the pacesetter of transformation within higher education. As an institution it had an open admissions policy which allowed access to the historically disadvantaged, it had a history of admitting students despite their financial inability to pay and had initiated processes to transform its governing bodies (Nash, 1993).

The period of the 1990s was fraught with tensions within the institution as various sections were grappling with new questions thrown up by the new conjuncture. The central question that was thrown up was, "How should UWC relate to the new democratic government?" It was in the process of addressing this question that new tensions emerged within the institution and consequently threatened to undermine the unity fostered during the 1980s.

The academics at UWC played an important role in developing policies that assisted in preparing the ANC for government. As part of this process, an institute for education policy work was established at UWC referred to as the Education Policy Unit (EPU). The EPU drew upon an extensive intellectual layer to staff the policy unit. In contrast, students and workers continued to engage in confrontational struggles calling for an increase in state subsidies to Historically Black Universities (HBUs). The University Management, most clearly, indicated that it could no longer follow a similar path.

In 1991, Gerwel, the Rector of UWC at the time, indicated that UWC would not be able to follow the path it had paved for itself during the 1980s. Consistent with this view, the university management consequently excluded 2000 students in 1992 from the institution on the grounds that they were not able to fulfil their obligation in settling their outstanding fees with the institution. This signalled the shifting class content of the Rectorate's position and was reminiscent of a University Management redefining its relationship to the future democratic government whom, it suspected, would not be in a position to increase higher education funding. These steps taken by the University Management, to assist the ANC to govern signalled what would be the content of transformation at UWC. Given this, sectors were posed with another question, "What would their relation to the university management be?"

This period marked the end of an era of a shared vision within the institution. Marches and demonstrations by students and workers to the university management's offices increased as these sectors became increasingly suspicions of the intentions of the university management. Students and workers increasingly demanded transformation within the institution and greater power to decide within the highest decision making bodies of the university, namely, the Council and the Senate.

The new democratic dispensation of 1994 brought with it heightened expectations for the prospects of higher education transformation and therefore optimism around the process of developing a shared, democratic vision of transformation at UWC. A democratic process in selecting the University Rectorate was embarked upon by the stakeholders within the institution. This was the first time the concept of 'stakeholder' was to emerge within the official language of the institution and represents the divisions between the university sectors.

The optimism of the 1994 period was, however, relatively short lived. The university management posed questions around the feasibly of registering students who were unable to pay their fees. They were interested in facilitating the creation of a new culture within the institution, a culture that valued the individual's ability to pay for their education. The importance of creating such a culture was that this would ensure that the institution's debt did not continually spiral. As the university remained consistent in its approach and clearly articulated its perspective, the

mass activities engaged in by students during 1995 and 1996 became particularly violent and desperate in nature. For example, for the first time in the university's history, students held the university management hostage with the university management responding by calling the police onto the campus and eventually closing the institution. As Gramsci (Simon, 1991) notes in the absence of consensual rule, the dominant forces will rely upon coercive measures to rule. This is precisely what the university management did.

The context within which the BTF was therefore launched was riddled with conflict and tense relations. In fact the day the BTF was launched, students marched to the University Management and demanded access to credit for food in the residences. At the time, it was reported that damage to university property was on a wider scale than ever before. This resulted again in the closure of the campus and the appearance of the police. It appeared ironic at the time that while the BTF was launched within this context, it also represented a new step in the transformation process at UWC.

The "standing orders" of the BTF indicates its central aim as follows:

> ... to develop negotiated consensual proposals and procedures with respect to the university's future democratic governance, practices and polices and its progressive intellectual agenda (Standing Orders of the BTF, 1996).

It was therefore clear from the outset that the central aim of the BTF would be to draw the stakeholders' closer together with the view of achieving "negotiated consensual proposals". This is considered as a long-term objective of the BTF, which would be achieved over a period of three years. The existence of the BTF did not mean that bilateral negotiations between students and the university management or workers and the university management would not continue. These arrangements continued to exist alongside the BTF. The nature of the governance transformation process at UWC is supported by the dominant conception of a gradualist approach "where trust and co-operation is cultivated through the experience of participation in a variety of partnership mechanisms ..." one of which is bilateral negotiations. (Cloete, Muller, Moja, 1995, 26–27).

The formalisation of the power of the BTF at UWC

By October 1996, eight months after the launch of the BTF, it was formally constituted as an institutionally recognised forum. In the period between the launch and institutionalisation of the BTF, the main area of contention centred on how power could be equally distributed among the various stakeholders, and between the statutory and non-statutory bodies within the institution. The BTF was to be a formal expression of these power relations within the institution. At the time the BTF was formalised, the following were recognised as stakeholders with the accompanying distribution of votes:

If the table on the following page is read alongside the University Act of 1983, which at the time governed the University, then it should be noted that various stakeholders are duplicated. The significance of this shift is that it enhances the size of certain stakeholders' 'stake' within the BTF. According to the University Act of 1983, the

Skakeholder	Number of Votes
Rectorate and Head of Departments	4
Council	4
Senate	4
Alumni/Convocation	4
Academics	4
Nation Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU)	4
Student Representative Council (SRC)	7
Pan African Student Organisation (PASO)	1
Student League (UWC)	1
South African Students Congress (SASCO)	1
Socialist Students Action Committee (SSAC)	1
Azanian Students Congress (AZASCO)	1
Total	**36**

Council of the university should be composed of representatives from the Convocation, Management or the Rectorate and the Senate. The Senate, however, will have representatives from Council, while the entire Rectorate is allowed to participate (University Education Act, 1983). Therefore, the Council, the Rectorate, Senate and the Convocation already have a 'stake' in the policies put forward by the Council while the Senate, Council and the Rectorate play a very important role as well. The implication of this move is that the statutory bodies have greater formal power as expressed through the voting structure as opposed to the non-statutory bodies.

During the interviews with representatives from the statutory bodies such as the Council, Senate and the University Rectorate the view that the statutory bodies have greater power was recognized. According to the Council representative:

> The BTF has to make representations and arrive at decisions on a consensual basis and because of Council being party to the discussions at BTF level that then is forwarded for enactment or ratification* (Interview with Council Representative, 1997).

The representative further indicated that if Council is not satisfied with the decisions of the BTF, "... it can refer it back ... This is a normal thing ... It is normal procedure" (*Ibid*).

On the other hand, the non-statuary bodies such as the Student Representative Council (SRC) had a different view of the role of the BTF within the institution.

These stakeholders regarded the BTF as being the most powerful structure within the institution. According to the SRC representative,

> The powers of the BTF revolves around two issues. It would be the highest decision-making structure in as far as transformation issues are concerned. Secondly, it means that council can no longer simply put in new policies. All will have to go via the BTF and have to be endorsed by the relevant structures ... (Interview with SRC Representative, 1997).

The formalised power of the BTF indicates that the statutory bodies have a range of different sites of participation and power. For example while Council and the Rectorate are two separate stakeholders, the Rectorate is a member of Council. Furthermore the views of the statutory bodies also showed the dominance of the statutory bodies within the institution while the non-statutory bodies continued to contest the location of the BTF within the institution despite its statutory location.

If this is the way in which power was formally constituted, yet interpreted differently between the various stakeholders, how was power negotiated in practice?

The power of the BTF in practice

To understand the location of the BTF in practice, the process of contestation both within the BTF and outside of the BTF was observed.

Contestation negotiated through the BTF

Inside the BTF the various stakeholders were engaged in a number of issues. For example, the university budget and the wage increase for non-academic staff for 1997 were two such concerns. Through these issues, the shifting and complex location of the BTF within the institution was expressed.

In relation to the issue of a wage increase for non-academic staff for 1997, workers demanded a higher wage increase than that offered by the university management. Workers embarked on a number of protest actions such as an illegal strike, pickets and a barricade of the university entrance. The workers union, The National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU) and the university management were unable to reach an agreement. In this instance the BTF intervened to find a solution to the deadlock between two stakeholders within the institution.

Representatives of the stakeholders seemed to share a similar view on the role and significance of the BTF's intervention in this instance. The council representative expressed his conception of the BTF most vividly,

> The BTF has played a shock absorbent role. The BTF meets to absorb the shock of what happened on the campus. The other day with the march of NEHAWU it was quite illegal because we have negotiated a certain agreement between the university management and NEHAWU. There are proper procedures that can be followed. But almost like a safety valve, a 'loophole' has been created by the BTF

*(Interview with Council Representative, 1997).

In this instance the BTF was defined as having played a crisis intervention role. However, Council in particular seemed to be concerned that through this crisis intervention role, the BTF took on more of an executive decision-making role. According to the Council representative:

> There is a perception on our side that the BTF as such is encroaching on areas that fall within the ambit... of certain decisions I would consider to be managerial or executive decisions. These decisions have been placed within the ambit of the BTF. Last year council had already agreed to 7,5 per cent but because of the influence and the mechanisms and workings of the BTF we had to fork out another couple of million to get to 10 per cent *(*Ibid*).

This experience of the BTF in practice, on the one hand, illustrates how the intensity of contestation or struggle can challenge the boundaries of the BTF as defined by the national and institutional frameworks. On the other, it illustrates how such an incident is internalised by the existing institutional order as potentially threatening and therefore problematic.

In relation to the discussions on the university budget for 1997, stakeholders provided different reasons for why the Council and not the BTF eventually took the decision on the budget for 1997. For the non-statutory bodies this was expressed largely as an unintended consequence of the transformation process. While for the statutory bodies the Council taking the decision was considered appropriate given that this legally is, and should be, the role of the Council.

According to the SRC, the adoption of the 1997 budget by the council was:

> ... an unfortunate thing that happened. Really, if you are approaching the end of your financial year you are expecting that the budgets are already being spent. So it did not make sense to be discussing the budget in April. So we have to change the process. The BTF can no longer just be presented with figures ... the BTF must determine the principles along which the budget must be formulated and on the basis of that the university represents a budget which then can be interrogated by stakeholders ... *(Interview with SRC representative, 1997).

The issues, which were raised through the BTF such as the mission statement, were not a source of conflict while the issues which were raised through bilateral negotiations, which were conflictual and unresolved, were brought to the attention of the BTF. Within these issues the BTF played a crisis intervention role with stakeholders able to reach consensual agreements through a process in which they themselves resolved internal conflict within the institutions. In a certain sense Cloete *et al.* (1995) would consider this as part of a process of 'self-binding', in which stakeholders are able to work together because of establishing relations at various levels within the governance transformation process through which co-operative governance can be fostered. Contestation within the BTF was progressively encouraging consensual relations to emerge between stakeholders at UWC. If more consensual relations emerged through contestions within the BTF, 'What was the nature of contestation outside the BTF?'

Contestation negotiated outside the BTF

The single most significant area of contestation, expressed outside the BTF, was the issue of financial exclusions. Financial exclusions are a consequence of students' inability to meet their financial obligations to the institution. This issue has been a cause of tremendous conflict within the institution since the early 1990s. For the first time, in 1997, financial exclusions were resolved peacefully without any form of protest against the university administration. However, what was revealed was a process of ideological contestation among students themselves.

During December 1996, the UWC SRC signed a registration agreement for the beginning of 1997. Although this signalled the attempt by the SRC and the university management to jointly prepare for the following year's funding crisis at the institution, the SRC and the university management had already been following a similar process since 1995. The financial exclusion struggle of UWC was resolved outside the BTF through a process of bilateral discussions and arguments.

This agreement represented a significant shift from past relations between students and the university management. Through the registration agreement signed in 1996 for 1997, the SRC was able to link up with common sense notions through the principle of payment which was consistent with the new conjuncture and created the binding fabric of the new emerging hegemonic project.

The SRC linked up with the government's Masakhane Building Campaign that called for the payment of services nationally, through a "UWC Masakhane Campaign". The Masakhane campaign at UWC was expressed through the SRC's call for the principle of "own contribution". As Gramsci (Simon, 1991) indicates, although past common sense notions may persist, they are essentially transformed into new common sense notions. Therefore, while common sense notions of democracy persist, its essence or its content was transformed to mean payment of services and not free education. In the past students were at the forefront of demanding free education. For students, the new approach meant finding money with which to pay their university fees if they wanted to have access to higher education.

This notion, however, was not new to the university management, as it had recognised this as a means to manage the crisis internal to UWC since 1992. What was absent during that period, however, was a student body willing to accept a similar approach. These developments represented a new era for UWC, as the student leadership was able to link up with common sense notions characteristic of the new conjuncture. It was essentially the SRC's commitment to re-inforcing the democratic government's attempt to build a new hegemonic project which began to set common ground for a constructive engagement approach and new emerging relations between the SRC and the university management.

The SRC's approach to the funding crisis of the institution was captured in one of its first pamphlets released in 1997. The SRC states:

> We have a programme of transforming this institution from a conflictual relationship towards a new approach which relies on a common vision, collective effort and constructive engagement. We as students are the pacesetters of trans-

> formation and only us can bring new vision in taking this university forward. No more shall we rely only on toyi-toyi to resolve conflicts with the university administration (SRC pamphlet, 1997).

Later in the year, when reflecting on the work done by the SRC, the SRC newsletter entitled, *SRC Perspective* notes that,

> The beginning of this year heralded a new Era at UWC—An era of Constructive Engagement of all stakeholders of the institution. The peace and tranquillity experienced by all was not by accident but was a product of a deliberate effort to be part of rebuilding our society and laying a clearer basis for transformation" (*SRC Perspective*, 1997, 2).

All these statements by the SRC emphasise the shift in relations between the SRC and the university management. This shift to a constructive engagement approach indicates a shift away from conflictual relations between the university management and students to more harmonious consensual relations. In the presence of the BTF, yet outside the BTF, a new set of relations began to emerge at UWC. If understood within the context of Cloete *et al.* (1995) on 'corporatist relations', co-operative governance cannot be fostered without initiating a range of supportive networks. In this sense the process of contestation outside the BTF should be seen as part of the process of encouraging corporatist, consensual relations to emerge.

What was significant was that these consensual relations were expressed through the absence of any significant struggles on the part of students, throughout 1997, in comparison to previous years. As the SRC clearly states, peace and tranquillity was experienced. This new approach adopted by the SRC was consistent with the position of the largest student political organisation, the South African Students' Congress (SASCO). According to Andile Sihlahla, the chairperson of SASCO at the time, "... the code of conduct will aim at halting looting and hostage-taking by students on campuses" (Day, 1997, 3). In this sense, the commitment of the SASCO branch at UWC to consensual relations is consistent with its position nationally.

Some students on the campus challenged the views of SASCO and the SRC. In a call for "free education" the Student League and the Socialist Students' Action Committee (SSAC) which are socialist student organisations at UWC, put forward their position on financial exclusions. This position fundamentally challenged the ideological direction of the SRC. As one group among many students, however, support for their ideas and the call for "free education" dwindled in the context of the dominant neo-liberal forces and the emergence of a new culture of payment.

While students were shifting their conception of transformation and re-aligning their relations to the university administration, workers represented by NEHAWU seemed to consistently follow through their past relations with the university administration. Workers became far more vocal than students did. The national context may have been a key contributing factor. During this time the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was involved in mass action and had deadlocked around the Basic Conditions of Employment Act which possibly spurred on workers at UWC, as part of the public sector unions generally affected by down sizing, to challenge any sign of rationalisation.

The union was challenging rationalisation at UWC. At UWC a committee of Deans agreed that the closure of the Theology faculty and its integration into a department of Biblical Studies was an option. It was therefore proposals of this nature that NEHAWU was responding to. For the first time in many years NEHAWU released media statements to the university community conveying its views on transformation at UWC. In one pamphlet NEHAWU argued that

> Management was clear that it would be getting an increase this year and that they would not be prepared to sacrifice their salary increases. It must be noted that, despite the existence of the Broad Transformation Forum and the claims of transparency, the workers still do not know what the salary packages of our management is. Secret payrolls still exist! *(NEHAWU organisational pamphlet, 16 July 1997).

As NEHAWU remained vocal and continued with a confrontational relationship to the University management, it started raising questions to other stakeholders with whom it had positive relations even during the 1990s. In one pamphlet NEHAWU publicly voiced its concerns around the silence of other stakeholders on the campus with respect to the rationalisation process.

According to NEHAWU, "the silence from academics and students does not help. Stop talking about this in your departments and corridors. Let us begin the dialogue and debates that took place on this campus previously." *(NEHAWU organisational pamphlet, 18 August 1997).

Contestation expressed outside of the BTF contributed towards creating an enabling environment through re-aligning the relations between the most vocal stakeholders and fomenting the new hegemonic project. The process of contestation outside the BTF allowed SASCO in particular, as the dominant student organisation, to link up with the concerns of students and, in so doing, create an enabling environment for new relations to emerge at UWC. The process has not taken the same form among workers, as NEHAWU remained in opposition to the university management, given the severe impact of rationalisation upon the lives of its members. In this way the conception of a gradualist approach to the development of co-determinist relations, became as envisaged by Cloete *et al.* (1995), a reality at UWC.

It is significant that the issues of transformation first emerged outside the BTF and not within the BTF. This is an indication of the inability of the BTF to address fundamental questions of transformation such as the university budget and wage increases for non-academic staff. The fact that the issue of the wage increase was eventually decided upon by the BTF, was an indication of the political strength of the non-statutory bodies at that time.

What the experience of the BTF in practice illustrates is that governance transformation is a process of contestation between bodies that wield formal power, namely, the statutory bodies and bodies that wield informal power, namely, the non-statutory bodies. Formal power cannot be automatically predetermined through a legislative process and remains open to being challenged if the bodies that wield informal power muster sufficient political will to do so.

Conclusion

The case of the BTF at UWC, as a forum grappling with issues of governance transformation, has shown that the process of governance transformation is indeed complex. It is essentially a process in which social forces strive to impress their interests upon institutional arrangements.

The case of the BTF at UWC shows how even though national legislation is in place, different views of institutional arrangements may continue to persist at an institutional level. Therefore, while the legislation may have defined the importance of the BTF as an advisory body, the BTF at UWC continued to grapple with defining its powers, as stakeholders themselves grappled with their relations to government, each another and the institutional statutory bodies. What was revealed during the process of contestation over the role of the BTF, is that the process can challenge the boundaries of the legislative framework to the point of becoming the highest decision making or revolutionary body, as illustrated during the process of wage increases for non-academic staff.

There are clearly no simplistic answers to the process of governance transformation. What the case study reveals is that the process is contested and the outcome of the process is largely informed by the alignment of social forces within a specific historical conjuncture. The paper has also highlighted the neo-liberal content of the new hegemonic project as expressed at UWC and through the process of contestation inside and outside the BTF. Given the political orientation of the governance transformation process at UWC, it is unlikely that co-operative governance will bring about real transformation at UWC or within higher education.

Furthermore, the validity of the notion of 'co-operative governance' is also questionable. If co-operative governance is unlikely to lead to real transformation at UWC, what is the validity of the notion of co-operative governance? The protagonists of co-operative governance promise the realisation of both 'competing and complementary interests'. If this notion were at all valid, why have all the competing interests at UWC not become dominant? The opposition voice of NEHAWU and the lingering contestation among students illustrates that the non-statutory stakeholders were not completely convinced that their 'competing interests' would be accommodated within the co-operative governance model.

The case study essentially questions whether the co-operative governance is capable of bringing about real transformation at UWC or within higher education. If this is the case, the question facing the higher education sector in South Africa is:

> What could the alternative forms of governance be and how can these new forms be created within a period in which the mass movement has suffered a political retreat?

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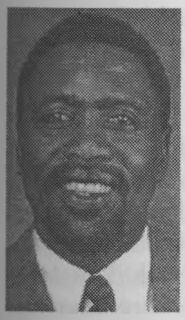
Note

*All Interviews are available from the author of this article.

Confronting Change in a Globalising Society: The Case of the University of Pretoria

Sibusiso Vil-Nkomo



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Abstract

This article addresses and examines the critical changes that are being experienced by South African higher education institutions currently. From isolation to global participation, South Africa must plan from the successes and failures of other nations. The University of Pretoria is used as a case study to understand the complexities of change while also confronted with the urgency to be innovative and competitive nationally as well as internationally.

South African institutions of higher learning have implicitly been in crisis since the very inception of a system of education based on separate development for blacks and whites. This system, largely rejected by black students, was implemented in institutions which were poorly located, had less resources and were intended to educate black students who would serve in the bantustans and the so called self governing states.

The democratic elections of 1994 promised hope for a better and equitable education for all South Africans. Before the end of the first five years of democratisation, it was apparent that the structural features of an unequal system of education had become very deeply rooted in South Africa's institutions of higher learning. Black universities are still under resourced it terms of infrastructure, human capital, technology and financial resources, while formerly white institutions, enjoy the best resources. As a result, a significant number of students perceive the dawn of democracy as an opportunity for them to enter institutions formerly reserved for white South Africans. The English speaking Universities were the first to open up to black students. The Afrikaans Universities followed especially after 1994. The unanticipated consequence of desegregation has been the loss of a critical number of excellent students by historically black universities. It is important to note though, that well into the foreseeable future, the majority of black students in higher education will continue to graduate from historically black universities. Those black students with a choice are applying in growing numbers to formerly all white institutions with much higher perceived levels of stability and academic excellence.

The new millennium thus places major challenges on South Africa's higher education institutions. South Africa's universities must strive to accelerate the production of a highly qualified labour pool that can make significant contributions to this country's development challenges while strategically positioning themselves in a newly emerging but highly volatile first world environment loosely called globalisation. It has become imperative that this country's human capital become proficient in the effective and efficient delivery of public services, engage in world class scientific research, and be poised as a catalyst for regional and continental development while confronted with first world international competition.

Critical questions arise as to whether South Africa has so thoroughly institutionalised not only apartheid or even "statist" structures and embedded ways of thinking that transforming the core of its educational system to significantly advance and improve its majority human capital will prove far more intractable that at first believed. Using Woodson's (1990) question, as advanced in his book The Mis-Education of the Negro, are South Africans still using the back entrance after the front entrance has supposedly been open since 1994? Are they making major break throughs in advancing educational and scientific developments relevant to this country's needs while, at the same time, meeting international marketplace requirements for quality and relevance?

South Africa is currently experimenting with numerous approaches from countries such as Australia, the United Kingdom, the United States and Germany that can hopefully address this country's educational needs. These include, for example, outcomes based approaches, liberal arts education, the practical approach that places an emphasis on case studies and less emphasis on theory. In search of new approaches and desperate to develop South Africa's disparate human capital, the country has witnessed the proliferation of numerous international colleges and universities that offer a variety of educational and training programmes to South Africa's citizens. South African institutions of higher learning are also collaborating with universities in the northern hemisphere in order develop their programmes and justify their existence. The jury is out as to whether many of these programmes are relevant and provide a competitive education that will place South Africa among the nations that has a rich and globally sought after labour pool. Will the different experiments culminate in approaches that will result in best practices for human capital development in the new millennium for South Africa and other developing countries, or not?

At face value, South Africa seems to have the resources and infrastructure to meet its educational development challenges. There are 36 institutions of higher learning in South Africa that are dependent on tax payer contributions and a significant number of international colleges and universities that offer educational programmes to students. The challenges that confront the newly democratising Republic of South Africa are the following:

- Defining precisely what the actual human resources are to meet the challenges; and to determine precisely the actual human resources available;
- Balancing sufficiently and precisely the human resources needs with the available financial resources.

- Placing educational policy at the top of the governing agenda;
- Defining the content and quality of education required, and matching it with the development challenges;
- Making the right policy choices and trade-offs in order to advance core literacies and world class scientific advancement;
- Rationalising South Africa's institutions of higher learning to meet local demand and to meet international demand in a number of recognised centres of excellence in the country;
- Identifying each institution's comparative advantage in the market place of higher education, then leveraging this advantage to the hilt;
- Acknowledging South Africa's role both on the African continent and in a globally competitive environment;

The ability to meet these challenges will be determined on the basis of this country's overall illiteracy rate, the urgency to prioritise human capital investment and development, the deep rooted character of poverty which denies the majority of the population options for advancement, and the desire for South Africa to be a continental and internationally competitive player. Appropriate research on these questions will allow analysts to determine South Africa's preparedness to provide a rigorous and a relevant education to its population.

As South Africa contemplates the future of its institutions of higher learning, it is mandatory that these countries take lessons from other African nations as to why decline occurred in their universities. Such institutions include the University of Dar-Salaam in Tanzania, the University of Ibadan in Nigeria, the University of Zambia, Makerere University in Uganda etc. These institutions held their own in the 1970s and the early 1980s but subsequently found themselves confronted with major crises for survival and international competitiveness in the middle 1980's into the 1990s. To rebuild credibility these once famous and excellent institutions of higher learning demand major investments in infrastructure and human resources.

The case of the University of Ibadan, in Nigeria, dramatises the crisis of higher education in a country that is otherwise well endowed with natural resources like oil and human capital. The study undertaken by Soyode (1998) on the University of Ibadan and other Nigerian universities, for the African Economic Consortium disturbingly concludes that:

> The underfunding of universities generally has been the cause of prolonged disagreement between government and ASUU (Academic Staff Union of Universities). It is the belief of ASUU, and rightly too, that qualitative education cannot be provided where there are no basic facilities and infrastructure for that purpose and where the remunerations of lecturers are [a] mere pittance. As a result of the poor conditions of service, there has been a great exodus of lecturers to the private sector, to foreign countries or to government for political appointment.

Similar developments exist in South Africa's higher education sector, although not yet at a crisis stage like in Nigeria and other African countries. Such difficulties raise serious policy considerations as to whether higher education can be affordable for most African countries.

Deteriorating national economies have also precipitated the demise of excellent African Universities. Again the case of an oil rich country like Nigeria serves as an excellent example for many African states. Soyode succinctly points out the negative impact of an economic collapse on higher education,

> It needs to be emphasised that education materials (laboratory equipment, computers, books, etc.) in Nigeria are largely imported. Because of the downturn in the economy, the value of the Naira also fell steadily over the period. The dollar value of the grants, clearly shows a decrease in the federal government fund allocation to the University of Ibadan ... The funding problem facing the Nigerian universities has therefore induced a number of policies inimical to the educational progress of the country ... (*Ibid.*).

It is at this point that higher education becomes a privilege for a few that can afford it. In a number of fields of study, in South Africa, important textbooks continue to be imported at a much higher cost for the students. Moreover, copyright laws make it impossible to provide the students some of the imported books at a lower cost. The prohibition is stated as follows: "No part of this book may be reproduced or utilised in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by any information storage and retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publisher" (Chabal & Daloz, 1999). Restrictions of this kind have serious implications for a society that has high poverty and illiteracy rates like South Africa.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the developments taking place at the University of Pretoria in the context of a changing society that is emerging from international isolation and confronting the challenges outlined so far. The analysis will explore how a South African university is capitalising on the country's relatively smooth transition to a democracy.

The global challenge

The debate around the existence of African universities must be understood in the context of the globalisation of knowledge. African states, at independence, inherited institutions of higher learning that had been integrated into the educational systems of the respective colonial powers. To a large extent the destiny of these institutions had been predetermined at the time of independence. According to Mkandawire (Undated):

> In many ways African universities, for all the joyous celebration at their birth, were born in chains. This is true of both those born in the colonial and post-colonial eras. In the post-colonial period, one set of chains was created by the dominant perceptions of the new authorities of what were the imperatives and exigencies of nation building and development. These perceptions acted on two levels ñ both of which were to have enormous implications for the development of universities and research capacities. The first level was technocratic. It assigned to universities the role of producing the "manpower" necessary for the indigenisation of the administrative functions of the state. Given the low levels of the technical bases of the economy and the poor economic performance of most African countries, and therefore the low levels of demand for skilled labour

> force, such targets were relatively easy to meet. In most countries universities have more than fulfilled this task, leading to an identity crisis and a sense of purposelessness, at least in the eyes of those that pull the purse strings. The sense of superfluity of university education has been buttressed by the presence of large numbers of expatriates that come along with aid programmes and has been fanned on by tendentious studies by these very experts suggesting that the rate of return in higher education is so low that it may be advisable in some cases not to invest anything in tertiary education (4).

These observations demonstrate the globalisation of knowledge and have serious lessons for South African institutions of higher learning, which are attempting to compete on the international scene.

The 1994 democratic elections of South Africa opened up opportunities for this country's institutions of higher learning. A number of international challenges and opportunities were created. These include the participation of South Africa in bilateral and multilateral organisations, international trade agreements, faculty and student exchange programmes, etc. The country's institutions of higher education have been, as a result, faced with the challenge to expand and improve the quality of education. This also meant that higher education institutions had to confront several strategic questions such as:

- Are South African universities in a state of readiness to make significant contributions to the generation of relevant knowledge?
- Are South African institutions stable enough to attract international students and scholars who can compete with South Africans in their own institutions?
- Are South African universities strategically located and clearly specialised to make them globally competitive?
- Is the resourcing of South African institutions adequate as well as predictable to make them generate appropriate research and talent that is critical for modern societies?
- Do South African institutions of higher learning possess the infrastructure that is so critical to sustainability and global competitiveness?

Central to addressing these challenges is the development of an inventory of the capacity of South African institutions. Underlying the above is whether South African institutions of higher learning have begun to identify their respective niche areas. Their reputations and survival depends on the contributions they will make in the generation and development of usable knowledge and research, fully accepted and recognised by other international institutions of higher learning. Thus equal and mutually beneficial collaborative working relations can be developed between South African institutions and their international competitors. This is, however, dependent on these institutions developing a comparative advantage for themselves. If they do not, a dependency relationship develops showing, as Woodson (1990) concluded, that

> History shows that it does not matter who is in power ... those who have not learned to do for themselves and have to depend solely on others never obtain any more rights or privileges in the end than they had in the beginning (186).

Thus the collaboration of institutions of higher learning must be based on the non-zero-sum-game.

Woodson(1990) further articulates the challenge of our deeply rooted apartheid legacy by concluding that,

> When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his "proper place" and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary (xiii).

This suggests an urgent need for South Africans to unlock their minds and begin to confront the world with strategically defined approaches in their higher education system. This is important for South African institutions to prevent them from going the same route of decline experienced by one-time renowned African universities referred to earlier. To be competitive in the global educational market, academic institutions must be relevant in order to open up opportunities for collaboration with international counterparts. The new millennium seems unsympathetic to the idea of handouts but rewards mutually beneficial collaboration to carve new approaches to human development and advancement.

The competitive positioning of nations and countries for the new millennium is witness to these trends. The creation of strategic blocs like the European Union demonstrates collaboration. The world pays its reparations and quickly transforms into a competitive market place for ideas, knowledge and skills, with the best institutions of higher learning gaining the most recognition and acceptance. In other words, the world moves forward on the basis of short, not long-term memory.

Globalisation and paradigm shifts

In the past five years we have been engaged in the democratisation of South African society. Simultaneously, academic institutions have been pursuing ways to transform themselves into relevant knowledge providers for the fledgling South African democracy. However, while a number of institutions of higher learning in South Africa are focusing mainly on a search for a "new" paradigm to comply with the new internal democratic dispensation, the globalisation of higher education continues unabated.

The critical challenge is whether modern societies can create national paradigms to the exclusion of the globalisation process. This is particularly important because South Africa is integrated into the world system through the following:

- Participating in multilateral and bilateral organisations;
- Receiving of donor assistance funds and grants;
- Competing for trade opportunities globally;
- Upholding international law and standards;
- Participating in international scientific councils; and
- Paying membership dues to international organisations like the United Nations.

South Africa's higher education institutions are compelled to compete at the global level in the production of knowledge and skills. The participation of some of South Africa's institutions in international initiatives like the Knowledge Exchange Learners Programme (KELP), the implementation of Tele-education and website learning signify the globalisation of education. Such paradigm shifts in institutions of higher learning in South Africa must build in the understanding that human capital development must allow competitive participation in the global market of knowledge. It suffices to conclude that:

> A growing number of developing countries (of which South Africa has elements of) are benefiting from this increased dispersion of economic activity, while countries with initial conditions that make them less suited to take advantage of the opportunities presented by globalisation are at risk, of becoming further marginalised ... (United Nations 1991, 1).

Indeed, a large percentage of South Africa's population tends to be trapped in the latter category identified in theis. Thus, the transformation and reform of institutions of higher learning and their carving "new" paradigms must to a great extent meet the challenges of a fledgling democracy while simultaneously confronting the globalisation of knowledge and skills.

The question is whether pre-occupation with parochial demands is a formula for a nation's success or failure in the new millennium? In the 1900s it was international comparisons which served as benchmarks of success.

The case of the University of Pretoria

The University of Pretoria was founded in 1908 as an English medium institution and become predominantly Afrikaans in 1932. Thereafter, its history indicates an unequivocal (and unapologetic) focus on the provision of an education to largely white Afrikaans speaking people. The University developed outstanding physical facilities like laboratories and infrastructure, yet its teaching staff, management and student population was not diversified to represent the population of South Africa as a whole. The democratisation of South Africa now challenges this institution to provide the same excellent education to a diversified South African student population. The challenge to be internationally recognised also confronts this institution after many years of isolation.

Transforming the University of Pretoria requires that certain fundamentals must remain intact to ensure continuity in the provision of an education to a broader and diversified student population. Closely associated with the fundamentals is identification and definition of the core business of the university in a changing society. In addition, magnets of excellence must be established that becomes the positive stimulus for overall change within the University of Pretoria.

In the past five years the University of Pretoria has been working towards meeting the challenges of a society attempting to break from its past. The institution has been relatively stable and has learnt from other South African institutions how to bring about change without the core business of education being interrupted. The

University of Pretoria continues to be faced with the following:

- Creating space for systematic change;
- Balancing change with stability;
- Maintaining a balance between transformation and continuity of education;
- Avoiding disruptive conflict as the institution attempts to diversify and introduce a language policy which is acceptable to all;
- Distinguishing between transformation and precipitous change;
- Transforming and at the same time minimising fatigue from the staff;
- Identifying the structural features that impede change; and
- Educating the staff about the changes confronting higher education in South Africa.

Several critical challenges remain unanswered. Firstly, the student population is diversifying at a very rapid rate in terms of race and gender, yet the teaching staff is lagging behind. The latter is due to the fact that the University is unable to attract and retain black teaching staff. Black teaching staff are quite simply in short supply. The cost of attracting them is high and the University cannot compete with government and private sector salaries. The persistence of a negative perception about the institution, in particular the language issue, also affects the attraction of black teaching staff. And yet, major educational developments continue whilst black staff remain in short supply.

Secondly, most University departments have not been able to clearly define their role in community service, yet the vision of the institution places a major emphasis on this aspect. Some departments still define community service to mean serving only the traditional sectors they have always served. In modern Universities, community service is viewed as an important component in the development of institutional relevance in higher learning. According to Perold (1998) community service programmes offer the following benefits to universities,

- Bridges the gap between communities and higher institutions;
- Provides mechanisms whereby higher education institutions can contribute to society through the application of knowledge and skills of faculty;
- Positively changes perceptions about higher education institutions;
- Improves current curricula;
- Provides opportunities for research, focused on problems facing the community;
- Provides new sources of funding for higher education (59–60).

These are important considerations for some of the departments at the University of Pretoria.

Finally, successful universities in the world also attract a significant number of international students. Because of the isolation of the University of Pretoria, this institution is only beginning to attract some international students. Major challenges face the University in attracting students from African countries and Asia as well. Some departments are still comfortable establishing student exchange programmes only with Europe. It is critical to underscore that the presence of a diversified international student population must be viewed as bringing about healthy competition

among students, exposure of domestic students to international issues, and creating international linkages for the university that globalise the institution.

As the University of Pretoria has confronted the challenges identified, it has rapidly established magnets of excellence. One of the visible millennium magnets of excellence identified and developed by the University of Pretoria is telematic education and web-based learning. Telematic education "refers to the way in which effective and efficient flexible teaching/learning environments have been created ... Modern communication and information technologies (telematics) are skilfully combined into flexible educational delivery systems" (Du Plessis).

According to Du Plessis (1998), telematic education is advanced through

- An outcomes-based approach;
- Interactive text;
- Modular design;
- Graphic support;
- Practical examples;
- Learning activities;
- Assignments; and
- Self-assessment.

Such an approach has placed the University of Pretoria at the cutting edge of "Microsoft Universities" expected to emerge in the new millennium on a global scale. Developments of this kind now make it possible to rapidly share best practices and the international transfer of knowledge and skills to students, researchers and academics.

Strategic collaborations represent excellent points of departure. Because of scarce resources emphasis is now placed on the creation of "collaboratories" in order to achieve meaningful and visible outcomes. By collaboratory it is meant the mutual benefit and equal exchange of knowledge and ideas. No one party ends up in a dependency situation. Where one party is at a disadvantage, the relationship becomes that of uplifting rather than that of perpetuating further dependency. The collaboration between the University of Pretoria and the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) also promises major success that is premised on making South Africa globally competitive. According to Malherbe (2000) the experimental model which involves the University Of Pretoria and the CSIR views the challenges as follows:

> The world is currently embroiled in what can be termed an escalating global economic struggle. In this new dynamic, wealth creation, economic growth and development are essential national goals. In order to survive, countries must be able to compete globally. Both the Science and Technology White Paper and other major policy initiatives underwrite the importance of competitiveness for economic growth (5).

Collaboration enhances research capacity to achieve these goals.

Empirical evidence demonstrates that increasing research in an institution of higher learning signifies excellence. According to Ofir (1998),

> Excellent and relevant research is crucial to the role the University of Pretoria has to play in developing expertise and high-level human resources to contribute to national, regional and international development. During the past few years the University has been recognised as one of the best research universities in the country. In 1998 it was for the first time at the top of the list of 36 South African universities and technikons during the annual evaluation by the Department of Education of the most recent (1997) research outputs of quality (3).

Innovation and creativity are the hallmarks of excellence. The University of Pretoria has taken the challenge and risk to provide unique and internationally competitive programmes in the fields of policy science and public management as well as business science. On the former, the introduction of a focus at the Masters level in policy management and economics has been recognised by the private sector, culminating in the establishment of a GENSEC Endowed Chair in Policy Management and Economics. This development brings to the study of policy quantitative applications, like the understanding of the value of money in the policy process and quantitative measurement in the formulation and implementation of policies. Furthermore, simulations and surveillance are important techniques for the study of policy, and, linking students with policy think tanks is an important contribution to outcomes-based education. The Woodrow Wilson Foundation, at Princeton, New Jersey in the USA has viewed the policy programme and approach at the University Pretoria as an outstanding model.

The development of the first course-work Doctor of Philosophy in Public Affairs in South Africa is also a magnet of excellence. Public Affairs suggest breaking the limited boundaries of public management and public administration. It allows a multidisciplinary approach to education. It compels candidates to develop extensive and broad knowledge of public affairs by acquiring knowledge and skills in economics, policy, science and technology as well as other critical areas that impact on the public.

The establishment of the Gordon Institute of Business Science (GIBS) at the University of Pretoria is another magnet of excellence. GIBS has identified the following key areas for performance improvement:

- Competitive shift from a local to a global orientation.
- Shift from a managerial to an entrepreneurial capability.
- Tools and skills for managing risk and uncertainty.
- Wide ranging impact of technology.
- Analytical and financial rigour.
- Speed of response to changing market conditions.
- Organisational transformation and restructuring.
- Values and basic business disciplines.

As the private sector reacts to spatial changes and mobility, the Gordon Institute's location in Illovo, Johannesburg becomes strategic. This Institute promise to break the boundaries of tuition by employing the best business minds nationally and internationally. This will hopefully place South Africa's private sector on a global competitive level.

To be at the cutting edge of change in higher learning in South Africa suggests taking risks, setting the trend, placing an emphasis on excellence and pursuing what does not exist in your immediate environment. Globalisation is also a major determinant of innovation within academic institutions. It must also be acknowledged that different institutions of higher learning in South Africa must identify what their comparative advantage is in the open market for developing a competitive workforce for the new millennium. Only this emerging workforce can emancipate the country from a human development structure based on near total dependence on exploiting natural resources with abundant cheap (and uneducated) labour, while expropriating added value opportunities to the minority population, or exporting them to other more developed countries.

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Special Issue of Perspectives in Education on The Social, Cultural, and Political Dimensions of Mathematics and Science Education

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Christine Keitel, Freie Universiteit, Berlin, Germany

Over the course of the past decade, international consensus has emerged with respect to the need to rethink the goals of mathematics and science education. Education in mathematics and science can and should link teaching and learning to forms of self- and social-empowerment. Thus, the re-form of mathematics and science education must involve changes in the design of curricular materials and course content selection, the processes associated with teaching and learning, teacher education, student assessment, as well as our view of research and development Traditional notions of curriculum seek to appropriate children—and adults—to take part in life as it is today, thus ignoring the reality of rapid social, cultural, and political change. Such an orientation perpetuates dominating ideological discourses, thereby enabling educational systems to function as a political means to maintain and appropriate knowledge and power.

In this Special Issue of *Perspectives in Education*, we encourage prospective authors to investigate the interrelationships among mathematics and science education, educational policies, and socio-cultural contexts. In recent years, mathematics and science educators have begun to adopt critical and postmodern perspectives, which enable an education in mathematics and science to be related to the contextual realities and the lived experiences of the learner. The totality of an education in mathematics and science is equally as much oriented toward social justice, critical democracy, empowerment, action taking, and investing in our future's intellectual capacity as it is about constructing conceptual understandings of the world. Thus, we seek manuscripts that explore mathematics and science education from these multiple perspectives. Authors may wish to focus upon, but are not limited to, such questions as:

- How do social, cultural, and political dimensions influence mathematics or science teaching and learning? Who benefits from and whose interests are served by mathematics and science education? How can mathematics and science education be contextualised to global, regional, and local social needs? How can teachers on all levels of the educational system minimise disadvantages and increase opportunities to learn?

- What curricular innovations and/or teaching-learning processes have the potential to enhance mathematical and/or scientific literacy?

- How can we prepare teachers to orient their teaching in mathematics and/or science toward social justice, critical democracy, empowerment, and action taking?

- How can the integration of information technologies provide learners and citizens with equitable access to mathematical and/or scientific knowledge? How can technology empower learners and citizens to cope with mathematical and scientific knowledge production, distribution, and use?

- How can mathematics and science educators offer resistance to ideological notions such as 'mathematical or scientific ability,' 'individual diffences,' and 'talented and gifted,' which are often collective constructions based on classist, racist, and sexist and convictions? Can such constructions be used sensibly and for what purposes?

- How can an education in mathematics and science enhance social awareness and political responsibility?

- How can mathematics and science educators support non-formal and non-academic adult and community-based education oriented toward democratisation and political action taking?

Information for Contributors

Manuscripts for the Special Issue on "Social, Cultural, and Political Dimensions of Mathematics and Science Education" should be submitted to:

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Please refer to *Perspectives in Education* Volume 18, Number 1 or 2 for the guidelines for submission of manuscripts. Manuscripts for this Special Issue must be received by 15 December 2000. The initial review process will be completed by 15 February 2001. Following the initial review, authors of manuscripts to be considered further for publication must be able to complete the revision process by 15 January 2001.

Additional inquiries regarding this Special Issue may be directed to William C. Kyle, Jr. at bkyle@jinx.umsl.edu; telephone, 314-516-5375; or facsimile, 314-516-7025.

The Phila Portia Ndwandwe Research Award
R2000.00
First-time Researchers and Authors

The individual authors who contributed to the book, *Changing Curriculum: Studies on Outcomes Based Education in South Africa* (Juta, 1999) have kindly agreed to donate all royalties from this publication to a Research Award for new authors in education.

The Phila Portia Ndwandwe Research Award is intended to encourage young researchers to publish their first academic paper in an accredited journal, like *Perspectives in Education (PIE).*

Phila Portia Ndwandwe was a student at the University of Durban-Westville who mysteriously disappeared to join the ANC in exile as a courageous leader of Umkhonto we Sizwe from 1983 to 1988. In 1988 she was abducted by the security police and brutally murdered at a farm in Elandskop (outside Pietermaritzburg) in Kwa-Zulu Natal after she refused to co-operate with the apartheid security forces. The Phila Portia Ndwandwe Research Award honors this dedicated student and courageous fighter who gave up a promising professional career to work for the freedom we now enjoy in post-apartheid South Africa.

To qualify for this Award, applicants should send a detailed abstract of the proposed research paper to, The Editor, *Perspectives in Education*, School of Educational Studies, University of Durban-Westville, Private Bag X54001, Durban, 4000, no later than 30 December 2000. The abstract (no more than 2–3 pages) should describe the main research questions, the methodology, relevant literature and key findings. In addition, the applicant should indicate the accredited journal to which the author will (or has) submit the article for publication.

An independent panel of five researchers will decide on the most promising abstract submitted for the Award. Criteria include: innovation in research design, relevance to social context, and the practicality of the research project, i.e., feasibility.

Applicants should be those who will publish for the first time in an accredited journal. While *PIE* will be proud to publish the winning paper, any other accredited journal will be acceptable. The research needs to be broadly related to an education topic given the focus of the journal.

I would like to thank the contributing authors of *Changing Curriculum: Studies on Outcomes Based Education* in South Africa for the deployment of book royalties to the Phila Portia Ndwandwe Research Award: Pam Christie; Andre Kraak; Roger Deacon; Ben Parker; Cliff Malcolm; Jane Skinner; Jean Baxen; Crain Soudien; Haroon Mahomed; Mahomed Rasool; Ken Harley; Ian Bellis; Emilia Potenza; Mareka Monyokolo and Meg Pahad.

Thank you
Jonathan D. Jansen
Editor-in-Chief, *Perspectives in Education*

Part Two
Conversations About Research

Foreword

Rubby Dhunpath



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The role of the intellectual in modern society has inspired many debates in recent times. In Edward Said's (1997) *Representations of the Intellectual*, he alludes to Russell Jacoby's characterisation of the intellectual as the "incorrigibly independent soul answering to no one". Jacoby laments the decline of the intellectual, a "missing generation" replaced by "buttoned up, impossible to understand classroom technicians, hired by committees, anxious to please various patrons and agencies, bristling with academic credentials and a social authority that does not promote debate but establishes reputations and intimidates nonexperts" (Said, 1997, 72). This is a very gloomy picture, but is it an appropriate one or can we offer a more accurate diagnosis for the alleged absence of the intellectual in modern society? And what of the role of universities in higher education? At a time when teachers have lost their monopoly on knowledge, and knowledge production is no longer the preserve of the academic tribe, can the university continue to retain its exclusive entitlement as credential certifying agency with the power to "encrust the individual know-how with public validity and thus with an exchange value"? (Bauman, 1997, 23). At a time when access to information technologies makes the virtual university a reality, and the growth of local knowledges results in a frenzy of modularisation and semesterisation, should universities allow themselves to be transformed into instrumental agencies of the corporate world? Should intellectuals and institutions of higher learning be responsive to the prevailing market forces, pandering to the unpredictable mutations in civil society, or should they defend and disseminate "timeless values"? Indeed, is the notion of "timeless values" in itself an expensive anachronism? Is the scope of the university over-valued in its potential to transform society, or is its scope confined to, at best, providing the necessary milieu for the production, reproduction, and reflection of social hierarchies and the preservation of cultural and political elites? What has become of the fearless marginalised critic who once asked embarrassing questions?

The answers to these questions remain nebulous, but what is clear, is that the archetypal image of the nineteen century, metropolitan university as a bastion of high culture, resisting the onslaught of modernity, is rapidly being eroded, as universities compete with other specialised organisations for their survival. Consequently, the

latest buzzword on the horizon of clichés is "transformation", a word savoured by some and scorned by others. In this volume, *Conversations about Research* takes a multi-perspectival glimpse at some contemporary debates around transformation in higher education. As has become characteristic of this column, the submissions are presented, as far as possible, without edit, capturing the authentic lenses and preserving the original texture of voices. In a world where intellectual capital is increasingly being commodified and institutionalised, *Conversations about Research* is happy to be able to allow writers a space to construct their own reflexive biographies without censure.

Xolela Mangcu (in this issue), a senior policy analyst at the Centre for Policy Studies, extends the debate around intellectual capital, focusing on Black Intellectual Empowerment as the missing link in South Africaís Evolving Democracy. In a provocative paper, which is expected to arouse some contestation and debate, Xolela attempts to answer the question: where are the Black intellectuals? Xolela alludes to the continuing preponderance of white intellectuals in the academia, policy institutes, and the media. He asserts that it is "through their hold on the commanding heights of knowledge and culture that white intellectuals shape the nationís public perceptions, values and morality". Declaring that African people are "passive beneficiaries" and not "active interlocutors" of the South African constitution system, he calls for a move "beyond the pristine, abstract, formalistic" conception of the constitution, to make it a living document that articulates the aspirations of the majority. Alluding to Cornell West's typology of Black Intellectuals, he argues for "race transcending prophets" to "participate in the mainstream system without being beholden by it", suggesting that Black intellectuals ought to take some responsibility for their own absence in the mainstream media and other institutional structures, such as urban planning.

One way of curbing "anti-intellectualism" in South Africa, argues Xolela, is to cultivate an "intellectual cadre" by reproducing the kinds of intellectual environments that bred personalities such as Thabo Mbeki, Chris Hani and John Dube. Schools are therefore, a critical piece of the institutional puzzle in intellectual development. But this needs to be done in the context of a holistic institutional infrastructure, incorporating families, school, University and government. How this may be practicably achieved remains a dilemma, particularly since governments have the sinister reputation of plundering the nation's intelligentsia, relegating would be intellectuals to conformity and mediocrity. The final link in Xolela's critique is a caution to those intellectuals' conferencing and publishing around the concept of the African Renaissance, to ensure that it does not degenerate into an elitist discourse.

Fhulu Nekhwevha (in this issue) attempts to situate education transformation in South Africa within the broader parameters of the African Renaissance project, which puts African cultural revival at the centre of the educational reconstruction debate. Arguing that curriculum reform initiatives such as outcomes based education have failed to integrate African culture within the schooling system, Fhulu suggests that African intellectuals have an obligation to unearth, rehabilitate and develop the dialectic aspects of our culture which will consequently expose western cultural hegemony in education, masquerading as globalisation. In a critical assessment of education transformation projects in post-colonial Namibia, South Africa and Lesotho, Fhulu argues that transformation discourse in these contexts utilises

an emancipatory rhetoric derived from western educational models. The 'reconstructed' education programmes are therefore, vacuous in that they marginalise African culture, languages, customs and values. Hence, African experiences and cultural capital have failed to influence curriculum content. Challenging the myth that African intellectuals are 'imitators' rather than authentic contributors to the global and scientific heritage, Fhulu suggests that the time has come for African intellectuals to form research teams whose task would be to formulate authentic African conceptual/theoretical frameworks.

The advent of such research teams is perhaps one way of responding to politicians' accusation that academics are 'armchair critics', as Relebohile Moletsane (in this issue) suggests. In her review of the 1999 Kenton Conference which focused on Educational Transformation in the context of Globalisation, Relebohile refers to Elaine Unterhalter's pronouncement regarding the role of education and of educationists in effecting change in a democratic and globalising South Africa. Unterhalter categorises the presenters at the conference as the "globalisation critics" and the "counter-hegemonic theorists", most of whom bemoan the limited social, political and economic transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. Relebohile reports that while the conference generated several papers that highlighted the deleterious impact of globalisation, particularly on Historically Disadvantaged Institutions (HDIs), notably absent from the conference were critical issues such as violence by and against learners, power relations between men and women, locals and immigrants, as well as an absence of serious critique of policy implementation at classroom level.

Devi Sarinjeiveís (in this issue) "Far from the Madding Crowd" is a lucid and thought-provoking reflection on higher education from a Sebokeng point of view. Having warned readers that her reflective piece is not always academic or prose, she goes on to illustrate quite poignantly, the dilemmas of living through changing times when the post-colonial predicament is symptomatic of "ambivalence, confusion, conflict, and compromise". In an emotionally evocative style reminiscent of John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*, Devi recreates images of conflict and contradiction as she tries to make sense of her experiences as an academic caught in the crossfire of "transformation". Acutely critical of the dominance of an instrumental rationality in higher education, the writer alerts us to "acts performed in changing circuits of power, often as grotesque comedies of power".

Issues of power in knowledge production have commanded the attention of feminist researchers, who have consistently highlighted the structural impediments that women researchers have to contend with, particularly since there is a refusal to acknowledge that the "gendered production of knowledge is an immensely political act". In attempting to construct female academic and research trajectories as the focus of her doctoral study, Suchitra Singh (in this issue) is forced to confront her own trajectory as a woman researcher. In the process, she challenges "malestream" research and provides a compelling argument for the dislocation of the autobiographical method from its foundational, epistemological roots in literature, and its relocation to the field of research. This process of "(un)Doing research" she suggests, goes beyond a simple concern with claiming identity or a celebration of voice—it begins to resolve the feminist dilemma of mainstreaming feminist research principles instead of relegating it as an appendage of malestream research.

Close to the hearts of "malestreamers", is the issue of size, and whether it counts. The Commission on Highr Education (CHE) certainly believes that the question of size, and shape, are vital in reconfiguring the higher education system in South Africa. The Size and shape task team was mandated by the CHE to recommend changes to the present landscape of higher education. Having identified the pervasive systemic dysfunction that characterises parts of higher education, the task team proposes a coherent, co-ordinated and integrated national system which embraces important principles, goals and outcomes towards achieving a differentiated national system, with institutions being characterised by both horizontal and vertical differentiation. The task team, mindful of the need to further elaborate on their proposals, extends an invitation to readers of PIE and others, to join this highly contested the debate.

Debates around restructuring of higher education, as alluded by other writers in this issue, is by no means a new phenomenon and certainly not exclusive to South Africa. In our book review: *The Postmodern University? Contested Visions of Higher Education in Society*, Juliet Perumal (in this issue) provides a synoptic overview of the debates that emerged at a colloquium addressing the status and function of universities in the United States and United Kingdom. She then engages in a mini, e-mail colloquium with Rajen Chetty, in which they provide personal reflections of the university in post-apartheid South Africa.

This volume of "*Conversations about Research*" concludes with a letter from a retired educator, Kissoon Behari (in this issue), who adopts a non-secular, cosmic epistemological standpoint that tries to provide a broad theological perspective as to where society has gone fundamentally wrong in its quest for knowledge and enlightenment, and how it can redeem itself.

Finally, to return to the shifting identity of the University. Are there any positive consequences of the death of the traditional university? I think that there is now potential for a refreshing multiplicity of difference and heterogeneity that can transmute the university into a flexible institution with less discrete disciplinary boundaries and specialisms. Smith (1997, 104) alludes to different academics pursuing different knowledges, different teams of researchers combining and recombining to investigate shifting topics, different sorts of students following different courses, and different modes of employment for staff, all of which signal the obsolescence of the old-style intellectual and redefine the university in promising ways.

May I thank you, dear readers, for the steady flow of stimulating contributions to this column, and may I once again invite you to send me your letters and email correspondence for forthcoming issues.

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Black Intellectual Empowerment: The Missing Link in South Africa's Evolving Democracy

Xolela Mangcu



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South Africa's transition to democracy has been framed almost exclusively in terms of political and economic empowerment. Political empowerment came through the ballot box while economic empowerment has been promised through the discourse of black economic empowerment and service delivery. Conspicuously absent in the discourse of empowerment is any reference to black intellectual empowerment. And yet it is those who control the production and distribution of ideas (i.e. intellectual capital) who ultimately give shape to political and economic systems. Said (1994) captures the role of intellectuals in social history best when he says: " There has been no major revolution in modern history without intellectuals; conversely there has been no counterrevolutionary movement without intellectuals. Intellectuals have been the fathers and mothers of movements, and of course sons and daughters, even nephews and nieces" (Said, 1994, 10–11). Addressing himself to the topic of the African Renaissance in South Africa Mamdani (1999) similarly suggests that "every renaissance is first and foremost a re-awakening of thought. That is why the driving force of every renaissance is inevitably the intelligentsia ... intellectuals are central to the process of identity formation ... the locus of identity formation is not just political, it is also cultural and academic" (Mamdani, 1999, 130). MacGregor-Burns (1978) dedicates a chapter of his book, *Leadership*, to examples of intellectual leadership from the French philosophers in the French Revolution to Jefferson and Madison in the formation of the United States constitution, one of the most enduring and innovative constitutional systems in modern history. It is that much more inexplicable that even though intellectuals always occupied an exalted position in black life under apartheid that this should be the time they cannot be found. As President Mbeki has often asked, "Where are the black intellectuals?" Describing the sad state of black intellectual life in the United States, Cornel West (1993) asks a question that may have relevance for us here too: " There has not been a time in the history of black people in this country when the quantity of politicians and intellectuals was so great, yet the quality of both groups has been so low. Just when one would have guessed that black America was flexing its political and intellectual muscles, rigor mortis seems to have set in ... Why hasn't black America produced

intellectuals of the calibre of WEB Du Bois, Anna Cooper, E. Franklin Frazier, Oliver Cox and Ralph Ellison in the past few decades? (West, 1993).

White intellectuals in the major universities, policy institutes and the media provide for the most part South Africa's intellectual leadership. In almost all fields of intellectual enquiry white intellectuals set the agenda. It is through their hold on the commanding heights of knowledge and culture, and this is particularly important in an increasingly knowledge-based global economy, that white intellectuals shape the nationís public perceptions, values and morality. Our entire constitutional order is built on jurisprudence whose culture, language and structures are both literally and figuratively distant from the majority of citizens. There are millions of people in rural areas and townships for whom the Constitution means absolutely nothing without the aid of a lawyer. It is not a document that is organically related to the living language of the African people, as is the case with the United States Constitution for example. While the constitutional system no doubt protects the rights of everybody, African people, in particular, are merely its passive beneficiaries and not its active interlocutors. There is a need therefore to move beyond the pristine, abstract, formalistic conception of the Constitution in the hands of lawyers and judges and make it a truly living document that speaks to the conditions and aspirations of the citizens. This does not mean we should change the Constitution, only that those who interpret it should do so in a manner that is substantively meaningful to most people. We should all dread the day the Constitution is seen merely as a device to protect the privileged sectors of our society—the majority of whom are white. All of our legal scholars and particularly black legal scholars, as judges and academics, should help give a new spirit to our constitutional jurisprudence while also steering clear of populism and the tyranny of the majority. Not only does that require more research on traditional justice systems and customary laws but also a different conception of the legal profession. One practical suggestion would be to encourage black law students to explore academic legal careers as judges or professors—instead of just lining themselves up for cushy jobs in law firms.

A great deal has been made about increasing black presence in the South African media- with a marked shift from the negative reportage that characterised the immediate post-apartheid period. Influential black personalities have important stakes in companies such as Times Media Limited. But ownership is far from enough if it is not accompanied by a determination to bring transformation in the operational leadership, culture and practices of media organisations. Ironically more change has happened in newspapers that have foreign ownership such as the Independent Group, than at black-owned papers. Even though black owners decide the leadership of newspapers, black owners are afraid of being accused of interfering with editorial independence. This shows that even though the subject of this discussion is black intellectual empowerment, skin colour is not enough for progressive transformation. Beyond race we have to look at the agendas of the people who own the media: are they purely personal, business agendas or do they have a specific civic responsibility? Despite these limitations, the existence of black senior executives in major newspapers such as *The Star* in Johannesburg opens up possibilities and opportunities for black intellectuals to project themselves. Black columnists are becoming an increasing presence in mainstream, largely white newspapers. More of course needs to be done to make sure that black journalists break the white monopoly in important and strategic areas such as financial reporting and foreign affairs.

But this also means that more attention should also be given to the training and grooming of a new breed of analytical journalists and columnists. Journalism should not be seen as a stepping stone to some other lucrative career but as a lifelong commitment of public responsibility. One of the most impressive qualities of senior journalists in the United States is that some of them have been in the business for decades and when they talk on a subject they have profoundly historical perspectives. There is also a great deal of synergy between the intellectual and press world with Harvard University's Shorenstein Center on the Press and Public Policy being but one example. The point is that young aspiring journalists should see themselves as part of a potentially influential sector that not only reports but also analyses society. It does not help to boycott what are often dismissed as mainstream white media institutions and self-segregate into a black media that is itself struggling to be heard. For unless black intellectuals can also make interventions in the public policy debate the cultural landscape of popular beliefs, assumptions and stereotypes that inform the political and policy culture will remain under white leadership. Often those debates are in the mainstream of white-owned institutions, and it is time we made our presence felt in the corridors of power.

I said earlier, ideas matter a great deal in the construction of social reality. In his book, Race Matters, West (1993) offers a typography of black intellectuals that resembles what we have here. First there are the intellectuals who survive and prosper by imitating the dominant paradigms of the elite establishments. Second and just as bad are the self-appointed guardians of the revolution. These "express their resentment of the white Academy by reproducing similar hierarchies headed by themselves, within a black context ... their rebellion tends to delimit their literary productivity and sap their intellectual creativity. Hence rhetoric becomes a substitute for analysis, stimulatory rapping a replacement for serious reading, and uncreative publications an expression of existential catharsis" (65). What is needed West (1993) suggests are "race-transcending prophets" (65) who are self-styled and participate in the mainstream system without being beholden to it. Those are the truly independent intellectuals. Clearly then black intellectuals ought to take some of the responsibility for their own absence in the mainstream media. Black intellectuals have to overcome their own inertia and develop relationships with black senior executives and owners in the mainstream media. It takes two to tango.

Universities and policy institutes also play an incredibly strategic role in prefiguring the culture of a society. My own field of urban planning is a classic example of the cultural distortions that take place because of the lack of a diverse institutional base for the training of black urban planners. In the 1980s white urban experts from Wits, Natal, Rhodes and Cape Town universities literally became the think tanks of the black urban social movements of the 1980s. These intellectuals formed service organisations such as Plan-Act, which shaped urban discourse, both during and after local government negotiations. People such as Mark Swilling and Billy Cobbet advised the Soweto Civic Association, and Andrew Boraine the Alexandra Civic Association. Their intellectual leadership of these processes had certain troubling implications. First, they became rare commodities destined for strategic posts as advisors, consultants, and senior officials in the first post-apartheid government. While I would not doubt the goodness of their intentions, I also know that peopleís cultural experiences and world-outlooks determine their policy priorities. It is the rare individual who is willing to have those fundamental assumptions questioned.

In urban scholarship cities are always depicted as the white areas of town. The townships are nothing more than mere aberrations of apartheid with no positive cultural experiences. One distinguished urban planner stated that the townships are "sterile, monotonous, and boring despite attempts to provide variety through design techniques such as convoluted road configurations". You can tell that this person has never spent a Saturday afternoon or evening in a township stadium or shebeen for that matter. Another consequence of white intellectual leadership is that issues of racial and cultural identity are never really part of the urban planning agenda in South Africa. To them black aspirations revolve only around material, service delivery issues. But as West (1993) puts it "people, especially poor and degraded people, are also hungry for identity, meaning and self-worth". South Africa needs to do more to train and develop black planners who can bring those cultural perspectives to bear on the planning process.

The institution dimension of intellectual empowerment

The training of new publicly minded and culturally diverse constitutional scholars, media experts and urban planners that I have been alluding to needs an institutional infrastructure: families, school, communities, universities and government. The family is absolutely critical in the early development of the intellectual. A child who grows up around books and in an environment where educational attainment is appreciated is more likely to develop into an intellectual. What has often put white intellectuals ahead of their black counterparts is that they do not have the same economic pressures as their black counterparts. Whites are thus often free to follow their academic pursuits relatively easier than their black counterparts. Black kids growing up in poor families often have to drop out of school to look for work and assist their parents in educating younger ones. In some cases the dropouts are kids who themselves harbored academic ambitions but find they cannot do so because of the financial pressures of the family. Academia just does not provide the financial means and security that would-be black academics from poor backgrounds would find attractive. Sometimes a child who stays on at university for long is often questioned about when he or she will bring back something to the family. The growth of the black middle class, and the desire of black families to see their children do things they themselves were forbidden from doing will somehow alleviate these constraints. But these constraints will be removed only for a tiny group of people who enjoy the luxuries and wealth of our society. Moreover, even black middle class children will only be interested in pursuing academic pursuits if within their families there is a deep appreciation of the life of the mind. But given the rampant anti-intellectualism in South Africa—especially among middle class people who see themselves as being in the practical world of doing things—it does not necessarily follow that the black middle-class family will necessarily impart intellectual values in their kids. We have to consciously work at it as communities.

Schools are also a critical piece of the institutional puzzle in building an intellectual cadre for South Africa. Some of the best thinkers and leaders of the black liberation movement came from schools with traditions of intellectual scholarship and critical analysis. Even conservative missionary schools could not stop black students who had tasted knowledge to self-organize and develop a critical consciousness. Lovedale College under the authoritarian headmaster Robert Shepherd is an exam-

ple. It is from Lovedale that people like Thabo Mbeki, Zola Skweyiya, Chris Hani, Charles Nqakula, Louis Mtshizana, and Potlako Leballo graduated. Schools like Ohlange, which was started by early ANC President John Dube, has produced many of the people who currently serve in South Africa's cabinet, including Pumzile Mlambo Ngcuka and Thoko Didiza. Marianhill produced Steve Biko and Terror Lekota. Orlando High School produced none other than the dean of black intellectuals Eskiía Mphahlele. The list is endless. The question is what is it about those schools that produced these political and intellectual leaders. In some instances the coming together at one time of gifted children from different backgrounds made for the informal sharing of ideas and values that reinforced whatever individual intellectual interests existed. Sometimes specific individual teachers motivated the students by their own individual achievements and demeanour. When I was in high school Charles Nqakula, who was then a journalist but is now parliamentary counsellor for President Mbeki, organised Winter Schools and invited distinguished black intellectuals such as Neville Alexander. The question is whether we can reproduce, even if in not exactly the same form, those kinds of intellectual environments in our families and our schools. Black intellectuals need to take time to reinvent some of these traditions by being directly involved with their communities—by linking the academy to the streets. In short, by become public intellectuals. Community life is critical in the overall development of intellectuals. Educated role models in the community have an enormous impact on young people. Growing up hearing about the academic achievements of people like DDT Jabavu, ZK Matthews, CHT Lalendle had a tremendous impact on my own intellectual predispositions. As I suggested in the discussion on urban planning, it is important that we undertake new community histories where we uncover our own heroes and role models. We also need to recover the intellectual space that disappeared with the mass mobilisation of the 1980s when students talked about liberation before education. We need to go back to the traditions set by people such as Steve Biko when they started community-based research projects, published books such as *Black Review* and actively encouraged intellectual debates within the community by establishing policy and research institutes such as the Institute for Black Research.

Creating those kinds of intellectual environments would in many ways make the agenda of building an intellectual culture at universities that much easier. Too often university students are not inspired to lead the life of the mind. This could be due to a number of reasons. The absence of an intellectual culture at the community level could be one. Young and old South Africans are caught up in a spiral of endless conspicuous consumption for social reputability. And "since the struggle is substantially a race for reputability on the basis of an invidious comparison, no approach to a definitive attainment is possible," (Veblen, 1994, 32–33). But the lack of interest in intellectual careers could also be due to both perceptual and structural issues within the universities themselves. The perception and the reality are that the knowledge-ideas complex of university professors may appear so impenetrable that black students may not see a role for themselves there. It is truly unconscionable that departments in our premier universities should continue to be controlled and dominated almost exclusively by white intellectuals who are most often opposed to processes of transformation. That provides me with a segue to the role of government.

The role of government in promoting black intellectual leadership is a tricky one because it immediately raises issues of government interference with the independence of civil society institutions. Already a major contributing factor to the depletion of intellectuals in the black community has to do with the role of government as a source of income for many would-be intellectuals. The constant search for deals and contracts and consultancies compromises the independence of black intellectuals and turned them into mere agents in the service of the state. Instead of seeing intellectual individuality we see a great deal of group conformity and mediocrity around popular ideas such as the African Renaissance without critically examining them. The irony of all this is that it reinforces the notion that white intellectuals are the only people interested in and capable of engaging in the culture of democratic discourse. Often the right issues pertaining to the state of our democracy, such as the "two-thirds majority debate" in the last elections, are raised by the wrong people. The "two-thirds majority" debates was for example framed exclusively in terms of what it meant for white society. There was no consideration given to its implications for democratic pluralism within the black community. And yet it is the culture of the majority population that will determine whether we do indeed have a democracy in this country. It is the role of intellectuals, particularly black intellectuals, to raise their voices when that is called for.

However, it is important that black intellectuals do not see themselves as mere critics. All governments need specialised knowledge from their nation's intellectuals, if only to avoid repeating history or reinventing the wheel. In countries such as the United States it is not rare to have intellectuals sometimes working as government advisers or cabinet members. People like John Kenneth Galbraith, Henry Kissinger, Arthur Schlesinger, Madeleine Albright and Robert Reich have moved back and forth between government and their independent intellectual bases. It is therefore very important that there be some kind of synergistic relationship between government and think tanks. One example that comes to mind is the work done by organisations such as the Kennedy School of Government, the Brookings Institution, the American Enterprise Institute in providing independent ideas to different occupants of the White House—sometimes in agreement and sometimes in disagreement with them. While government should not establish or fund think tanks there should be efforts to create statutory think-tanks that are perhaps answerable to parliament. One thinks of organisations such as the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Woodrow Wilson Centre for International Scholars in the United States.

Consideration should also be given to collaborative projects with international research institutions. International collaborative research is also critical in a world that is becoming more and more connected. This is an opportune time for black intellectuals to share their experiences and perspectives with the international community. Already black intellectuals are involved in conferences and publications revolving around the concept of the African Renaissance. However, care should be taken to ensure that the African Renaissance discourse is not mere elite discourse, that it is grounded and informed by the experience of communities. Black intellectuals can be part of the policy research infrastructure needed to make sure that the renaissance is translated from grand vision to public policy. University of Cape Town Vice Chancellor Mamphela Ramphele has repeatedly called on intellectuals to speak out on global inequities and join with worldwide intellectual efforts to com-

bat inequality. One of the most alarming features of the South African transition is the absence of a national anti-poverty program such as the New Deal in 1930s America. Intellectuals should be the ones leading the deliberations on such a strategy. But their silence on poverty and inequality prevents them from even thinking about such ambitious undertakings.

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Education Transformation and the African Renaissance in a Globalising World

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Introduction

This paper is an attempt to situate educational transformation in South Africa within the broader parameters of an African Renaissance project, which puts African cultural revival at the centre of the educational reconstruction debate. It is argued herein that the Outcomes-Based Education system and other educational reconstruction experiments in Southern Africa have failed dismally to integrate African culture within the schooling system. In other words, current African educational policies have been coined along European lines, thus reflecting a culture of apemanship and parrotry any self-respecting African must distance himself/herself from. This indoctrination of African children through alien Western norms and values unrelated to their day-to-day social environment must be nipped in the bud. African education has to be based on a solid cultural foundation and education transformation policies in Southern Africa must tap into our rich African cultural heritage. Suffice to say that in a situation where previous education experiments have ignored, underestimated or sometimes destroyed African culture, African intellectuals have an historic role of unearthing, rehabilitating, and developing these dialectic aspects of our culture which could be of vital importance in the education of the future generations of Africans. A project of this nature will expose the western cultural hegemony in education which masquerade as globalisation for what it is: a neo-liberal cultural and economic programme which serves to dominate, exploit and plunder African societies and resources.

A brief but critical assessment of education transformation projects in post-colonial Namibia, South Africa and Lesotho

Following the defeat of the Apartheid forces, this decade has witnessed serious attempts by Namibians and South Africans alike to reconstruct their societal institutions along democratic lines. While the education site was not exempt from these efforts, primary and secondary documentary sources reveal that the curriculum of

the new educational programmes is lacking an indigenous ingredient, namely, the cultural capital of the African masses. Nevertheless without struggle there is no progress and therefore the African the African cultural renaissance in education will only become reality when educationists and other organic intellectuals embrace the 'pedagogy of hope'—in a word, the struggle for educational transformation continues.

In attempting to unravel the nature and form of socialisation and the norms and values promoted in post-independence Namibia and South Africa, let us review the central policies of both these countries. Article 20 of the Namibian Constitution includes a passage which reads as follows:

> All persons shall have the right to education. Primary education shall be compulsory and the state shall provide reasonable facilities to render effective this right for every resident within Namibia by establishing and maintaining state schools at which primary education will be provided free of charge (MEC, 1993, 3).

These core features of the new Namibian education policy are similar to those adopted in policies of donor agencies such as the UNDP, UNESCO, UNICEF and the World Bank.[1] The major themes of the World Conference on 'Education for All', organised by these donor agencies, were that education is a fundamental right; it is the key to personal and social improvement; and that basic education should therefore be provided to all (World Declaration of Education for All, 1990, 2–4). Except for some trivial differences, it is accurate to consider the educational goal of the new Namibia as a carbon copy of the 'World Conference' resolutions. Against this backdrop, the rhetoric within 'Education for All' in Namibia, as indeed are the World Conference pronouncements, presupposes the acceptance of the 'free enterprise' ideology; the understanding that all members of society should receive basic mass education in order to get acquainted with the workings of the capitalist economic system; the understanding that the state must pay for this basic education; and the acceptance that userfees should be charged for higher education. Taken together, the above points do not make for a democratic society—for only the children from better socio-economic backgrounds will afford higher education resulting in the reproduction of the class structure.

Another aspect that gives the new Namibian education policy a largely Western character is the wholesale import of the British IGSCE curriculum and the use of University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate (ECLES) for its operationalisation. Namibian policy-makers should be conscious of the inseparable bond between culture and education. Despite the rhetoric about efforts to localise the IGSCE curriculum by the syndicate there are problems that cannot be wished away in the programmes which are being paraded. Most of these problems stem from the direct implant of the British educational structure, its logic, and framework to the Namibian situation. Similar trends of imitation are noticeable in South Africa's outcomes ñbased education confirming the fact that neo-liberalism has consolidated its influence in post-apartheid society.

1 UNDP = United Nations Development Programme. UNESCO = United Nations Education, Scientific & Cultural Organisation. UNICEF = United Nations Children's Fund.

Outcomes-Based Education (OBE), according to De Clercq (1997, 157), is a learning strategy which has been hailed for its ability to facilitate equivalence, flexibility and progression across varying learning environments. In her view, the learning outcomes form the backbone for the formal recognition of the equivalence of certifications from differing learning settings and/or institutions. De Clercq's view of OBE processes in South Africa shows that our policy-makers adopted a broader approach that looks at outcomes in a non-behaviouristic manner. This approach, she maintains, has yielded a definition of outcomes broad enough to encompass generic skills and knowledge that have as essential and indispensable components theoretical understanding, skills and knowledge application, and the ability to transfer skills across learning contexts. It is the integration and articulation of those competencies, skills and content, De Clercq argues, which make portability across learning and working contexts possible. She is well aware of some areas within the OBE programme, which needs critical attention. Principal among these is too much emphasis by OBE on training which makes its transferability to the domain of abstract knowledge and complex skills, problematic. Suffice to say that this theoretical knowledge cannot be easily subjected to OBE assessment criteria (De Clercq, 1997, 157).

South African educators such as Mchunu (1998, 2) have also raised concerns about the saturation of the new OBE learning approach, its curriculum content and the pedagogical practices with Western epistemologies to the exclusion of African ones. Mchunu says this amounts to the continued privileging of Western discourses and the further marginalisation of African culture and epistemologies in a situation where the voice of the African majority warranted authentic expression. The hegemony of Western power/knowledge within the European-derived OBE, he maintains, testifies to the fact that whatever changes have occurred in our education remain 'merely spurious, peripheral and cosmetic' (Mchunu, 1998, 2). The view that the new educational approach, OBE, is impregnated by Western epistemologies to the detriment of African ones is linked to the argument that globalisation is Western cultural hegemony in other forms. Nevertheless, Christie (1997, 114–123) challenges the view that global influences are mere impositions on the shape of the curriculum in South Africa.

Christie believes local curriculum strategies can no longer be analysed without relating them to globalisation processes. In her view the globalisation process which has dominated the last three decades in all social spheres including politics, economics and culture is an integral part of modern life. Globalisation, to her, is a multipronged process involving increasing interconnectedness of structure, culture and agency such that a uniform culture is created by means of which past differences among states are minimised. In the educational sphere this implies policy borrowing and standardisation and sharing of educational content between countries. Christie also believes that the high degree of similarity in curriculum and pedagogical approaches is also a result of the active participation of multi-national aid agencies in the conception and execution of education policies in developing countries. For this reason, she maintains, it is necessary that analysis of curriculum transformation in developing countries must take full cognisance of not only the local, but also global influences. This is because local curriculum reconstruction efforts are partly informed by global processes such that any attempt to understand them by an exclusive reference to local factors while ignoring global ones is absurd (*Ibid.*).

In other words, Christie is saying that curriculum constructions in the world today especially those involving an integrated approach to education and training are by and large global processes which are responsible for the local education transformation discourses. However, she does not see these global influences as mere impositions upon local curricula and syllabi owing to the important role played by local agents in adapting the general global curriculum frame to local contexts. For her, global trends alone do not give a sufficient explanation for national education policies. Rather, Christie believes, global education policies provide a framework for policy borrowing and choices. There is, however, a serious flaw in Christie's argument because, in the case of the OBE, a Western educational approach was transplanted into South Africa in its entirety. Whatever flexible adaptations we might have are inconsequential since a truly African learning approach cannot afford to have as foundation component frameworks concocted elsewhere in the world. Echoing this critical view, Dumisane Hlophe wrote:

> Africa has fallen deeply into the liberal-inspired propaganda that 'there is no alternative to globalisation', hence the tendency to seek to position Africa within this process rather than questioning its relevance to Africa. (*City Press*, 1 August 1999).

In the educational sphere the idea that 'globalisation' is beyond reproach is reflected in the continued dominance of Western epistemologies in our schools, colleges, technikons and universities. Hence it will be difficult, if not impossible, for South Africans to transcend the Western value basis upon which OBE stands.

Essentially the point we are making here is that while on the surface the educational reconstruction discourse utilises an emancipatory rhetoric (critical educational rationality in the case of Namibia and Outcomes Based Education for South Africa), the primary aspect of the two education renewal strategies are derived from Western educational models. Under the guise of efforts to globalise education, educational prescriptions from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) have been uncritically incorporated into the new 'reconstructed' education programmes. Consequently the new educational models are wanting in terms of local content. The 'reconstructed' education programmes marginalise African culture, languages, customs and values. Hence African experiences (or cultural capital) and philosophy are minimal, if not non-existent, in the curriculum content. Suffice to say that the type of globalisation and/or hybridisation advanced by these programmes is cultural imperialism at its best. In addition to the global and neo-liberal origin of OBE, the mono-cultural aspect of it serves to promote Western or European culture at the expense of local African culture and language. It has to be noted that a capitalist economic/technological complex is always accompanied by Western values and norms. The implication therefore is that an 'Education for All' and OBE tailored to serve the interest of the capitalist market cannot at the same time promote the interests of African culture. As a result even where globalisation is considered to be some form of hybridisation (expected to yield multiple paradigms) this 'hybrid culture' itself serves to maintain and perpetuate the hegemony of Western culture over African culture which was initially co-opted, then neutralised and destroyed. Since adopting global monocultural paradigms that exclude the African way of life is detrimental to the development of the African in all social spheres, an African Renaissance derived corrective action is needed.

In fact, a recent case study on education in Lesotho which shows that African culture has a lot to offer in as far as education is concerned, represents one major plank in the genesis of the African Renaissance-derived corrective action. In the Lesotho educational transformation study, Moorosi-Molapo contends that despite attempts to infuse indigenous education content into Western education, high drop-out rates and deterioration of education quality still constitute a major headache. As a solution, she proposes an educational strategy with a special focus on community involvement. She justifies this recommendation in the following way:

> ... The Basotho indigenous education focused on unity and good healthy relationship among the people. Good behaviour, obedience, respect, responsibility, positive mental growth and physical fitness were emphasised .... Every adult in the society was supposed to be a teacher and a model of good examples to the young. Specific behaviours which qualified instructors of the highest level of education were observed in their choice. Education was also free at all levels and no dropouts were experienced (Moorosi-Molapo, 1998, 15).

The results of Moorosi-Molapo's Lesotho case study support our view that African education has to be based on a solid cultural foundation and that education transformation policy in Africa must tap on our rich cultural heritage. In a situation where previous education transformation experiments have ignored, underestimated or sometimes destroyed African culture, African intellectuals have a historic role of unearthing, rehabilitating, and developing those dialectic aspects of our culture which could be of vital importance in the education of the future generations of Africans. Such efforts will go a long way into counteracting the effects of the culture of mimicry, mimesis and imitation Ngugi wa Thiongo, amongst others, refer to. This culture of apemanship and parrotry has to be seen for what it is, an attempt to indoctrinate African children through alien Western norms and values unrelated to their day-to-day social environment. For this reason, as mentors of these children, we are tasked with liberating them from the stranglehold of alien Euro-American culture with immediate effect. However, this task will be difficult, if not impossible, if we continue to embrace conceptions that treat education as if it only refers to Western schooling. Our uncritical acceptance of this notion of schooling will as a consequence prevent us from utilising our rich African traditional education experience embedded in those African initiation practices like circumcision which against all odds survived the cultural invasion effects of colonialism. Moorosi-Molapo's case study is thus a clear demonstration that our culture contains rich educative elements that could make a difference in the education of our children. Hence for this educational goal to be a reality and the African Renaissance to be a source of authentic change, a social revolution that transforms the whole fabric of African societies—economic, political, ideological and cultural—is necessary.

African culture as our genesis

The development of a genuine revolutionary transformation in social, economic, political, educational and intellectual domains in Africa has to be rooted on African culture. Culture is the way of life of a people. Viewed in dialectical terms, however, culture is not only composed of the moment of social control as it also embodies the possibility for the dominated to produce ideological and material means to effect

authentic change in society. It is this transformative moment of culture that is central to the self-awareness and self-belief that human beings as agents make history and create culture. African intellectuals are no exception. For this reason it is a historic vocation of African academics and other organic intellectuals not only to challenge the cultural hegemony of the West but also to produce knowledge from an African perspective derived from an authentic culture of our continent.

A more definitive statement on this matter can be found in wa Thiongo's (1986) book, *Decolonising the Mind* , which reads as follows:

> ... the biggest weapon wielded and actually daily unleashed by imperialism against that collective defiance is the cultural bomb. The effects of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their own names, in their language, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland. It makes them want to identify with that which is furthest removed from themselves, for instance, with other people's language rather than their own ...(3).

In a situation as described by wa Thiongo, in which African culture has been completely marginalised, revolutionaries and organic intellectuals advocating for the African Renaissance must concentrate on cultural re-creation and renewal. African organic intellectuals and other revolutionaries are the only agents well positioned to advance such an African Renaissance project whose principal beneficiaries are the African masses, rural or urban. Of course, as African intellectuals we hope the fruits of our praxis will in the end help humanise the rest of humankind ñ but that in strategic terms is only our long-term goal whereas our short to medium term objective is to challenge and ultimately eliminate Western hegemony in cultural, intellectual, social and economic spheres. It is the historic vocation of African intellectuals to reverse the Western cultural invasion process so that the African child could grow up with a healthy identity. The process of 're-Africanisation of minds' (Cabral, 1973, 52) as Amilcar Cabral called it, is the only pedagogical praxis that can negate Western cultural hegemony in Africa. Suffice to say that for the African intellectuals to succeed in their historic task, that of advancing the goals of the African Renaissance project, they need to 'return to the source' (Cabral, 1973, 52) which implies starting from the experience, the culture and traditions of the African masses. This will ensure that the revitalised African culture takes its place, not as dominant or subordinate, amongst other world cultures 'in the framework of universal civilisation' (Cabral, 1973, 52) and 'for the common heritage of humanity' (Cabral, 1973, 51). As indicated by my frequent usage of concepts coined by Cabral, there is continuity in terms of the urgency with which the call for the African Renaissance has been made. It is only the context that differs. Cabral, Muziwakhe Lembede and other African revolutionaries called for the African Renaissance when the whole continent was still engaged in an anti-colonial revolution. But even in those early days these African revolutionaries did not mince their words in calling for the African Renaissance project to be undertaken. For instance Lembede encouraged Africans to 'preserve their own essential character and identity' rather than being imitators of alien ideologies (Lembede, 1945).

Now the context has changed and Africa is no longer a colony of Europe. Nevertheless the scars of the colonialisation process together with the new Western

neo-colonial strategy—what I call the recolonialisation process—make the situation look virtually unchanged. But in the light of the political gains we have achieved, our struggle has to take the form of a cultural and economic revolution. However this revolution cannot take shape without the establishment of an intellectual movement whose pedagogic and organising functions are central to the conduct of such a struggle. Even before the completion of the decolonisation process in Africa, African revolutionary leaders and organic intellectuals had already been conscious of this very fact. In one of their historic meetings they resolved that:

> ... The African philosopher should learn from the traditions, tales, myths and proverbs of his people, so as to draw from them the laws of true African wisdom complementary to other forms of human wisdom and to bring out the specific categories of African thought ... the African philosopher [must] divest himself of a possible inferiority complex, which might prevent him from starting from his African being to judge the foreign contribution" (Minogue and Molloy (eds.), 1974, 228–229).

The above statement represents a call to Africans to base their knowledge production processes on the customs, traditions, and languages of the indigenous people. Such a starting point evolves challenging strategies by the West to marginalise African intellectuals through the tendency to fail to acknowledge, or attempts to minimise, African intellectual and scientific contributions to the world intellectual and scientific heritage.

Western denial of the authenticity of African contributions to world intellectual and scientific heritage: fact or myth?

The first task of revolutionary organic African intellectuals is to expose the lie that African scholars are only imitators rather than authentic contributors to the global intellectual and scientific heritage. However to expose this myth, rigorous research has to be undertaken by the very committed of the African intellectual cadres. We have amongst African scholars a special group of African warriors, such as, B. Davidson, MK. Asante and C. Kamalu, who have already done invaluable exploratory work on the research path we have taken. In their own way, these giants of the African Renaissance have already revealed that the history of African intellectualism and cultural development has been a foundation upon which the Greeks derived their intellectual and scientific capital. In Davidson's (1969) own words:

> ... Yet, even while admiring the ancient Greeks, one may perhaps still wonder how far their 'lack of precedent' really existed in the wake of the high civilisations of antiquity which preceded them. Didn't Herodotus, after all tell us that the names of the gods came to Greece from Egypt? ... The achievements of the ancient Africans... were in one great respect superior. Where, after all, lay the precedent for the social and ideological structures built by the Africans, so various and resilient, so desirable? (37).

In striving to obliterate African history Western scholars attempted to treat Egypt as if it was outside of the African continent. The history of Egypt, around which the world's first civilisation was built, is bound-up with the rest of the African conti-

nent. For instance, the African imprint of Egyptian civilisation include the Ethiopian contribution which has been credited for being one of the main sources of the emergence of Christianity. It was upon the Egyptian civilisation foundation, which contained an authentic African content, that the Greek intellectual and scientific prowess was constructed. On this basis we can conclude that the Greek origin of Western civilisation implies that within such an intellectual and scientific advance is embedded a rich African content. According to Kamalu (1990):

> ... Egyptian civilisation is the earliest history is able to record, and that was Black African in origin, which should surprise no one since Egypt is and always has been in Africa. Diop cites Herodotus, the Greek 'Father of History' as an eyewitness. (3) Recently, Martin Bernal, a European scholar, has come to the conclusion that Ancient Egypt was 'essentially African' and that Egypt was the source of Greek philosophy, mathematics, sciences and art, ... as well as religion. This he supported by the appearance of the first of three very well researched volumes entitled Black Athena, revealing that before the late 18th century the borrowing of Greek wisdom from Egypt was something universally acknowledged and that after this time colonialism and racism had to be justified by denying the Africans civilisation and bringing them down to the level of sub-humans and animals (1).

The lie of European scholars about the authenticity of African scholarship, its denial or lack of acknowledgement of African contributions to the development of classical Greek civilisation must be seen for what they are: an attempt to wipe out African scholarship from the world intellectual and scientific map. The main objective thereof is to justify the now exposed myth that European culture is innately superior to that of Africa for purposes of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and recolonisation camouflaged as globalisation. In order to negate this trend, Asante (1990) recommends that we adopt an Afrocentric method or approach to questions of knowledge. In his classical text entitled Kement: Afrocentricity, he wrote,

> ... In this way we can overthrow the parochialism and provincialism of the Eurocentric approach. The European view is moribund when it comes to looking at the outside world. They cannot truly grasp the significance of a revolutionary idea that would change the European method itself (v–vi) ... Afrocentricity is about investigating an African phenomenon or to view the world from the standpoint of the African ... In fact the Greeks who form the foundation of Eurocentrism are intellectual children of the African ... because Greek scholars were influenced by the Egyptian Kenetic traditions (3–6).

Asante's call for the overthrow of the parochial Eurocentic approach and its replacement by a view from the standpoint of the African can be answered by inter alia the development of African theoretical-cum-conceptual frameworks as a means by which an African Renaissance can be successfully effected.

The need for authentic African conceptual-cum-theoretical frameworks

The time has come for African intellectuals to form research teams whose main task would be to formulate indigenous African conceptual-cum-theoretical frameworks.

Central to this strategy is a call to African scholars entrapped in Eurocentric views to move away from 'academic tourism'. 'Academic tourism' is a concept that describes historical explanation of African experiential reality through the lenses of Western theoretical-cum-conceptual paradigms. In other words, the practice of 'academic tourism' by African scholars reflects a high degree of negativity toward the capacity of African intellectuals to produce their own indigenous frameworks to portray the African reality. This uncritical 'globalisation' rooted on Eurocentrism must stop. African revolutionaries and organic intellectuals must utilise pedagogical strategies to persuade their lost colleagues to return to the African source. Lesson one of this persuasive/educative strategy must of necessity be an exposure of the nature of Eurocentrism that is the reason for authentic African intellectuals to distance themselves from such an explanation of African reality.

To start with, the Eurocentric phenomenon is inextricably linked to colonialism. In essence, Eurocentrism originated as a legitimation tool for European brutality in a historical epoch when Western societies claimed close adherence to democratic values of equality and human freedom. Thus oppression and inequalities brought about by colonial conquest needed a system of ideas to justify them. Eurocentricism therefore emerged in the 19th century as a theoretical explanation whose primary objective was to legitimate colonial exploitation. To do this, as in modernisation theory, European civilisation was hailed as the highest human achievement and the only authentic way of life all societies must emulate. In addition, since this civilisation was seen as an exclusive property of Europe, people of European descent saw themselves as having a historic mission to civilise the rest of humanity. For them colonialism as part of this civilising mission was therefore justifiable. Elsewhere in the paper I alluded to the fact that this argument is false because Greece which provided much of the foundational base of modern scientific and intellectual knowledge the West considers their exclusive property, learnt a lot from Africa through Egypt. I do not intend to repeat such empirical facts. Rather my intention here would be, and on the basis of the dissection of Eurocentricism above, to reiterate my appeal to African intellectuals to seriously reconsider their uncritical use of Western paradigms. Instead they must co-operate with each other to construct African frameworks and explanations of our socio-economic, political, and cultural phenomena starting from the various elements of African traditional knowledge systems, such as, African norms, values, and mores. In a way a group of African scholars (Seepe, 1998; Makgoba, 1997) has already started interrogating Eurocentric perspectives with the view to transform this mind set and to put forward an African position in its stead. Amongst these is MB. Ramose who believes African scholars must expose the lie that Africa is not in a position to participate in activities that enhance human development. Ramose wants us to challenge Western prescriptions on how knowledge should be structured as authentic knowledge theorisers rather than practitioners. This, in his view, will ensure the elimination of imitation and intellectual dependence from African scholarship.

The implication of the above statement is that Africans, long denied the right to name or define their reality, must take up the challenge to create their own structure and framework within which knowledge production will take place. Nevertheless the difficulties created by Western cultural invasion—Ngugi wa Thiongo's bomb—make the construction of authentic African epistemological paradigms a daunting task. Moorosi-Molapo (1998) has illustrated, in a case study on Lesotho education

transformation above, how the effects of this cultural invasion can impede genuine efforts by African policy makers to change the status quo. On a positive note, however, she believes the utilisation of African cultural elements in the process of education transformation can lead to a high success rate and minimal dropouts rates in African schools. In fact, since the 1950s various South African educationists have been involved with Africanisation projects, which laid the foundation for the African renaissance discourse prevalent in our country today.

Education Africanisation experiments and discourses in South Africa

The earliest efforts to utilise African cultural elements in the education of African children in South Africa relied heavily on oral sources—programmes of songs, stories, and games—to counteract the domesticating and indoctrinating effects of Apartheid pedagogy. These Africanisation experiments can be grouped under the broader rubric of the alternative educational movement. The short-lived African National Congress cultural clubs established to provide an alternative to Bantu Education in the 1950s are one such example (Mkatshwa, 1991).

Nevertheless to avoid misunderstandings, it is important to point out that cultural and political resistance of this nature within the education sphere did not only emerge with the advent of Bantu Education in 1950s. Similar resistance patterns could be detected in the broad struggle against colonialism and its concomitant education systems in South Africa. For instance, Elias Wellington Buthelezi established the first alternative education programme in South Africa in the Eastern Cape during the segregationist period in the 1920s. The content of what was taught in Buthelezi's alternative schools indicates that cultural resistance to colonial and apartheid education has a long history. Mkatshwa (1991) characterises the cultural dimension of the resistance against Western education in Buthelezi alternative education experiments as follows:

> ... Buthelezi, who drew thousands away from mission schools, religious and political institutions formed the essence of the curriculum. Lessons were designed to promote African values ... Buthelezi's teachers taught ... that the people must not pray to the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, because they were gods of the white people, but they should pray to the god of Mtirar, or Langalibalele ... and argued that mission schools were imposing alien cultural values and ideologies on African children, divorcing them from traditional beliefs and conditioning them to accept subservient positions in the church dominated system (246).

As in subsequent cultural resistance to colonial and apartheid education experiments, Buthelezi's alternative schools were forced to fold when he was banished from the territory. But his legacy of cultural resistance to Western and other alien educational ideas remains. The praxis of the post-Apartheid Africanisation intellectual, such as Vilakazi (1998) and Seepe (1998), see it as a movement representing the continuation of the legacy of cultural resistance in modern-day South Africa.Vilakazi (1998) believes African scholars are the only agents who, through oral and written sources in addition to knowledge of African culture and languages

could produce an authentic African history (74). Similarly Seepe (1998) is of the view that this alternative perspective will allow Africans to be "subjects of historical experiences rather than objects on the fringes of Europe" (64–65).

The Vilakazi-Seepe position that African culture and experiences must be the foundation upon which interpretations of African reality stand is a carbon copy of Elias Buthelezi's view that African Children be 'taught through a programme of songs, stories and games' and 'lessons' be 'designed to promote African values (in Millar *et al.* 1991, 246). In the same vein, the core argument in this paper is that African knowledge, culture and languages be made the basis upon which an alternative theoretical framework is constructed. Such a perspective will make it possible, as Vilakazi and Seepe have suggested, for Africans to feature as subjects rather than objects of their historical experience. Therefore, it is encouraging to hear the current Minister of Education, Kader Asmal, saying his Ministry 'is less convinced of the merits of copycat tactics' (*The Star*, 29/July 1999). In the same article he elaborated that models of education imported from other countries cannot be replicated in the uniquely different South African situation. Hence he is in favour of a child-centred education which promotes creativity and originality rather than rote learning. Ironically, he also believes that it is on the basis of Outcomes-based Education that competent learners with the ability for critical thinking can be produced. This latter view is in contradiction with the prescriptive aspect of the Western-derived OBE concept whose outcomes are market-tailored. Suffice to say that the contradictions within the Minister of Education's statements explains why current education experiments in our country have so far failed to address the issue of Africanising the curriculum.

Conclusion

As a parting shot, let me reiterate the fact that a revolutionary African Renaissance project will not be complete without a well-structured organisation and a programme of action. Such a revolutionary programme would structure African intellectuals' contest of the social, political, economic, cultural, ideological and educational space which is presently saturated by alien Western ideas. In education, for instance, African intellectuals could engage in the critique of the marginalisation and exclusion of the cultural knowledge and experience of the African majority in the South African Outcomes-Based Education system. OBE is a Western imported educational approach whose Eurocentric content, by excluding indigenous knowledge production processes, will foster a culture of silence amongst the Africans. To reverse this process isolated individual efforts will not do. Because unity is strength, the task of developing authentic indigenous structures of knowledge and African rooted conceptual-cum-theoretical frameworks can only be done within an organisation of organic African intellectuals. In this way an authentic African Renaissance praxis, which will ultimately eliminate Western ideological hegemony and recolonisation practices masquerading as 'globalisation' and 'hybridisation' processes, could be effected within the education domain and other social spheres.

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Far From the Madding Crowd: Higher Education from a Sebokeng Point of View

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Warning:
What follows is not always academic or prose
It is only me making sense of what's in my head.

I remember
the Sebokeng campus of Vista University when I first came here in the early 1990s to teach English. Untill then Sebokeng had been an electronic image, a sixty-second spot, a fraction of the widespread, intermittent upheavals in South Africa that made prime-time news. The unquestioned authority that pervaded the campus was shaken every so often by challenges arising and, for the most part, contained within the township. I remember having to 'phone to find out if it was safe to drive to the campus on the outskirts of the township.

I remember being shown the 'alternative route', a rutted dirt-road (still there and graded now and then), that I was encouraged to use when township marches and the barriers set up by police, to contain them, could become dangerous. Once I did drive into a march, turned the car around and fled back home. The only ones in danger were the marchers that day.

But nothing could keep out the tremors of protest rippling into the campus and shaking the foundations of authority that held on desperately, teeth clenched with ever-growing astonishment, shock and outrage. The struggle could not be pushed back by fence, security or authority that was clearly crumbling to bits. Sebokeng, a campus of prefabs and three new blocks now, is no 'ivory tower'; the waves on waves of protest and continual 'Noes', the rolling mass actions from outside and across the country soon put paid to any such idea in the stony dust of flat-lands stretching into ever-receding sky-lines ...

While the lectures went on
To educate students
For graduation ceremonies ...

I watch
as the transformation process settles into events and turns the world of oppression and inequities upside down. Bristling with all kinds of meanings transformation promised much to those bating their breath. Stephen Watson in the western bottom of the country recalls in his response to Mamphela Ramphele's reflections on academic freedom (*The Sunday Independent*, 22 August 1999): "In 1994 I imagine there must have been many an academic who welcomed the change of government, not least because it promised a new era in which political interference in the universities would become minimal" (1999, 7).

That that is not happening as expected never ceases to take the dewy-eyed aback in spite of all our baggage from the past and the latest wave striking us now. There have been changes, sometimes surface, sometimes deep, sometimes gender, most times race but as the much-disgruntled Watson (1997) writes,

> Yes you can change the race and gender profiles of your staff. But none of this will mean a thing, at least so far as academic freedom goes, if that phrase itself no longer has a substantive meaning ... (7).

In a way he harks back to what Kermode (1990) says about the dismantling of the literary canon by the forces of feminism, Afro-Americanism and deconstruction, particularly. The transformation of the English literature reading lists was intended as well to demolish the existing power structure that determines what is read in classes in universities in South Africa. But the substitute canons that have now been put in place are in fact in Kermode's view "a tacit admission that there is such a thing as a canon" (18). It would appear that it was the contents of the canon that had to be changed not the concept of the 'canon', as such. To Kermode canon busting was not inspired so much by injustice as by a struggle for power....

> While lectures go on
> Change is the game
> As ceremonies double, triple, quadruplify ...

I often feel filled
with incorrect thoughts, bewilderment, befuddlement, angst—and what that tells me about 'me' as democracy becomes, on occasion, hitting back for the lack of meaning, of history, for slights of old. I shout that I, too, was slighted, but silently in the greater up-roar. It is hard to untangle fact from fear, fact from hate.

Educational redress becomes naive (so it seems now) with HBU massification as students strive to equal themselves; lecturers who will not be ignored are run off as time boils over and history is made. I see student power muscling in freedom, shifting its lines, and purifying Hindu baptisms of fire. 'No reconstruction without destruction', boycotts, demonstrations, toyi-toying for rebirth, liberation, salvation drumbeat my skull.

Paranoid, 'Third Forced', I wonder if the furies let loose, like genies once bottled, have to act in that way. Or were they meant to give access for another kind of death-dealing blow to shut down, make lean or merge into one. The new order

clashes with youth; two waves crashing again and again, the one sometimes resistant, but more often bending into itself; the other neither giving quarter nor, in the long run, gaining more than representation over admissions, fees, exams, exclusions, now monumental debt ...

> A dilemma is posed
> What's wrong, what's right
> All a blur or a haze
> As lectures go on
> A week off here, another there
> As graduates ululate ...

I struggle
to keep my meaning, my balance, my grip, as Rian Malan boldly declares:

> The rainbow nation has turned out to be an advertising gimmick; the last vestiges of euphoria have evaporated. Instead of falling into each other's arms now that it is permissible, we discover we do not like each other much (quoted by Malala, 1999, 17).

Yes, we have had cathartic displays of unity, maybe victory-deep when Amabokoboko beat New Zealand, when Bafana Bafana won the African cup. Yesterdays run deep in todays and, most probably, will in tomorrows; some only make day-trips to today, day after day. Alienation, fear, hatred, frustration—of all types, with no place to hide. And elsewhere you look a great deal of prostrating, mea culpas and a few fixed labels to silence comment.

I try
to make sense of alternatives—a logic, a sense; while Femi Kuti, the Nigerian musician, who won the prestigious Kora award as best male artist this year sings in 'Blackman know yourself':

I see the problem since slave trade end. Blackman never regain consciousness. We get wrong people for government, who forced us to think with colonial sense. Na wrong information scatters your head. You regret your culture for Western sense, bringing shame to yourself and your continent. Blackman today don lose himself ... (Dube, 1999, 10).

A New World is struggling to be; the timing is off; it is high time, but too fast, too soon after over three hundred years, the last forty-six the worst. It is tangled in the 'ornamental' where appearance, the visible, however tenuous, count. It rushes to meet an image, commerce-ruled world. But the visual spectacle now merchandised is for Maake (1997),

> set by European appearance—slimness, light complexion, long hair and a grin. Appearance for any appointment to office is also defined by European standards, where a suit and tie (in the tropical sun) give advantage over any person clad in African traditional dress. If these aspects seem to be superficial one only has to look at the length that Africans go to in bedecking themselves so that they look like Europeans (28).

Maake skims the surface, the symptoms that's all—of ambivalence, confusion, conflict, compromise, the postcolonial predicament. Spivak (1993) explains the dilemma as the ramifying consequences of western colonialism which to the new order in South Africa, in search of itself, is like walking in mud. She writes:

> In the historical frame of exploration, colonization, decolonization - what is being effectively reclaimed is a series of regulative political concepts, supposedly authoritative narrative of the production of which was written elsewhere, in the social formations of Western Europe. They are thus being reclaimed, indeed, claimed, as concept-metaphors for which no historically adequate referent may be advanced from postcolonial space. This does not make the claims less urgent (48).

Political concepts such as 'democracy', 'nationalism' and 'Africanism', which fuel change in South Africa, are themselves colonially implicated. In this line of thinking they are themselves part of the imperialistic conceptual bunker in which we are all entrapped. Like the radical theories we all wish to use Young (1990) says they have

> been implicated in the long history of European colonialism—and, above all, the extent to which [they] continue to determine both the institutional conditions of knowledge as well as the terms of contemporary institutional practices—practices which extend beyond the limits of the academic institution (viii).

> While lectures on this go on and on
> Slipping over more than into minds
> Intent on graduation ceremonies

I am told
the lectures going on are irrelevant, no good in the market, not countable, not visually clear. I weep for all those years before, my meaning, my sense, my reason to be as I feel a gaping hole in me grow with—'restructuring', 'right-sizing', 'rationalising', 'redeploying', *et al.* Shape up or be put out on my head while a new wave of 'civilisers' from Australia, Europe, where else? take over the class.

I worry about the fewer students in class, and the graduates walking the streets or receiving more scrolls in ululating graduation ceremonies. Still riding the first wave another wave rushes in—overseas reform, being 'civilised' again. I am told again and again to prove my relevance, my reason to be as big business scatters all in its wake. Africa, Africa, the profits, the gain!

I am torn between redress and economic gain, then told it's the same. As I try to make one meaning, another is made.'OBE-ed', 'NQF-ed', 'SAQA-ed', acronymed silly for my own and economic good. And yet that word 'training' makes me see visions of the past - 'drawers of water' and 'hewers of wood', Gradgrinding and Skinnering, demonstrable skills. Nel and van der Westhuizen (1998) call the official discourse "another master narrative" to replace the "previous master's voice" (6). For survival as the skilfully fittest will students have to be run through conveyor belts, a series of quality controls before being thrust out to win?

I must say
I learn fast, new technologies, the language of instrumental rationality, the visual, the measureable, new scales of quality and efficiency. I am told different is fine but same is the game. Science, technology and commerce override languages and the social and human sciences. The National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE 1996) states that,

> language development on the part of students entails achieving both a firm command of English for academic and professional purposes, while allowing space for intellectual expression in other national, continental and world languages, exploring the richness of multilingualism (section 6.2).

The students at Sebokeng, like most second-language users of the language struggle with English, to read it and write it, in academic prose. I have a sneaking suspicion that their understanding when listening or reading is random, one word here, a string of words there, which they lump together to make some kind of 'sense'. Festile (1999) says that students are translating English into the mother-tongue, the mother-tongue into English which is "time-consuming and takes away focus .... Much of the time allocated is used trying to make sense of the questions that are written in a language that most of them have not mastered" (13).

Local businesses, as Antoinette Joubert, a colleague from the Afrikaans Department learnt, require a 'bare bones' type of English for customer service, for writing faxes and memos. And yet many of our students are still unemployed; it would seem that economic problems have less to do with the classroom than global (a.k.a. western) and Third World state economics and politics which manifest in sustained high unemployment, for example (Carnoy and Samoff, 1990) ...

> Yet the lectures go on
> As students chase paper
> At graduation ceremonies

I am told
as have thousands of others that there is something wrong with me if I don't fit into the new—here and abroad. Students who cannot find work are unfit too; those, who can, come back to us to collect more of the papers they already have. They have been told that they are at fault and so their eyes are filled with

> images of Hollywood's famous representations of a hyper-real land of opportunity where the individual striving for glorious success is at odds with his (and not her) personal circumstances, rather than pressing external realities (Nel & Van der Westhuizen 1998, 6).

The idea of university education that aims to advance knowledge and develop depth and breadth of understanding is also being shelved, but mainly in countries like us. Dowling (1998) from the University of Transkei says that what is "worrying about the utilitarian approach is the apparent narrowness of its view of knowledge" (4). As I co-ordinate OBE modules and programmes, I have to ensure they are broken down into portable competency skills, discrete performance chunks.

Learning comes down to exact procedures, practices and lists of operating principles, all meant to produce the cooperative multinational team-worker for the twenty-first century.

Independent knowledge makings is not forgotten, mistake me not, but forced together with objectives that can be seen and weighed; it creates

> a kind of *Alice in Wonderland* world in which people ultimately begin to nod blithely at the inevitability of incompatible events—a world in which educators cease to try to make sense of their environment for themselves as professionals or for their students (Darling-Hammond 1993, 756).

The whirligig spins on but I am still able to see that "the changing terms of life in South Africa are ... the local working out of what are seismic movements within a western culture that has become global" (Morphet, 1999, 18).

Teaching in Sebokeng has given me a chance for a particular kind of encounter, to perceive contours and textures as surfaces of meaning lying deep. I have experienced a mix of feelings, some even shocking to me, as I note acts performed in changing circuits of power, often as grotesque comedies of power.

My students quite often struggle to understand when I talk about senses and feelings. But there are moments I know when I reach deep within to "an interior flowering" (Morphet, 1999, 18). But in the visual spectacle and image-controlled world of today the interior life is slipping us by. The way of living outside and inside oneself is losing its unquestioned authority. What we are beginning to experience instead of the cultivation of mind and feelings are skills and management. Communication, which very often fails as we listen to words and not the person, and externality rule. Another wave is progressing—not something something something already slouching in Jozi but something is struggling to open its widely shut eyes.

I try to ride the wave and find a place for my 'me'. Living on the edge the adrenalin flows as we are reinvented again. Why do we struggle to see deep and clear through surfaces covering what we dread to see. I try to find meanings behind meanings slop-fed en masse. To make my own meanings, to tear open the masks. "We live in the world, [but] we live first in our minds" (O'Connor, 1999, 9).

> As graduation ceremonies
> And lectures and songs
> Heard more often than not
> Go on ... go on ...
> To drive out chimeras
> And make us prevail

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Educational Transformation in the Context of Globalisation: A Reflection on the 1999 Kenton Educational Association Conference

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Politicians and government officials have often accused academics and the general public in South Africa of being 'armchair critics' of post-apartheid educational policies and practices. Being critical of what the government has or has not done seems to have become everybody's pastime. However, according to officials, very few critics are willing and able to come up with concrete strategies aimed at addressing the identified shortfalls. In summing up and reflecting on the 1999 Kenton Education Association (KEA) conference, Elaine Unterhalter argued that the ëmood, modes and metaphors' communicated and utilised by papers read at this year's gathering were no different. According to her, the majority of papers indicated feelings of disillusionment with the government and the perceived reneging on promises of democratic transformation and a better life for all after 1994. Most of the presentations by KEA delegates gathered at Salt Rock Hotel in KwaZulu-Natal from 30–31 October 1999, argued Unterhalter, pointed to the limited social, political and economic transformation in post-apartheid South Africa.

What was heartening to witness after this damning pronouncement by Unterhalter regarding the role of education and of educationists in effecting change in a democratic and globalising South Africa, were the indignant denials by those present and their immediate relocation in social activism and transformative interventionist roles. But what led Unterhalter to these conclusions? What major issues did delegates raise in their presentations in this year's conference?

The theme for the 1999 KEA conference, "Education and Globalisation" and the resultant presentations revived an age-old question, "Should the goal of education be to serve national and international economic needs"? In response to this question, the presentations could be divided into two categories. Firstly, the majority of papers were by those referred to by Unterhalter as 'Globalisation Critics'. These tended to highlight the negative and hegemonic impacts of globalisation on the state and, in particular, on higher education institutions in South Africa.

Secondly, a few presentations fell into what can be called "counter-hegemonic activist" proposals. While the theorists here suggested frameworks for counter-hegemonic educational policies and practices, the activists presented case studies of local efforts by institutions, organisations and individuals to deliver education programmes based on democratic principles and ideals enshrined in our Constitution. I review a sample of themes and issues that emerged from this year's KEA Conference deliberations.

Some emerging themes

Most presentations seemed to suggest that instead of responding to needs for skills aimed at profit in business and industry, education should rather concentrate on the individual and democratic educational needs of learners and communities. Various themes emerging from these illustrate this point.

The effects of globalisation on South Africa and other developing nations

Echoing criticisms from many sectors, the majority of presentations at the Conference lamented the absence of visible evidence of socio-economic changes in post-apartheid South Africa. As Unterhalter observed in her closing remarks, the papers in this category attributed this to, among other factors, globalisation and the resultant poor economy, as well as the government's reneging on pre-1994 and 1999 election promises. In particular, in her presentation, Susan Meyer spoke about the effects of globalisation on the living standards of the ordinary person. Her conclusions suggested that globalisation has served to maintain and even to exacerbate the inherited socio-economic disparities in the country. As a result, polarisation between the rich and poor both globally as well as within the country has increased.

This was echoed by various other speakers and participants at the conference. For example, one of the keynote speakers, Catherine Odora-Hoppers of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) painted a terrifying picture of the negative effects of globalisation on global and local governance, and consequently on the lives of ordinary people in individual states. Referring to the 'Midas Curse' or the mixed and uncontrollable blessings of globalisation, at least to the ordinary person, Odora-Hoppers warned that even while it is a transformative development force, globalisation tends to do this in uneven ways. For example, the gap between the rich and poor has widened internationally due to global policies regarding finance, currency, trade, employment, social systems, modes of living etc.

Globalisation and the transformation of higher education institutions

The role played by the state in the transformation of higher education came sharply under the spotlight. What became clear from these and other presentations was that tensions seem to exist between the imperatives of globalisation and the need for equity and redress. While the current discourses suggest the need for South African education to compete favourably or equally with other countries, especially in Maths and Science, the state seems unable to pay for such an education.

Globalisation seems to necessitate changes in institutions and the system as a whole that would respond to issues of cost-effectiveness. This is illustrated by the severe budget cuts and the funding formulae, subsidies and rationalisation that are unevenly skewed towards the natural sciences. Instead of addressing inequalities, this again tends to perpetuate the disparities inherited from the apartheid system. Such interventions seem to be geared towards responding to global needs, and less towards redress and equity among individuals and institutions. This impacts negatively on the Historically Disadvantaged Institutions (HDIs), where students are mainly in the social sciences and languages. Reducing funding in these areas also seems counter-productive. For example, if the aim of education is to produce Maths and Science learners who can compete with their counterparts in other parts of the world, would it not make sense to produce teachers that are competent to achieve this in the classroom? As Cassius Lubisi charged at a recent 'National Teacher Education Summit', it is the kinds of teachers we "unleash" on South African children that will determine our global competitiveness.

The reward and incentive systems at universities also seem to exacerbate inequalities in the system. Globalisation seems to have brought with it values such as consumerism, in which the attractiveness of higher wages and rewards in the private and government sectors has led to an exodus of better qualified and experienced black academics from higher education institutions. Again, HDIs seem to bear the brunt of this shift in institutions.

Transformation in the form of rationalisation of higher education institutions is widely touted as a solution to the crisis facing the system, including cost-effectiveness. However, as most speakers agreed, the government, the institutions and the individual staff members in them have not taken steps that are bold and radical enough to effect any substantial and lasting change. To address this, Jonathan Jansen has often called for institutions to move beyond collaborations among individual staff members to actual institutional mergers that would result in rationalisation of resources, facilities and expertise. Who would disagree? As Lundall (1999) and other speakers concurred, there needs to be bold and radical state interventions in order for this to be successful. This is because institutional efforts tend to reflect vested interests of the stakeholders, thereby undermining any efforts aimed at effective institutional and curriculum transformation for redress and equity. On the one hand, it did and still does not make educational or economic sense for the apartheid regime to have established two universities and three technikons in a small city like Durban, for example. On the other, it would not help matters if mergers between or among these institutions were entered into simply because of economic and political reasons. As some presenters suggested (e.g., Angina Parekh and Adam Habib), an effective response to 'global pressures and local crises' would be strategic mergers. Such mergers should be characterised by careful organisational and curriculum planning based on the democratic educational needs of individuals, institutions and communities. The initiative of government to incorporate colleges of education into universities and technikons without strategic planning is an example of mergers that are bound to fail.

Another impact of global initiatives on South African higher education and human resource development is in the area of scholarships provided by foreign and some-

times local funders. For example, in 'helping' South Africa build human resource capacity that would bring her on par with other countries, interventions tend to stress principles of development and progress over those of redress, human rights and democracy. Race (and class and gender) profiles are negatively affected as a result of these post-apartheid policies and globalisation trends. In this regard, Charlton Koen's presentation called for a strategic human resource development programme to inform the provision of scholarships for areas of critical shortage and need in the country.

Globalisation and the need for cost-effectiveness in the provision of higher education have also resulted in a proliferation of entrepreneurial part-time distance education institutions in the country. A few presentations critiqued the role played by private profit-making companies in the provision of higher education in South Africa (e.g., Mahlubi Mabizela). According to the presenters, these have blossomed at the expense of democratic ideals such as access, equity, redress and quality. The linkages of some of these private institutions with some of South Africa's established universities and technikons present another moral dilemma. The entrepreneurial focus of such links and their modes of provision, raise serious questions about their intent and commitment to issues of redress and equity. In addition, many of us are aware of hundreds of students being cheated out of their hard-earned money by some 'fly-by-night' private institutions. This highlights a serious and urgent need for government intervention in developing and enforcing registration and accreditation policies for this sector. As Ngoepe's paper reminded us, the notion of educational standards and quality and the lack of local and international control need to be re-examined in educational research and practice.

Globalisation in relation to educational discourses and practices in Higher Education

As a number of papers suggested, globalisation also impacts negatively on educational transformation, particularly on educational discourses and practices in South Africa's higher education institutions. To illustrate, papers in this category (e.g., Odora-Hopers, Marie Odendaal, and Mashwahle Diphofa), all pondered the tensions between democratic and ethical ideals in education and the need to educate in a global context. What type of graduate, such as future leaders, are produced through curriculum transformation, student development and institutional change?

The silence about the relations between power and knowledge identified by Odora-Hoppers in national and international debates about globalisation and education suggests a possible answer. According to her, efforts to understand such relationships must recognise the fact that power and knowledge are inseparable. Discussions about the latter must include the former. Quoting Foucault (1971, 66), Odora-Hoppers challenged the Conference:

> " [d]iscourses are ... about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where, and with what authority". A question arises from this observation: Is the continuing absence and silence of black academics, especially African women from the KEA conference and other academic debates a manifestation of such power relations? Where are they? What do they have to say? Why are they silent in these and other forums?

In order to address these silences among individual students, teachers, academics, and institutions, we need to develop relevant and sufficiently critical educational theories to inform our policies and practice. Several discourses, both public and academic, seem to suggest that South Africans believe in anything and everything foreign. The cultural icons our children and their parents adore such as the British Queen, American rap artists, movies, and others, indicate a deep-seated adulation of things not South African. Even as our rhetoric celebrates nation building and the African Renaissance, as numerous presentations suggested, our policies and practices suggest differently. Instead, current educational transformation efforts tend to respond to western global demands rather than to local democratic needs. For example, Nekhwevha (1999) spoke on the possible role of the African Renaissance in challenging globalisation tendencies. The complicity of this discourse in educational and social inequality is illustrated by policies and practices that reflect western cultural hegemony that masquerades as globalisation, which we are made to believe, translates into development and progress.

On the academic front, one of Unterhalter's criticisms of the presentations at the conference was that instead of being grounded in contextual issues and challenges, papers tended to analyse foreign and mostly western educational theories. These include positivism, human capital theory, and others. To illustrate, the explanations for the educational performance of matriculation candidates by Raphael de Kadt and Johannes Fedderke and their recommendations for more testing seemed to totally disregard current national and international debates regarding issues of equity and redress in standardised testing. What standards would be used to measure success? What measures would be put in place to ensure structural and curricula equity in the teaching and learning situation so that what is measured in different contexts is based on a similar input? Can similar quality input in all contexts ever be achieved? Giving incentives for science and mathematics teachers as they suggest is likely to lead to further inequity and imbalance in an already unequal education system.

A few papers, however, did criticise educational research and practice in South Africa for its over-reliance on, and its importation of foreign and decontextualised theories of teaching and learning (e.g., Wayne Hugo, Temba Ndlovu, Kholofelo Sedibe, Jane Skinner and Janet Hesketh, John Wallis, and Jacques Zeelen). For example, in their critique of behaviourist theories of learning, Skinner and Hesketh argued against neo-Darwinist theories that attempt to "reduce our understanding of human behaviour to appropriate adaptation to environment ... and omit any reference to human consciousness ... and critical thought". To counter this, they reported on a case study of their own teaching in which they developed and implemented learning outcomes that required independent and critical thought from students.

Themba Ndlovu's paper examined the importation of models of school and teacher development, such as school effectiveness and school improvement theories. For example, he argued that the whole school development (WSD) approach, which relies on an involvement of community in school change, is irrelevant and inappropriate for most South African schools. The notion of 'community' in the west, as espoused in the WSD approach, is understood differently by the theorists who developed such models than the practitioners who are supposed to implement these models in the South African context. Besides, expecting students to succeed in pro-

grammes informed by foreign theories that were developed for a completely different audience seems unrealistic.

Globalisation and its imperatives tend to emphasise information technology over traditional provisions of literacy in the education system. This has a negative impact on issues of access, as the majority of our population cannot afford the preferred technology. This in turn impacts negatively on indigenous knowledge systems, as only western notions of technology and information are emphasised in such a system. Foucault's notion of knowledge and power raises questions regarding what knowledge is of most worth and who decides on such questions. Presentations that examined these questions (e.g., Elda Lyster, and Mastin Prinsloo) pondered the relationships between accepted forms of literacy and the diverse needs for social and academic communication. This has implications for the forms of literacy and knowledge learners should be provided with in the education system. Other presentations looked at the issue of skill development: Are the skills our education system aims to develop, and the programmes we provide characteristic of globalisation trends or of local democratic needs?

Other themes on education and globalisation

Other issues emerging at this year's conference, too numerous to identify and discuss in this paper, but nevertheless important, included

The role of education-work partnerships (e.g., school-university, business school/university);
- Policy development and implementation in the context of globalisation;
Inclusive education in the context of post-apartheid and globalisation policies;
- and
- Curricular and pedagogical responses to globalisation, equity and redress.

- A common thread among these contributions was that any efforts to counter the negative effects of globalisation should involve developing policies and programmes that are informed by principles of democracy as enshrined in our Constitution. To achieve this, bold and radical initiative at the individual, institutional and state levels are needed.

Gaps, silences and contradictions at the conference

Several current issues pertinent to the educational system in South Africa were left unsaid at this year's KEA Conference. For example, one would expect that at this time in our history, the local socio-political contexts in which most education institutions (schools, universities and technikons) operate would form the major focus of the deliberations. Instead, a deafening silence echoed in the conference rooms regarding the reality of school violence by and against learners, as well as by and against educators. Despite Unterhalter's description of South Africa as a relatively violence-free living space, those of us who live here would certainly disagree. Our local or national newspaper and television news are inundated with headlines screaming rape, sexual assaults and harassment, shootings, stabbings, racial clashes, xenophobia, hijackings, robberies and other forms of violent crime. From unsafe

teaching and learning spaces is there any hope for us to compete globally? Why were academics silent about the power relations between girls/women and boys/men, and between locals and immigrants, as well as about possible interventions to counter their negative impacts? What about the psychological impact of the violence that characterises our streets, homes and classrooms? What are we doing do address these problems in our research and practice? Are we silent because our own children are safely tucked away in relatively safe spaces in former Model C and private schools that we chose to yield instead, to the very global imperatives that we were so vociferous in criticising?

Secondly, one would also expect that policy analyses would include serious discussions of the implementation or non-implementation of policies that are currently in the minds of policy researchers and practitioners at the classroom level. These include such government initiatives as the rationalisation and redeployment of teachers, the Culture of Learning, Teaching and Service (COLTS) initiative, the teacher developmental appraisal framework and others. The negative impact of the rationalisation of teacher education colleges on the culture of teaching and learning in those institutions because of low morale among staff, were also among the numerous issues left untouched. The impending incorporation of some of these colleges into universities and technikons, a move that has implications for staffing, curriculum development, student and staff development and many other factors in the host institutions needed to be addressed by such a gathering.

Thirdly, that indigenous knowledge continues to be marginalised even when social and academic discourses include notions of the African Renaissance, needs to be highlighted and addressed. For example, only a few presentations at this year's conference dealt with such issues as language and learning, inclusive and special needs education, anti-racist education and education for social justice. More research needs to be undertaken and academic debate generated to bring these and other knowledges into the educational mainstream. There were simply too few presentations generating innovative interventions needed to effectively address the ongoing crises in education.

The presentations and the general ethos of the Conference were also characterised by several contradictions. While the major thrust of the papers was the examination of possibilities for counter-hegemonic forces against globalisation and related evils, the academic community gathered at Salt Rock continued to marginalise certain forms of knowledge and discourse. Even when we decried the evils of globalisation, presentations continued to use foreign theories to explain them and to suggest 'new' approaches to counter their impact. Explanations that emanate from local contexts are needed if we are serious about truly transforming our educational system.

The second contradiction at the conference is related to the need for academics to 'walk the talk'. Anybody who makes this observation does so at the risk of sounding unpatriotic. After all, did our former President not use the Rugby podium to call for 'nation-building'? However, if we are serious about improving COLTS and teacher professionalism, and the quality of teaching and learning in all educational institutions, and consequently, our global competitiveness, should we not demonstrate this commitment in our own policies and practices? While it may appear obvious to some that we had to cancel or postpone the afternoon sessions to accommo-

date rugby fans, one wonders how we can go back to the media and our educational journals and eloquently argue against teachers who cancel classes for soccer practice or beauty pageants? What motivations would we give them? Is this a case of power relations once again, where the discourses and practices of the powerful and mighty go unchallenged?

Conclusions and implications

Was Unterhalter right? Are we disillusioned and immobilised or is there hope for the future of our education system? What are the challenges and possibilities for the future? What role should academics play in the post-apartheid and globalising South Africa? Whether we agree with Unterhalter's charge that globalisation and post-apartheid policies have rendered us victims with few choices and inclinations to intervene, it is also abundantly clear that things cannot remain unchanged for long. Educators still have the power to make optimum use of the opportunities, expertise and democratic framework we have to develop educational policies and programmes that are both effective and democratic.

Several other factors are working in our favour. For example, our Constitution has been hailed as among the best in the world in terms of such democratic ideals as basic human rights for all, including the right to education. There is also no doubt that some good or at least well-intentioned policies have been developed for transforming our society and the education system. What is lacking are effective implementation strategies and skills at the individual, institutional and state levels.

Other favourable factors include the fact that despite the much-publicised 'brain drain' from our country's institutions, we continue to have expertise in various fields. Individual experts in the different socio-political spheres of our lives are but pieces needed to complete the effective education puzzle. Collaborative efforts by these pieces to build an effective education system are necessary. This means collaboration among experts to develop and implement policies and programmes at all levels. Collaborative policy research, action research, and qualitative research could be undertaken to strategically plan, develop, implement, monitor and evaluate the success of interventions in different educational contexts. In addition, the social activism reminiscent of the pre-1994 era needs to be rekindled among all role players in education. Would such effort and commitment not help prove Unterhalter's charge of a disillusioned and immobilised academic community wrong?

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(un)Doing Research

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In this paper I reflect on the implications of using an autobiographical approach in the design of my doctoral study into the problems facing women academics in research. By opening a window into aspects of my doctoral trajectory, I reveal critical practices in my attempts to '(un)do' research at a historically disadvantaged institution. Through a brief reflection on the framing of the design of my study, I demonstrate how the use of feminist organising principles or feminist 'gaze' initiates a process of destabilising mainstream research.

When I began my doctoral study, my primary intent was to investigate and document the problems that women academics experience in research or knowledge production in the humanities and social sciences. I painstakingly searched for information that would provide substantial evidence to refute the anecdotal arguments of many that women academics were not experiencing any problems in research; arguments that refuse to acknowledge that the gendered production of knowledge is an immensely political act.

It seemed to me almost impossible from the start to embark on a study of this nature without being autobiographical at times. Yet I found myself in a state of denial for many months. Whilst I thought I was preparing the way for my study, what I was really doing was delaying the inevitable soul-searching plunge or 'gaze' into areas of my own life as an academic and researcher, which were particularly violent, painful and problematic.

Although my initial intention was to use a feminist research methodology as a tool to try to tease out some of the issues, which construct female academic and research trajectories, I was constantly troubled by the mental connections that this approach was forcing me to make. I found myself constantly thinking through the connections between feminist theory, feminist practice, feminist politics, feminist activism, feminist research and feminist knowledge. What could all of this possibly mean for the transformation of research in the humanities and social sciences?

My intention in this paper is to not only advocate the use of an autobiographical approach as a celebration of voice, to reveal the lived experiences or capture the everyday world of a woman trying to do research, but to illustrate how this autobiographical, feminist approach begins a process that attempts to destabilise what is commonly referred to as 'malestream' research (Singh, 1998) that has entrenched itself as the mainstream.

I focus in particular on my feminist approach that framed the overall design. Through a brief description of the design of the three main data strands that formed the core of the study, I reveal how my feminist gaze served to frame some of my decisions and actions.

I try to present sufficient exemplars to illustrate this, but am aware that it is beyond the scope of this paper to unpack each of the processes in too much depth. However, I do point to the appropriate literature where more details can be obtained. With that as the context I present only a brief overview of some of the practices, decisions and actions that illustrate and highlight the implications of doing research through a feminist gaze.

What does it actually mean to bring in one's subjectivities, the values, the 'fiction' and the emotions into the domain of research? Casey's (1995, 211) extensive review of narrative research in education provides a rich overview of the kinds of inquiry that might enable researchers to engage with issues of social justice. Her review provides insight into a whole array of significant studies.

Although much has been written at often highly theoretical levels about the shortcomings of mainstream research (see, for instance Barrett & Phillips, 1992), many of the writings float ideas about the possibilities for change stopping short of unpacking what this actually means in terms of research practice? This type of writing serves to only further entrench the theory-practice divide or binarism. More literature is needed that provides concrete exemplars that actually reveal what this translation of theory, in this case, feminist theory means in practice.

This process of shifting and re-viewing, engages a series of questions and critique that address fundamental issues of what constitutes research. What is valid research? How does having an autobiographical gaze assist in beginning to 'undo' or destabilize mainstream research?

My study signals this challenge in two ways that I focus on here. The first being the writing style that I adopt in my dissertation, where I consciously try to move away from the generally accepted formal, distanced, 'scientific' mode of expression, drawing at times from literary repertoires. The second challenge is made through the conscious interweaving of feminist principles and my own subjectivity as one who is a feminist, a researcher and 'other' simultaneously. Let me first attempt to unpack what I mean by my autobiographical approach and feminist 'gaze'.

A feminist 'gaze'

I have always understood feminism to be a political project, developing out of socio-political concerns, about social justice issues, drawing constant attention to the

socio-political context within which women live their lives. It is always about freedom, emancipation, ending oppression and creating a just society. In its emancipatory intent, it constantly foregrounds the importance of critical self-reflection or reflexivity. The discourse of feminism engages the deeply rooted beliefs or myths that cast objectivity, reason, and mind as male, and subjectivity, feeling and nature as female. This division of the emotional and the intellectual casts women as the custodians of the personal, the emotional, the particular and men as the impersonal, the rational, and the general (Keller, 1985).

Despite the apparent tensions within feminism, the one constant is that it is always about struggle and critique. Feminist theory, feminist methodology and feminist politics are so infused, that it is difficult to make distinctions. But most significantly for my purposes, feminist praxis foregrounds themes and practice that fracture mainstream thinking and force their reconstitution or redefinition. This is and has been the basis for successes in feminist research. It is not about adding on or collapsing—it is always about a total redefinition of the situation—completely redefining the landscape.

Feminism advocates thinking that is continually evolving, disrupting theory and practice and bringing them together in new ways. But most importantly, feminist praxis within this context, posits research as being grounded in and guided by feminist values (Singh, 1998).

On being researcher and other

I move my discussion to focus briefly on a few exemplars that reveal what its means to conduct research through a feminist gaze. My discussion draws attention to what was essentially a dynamic process, characteristic of everyday interaction that was partly constitutive of self and society.

With this as my frame of reference, I present a brief critical reflection on aspects of the three strands of data collection used in the study, namely, my participation in the former Centre for Science Development's (CSD) Women in Research (WIR) Project, my conversations with women academics of colour and my own autobiography as a data source.

The women in research project

My doctoral study grew out of the CSD's (1996–1999) audit of women academics and researchers in the Humanities and Social Sciences in South Africa. However, my participation in this audit resonated with and focused a series of issues and concerns that I had personally grappled with during my years as an `apprentice' in academia. My participation was marked by a deep desire to finally be able to do something about all the research related issues that I had found so troublesome over the years. The WIR Project, as it came to be known, was designed to incorporate a research capacity building element for the participants. For the purpose of this paper I reveal some of the general practices that were underpinned by a feminist gaze. A more detailed account of the project can be found in the Women in Research National Report (1999), as well as in Singh and Vithal (1999).

I describe my participation only in so far as it demonstrates what it means to work within feminist organising principles that destabilise 'malestream' research.

Whilst my colleague, Renuka Vithal and I had volunteered and were interested to participate in the study, we grappled with the dilemma of what it meant to be considered institutional representatives? How does our participation give meaning to any notion of democratic process within research projects? While the evolving structures within our former Faculty of Education (now known as the School of Educational Studies) provided the space and opportunity to discuss and legitimate our participation within the faculty, we sought to have some discussions with the intention of securing legitimisation at a university level. We felt it would be appropriate to liaise with the structure concerned with women in the university i.e. the University of Durban-Westville's (UDW) Women's Forum which had until then focused its concerns more strongly on issues of harassment and abuse rather than on research. The politics of participation are acutely played out in forums related to women because of a strong concern with democratic forms of participation and debates about who speaks for whom according to what or whose authority. Our vested interest in this was to continue our participation in the study while securing institutional support, which included the very people we were targeting in the research.

We signalled our interest and participation in the study to the managers of research at UDW through the various committees that we participated in both formally and informally. The tension that we found ourselves managing arises from the difficult interface in inter-institutional projects in the legitimisation of participation between starting from the bottom-up securing grassroots participation versus projects securing support at the top and recruiting participation downwards. These have implications for vested interest and ownership of the research and reasons for participation. Legitimisation of our participation was considered an important concern to us in order to facilitate effective data collection. Clearly, the greater the broad range of women, who were also expected to be participants in the study, and who accepted and agreed with the reasons for such a study, the better the return rates were likely to be, the stronger the claims and their validity.

In the former Faculty of Education, the research committee on which Renuka and I were active members, convened a meeting soon after the CSD workshop of all women researchers and academics in the faculty where it was resolved to formulate a women's group that would serve the following functions: to offer and share research support and staff development opportunities especially in the production of research, including feminist research methodology workshops/seminars; participate in the audit; lobby for changes in policy and participate in the faculty and university decision-making structures. The recognition of the group was tabled at a faculty meeting and accepted. This must be viewed within the context at that time of there being no women at the level of senior lecturer or higher in the faculty and the resignation of at least three senior women academics in the previous five years from the faculty in the face of expressed marginalisation in the faculty. These processes were also not unconnected to my involvement in the university research structures, where I have served on the UDW Research Ethics Committee as an Executive Committee (EXCO) member and Vice-Chair from time to time, and the Inter-Faculty Research Strategic Planning Committee.

The questionnaire, which was produced through a collective of "insiders" to the research process, spanned the broad range of concerns the women brought to the study as indicated by diverse categories that were included. The process involved whole group discussions on the overall framework and structure and smaller, usually institutionally based group work on different parts of the framework that were then collated and integrated into a single document.

In the Faculty of Education I used the formation of the women's research group for focus group discussions as well as to develop those parts of the questionnaire that were our responsibility. In this respect there was a sort of cascade training effect but it also provided critique of the instrument and further questions that we took back to the regional group workshops. Once the first draft questionnaire was produced, I piloted this version with the women in the Faculty of Education.

By most accounts this questionnaire was considered a "good instrument" by other survey research experts who were asked to critique and comment on the instrument, so much so that it was adapted and administered nationally by the CSD.

Any simple idea of posting the questionnaires on obtaining a list of women academics from the university management were given up when we reviewed the quality of the institutional data earlier for another part of the study. We were surprised to realise how inaccurate the university records were.

We developed a plan for administering the questionnaires. To develop a list we began with the telephone directory cross-referenced with the university prospectus that lists staff members (without references to gender) and then called the departmental secretaries to confirm names and numbers. This often raised suspicion and required long explanations.

Before giving out the questionnaires we met with each of the Deans in the then faculties of Commerce, Arts, Law, Theology and Education targeted in the study to inform them about the nature and purpose of the study, to obtain their permission for distributing the questionnaire and securing the help of secretaries, but most important of all their support in calling a meeting of all women researchers and academics in their faculty to be convened by us and the Dean. This process was developed to assist our efforts to maximise returns on a rather long questionnaire, and to meet our ethical concerns and political responsibilities.

We included in each questionnaire the list of women who had participated in producing the questionnaire, a letter explaining the study and an invitation to meetings where we asked the women to bring their completed questionnaires. The agenda of this meeting was indicated as including a discussion about the context and purpose of the study; information about research groups and networks; their participation in the university and faculty research committees, opportunities for funding and any other matters they deemed important. Through these meetings we interacted with approximately 40 women academics in the five faculties. We were struck by many of the women's responses to the questionnaire as an empowering experience. "I felt excited that at last something is happening on campus"; "I attended a meeting by (faculty research committee chair) but didn't find it as inspiring as this"; "Just filling in the questionnaire inspired me to try to do something about my situation here"

and "I feel excited by the initiative but I am afraid that everything will fizzle out once the audit is over". Another strong issue was about representation on committees and strategies for getting women onto university and faculty committees. Many issues were discussed including research funding, impacting on policy, appealing decisions; publications and conference attendance.

We distributed a total of 157 questionnaires to women researchers and academics in 55 departments, units and centres related to the faculties of humanities and social sciences. By the end of the various faculty meetings we had a 40 per cent return rate. We sent one letter out to follow-up on our meeting and to appeal for the return of the questionnaires. Of the 1323 responses nationwide, 74 (50 per cent return rate) were from UDW. This made up one quarter of the 304 KZN responses. This figure represented the highest number of responses for the province from the nine institutions that took part in the study and the third highest in the country. It was not surprising therefore that many of the trends and findings made for the national and provincial data sets apply also to the data for UDW.

Conversations with women academics of colour

Using the network that had developed out of the WIR project, I embarked on the next phase of my study where I extended the survey data that was generated by the audit by exploring ways in which a more qualitative understanding of the concerns, practices and experiences of women researchers of colour could be attained. I refer to this phase of my data collection as the 'conversations' with women researchers of colour from the University of Durban-Westville, the University of Natal and the University of Zululand.

I sought desperately to get behind the statistics, to hear the individual stories of these women academics and researchers of colour conscious of the fact that so few records exist of women's intellectual past and the fact that I have constantly criticised existing social theories and research as being androcentric, reflecting only the situation of men, and rendering women of colour, in particular, invisible or marginal.

I was faced with the task of identifying and defining my sample for further qualitative exploration. Using a range of personal and professional contacts from my feminist engagements, and based on the idea that I should interview one novice researcher and one experienced researcher from each of the three universities in the region, I was able to begin the next phase of the fieldwork. All my feminist work in the academic field had helped me build up a network of contacts among groups and individuals at the specific institutions in the region.

I eventually identified a small number of potential research respondents. My principal aim during this stage of the study was to build a relatively detailed and vivid picture of how women of colour experienced the world of research. My desire to target women of colour in the interviews was motivated by my concern that this was indeed a gap in the WIR project with most of the respondents being white women academics.

I try to reconstruct their experiences, speak about their research trajectories, their own positioning in relation to gender relations in higher education and in the broader social and historical context. Ever conscious of the prevalent paternalistic attitude towards women in interviewing, I confronted the paradigmatic concern with coding answers and presenting limited, dichotomous choices. Apart from a tendency to be condescending toward women, the traditional interview paradigm does not account for gendered differences. As a feminist researcher I have always been concerned with developing ways to circumvent the traditional interviewing paradigm. Like Denzin and Lincoln (1998), I have always felt that interviewing was a masculine paradigm, embedded in a masculine culture and stressing masculine traits, in the process excluding traits such as sensitivity, emotionality and others that are generally accepted as feminine (Gluck and Patai, 1991).

Following in the footsteps of likeminded female researchers (see Reinharz, 1992), I developed a growing reluctance to continue interviewing women as "objects", with little or no regard for them as individuals. Whilst this reluctance stems from moral and ethical issue it has serious destabilising implications for research methodology.

The researcher, according to traditional techniques, should avoid getting involved in a "real" conversation in which s/he answers questions asked by the respondent or provides personal opinions on the matters discussed. One avoids getting "trapped" by shrugging off the relevance of one's opinions.

Of course, my own identity as an academic, a researcher and a feminist enabled me to reject these outdated techniques and engage in a "real" conversation with "give and take" and empathic understanding. I found that the use of language and specific terms was important for creating a 'shared ness of meanings' in which both interviewer and respondent understand the contextual nature of the interview.

I tried to create a context that allowed for the development of a closer relation between respondent, attempting to minimise status differences and doing away with the traditional hierarchical situation in interviewing and myself as interviewer. I was not just an interviewer, I was a co-constructor, showing my human side and expressing my own feelings. I believe that this made the interview more honest, morally sound and reliable because it blurred the traditional parameters of the interview situation. It allowed for a greater degree of freedom to express personal feelings and present a more realistic picture than can be uncovered using traditional interview methods. This unstructured conversation—listening to others, without taking notes at times, or trying to direct the conversation is also important to establish rapport and immerse oneself in the situation, while gathering a store of "tacit knowledge" about the people and the culture being studied. These conversations around the experiences of these women in research provided more depth and greater meaning, enhancing the findings of the survey.

It was much easier to get the women to share their stories with me because they saw me as one of them, one who understood what they were going through, not one who would stand back and judge them. So they did not try to present any facades to me, as has been my experience in other studies I have conducted (Singh, 1995).

My empathetic type of interviewing or dialogue raises methodological concerns because it is a new approach but also one that provides for a greater spectrum of responses and a greater insight into respondents experiences. By attempting to override the hierarchical pitfalls (Reinharz, 1992, 22), this style of interviewing as dialogue encourages respondents to control the sequencing and the language of the interview and also allows them the freedom of open-ended responses (Reinharz, 1992).

Whilst this is the positive aspect of the interview situation, the drawback was that the women had disclosed so much at times that they were no longer confident about revealing their identities, as they were at the outset. To address their concerns I allowed them the opportunity to review the transcripts of their conversations to ensure that I had not violated their right to confidentiality in any way.

The autobiography

This third data set captures critical moments in my own research trajectory. It is written in a strong narrative style, not attempting any chronology but instead foregrounds the jumps from one critical moment to the next, pulling the threads together within the text from one disruption to the next, adopting a style that consciously depicts the disruptions.

This is a highly personalised, revealing practice by which I author and tell my stories about my own lived experience as an academic and researcher. I invite my audience to "relive" the critical moments, traumatic or otherwise, through the specific stories of particular events, sharing in the emotions of joy, frustration, anger and sorrow. To walk in my moccasins is to understand and make sense of my trajectories. Writing about myself relieved me of the problems of speaking for the 'Other,' but instead engaged me as the researcher, who is the sample of one, and who is 'Other'. By being the researcher who is other, dispels the dilemma of writing for the other, or appropriating the experiences of the other. It also removes the disparity between researcher and researched.

However, I also use an autobiographical, confessional, narrative style of writing throughout my dissertation. By constantly interweaving the autobiography, the research process and the personal journey, I tried to constantly challenge the accepted ways of conducting and representing research, destabilising the issues of subjectivity and objectivity, authority and the scientific.

Undoing 'malestream' research

During my years as an academic, I learnt to pass as a researcher by internalising the rules and norms that constitute mainstream research. "Undoing" mainstream research for me has meant having to walk the tightrope between the transformational possibilities offered by my feminist principles and falling into step with the established practice. Argyris (1982) brought considerable attention to this seeming dichotomy when he described the differences between theories-espoused and theories-in-use. The first is comprised of what we think and say about what we do, whereas the latter must be constructed directly from observing our behaviour, from

what we actually do. This reflexivity has to be fore grounded as a critical ingredient in any attempt to challenge mainstream research. The development of such challenges requires that we begin to understand ourselves as part of the problem as well as part of the solution. The pressures to legitimating research in conventional ways must be challenged.

The feminist 'gaze' that framed the doctoral study forced the reconstitution of seemingly disparate threads such as the use of the survey method together with the conversations with women of colour and the autobiography. It also began the process of destabilizing 'representation' by signaling a shift away from the accepted practices of writing research texts.

Conclusion

This paper opens a little window into some of the research practices I engaged in as a result of adopting a feminist gaze that shaped my attitude and behaviour in the field. I have shown how a feminist questioning of my own research identity and subjectivities lead me to question and begin to challenge the 'malestream' identity of research. This approach initiates an engagement with the dynamics of the autobiographical approach to research as well the 'autobiography-as-knowledge' conundrum.

Following Haraway (1991), Lather (1991) and others, I still struggle with the relations between the subject and object, emotions and reason, authority and reflexivity, fact and value. However, the feminist 'gaze' has a long tradition of going against dichotomies and dismissing unproductive myths.

Casting a feminist 'gaze' on research can and does provide the impetus to move beyond simply the writing of one's own history, to becoming something more formidable. I have shown that the use of an autobiographical, feminist approach goes beyond a simple concern with claiming identity, or celebrating voice. By revealing my personal, feminist engagements, I not only claim identity and celebrate voice, all of which 'malestream' researchers would dismiss as 'airy-fairy' feminist jargon, but show how it may possibly begin to resolve the age-old feminist dilemma of mainstreaming feminist organising principles. My fear is that often we tend to pay lip service to these ideals, yet fail to realise them in practice.

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Council on Higher Education: Size and Shape Task Team
Discussion Document
7 April 2000

Introduction

South Africa has demonstrated its capacity to purposefully, energetically and creatively establish a democracy after decades of political strife. South Africa is now presented with a momentous opportunity to firmly establish itself as a developing democracy in Africa by building and consolidating its political transition. Drawing on our location and the positive aspects of our history and experiences, higher education has a critical role to play in contributing to economic and social development, an equitable society and a robust democracy through ensuring excellence and equity in teaching, learning and research.

As a higher education leader has commented:

> Today more than ever before in human history the wealth—or poverty—of nations depends on the quality of higher education. Those with a larger repertoire of skills and a greater capacity for learning can look forward to lifetimes of unprecedented fulfilment. But in the coming decades the poorly educated face little better than the dreary prospects of lives of quiet desperation.

This document sets out some of the ideas that inform the thinking of the CHE's Task Team on the Size and Shape of the higher education system. It has been developed as a means to engage the key constituencies in higher education in a discussion about how to reconfigure the higher education system in South Africa.

The document is also available more widely to other interested parties and the public at large through the Internet.

As you are aware from the earlier communication with you, the Task Team has been charged with the responsibility of producing recommendations about the reconfiguring of the higher education system (now known as the Size and Shape question) by the 30 June 2000.

The Task Team believes that this presents us with an opportunity to make an important intervention in the process of reconfiguring the higher education system. The Task Team has little doubt that the higher education system must play a central role in national, regional and local development and also in the development of the continent. There is a vast potential in the institutions of higher education. We must harness this and collectively build on the many positive aspects and achievements of our institutions thus far.

The Task Team **affirms that it regards the purposes and goals** of higher education, as expressed in the legislation and the White Paper on higher education, to be bind-

ing on the Task Team and consistent with its mandate. The Task Team's work must advance these goals and purposes and endeavour to give practical effect to these.

Systemic dysfunction

The Task Team is however also aware that the pervasive dysfunctionality that characterizes parts of the higher education system reduces its great potential. There is wide agreement about these dysfunctionalities and their implications for cost-effectiveness and efficiency, and also equity.

In this document we do not set these out in great detail but point to the most notable characteristics of such dysfunction and other factors that impact on the system.

These include:

- The very serious decline in the rate of enrolment of new entrants into higher education as a whole. The enrolments predicted by the NCHE have not materialised. Indeed, there has been a dramatic decline in many institu tions. These declines are moreover likely to have crippling effects on the ability of several institutions to continue to fund their activities because of the relationship between enrolments and funding. And the serious decline in the retention rates of students from the first to succeeding years of study has compounded the problem of overall enrolment patterns.
- The extremely poor graduation and yearly pass rates relative to overall student numbers at most institutions
- The problems of funding are exacerbated by the inability of many institu tions to effectively collect student fees with the resultant increases in stu dent debt.
- The largely unregulated growth of the provision of private higher education has had profound effects on the public higher education system.
- The skewed racial and gender distribution of students in the various fields of study and the skewed patterns of distribution of students in the various fields of study (Science, Engineering and Technology, Business and Commerce, Education and the Humanities)
- The extremely poor race and gender distribution (in aggregate numbers and in many disciplines and at different levels) of academic and administrative staff
- The extremely low research outputs of most institutions and the uneven levels of outputs even in those institutions which evince a higher ratio of research outputs relative to other institutions
- The fragile management and administration capacity in many institutions and the persistence of crises in some of these.

The Task Team wishes to stress that its orientation is not to direct its energies at resolving the many real or potential crises, which affect many institutions, some more severely than others. It is to develop recommendations, which will have a long term, and sustaining value and which will hopefully also lead to the resolution of the causes of the crises in the first place.

A coherent, co-ordinated and integrated national system

In approaching its work the Task Team makes the assumption that a coherent, co-ordinated and integrated national higher education system must be achieved over time. Such a system is espoused in the White Paper because the country simply cannot continue to function on the basis of a fragmented and unplanned set of institutional roles.

The national system must respond to the requirements of a society emerging from a long history of structural inequality and underdevelopment. It must respond as best it can to the challenges of social, economic and cultural development and encompass development across a broad range of areas of knowledge. Higher education's primary role is to develop the thinking and intellectual capabilities of our society and through such development to address and resolve the range of economic [including labour market], social, cultural, political and other challenges faced by society as a whole. It must do so at a national, regional and local level and indeed contribute in some measure to the development of the continent.

Moreover, higher education must play a central role in meeting the difficult realities of international competition in an environment of rapid global change, driven, as it is, by momentous changes in information and knowledge production systems.

Important principles, goals and outcomes

The Task Team is mindful of the specific context in which South African higher education institutions have evolved and of their geo-political origins. It is committed to the establishment of a system, which strives to achieve equity, and aspires to excellence as **intrinsic to the achievement of meaningful equity.** It is also committed to achieving vast improvements in the quality of higher education teaching and learning, research, community service and innovation. The Task Team is aware that dramatic improvements must be achieved in regard to the efficiency of the outputs of the system as a whole and that in order for this to happen the areas of dysfunction so pervasive to the system would have to be addressed.

A differentiated national system

A coherent, co-ordinated and integrated national system is not a uniform system. Differentiation in higher education is a characteristic of most national systems of higher education. In the South African context, differentiation has been either along socially unacceptable lines or has been essentially of a horizontal nature.

Differentiation, however, is necessary for a number of reasons. These include the need:

- To enable institutions to find their niches in a way as to enhance their ability to meet national needs and to compete in the higher education environment;
- To provide much greater levels of access to the diverse population of South
- Africa to address the historical barriers which characterized the system under apartheid;

- To increase overall participation levels in higher education in South Africa;
- To provide a diversity of programme offerings to learners across the system;
- To ensure that different methods of teaching, learning and assessment are encouraged in the higher education system;
- To provide for and to encourage diversity in the levels and contents of learning programmes;
- To provide for diversity in the modes of learning available to learners
- To allow for different criteria for admission to the diverse institutions in such a system;
- To provide for flexibility and innovation throughout the system of higher education so that it can be continuously renewed and reinvigorated;
- To produce an educational system whose outcomes are qualitatively higher than the present system in South Africa.

It is the Task Teams belief that the establishment of a variety of institutions, which will meet the diverse needs aforesaid, can achieve such a qualitatively better system.

Institutional types

The set of institutional types at present under consideration by the Task Team seeks a meaningful realisation of higher education goals in relation to equity, quality and cost-effectiveness. This is achieved, by amongst others, increased institutional differentiation, increased and widened access to higher education, improved throughput and success rates and establishing a single co-ordinated higher education system with effective measures countering institutional drift.

Institutional differentiation is achieved by means of differentiation based on the levels of qualifications offered in institutions (vertical differentiation) as well as some measure of differentiation based on the types of qualifications offered at institutions (horizontal differentiation). In addition differentiation is based on a number of qualitative and quantitative institutional characteristics. The latter would include characteristics such as:

- The education and training focus of institutions, i.e. single purpose or multipurpose;
- The sector (i.e. private or public) in which the institution operates;
- The NQF level to which qualifications will be offered;
- The types of qualifications that will be offered and what will be the main emphasis of the curriculum;
- The mix of bachelor and B Tech types of qualifications in institutions ;
- The admission requirements that will be associated with the various types of institutions;
- The minimum full time equivalent (FTE) enrolment levels and, for institutions engaging in post-graduate study, the minimum post-graduate FTE enrolments;
- The minimum FTE enrolments in each of three broad fields of study i.e. science, engineering and technology, commerce and the broad humanities;
- For those institutions engaging in high level research, the minimum percentage of academic staff having doctorates and the minimum annual research output per academic staff member.

The institutional configuration being considered by the Task Team is based in large part on the introduction of a four year first bachelor's degree curriculated in a two plus two structure. Generally, the first two years of the four year first bachelor's degree would provide for the development of required generic and foundation skills and would include some broad discipline and multi-discipline based knowledge. A number of two year curriculum packages are envisaged, from which those learners wishing to exit after two years of study, and those learners wishing to continue with the third and fourth specialisation years of the four year bachelor degree, would have to choose. The curriculum of the two-year associate bachelor's degree for those learners wishing to exit the higher education system after two years would include a strong vocational component.

Regarding higher education, some institutions will offer the two-year qualifications only. Others will offer the two-year qualification as part of a two plus two curriculated four year degree. Yet others would only offer the four-year and higher level qualifications.

Admission requirements will differ amongst the various institutional types. For example, institutions offering the two-year qualification only would have very open admission requirements. Students completing this qualification successfully would, if they desired, be able to transfer to years three and four of institutions offering the four-year bachelors degree only. Similarly, institutions, which offer the four-year bachelor's, and higher degrees would have stricter admission requirements.

Years three and four of the four-year bachelors degree would include a strong emphasis on single discipline and multi-discipline based specialisation including an introduction to elementary forms of investigation and research methodology.

Since admission requirements will differ in accordance with the various types of institutions, the level of involvement in academic development programmes will also differ. Institutions with open or relatively relaxed admission requirements would be funded for extensive involvement in academic development programmes while those with stricter admission requirements would not receive such funding. This represents both a more efficient and a more effective way of dealing with inadequately prepared students.

The broad outlines of the set of institutional types presently being considered by the Task Team are presented in Figure 1.

The Task Team has not, as yet, considered what the desired distribution of numbers of students in higher education should be across the various institutional types.

Each of these institutional types would be established on the basis of specific criteria which include:

- the Missions of any such institutional type together with the outcomes which are envisaged in such a Mission and the ways in which the performance of the institution will be measured relative to its mission
- the admissions requirements to such an institution
- the institutional outputs and qualification levels of such institutions
- the nature of the curriculum

- the characteristics and level of its research outputs including requirements relating to critical mass in respect of the number of academic staff with doctoral degrees and a high level of research output
- the requirements in respect of minimum student numbers and their distribution across the fields of learning
- the qualifications and expertise of staff

It is crucial and essential to regard the work of each type of institution as of equal value. This would mean, for instance, that teaching costs would be calculated in the same way across the system.

Figure 1: Model of Differentiation and Institutional Types

A	B	C	D	E
• Existing technical colleges • Only NQF level 2–4 programmes • Focussed on world of work and supports the Skills Development Act	• Selected technical colleges (say 2 or 3 per region) to offer two year associate bachelor (NQF level 5) based on accreditation by HEQC • Minimum of 50% of students on NQF level 2-4 , with maximum of 50% of students on NQF level 5 • 2 year associate degree offered by franchise from HE institution— i.e. HE institution is responsible for assuring quality • Fairly open admission including RPL and emphasis on academic support • Support Skills Development Act as well as the preparatory years (Associate degree) of the Bachelor's degree	• Four year under graduate multi-purpose teaching institution. Based on accreditation by HEQC awards two year associate bachelor and four year bachelors and B.Tech • Research activities focussed on more effective learning • Where appropriate B.Tech must include experiential learning • Registers students for two year associate degree and for four year bachelors and B Tech • Admission requirements in terms of aggregate score for FETC (Senior Certificate) and emphasis on academic support	• Offers four year bachelors and masters as well as B. Tech and M. Tech based on accreditation by HEQC • May not offer associate degree as exit point—first exit point is four year bachelors or B. Tech • Must admit students who transfer with a bachelors or B. Tech from Institution C to masters or M. Tech study • Limited number of departments (two or three) may be accredited by HEQC to do research and offer Ph.D.s • Research activities commensurate with masters and M Tech studies as well as with limited Ph.D. studies • In comparison to Institution C relatively higher admission requirements in terms of aggregate score for FETC (Senior Certificate)—limited emphasis on academic support	• Offers four year bachelors, masters and Ph.D. based on accreditation by HEQC • Research focused institution commensurate with internationally accepted research standards • May not offer two year associate degree as exit point ñ first exit point is four year bachelors • Must admit masters and M. Tech students on transfer from institution D to Ph.D. studies • In comparison to Institution D higher admission requirements in terms of aggregate score for FETC (Senior Certificate) and no funding provided for academic support

The transition to a new institutional format

The Task Team believes that stringent procedures would have to be developed to evaluate the work of institutions as they presently exist against a set of redefined institutional missions, outcomes and performance measures. It will not be assumed that any institution will automatically qualify to be in one or other category of institution.

The Task Team is equally mindful of the fact that other developmental measures would have to be undertaken to support the transition to the institutional format described above. The Task Team is aware of the need to address the serious capacity constraints that could be impediments to the process of change.

The Task Team would, for instance make a case for the necessary resources for areas such as:

- The enhancement of academic development programmes
- The enhancement of leadership, change management and administrative capacity
- The development of the curriculum in a programme based system
- The enhancement of teaching and learning facilities, including access to information and communication technologies.

The Task Team is sharply aware that it must also argue the case for the resources necessary for the reconfiguring of the system. However, it has to adopt a realistic approach to the question of resources because of the limitations of the present budget for higher education.

Conclusion

The Task Team is mindful that the approach adopted here needs to be elaborated further, especially in certain crucial respects. First, whatever the model of differentiation, such model needs to be considered thoroughly in relation to the existing configuration of higher education institutions. Second, a detailed proposal needs to be developed concerning the possible modalities for bringing into being a new differentiated system.

We cannot avoid the difficult choices and tough decisions that have to be made in the national interest and in the pursuit of a higher education system characterised by the dynamic impulses of quality, excellence and equity. This document therefore seeks to foster meaningful and productive debate about the future of the higher education system and contribute to its long-term reconstruction.

Response to the Task Team of the Council on Higher Education: A Macro-level Perspective

The Discussion Paper on the 'Size and Shape' of Higher Education

Jairam Reddy

The model of 'differentiation' and 'institutional types' proposed by the Task Team may well make a contribution to the reshaping of the current South African Higher Education Sector (HES)—which is dysfunctional in many respects—into an efficient, responsive and high quality system. However, until fundamental aspects of the model are clarified it is difficult to provide a constructive response. The Discussion Document itself makes the point in its conclusion ñ that the model has to be elaborated further in certain crucial aspects; that such a model needs to be considered in relation to the existing configuration of higher education institutions and that detailed implementation procedures need to be developed. It may therefore have been premature to circulate the document for comment in its present form.

This response is made in the light of the lack of information or clarity on several critical issues.

Positive aspects of the proposal include the principle of the introduction of a differentiated higher education system, the four-year degree, the two year associate degree, different admission requirements, funding for academic development and the admirable case it makes for resources to support critical aspects of development in higher education.

The Task Team asserts that it is bound by the goals and purposes of higher education as articulated in the White Paper on Higher Education. However, the proposed differentiated model gives the impression of a technicist approach without a clear underlying conceptual ethos or framework. In particular, there are three crucial areas of concern in this regard. The first is on the issue of redress and equity. The historical legacy of the distortions and inequities which have impacted on the higher education sector need not be debated again, and are comprehensively described in the report of the National Commission on Higher Education and the White Paper on Higher Education. Admittedly, the strategies to deal with equity and redress proposed in these two documents have to be revisited in the light of recent developments. However, there does not appear to be any serious attempt to deal with these issues in the Task Team proposal except to mention that it is committed to equity and the widening of access.

The second is the response of the higher education sector to the pervasive influence of globalisation. Will the universities accept the dominant discourse of the globalisation agenda without critical debate on its consequences—managerialism dominating the organisation of teaching and research; research endeavours applied to the requirements of government or industrial demands; and faculty becoming labourers in the service of the expanding cadre of administrators and technologists. Fees

have increased while government funding per student has decreased. The fields of study that have gained funding are those in techno-science closest to the market; in short, does the global economy function only through the exigencies of the market (Currie & Newson, 1998)? In this regard, observe the recent closure of departments of classics, languages, music, fine art, drama etc in some of our institutions.

The third is the question of institutional autonomy and academic freedom on which the Task Team is stunningly silent given the extent to which these commitments may be potentially compromised by its proposals. It may be expedient to invite an interventionist state to impose rigid differentiation of higher education on institutions but we may pay a heavy price should our democracy ever be imperilled. It is an issue to which the Task Team must give serious appraisal.

Specific problems with the proposed model

- The model fails to address the core dysfunction of the South African higher education system—stemming from the Apartheid landscape and configuration of institutions—too many institutions in some regions; few or none in others; advantaged and disadvantaged institutions etc.

- The model is likely to exacerbate differences and tensions between the advantaged and disadvantaged institutions. It is not clear by what criteria institutions would be assigned to the different types; it is however certain that some or many of the advantaged institutions are likely to fit into types D & E and disadvantaged institutions into types B, C & D; for such reasons, the historically advantaged institutions (HAIs) are likely to support the model; the historically disadvantaged institutions (HDIs) would oppose it.

- The Task Team on the one hand "affirms that it regards the purposes and goals of higher education, as expressed in the legislation and the White Paper on higher education, to be binding on the Task Team". On the other hand, its recommendations as contained in the Discussion Document are at variance with these documents in a number of aspects: The Ministry seeks an easing of the boundaries between colleges, technikons and universities; a programme-based approach to planning and development (rather than institution based); the development of regional consortia and partnerships; and assessment of the type and number of institutions (*Education White Paper*—2.40, 2.42, 2.45).

- The model is to include "effective measures countering institutional drift"—this is unlikely to result in the easing of boundaries between the different sectors of higher education. How will such measures be implemented and regulated? It will require stringent criteria if not legislation to ensure that the boundaries are not transgressed.

- The model fails to address equity and redress, which are central tenets of the White Paper. In fact, on the basis of the proposals in the model, there is the distinct prospect of entrenching inequality (*Education White Paper,* 1.18).

- A crucial area of information necessary to construct a differentiated system of higher education has yet to be produced—a planning model for the higher edu-

cation system, taking into account demographic and labour market signals e.g., the numbers of high- and middle level trained personnel; the numbers of Doctoral and Masters graduates in the different fields, etc. (2.23 of *White Paper on Higher Education*).

- A closely related issue is the question of the size of the sector on which the Document is silent. Not only the size of the public higher education sector but the size of its respective components requires elaboration. In addition, the contribution of the growing but uneven private higher education sector must be addressed.

- The relationship of the differentiated model to questions of institutional autonomy and academic freedom, which are not only ensured in the Higher Education Act, but also enshrined in the Constitution, needs to be carefully explored. Which of the five types are to be termed universities? What measure of academic freedom and institutional autonomy are to be attributed to those institutions not designated as universities (*Education White Paper*—1.23, 1.24)? And so on.

- The model enters deeply into Further Education and Training (FET) territory—consultations which clearly have not taken place to date would be necessary with the Board of that Sector in the light of the FET White Paper and Act. This is a crucial interface as the development of the FET Sector is essential to reverse the 'inverted pyramid' and to meet the huge middle level skill requirements of the country. The proposal of the Task Team seems to be blurring the distinction between Higher Education and Further Education; moreover, the latter is a provincial competence. Such a shift will this require a constitutional amendment if the proposals in the Discussion Document are accepted.

- It is unclear whether the international literature has been closely explored in order to find lessons which may be learnt in reshaping the specifically dysfunctional higher education system that is currently prevalent in South Africa.

- There is no evidence that regional realities have been taken into account. For example, the Western Cape which has an abundance of institutions in close proximity may have to be treated very differently from the Northern Province which has two institutions dispersed over wide distances. In terms of equity and human resource needs, consideration must be given to the two provinces without a higher education institution—the Northern Cape and Mpumalanga.

- The proposed prescriptive, highly differentiated model is likely to preclude the development of new institutional forms as proposed in the *White Paper (Education White Paper*, 2.44).

- The determination of the costs in each of the five types must be a central part of the exercise; the complexity of the task should not be underestimated in the light of the new funding strategy proposed in the *White Paper on Higher Education.* In the California three-tier system of research universities, teaching universities and community colleges offering two year associate degrees, the cost ratio is of the order 4 : 2 : 1.

- Distance education institutions as a distinctive type have not been taken in to account in the proposed model. Due to the size of this sector, the emphasis in the White Paper, and given the fact that the boundaries between contact and distance education institutions are becoming blurred, the importance of distance education institutions cannot be overestimated. Current enrollments in the three dedicated public distance education institutions constitute about a third of the total enrollments of the higher education sector. The Task Team to investigate distance education provision has yet to be put in place (2.64 of the *White Paper on Higher Education).*

Key problems and challenges facing the South African higher education system

- The elements of dysfunction in the higher education system are laid out in the Discussion Document. To this can be added the apartheid configuration of institutions which lie at the heart of this dysfunctionality. This raises the question on how to address issues of equity and redress given this configuration.

- The failure of the higher education system to be responsive to the human resource needs of the country.

- The inverted pyramid whereby we have a FET Sector less than half the size than that of the HES in contrast to that of many countries.

- The need to instill quality assurance measures across the system in both instutional management and programme offerings.

Some alternative options for reshaping the South African higher education system

- The first priority is to deconstruct a higher education system that has been conceived in the 'geo-political imagination' of the apartheid ideologists and planners.

- The instruments that can be used to achieves this are—***Mergers, Reconfiguration, Differentiation, Relocation and Closures.***

- The Task Team has limited its scope and options by choosing only one of these several possible instruments viz., differentiation. A survey of the international literature would demonstrate that it is necessary to use a combination of these instruments in order to construct an efficient cost effective higher education system from a dysfunctional system. Does the Task Team anticipate that these different options could be accommodated within its proposed model?

- It would be politically more acceptable and practically more feasible to start with a regional merger and to subsequently decide on differentiation. In KwaZulu-Natal it would be politically and structurally problematic to classify the three Universitise with their six campuses into the five suggested types. If, on the other

hand, one is considering a University of KwaZulu-Natal, then one can discuss how each of the six campuses could be configured—the institutional types proposed by the Task Team could be helpful in this regard. Labour market analyses could assist in determining the number of students in each type of campus. The Faculty/School/Campus of Health Sciences would require special treatment—it would straddle the B, C, D and E types because it could offer two year training programmes to auxiliaries; four year degree programmes to nurses, physiotherapists, pharmacists; five year undergraduate programmes to doctors and dentists and a range of postgraduate degrees from diplomas to doctorates. It makes a good deal of sense to train the health team in an integrated fashion in one academic complex. Adhering to the Task Team proposal would preclude the adoption of such innovative institutional forms.

- In a similar spirit, new and innovative institutional forms could be conceptualised for the Northern Cape and Mpumalanga—two provinces with no higher education institutions. For example, in the Northern Cape, the College of Education and the College of Nursing could form the nucleus of a University possibly of Type C; the six Technical Colleges in the province, offering among its range of programmes, two year associate degrees through articulation arrangements could act as a feeder to the University of the Northern Cape. With time, and depending on the needs of the province, further departments faculties could be added. A case could be made for establishing a research focus of particular interest to the province. The five billion rand investment in zinc mining by Anglo-American, the considerable agricultural potential in the north-west part of the province and its vast tourism potential will in part be determinants of the kind of qualifications and consequently institutional types that would require development in the province. Thus a flexible innovative higher education institution is given an opportunity to evolve, unconstrained by the rigid classification proposed by the Task Team.

The international experience

Australia

Between 1987 and 1991, 65 universities, colleges of advanced education and technical institutions were merged into 36 multi-campus institutions under the impetus of Minister Dawkins. Successful mergers were undertaken within permissible guidelines including the proximity of institutions and academic coherence of programmes. Integrated models were more successful than federated ones, and mergers have resulted in mission drift with a significant reduction of diploma and certificate programmes.

"The Dawkins policy of extensive institutional amalgamations was implemented through ***a cleverly devised adminstrative strategy***" (Harman, 1993). Institutions were required to make applications to join the unified national system (UNS) in order to qualify for federal funding as follows :

- 2000 EFTSUs (equivalent full time student units) for membership of the UNS
- 5000 EFTSUs—a broad teaching profile with funding for some research activity
- 8000 EFTSUs—for comprehensive involvement in teaching and research.

The attractiveness of mergers under this plan became self evident to institutions. The size of a higher education institution is a crucial determinant of its cost-effectiveness.

Mahony (1994), in an analysis of the unitary system of universities in Australia, has come to the conclusion that "Increasingly, it seems, institutional futures and classification will not be predetermined by structural categories but by individual performance on a number of fronts. From this perspective, counter imagist fears of 'homogenisation' may be interpreted as the anxieties of a transition period from which the universities are now moving to a system more heteregenous than that which it replaced."

Norway

The central vision driving the extensive reorganisation of the non-university sector in 1994 was the creation of larger institutions with disciplinary specialisation, increased innovation, integration and effectiveness. In the process 98 colleges were merged into 26 state colleges. Strong institutional steering was necessary to achieve the reorganisation. The process has resulted in considerable administrative gains but not academic benefits.

Hungary

The objectives of the joint Government-World Bank reform programme were to increase responsiveness, to use resources more efficiently, to mobilize non-state resources and to create a more equitable financial system. The central idea behind a law enacted recently by the Hungarian Parliament is for every city and town to have one consolidated university instead of several small ones; the mergers aimed at greater efficiency, improved financial control, the introduction of an academic credit system and a student loan programme. A World Bank loan of $150 million is helping to underwrite the plan.

The government stipulated that the mergers would be made on a geographical basis rather than on a mission basis i.e., dissimilar institutions in common geographical areas would be merged rather than similar universities in different locations. This would have the inevitable result of the breakdown of the binary system. The current plan calls for 42 university level institutions being merged into 17 universitires and 22 college level institutions being merged into 13 colleges.

A key question facing the process is who decides on the specific mergers. Under the previous government, proposals submitted by institutions were reviewed by a coordinating body for higher education with the final determination being made by the government. The current government, believing that this process had produced less than optimal results has decided to centralise the process within the ministry.

As the process unfolds, it is the regional universities that are supporting integration and mergers, eager to increase their influence while the larger and more prestigious Budapest Universities are resisting in order to protect their status. This tendency together with political infighting characterises a painfully slow process towards effective reform of the Hungarian higher education system.

Key lessons from the international experience in reconfiguring the shape and size of Higher Education Systems include the following:

- The reduction in the number of institutions into fewer, larger, cost-effective multiple-purpose institutions is the overriding trend.
- The exercise is likely to be complex, time consuming and demanding of resources.
- Differentiation in most cases is an evolutionary but uncontrolled and uneven process; one has to carefully balance this against the prescriptive model of the Task Team.
- The real benefits of the reconfiguration in many cases are not financial but academic quality, innovation and administrative efficiency.
- The exercise of political will and strong central steering will be necessary to achieve fundamental restructuring.

In this regard, mandatory ground rules must be established if the reconfiguration of higher education institutions in South Africa is to succeed. Such ground rules include the following:

- Strong central steering would be necessary to ensure compliance of institutions with the national and regional plan for reconstruction of the higher education system; capacity and resources would have to be provided to achieve these ends.
- No publicly funded higher education institution should be precluded from being involved in the reconfiguration/merger process.
- The exercise should be carried out on a regional basis with appropriate Task Teams established for the purpose. Earmarked funding would be necessary to support the process.
- In order to receive public funding a higher education institution must be of a minimum critical size—say, 7 500 students (precise figures for cost-effective institutions to be calculated).
- The broad framework of the reconfiguration exercise should be completed in a period of two years (or some reasonable estimate), after which implementation would immediately begin.
- In the interim, there should be a moratorium on the restructuring of individual institutions, resulting in closure of departments and other changes which are not be in the national interest.

Final remarks

Central to the process of the reorganisation and reconfiguration of the higher education system must be the dismantling of the apartheid landscape in order to tran-

scend the racially based advantaged and disadvantaged institutional profile. International experience has shown that almost without exception, the reduction in the number of institutions is the key to reorganisation. In South Africa the case becomes even more compelling given that a deliberate act of social engineering led to the current racially based skewing of the higher education sector. The fundamental reconceptualisation of the South African higher education sector can be achieved through a process of institutional mergers, possible closure of institutions and the reconfiguration of some institutions. Mergers between advantaged and disadvantaged, between well resourced and poorly resourced and between urban and rural institutions and in some cases between universities and technikons, should underpin the process. The complexity and the ensuing problems of the task should not be underestimated but there is a rich international literature on the subject, providing useful guidelines and strategies. Properly conceived, this should result in a coherent set of about 20 multi-campus institutions. This is the general thrust of mass higher education systems with fewer large multi-campuses, multi-purpose institutions (Goedegebure and Meek, 1991). The failure of the Task Team to come to terms with this reality has resulted in a profoundly flawed proposal. The first priority is to decide on the optimum number of institutions of an appropriate, cost-effective size, taking regional realities into account. It is at this point that the differentiated model of the Task Team would be relevant and helpful. However, a simplified differentiated model based on needs analyses and labour market signals with permeable boundaries in keeping with the spirit of the National Qualifications Framework should be considered.

The finer the distinction, the larger the bureaucracy that would be necessary to enforce and regulate the differentiated system. Even more complex would be the financial arrangements. Furthermore, how could one retain enough flexibility for new innovative institutional forms to emerge?

The fall in enrollments in the higher education system may be a blessing in disguise. It should result in a period of containment and consolidation during which better leadership, management and academic capacity are developed and the envisaged higher education quality processes are given an opportunity to make an impact on institutions.

In parallel with this exercise, serious attention must be given to developing and expanding the much-neglected Further Education Sector (FET). The well-known 'inverted pyramid' in which we have less than half the number of students in the FET Sector in comparison to the higher education system needs to be reversed. Compelling data from labour market studies is beginning to demonstrate that in the emerging globalised economy about two thirds of the jobs do require a post-secondary training but not necessarily a university training. Several other issues are particularly relevant to the South African case. First, the cost differential is considerable between the FET sector and the higher education system. Second, the large numbers of unemployed, unskilled, underskilled, school and university drop-outs would find a home in the open admissions policy of the FET Sector. Development of skills for small businesses, about the only sector which is today generating jobs in the globalised economy, would be a central activity of the FET Sector. The allocation of resources between the FET sector and the HES has never been a matter of public debate in South Africa. In the United Kingdom, questions are being raised as to why

two thirds of the post-school budget is spent on universities with a quarter of the post-school students. It would be surprising if the skewing was not as great or greater in South Africa. A more concerted and serious effort is therefore required by the national and provincial departments of education, and related bodies, to develop the FET sector.

In sum, we have been provided with an incomplete proposal which in its present state does not address South African realities, stands in conflict with some of the central tenets of the Higher Education White Paper, ignores regional differences, has not taken into account the lessons of international experience and is out of step with the contemporary thrust of mass higher education systems. It is hoped that the Task Team is not locked into a paradigm out of which it cannot find a way. It may be necessary to return to the drawing board in order to rethink the issues and formulate new strategies for reshaping the higher education system in South Africa.

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Response to the Task Team of the Council on Higher Education: A Micro-level Perspective

The Discussion Paper on the 'Size and Shape' of Higher Education

The University of the Western Cape

Our response first examines the focus of the document and the clarity with which issues are defined. It proceeds to critique the rigidity of the proposals, and examine financial implications, human resource questions, the relation to the school system, and regional relationships. Finally, it remarks on the possibilities and dangers of the proposed four-year bachelor's degree.

Key issues and the focus of the document

The University of the Western Cape (UWC) would welcome responsible and thorough attention to the issues which the document claims underlie the planned reconfiguration of the national higher education system. It recognises the need to address issues of academic access and success at first degree level, national productivity in research, distribution of students across fields of study, and a range of concerns regarding race and gender. In addition it is concerned about the fragile management and administrative capacity in parts of the system, including the national Department of Education.

Having said these things, UWC is concerned about the ways in which the document conceptualises further important issues. The state has failed signally to act on four major issues, and yet the document describes them in ways which obscure both their true nature and appropriate responsibility for them. The first issue is the decline in the number of students with the minimum qualifications for higher education produced by the schools: this issue is recast as the very serious decline in the rate of enrollment of new entrants into higher education as a whole as if it arose from a failure of institutional enrolment practices.

Secondly, the long-recognised inadequacy of the subsidy formula in a volatile transformational context—a crucial factor in institutional survival—is passed over rapidly in the phrase 'problems of funding' with attention immediately shifted to fee collection. Thirdly, the crisis of a majority of potential students with no means of affording higher education—a major challenge for the state—is recast as 'the inability of many institutions to effectively collect student fees' as if it were mainly a problem of administrative capacity in the institutions. Fourthly, the random emergence of a range of private institutions without timeous attempts being made to regulate this development in the national interests is stated as if it were a natural phenomenon: the 'largely unregulated growth ...' This consistent passing of the buck distorts a sense of the issues to be addressed.

Secondly, the task team gives universities nothing which would enable them to know in any reasonably sophisticated way just what it is talking about. It is deeply

troubling that so radical a proposal should be presented, supposedly by way of consultation, without the minimum information necessary to interpret its implications and practicability. No rationale is given. No indication of how the proposals might address the issues. No sense of crucial variables such as size, or funding levels, or relation to current state policy. No sense of how the proposals relate to or address the heritage of the past. To aggravate matters, what we are given reveals a profound lack of focus. Systemic dysfunctionality is persistently conflated with institutional dysfunctionality, and system functions with curriculum functions. The evidence alluded to points to dysfunctional institutions rather than a dysfunctional system. Similarly, making available a diversity of programme offerings to learners is a curricular issue in no way related to system structure per se. Nothing suggests to us that the discussion document provides a way of addressing the issues.

Thirdly, this document, like nearly every other educational reform document since 1981, fails to locate itself historically and understand the history of the policy field that it attempts to address. It is vital that the task team's recommendations be read against the background of the recommendations for higher education made since the Van Wyk de Vries Commission (1974) and the practices in the sector since that time. In the absence of a comprehensive history of the field this is of course a difficult task, but since the time of De Lange critics have been arguing that policy interventions that do not have an adequate sense of the legacy that they are attempting to address have extremely limited potential for making significant interventions. There is increasing evidence that many of the educational reforms since 1990 have tended to support and promote the legacy and divisions of the past despite the rhetoric of equity and redress. It would be a great disappointment if the present recommendations were in the end judged to reinforce these continuities rather that signaling a new set of beginnings that are clearly identifiable in terms of their commitment to equity, redress and the promotion of quality access to higher education for the poor and the previously disadvantaged.

Precisely because the University of the Western Cape is concerned about the full range of issues at stake, and wishes to take a national perspective on them, it has to express its deep concern at the proposed structural reconfiguration. The proposal document merely touches on the issues which the radical reconfiguration project is supposed to address, but at no point does it engage with them. Rather, the recommendations are superimposed on the existing situation as hopefully leading to the resolution of the causes of the crises. That is simply not good enough. The University of the Western Cape feels obliged to warn that unless the current dynamics of the system are understood and properly taken into account, there can be no long term and sustaining value to the proposals, and the envisaged structural changes are likely to have consequences devastating for higher education in South Africa.

Focus on institutional typology: an expensively blunt regulatory instrument

A central and dangerous limitation of the document is its exclusive and reductive attention to only one possible aspect of the size and shape matrix: institutional types. An understandably impatient Minister might be tempted to use the proposal

as a convenient basis for dramatic action to demonstrate that something is being done about the current crises of academic, financial and managerial capacity, institutional quality and sustainability in some institutions. But such action would come at an unacceptably high price. Satisfactory reconfiguration of the higher education system must involve a systematic and co-ordinated approach to a number of complex and inter-related factors which impact directly on size and shape. The central consideration must be: what kind of quantitative and qualitative outcomes of higher education are necessary to meet the social, economic and cultural needs of society? In answering the question, the estimated requirements of the labour market and government, students and employers, regional and community development (with all the tensions entailed for a middle-income developing country within a globalized world order) have to be made specific and taken into account. Nor is demand or need the only factor. Optimal size and shape can only be determined in a co-ordinated and engaged approach to human resource development planning which is not naive about the state of the school system and allows for the limitations of person-power projections, while honouring the principles of quality, relevance, efficiency and equity, taking account of fiscal constraints. The document fails both to situate its recommendations within and to address this broader frame of issues, and thereby takes on a technicist and narrowly regulatory character at odds with the goals it was commissioned to address. The cracks are beginning to show.

It is not at all plain from the document why there should be different types of institutions rather than institutions accredited to offer specific programmes. The proposed system second-guesses the Higher Education Quality Committee (HEQC). Why, for example, should there be an institution type E? We doubt if there are any institutions in SA, which would meet internationally, acknowledged criteria to offer the doctorate in all fields. Why, then, should institution type D be limited to two or three departments accredited to offer the Ph.D. if there are more, which meet the criteria? Similar arguments could be made at other levels. Accreditation would be a much sharper and less expensive instrument for changing the configuration of the system, and it could give proper attention to quality issues. A further concern here is that institutions must meet very different needs according to their location, and a narrow typology would inhibit variation and development to meet local needs.

It is not at all plain that research agendas should be prescribed, based on institutional type, rather than on individual or institutional ability to sustain the project. In fact, this prescriptiveness is bizarre and pernicious, and quite astonishing when we consider the provenance of the proposals in a CHE task group. The concept of research has clearly not received proper attention and pursuit of these proposals would be nothing less than catastrophic for higher education.

No distinction is made between institutional and individual research, with the result that staff in type C institutions are committed to institutional research into more effective learning, and there is no provision for them to undertake other research which might be conducive to their mobility in the system. Once you are in your box you stay there.

There is no institutionally reflective role at all for institutional types A and B, although their intake is different. Presumably, they have to know their place, and get type C institution staff in to do their reflection for them.

In institution D, the license to undertake research is pegged to the degrees offered. Research activities commensurate with Masters and M.Tech. studies as well as with limited Ph.D. studies. The message to staff there is: Do not think of undertaking research at a higher level than your students. To students, it is: Come here if you want a limited Ph.D. What can this prescription mean? How can it conceivably be conducive to quality?

Only institution type E has carte blanche, commensurate with internationally accepted research standards. Does this mean that higher degrees from D are not intended to meet internationally accepted research standards?

It would be grossly irresponsible—and indeed negligent—of the Ministry to proceed with reconfiguration on the basis of such unreasoned proposals. The proposals ignore the need for staff mobility across the system, and they make a mockery of the HEQC.

It is not at all clear why institutions D and E would be obliged to admit graduates of other institutions to higher study simply on the basis of their having obtained a first or a second degree. Most Bachelors graduates are not suitable for higher study and probably more than half of the Masters graduates should not proceed to doctoral study, yet the prescription is: 'must admit students who transfer . . .'

Patterns of mobility across the system are unduly restricted. Anyone completing the first two years at institution D or E and having to leave—probably for financial or personal or social reasons—would leave with nothing. It would not apparently be possible to move from B or C to D or E after the Associate degree. And it would not be possible to move between institutions at all unless a two-year qualification had been completed. This is simply unacceptable and flies in the face of a national policy, which calls for more flexibility, and for portability of credits.

It would seem that policies, which have been applied since 1994, often at considerable cost, are overridden by the proposals. The state has aggressively pursued a policy of reducing teacher training capacity and bringing all such training under the wing of the universities. The proposal would require some aspects of this training to be undertaken at other institutions.

It would seem that various kinds of programmes that universities have been under pressure to offer would now fall outside their ambit, rendering their considerable investment fruitless and requiring that investment right outside the higher education system. Units which have offered summer schools and one year certificate courses in areas such as Primary Health Care, Adult Education and Training, INSET for teachers, and Public Administration, has provided a valuable service economically, and often in association with higher degrees. These programmes will now have to move elsewhere and be funded separately at considerably higher cost.

Finally, it is plain that the effect of the admissions requirements would be to 'bleach' D and E type institutions, severely restricting access to the upper levels of education for the next, say, ten years, so that mainly middle-class, mainly white students would gain admission. The document, astonishingly, assumes and seems designed to establish a correlation between political and economic elitism and intellectual elit-

ism in South Africa and in the tertiary education system. No proposals, outside of routines that are themselves the product of the unhappy past, are made to test or describe the intellectual currency of South Africa's institutions. Accordingly, the reconfiguration can only replicate the unhappy patterns of the past with its patterns of discrimination and limited access to elite institutions.

Funding the new system

The funding implications have not been examined, and would seem to aggravate problems rather than solve them. The document is couched at a persistently high level of abstraction, which makes it possible to take the high moral ground on all issues without making real decisions, particularly on financial matters. That is untenable. In fact, the 'difficult choices and tough decisions' mentioned in the concluding paragraphs cannot primarily be about where to slot institution X into the idealist typology, but about the relative weight to give to the educational goals of the system in allocating resources, and about how to meet different needs in very different parts of the country. The closest the document comes to considering these issues is on page 8, in the section headed: 'The transition to a new institutional format.' However, having outlined 'the resources necessary for the reconfiguration of the system,' it accepts a need 'to adopt a realistic approach to the question of resources because of the limitations of the present budget for higher education.' The international experience on the restructuring of this sector is plain: without adequate and guaranteed access to funds, institutions are simply not able to change their accepted standings within an established system. If South Africa's system is going to undertake the journey proposed in this document, the argument has to be accompanied by an irresistible purse. The University of the Western Cape submits that, if the resources necessary to reconfigure the system are not available, then the 'realistic approach' is to abandon the project—or at least the current approach to it—as unworkable, without wasting time discussing the details.

Academic support is costly. It is staff intensive - if not necessarily in the classroom, then certainly in the frequent marking of work and the development of support materials which it involves. Further, it requires major investments in academic staff training. If B and C are going to be the workhorse institutions, emphasising academic support, and with most students passing through them, would they have adequate funding to undertake this work at an appropriate level? It seems unlikely. Unless there is a very significant increase in funding for tertiary education, these institutions would consume an extraordinary proportion of the budget were they to be funded to offer adequate academic support. If they were not so funded, they would not be able to deliver the equity benefits they are being created to provide.

The proposals introduce further financial instability for institutions. If there is rapid growth in enrolment in higher education, of a kind which the proposals seem geared to encourage, the amount of subsidy per student will inevitably drop, aggravating the funding and access problems throughout. The threat of this happening, and the uncertainty created by a set of proposals which does not seem to start with the present situation, can reasonably be expected to elicit a conservative response from institutions.

The proposals are entirely silent on the single most important financial challenge facing the higher education sector in the country—the student loan scheme. The University of the Western Cape firmly believes that without an adequate, readily accessible and easily transportable student loan system which, in its conception and execution, is biased towards the social priorities of the country, higher education in South Africa can never be financially viable and sustainable. There will not be equitable representation from all parts of the South African community in universities. Institutions, particularly those in the B and C categories, will still struggle to collect fees, and so will not be able to operate at anything like optimal efficiency. And the implications for developing a normally distributed corps of high level human resources will be very serious.

Human resource issues

Unless the state intends bringing in large numbers of foreigners to staff institutions at great cost, South Africa must husband its resources. The system developed must be hospitable to the development, mobility, and retention of its high level human resources. We simply do not have enough people trained at this level to box them in, frustrate them, or otherwise treat them as teaching cattle. The system must also be geared to training and nurturing the next generation of academic teachers. That generation will, if we are successful, be more representative of the population mix. However, UWC, which has nurtured an extraordinarily large proportion of the black people in senior positions in South African society, can testify from deep experience that instability in the higher education system makes it extraordinarily difficult to retain such people. Whatever is proposed by way of restructuring must make an academic career path reasonably secure, of sufficient status not to be vulnerable to the whims of the next restructuring exercise, and capable of securing personal investment in the project. Three questions are of particular importance:

- How does the Task Team address the imbalance of staffing in the 36 institutions along race and gender lines within the current fragmented system into 'a coherent, co-ordinated and integrated national system'?
- How is staff mobility across the system going to be facilitated?
- How is the development of human resources to staff such a system going to be tackled?

It is worrying that the crucial aspect of staffing is not looked at and not signaled in the document as the staffing statistics reveal that we have a very long way to go before equity is attained, and structural changes must affect our capacity to bring about the necessary shifts.

The system, does not, of course, exist to sustain itself. It must be equipped and funded and staffed to produce the social and economic leaders of the next generation. It is important to establish more than a wish list of the kind, which has been presented tediously in regard to science and technology needs, business training, and language teaching. Science and technology needs are not going to be met adequately until there is an improvement in the schools and students obtain an FETC with a

strong mathematical and scientific component. Business needs are not going to be met by people of low general education, trained in certain specific areas, but ignorant of the wider world to which they have to relate if they are to be successful. And language teachers are not going to be produced unless there is funding for them to study and a prospect of reasonably fulfilling work at the end of it all. In addition, we need to note that the reconfiguring of language departments to serve academic support purposes threatens to submerge their core functions and so their capacity to provide adequate training for teachers.

Regional co-operation and regionalism

The document is silent on 'the regional option'; that is, reconfiguration along the lines suggested but within the confines of a region, which then faithfully reflects the master pattern as a kind of microcosm. UWC does not favor this as an option. Regional cooperation is one thing. The region as microcosm is another. The microcosm option would destroy kinds of cooperation, which have been fruitful. It would also mean a choice between Wits and Pretoria as the E institution for the region, and in the Cape a choice between Stellenbosch and Cape Town. The same problem would recur at lower levels. The country is hardly in a position to squander existing resources in this way. Regions in fact differ markedly in their needs and resources. Some have major urban centres and concentrations of higher education resources, which are in fact national—not regional—in character. Other regions have no higher education facilities and will want to build them initially to serve regional purposes, so that the larger part of the local student population can stay, more economically, at home. In our view, treating the region as a microcosm would be to misconstrue the issues, doing irreparable harm to the national stock. Instead of strengthening the move to equality, quality and cost-effectiveness, a regional option would further divide and fragment the national system.

The status of distance education

The document is silent on the issue of distance learning, and distance education institutes. These are already a feature of the international market, and with the rapid increase in Internet access all over the world, the South African system cannot escape their further intrusion. The education presented by these institutes or programs is invariably very much less costly than that offered by a residential institution. Given the present levels of poverty, it seems certain that more and more learners will enroll in such programs. The shape of the national system has to take account of this. The point is not only that there will be competition, but that the medium is so attractive that it would be shortsighted for predominantly residential institutions not to experiment with it. Distance education makes very different demands on the academic and physical resources of institutions and its impact on shape and size must be taken into account

Relation to the school system

The relation of the higher education sector to the school system needs to be explored very carefully. A key variable s the future of the Further Education and Training (FET) system. If it is to be improved so that the need for academic support declines

progressively over a ten or fifteen-year period, this must be an important consideration in deciding on a new structure. Only if the system is intended to take over responsibility for the pre-academic preparation of students in the long term can the higher education system be shaped on the terms proposed, with resources shifted from the school system to pay for it. Temporary problems do not warrant permanent changes.

A final comment

The remarks about the relationship with the school system notwithstanding, UWC can see merit in the proposal that the primary undergraduate degree should be four rather than three years, and that this should rest upon a two plus two bonding. Provided that the four years are adequately funded, and that the new framework is not rigid, the proposal would allow significant room to move. It could allow compensation for the school system. It could make space for a richer and more enabling curriculum. And, in other circumstances, it could lead to stronger, Honours-type first degrees. It must be emphasised, however, that the new two and four-year programmes must be adequately funded, or the effect will be a further erosion of the resource base in the institutions that offer them, a rapid acceleration of the funding crisis, and increased problems for economically poor students to find the fees. In addition, very little research is needed to show that there will be tough choices to be made between this kind of programme and higher degrees and research. If there is not a firm intention to provide proper financial support for the four-year system, by way of both more substantial subsidy and student loans of adequate proportions, it would be better not to introduce it. The last case could be far worse than the first.

26 April 2000

Book Review: The Postmodern University? Contested Visions of Higher Education in Society

Smith, A. & Webster, F. (Eds), 1997

Reflecting on The Post-apartheid University? Troubled Visions of Higher Education in South Africa.

An e-mail colloquium between
Juliet Perumal and Rajendra Chetty



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The shift from elitist to egalitarian education has become commonplace with mass higher education rapidly becoming the norm. Changed means of funding it are being developed, and new means of accessing and analysing information and knowledge are becoming widely available. The purposes of the university are being challenged, and so are the conceptions of the student and of academic vocation. Such changes have invited a plethora of literature providing counsel and support on how to teach effectively to large classes, how to exercise entrepreneurial acumen, and there is also a significant body of literature documenting public concern regarding the maintenance of standards, quality assurance, and how to optimally resource universities and students. One such book documenting the shifting sands of the academic landscape in the United States of America and the United Kingdom is *The Postmodern University? Contested Visions of Higher Education in Society.*

In presenting an overview of the discussions and debates entered into, I have organised this article into two sections. In Section One, I provide a synoptic overview of the book *The Postmodern University? Contested Visions of Higher Education in Society,* in which the contributors shed light on the trends prevailing in UK and US higher education institutions and then using the book as a point of departure, in Section two, I have invited my colleague Rajen Chetty, to read the book, and then participate in an e-mail conversation (a mini-colloquium) in which we offer brushstroke reflec-

tions of our perceptions, observations and experiences of discernible trends defining higher education in South Africa. We have entitled this section: The Post-apartheid University? Troubled Visions of Higher Education in South Africa.

Section one—an overview

The Postmodern University? Contested Visions of Higher Education in Society, is a 125 page book which documents the discussions and debates that transpired at a colloquium on higher education, in July 1996. A collaborative initiative by the editors, Anthony Smith and Frank Webster, the colloquium was hosted at their respective institutions, Magdalan College Oxford, and Oxford Brookes University, and attracted intellectuals with extensive experience and knowledge of university life in the United Kingdom and abroad. The colloquium aimed to consider the character of the university in a period of radical and rapid transformation. It offered a forum to critically reflect on the changes sweeping universities in the United States and the United Kingdom with a view to reconceptualising and understanding change, rather than simply managing it. The discussions reflect a neat division between those appropriating the language of postmodernist discourse (Zygmunt Bauman and Peter Scott); and those critical of postmodern sensibilities (Krishan Kumar and Paul Filmer), and therefore reluctant to concede, wholeheartedly, that the winds of change sweeping through higher education are so profound as to warrant prefixing the word 'post' to modern universities. While Part 1 of the book details the fractures in the conceptualisation of trends shaping higher education, Part 2 explores the dialectics between universities and the public, commencing with Russell Jacoby's scathing attack of academic intellectual life. William Melody echoes a call for universities to act in the public interest, while Phil Brown and Richard Scase poignantly point out the pervasive social inequities dogging higher education. The editors, Anthony Smith and Frank Webster, in their introductory chapter, delineate the context of the discussions and substance of the colloquium.

Locating himself within the postmodernist discourse, in Chapter 2, Bauman, explores how postmodern conceptions of the university's purposes and functions present a challenge to traditional justifications that legitimated its continuance. He contends that postmodern thinking construes the academic community as being characterised by difference within and between academic institutions. Specialisation and subject expertise, varying standards between departments, across universities and epochs have become so rampant that it has become impossible to validate any single notion of authoritative knowledge. The academic seascape is one of contested knowledge's, multivocalism, varying forms, versions, and sources of knowledge.

In his review of the postmodern world and the university's place within it, Peter Scott (Chapter 4) draws attention to the widening disjuncture between education, work, lifestyle and identity, which once were, or appeared to be, predictable, and linear. He notes that traditionally fixed careers are rapidly giving way to 'job portfolios', requiring changing, adaptable, and transferable skills. Debates on identity construction are increasingly confirming that one's 'identity' is no longer a subset of work and lifestyle. Graduates today need training to be able to endure periods of unemployment at various stages during their working lives, movement more frequently between jobs, and employers, and a greater tendency towards self-employment. Against this scenario the university may need to re-define itself as a key insti-

tution in offering people both the opportunities to develop their potential beyond solely economic imperatives, and also provide a place for people to connect with others with whom they share common bonds. In so doing it can offer a sequence of opportunities for re-skilling at each level of life.
In Chapter 5, Paul Filmer, interrogates the conceptual logic of postmodernism, and resolutely defends the university's engagement in disinterested research, scholarship and teaching. Kumar (Chapter 3), urges that the university should remain the primary site to ensure cultural engagement, and continuity. He maintains that even where knowledge is fluid and contested there is the potential for worthwhile intellectual encounters, and this, he contends, requires a physical location where people can meet and work collaboratively. Kumar agrees that the university cannot be defended if it justifies it existence exclusively on the transmission of knowledge and skills since these are both challengeable and obtainable elsewhere. His, however, remains one of the voices canvassing for the survival of the university, as we have known it.

Russell Jacoby (Chapter 6) observes that the growth of the university system has brought about a decline in the number of intellectuals who write for a wider public. He observes that intellectuals invariably enter the university system and become excessively 'professionalised'. This is particularly evident in their writing style, which tends to be inscrutable, and turgid, so while winning the esteem and affirmation of peers, it effectively disenfranchises the non-specialist reader. Jacoby describes how this can lead to absurdities, especially when self-proclaimed radicals, insist that they are 'outsiders' while languishing within the ivory towers of prestige and privilege.

In Chapter 7, Bill Melody reflects on his long involvement as a policy-making economist. He discerns a 'welfarist' mentality in the university, which suffers a dependency syndrome, brought on by subservience to the public purse. Consequently, the university has no voice of its own, and while it grieves reductions in funding, and bemoans the heavy hand of the government, it remains an eager benefactor. With the exception of a few elite institutions, he points out that university development has always been integrally connected to public policy. The pertinent questions informing this issue, remain: **what** the character of that public policy will be, and **how** it will be established? In addition, Melody is perplexed that as we enter the information age in which premium is placed upon timely research, on access to knowledge, on ever more highly educated workers, suddenly the university finds itself with so little to offer. The university seemed to be the central institution of the long proclaimed 'age of information'; a key location of intelligence, innovation and training; yet today universities are deafeningly silent about their own contribution to this vast social transformation. He finds this particularly disturbing because it leaves the information society to unfold along market principles with little cognisance given to wider public interests.

This synoptic overview of *The Postmodern University? Contested Visions of Higher Education in Society* attests to the contested visions and disparate voices informing the state and status of higher education in society. However, it seems that from these wide and varied perspectives, the contributors have repeatedly returned to the issue of self-definition as it relates both to the form and function of the university, and its impact on shaping the identities of those who enter the ambit of its confluence.

Current vocabulary attempting to reconceptualise the form and function of this institution of higher learning has ventured describing it as a *multiversity, virtual university corporate classroom, cyberspace/incorporeal university.* Perhaps each of these descriptors provides a partial and tentative understanding of the changing notion of the concept 'university'. This is not surprising, given that the morphological trajectory of universities shows that it has experienced various conceptual changes as it has tried to redefine itself within diverse contextual and ideological landscapes. So while semantic dissension is likely to continue over whether it is appropriate/accurate to describe the prevailing trends informing academic life as symptomatic of the postmodern, late modern, reflexive modern condition, from this synoptic overview of *The Postmodern University? Contested Visions of Higher Education in Society,* one thing that promises to remain constant in higher education is the permanence of change. Thus, the challenge presented to the university community is how to reconceptualise and understand change, rather than simply manage it.

Section two—reflecting on the post-apartheid university? troubled visions of higher education in South Africa.

From: Juliet Perumal
To: Rajen Chetty<rpchetty@iafrica.com
Date: Monday, November, 15, 1999 10:00 AM
Subject: Reflecting on The Post-apartheid University? Troubled Visions of Higher Education in South Africa.

Dear Rajen,

Having read the book, *The Postmodern University? Contested Visions of Higher Education in Society,* I was able to identify several issues that parallel phenomena emerging within the context of South African universities. Particularly evident is the massification of higher education, and the concomitant phenomenon of over-qualified graduates delaying entry into the labour market, because of shrinking employment opportunities. Closely allied to this, is altered employment trends that require multi-skilled, charismatic graduates with adaptable and transferable knowledge's and skills. So while individuals re-negotiate their personal identity within the contexts of rapid transformation, institutions of higher education also grapple with the dilemma of self-definition. Many South African universities vacillate between metamorphising into technikons or business conglomerates, while others have already joined the feverish rush to design business plans and marketing strategies comparable to that of corporate enterprise. All of these developments portend the end of the university as we have traditionally experienced it. Amidst this cascade of change, I find myself concurring with Scott (1997, 37), who observes that, "however impressive the quantitative expansion of mass education is, it has not been accompanied by a qualitative transformation of fundamental academic values and institutional instinct". Emanating from my personal disenchantment with responses to transformation that pay lip-service to qualitative transformation, I would like to share some personal reflections of a few trends that I have observed masquerading in the guise of critical transformation.

Drawing on the postmodern discourse, and its preference for the less serious forms of language, in this fleeting reflection I engage in a play on words to deliberately create a false dichotomy between recurrent concepts in the postmodernist paradigm, and emerging trends in post-apartheid higher education.

A quick survey of some of the preoccupations currently leaving academics wishing that there were 11 years in a decade, 8 days in the week, and 25 hours in the day, offers a convenient, yet useful, inroad to reflect on a few activities shaping higher education. I've observed that my learned colleagues spend untold hours in talk-shops / workshops / whineshops feeding on acronymic soups of SAQA-speak, merger-speak, restructuring-speak and *double speak*. Discussions on fiscal *cutbacks* imperceptibly slide into *cut-throat* sessions and the pursuit for multiple truths more often than not translate into varying degrees of dishonesties. While our academic corridors are abuzz with the urgency to give voice, there appears to be a conspiracy of silence, a political quietude about issues pertinent to the critical reconceptualisation of higher education. There appears to be a fixation with superficial brands of restructuring which somehow translate into staff reduction, and strategic mergers, more likely to reinstate under new guise compact, slicker versions of the same structures, and ideological vanguards that previously prevailed.

Also ranking high on the postmodern priorities list for deconstruction is a critique of a totalising / universalitic conception of *Rationality*. However, more prominent in post-apartheid education is the fixation with *Rationalisation*. The rationale behind this trend is difficult to fathom. There smacks an uncanny coincidence that at the precise time that South African education has allowed access to the previously disadvantaged masses, by moving from an elitist to an egalitarian education system, it has created an incongruent surplus in the teaching staff required to service the increased learner population. While fiscal considerations dictate much of the dialogue around rationalisation in higher education, there is evidently little or no cognisance given to the contextual experiential realities of students who experienced poorly resourced and often disrupted schooling, and who would probably need more support personnel and structures to meet the rigours of tertiary education.

Another concern central to postmodernism is an interrogation of dominant narratives that have hitherto occupied centrality. The postmodernist discourse suggests a *flight to the margins* to excavate narratives that were previously denied representation within the dominant discourse. A growing number of academics have responded to this challenge by *booking air flights* out of the country, and post-apartheid higher education can now boast a thriving tourist industry. Whether we see this as a way of making our contribution to the process of globalisation / glocalisation, the tourist culture in the academia seems to have roused in its wake a critical intellectual lethargy. Often we bring back curricula souvenirs (the spoils of our travels) that are more injurious to the South African educational context than we may be want to admit. Enthusiastically, we try to squeeze ourselves in to the ill-fitting, worn-out, discarded UK and US educational designer labels. Is it perhaps that we have become so well schooled into being hewers of wood and bearers of water that we do not know how to shed our mentality of slavery and now of our own volition we offer ourselves for intellectual re-colonisation? This is curiously at odds with the reverberating rhetoric to challenge the Eurocentrism that has hegemonised South African education. But,

have we in fact abandoned deconstructing *Eurocentrism*, and succumbed to the equally paralysing snares of *egocentrism* and *nepotism*? Eurocentrism has been criticised for its insistence on validating, white, male, and middle-class versions of reality. Egocentrism and nepotism are similar in their potential to legitimise, hegemonise, and protect the norms, values and ideologies of those who hold the reins of power, and those who win the favour of the powerful.

Yet another defining characteristic of the postmodern discourse is an interrogation of the issue of *agency*. Structuration theory, the construction of the social agent as multiply constituted, is intrinsic to engaging the postmodern condition. Post-apartheid higher education has promptly responded to this issue by forging strong ties with foreign *donor agencies*. So while our cash-strapped educational institutions firmly hold onto a survivalist mentality, and extol the value of forging international partnerships and linkages, often we become complicit in implementing agendas that insidiously re-colonise our curricula, subtly infiltrate our classrooms; inform, design and dictate our research programmes. I think that agency funded projects in and of themselves offer wonderful opportunities for collaborative research initiatives, however, it may be necessary for us to accept that as agents of change we need to actively inform, and interrogate the research process to ensure that we don't merely become subjects of research, but critical, dialogical research partners.

Rajen, although I locate my personal world-view firmly within a discourse of possibility, where democratic hopes translate into democratic happenings, I am aware that my reflections probably signal that I have entered an era of post-optimism. In my short reflection of some of the phenomena evident in post-apartheid higher education, I have shared a few issues that disturb and trouble me. I look forward to reading about your personal experiences, observations, panaceas, for higher education in South Africa, and thanks for taking time out to read *The Postmodern University? Contested Visions of Higher Education in Society*, and for availing yourself to engage in this conversation.

Sincerely
Juliet



Rajendra Chetty *is Associate Director of Research Administration and Development at the M. L. Sultan Technikon. His research areas include post-colonial writings and critical educational studies. His current research project is on South African Indian literature.*

From: Rajen Chetty
To: Juliet Perumal@iafrica.com
Date: Tuesday, November, 30, 1999 11:00 AM
Subject: Reflecting on The Post-apartheid University? Troubled Visions of Higher Education in South Africa.

Dear Juliet

I thought your image of the tourist culture (which is pervasive in the academia) particularly appropriate. While institutions bemoan the cutbacks in funding as the reason for their failure in improving the quality of the academic exercise (which ostensibly is the cardinal objective of the academe), corruption, fat cat syndromes, and world-wide travel is indeed commonplace as I have come to experience it. Awed by foreign landscapes, the voices of academics is muted and their silence on key issues that affect institutions of higher education is indeed deafening. The postmodern institution has waved goodbye to revolutionary and critical thought. We continue to be silent when tokenism, and androcentrism, shielded by bureaucratic management structures do not transcend the principles of domination; and when our colleagues displays scant regard for professionalism and accountability. Silence is also dictated by the patriotic synergies between institutions and the state, a relic of the apartheid era. This has a detrimental effect on the shift towards a radical, informed democracy in any higher education institution. Overly patronising institutions actually do a disservice to both state and stakeholders by trading in their power of critique, debate and autonomy.

The recourse to mission statements as marketing strategies pervades the South African higher education context. Most mission statements point boldly toward institutional transformation. The reality at some institutions is that dwindling enrolment figures, poor management, racism and chaos is rife, and certainly not a healthy climate for transformation

Debate on declining standards and the lack of resources pervades the current South African education situation. It is imperative that the massification of higher education (a foundational principle of the *Policy Framework for Higher Education Transformation:* 1997) be premised on the principle of equity. Without addressing the particular needs of historically disadvantaged students, for example, the need for technologically advanced teaching media and appropriate academic support that transcends the ineffective tutorial system, the transformation of institutions of higher education is likely to be seriously hampered. The composition of the student body

of many institutions is inevitably linked to the fee structure and this accounts for the continued dominance of middle class student enrolment at the historically white institutions. Furthermore, the massification of higher education has also not been consonant with the diversification of programmes, curricula and qualifications, the introduction of multiple entry and exit points and shifts in institutional functions and missions. Post-graduate research programmes continue to marginalise black students through the lack of a planned and sustainable capacity building programme, in spite of these being outlined in policy documents. The uneven spread of research capacity and resources calls for a systematic interventionist strategy if we are serious about the development of a sound research infrastructure. Historically disadvantaged institutions are noted for paying lip service to the issue of student development.

The establishment of an integrated and holistic student development programme concomitant with the enhancement of the full potential of all students does not begin or end in policy documents. What plans have been put in place to ensure that there is greater accent, for example, on cognitive/academic language proficiency, a re-conceptualisation of the teaching and learning of science and technology amongst previously disadvantaged students or a reconceptualisation of curricula that are stuck in the traditional mould of archaic pedagogics? Concrete steps towards student development would include, for example, the establishment of writing centres to cater for the needs of English second language students, student support centres that are equipped with the latest information technology and editorial support for postgraduate students. Seminars and workshops on academic development issues, student friendly administrative support systems, and research capacity building directed at postgraduate students are long overdue.

I am weary, very weary of the sterile hackneyed pronouncements, which parade as *transformation*. I have complained profusely about several gripes, not because I take delight in derision, but because as an academic, these things are important to me. What we need is a discourse of reconstruction concomitant with major structural changes- not merely plastering over the cracks which generally stops with new faces in management, new norms and standards documents or lofty promises of quality assurance.

Sincerely
Rajen

From: Juliet Perumal
To: The Reader: *Perspectives In Education: Conversations about Research*
Date: Monday, December,13, 1999 13:00
Subject: Reflecting on The Post-apartheid University? Troubled Visions of Higher Education in South Africa.

Dear Reader

I am acutely aware that the mini colloquium that Rajen and I have participated in is by no means representative of the experiences, perceptions, and observations of all South African academics or institutions of higher education. Ideally, we would have

preferred to have invited a broader core of participants to engage in the conversation, however tight work schedules, and time constraints prevented many potential participants from accepting the invitation. This would probably have elicited reflections from participants experiencing more promising developments, since sadly both of our reflections document troubled visions of higher education in South Africa. However, given the commitment of *Conversations about Research* to the relaxed and open exchange of views, I am sure that the editor of this column would welcome extending the colloquium to readers interested in entering the conversation to concur with, refute, or expand on the reflections presented in this article.

Looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely
Juliet

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Letter to the Editor

Kissoon Behari

P.O. Box 4525
Durban
4000
KZN, South Africa
1 April 2000

Dear Rubby

I read your call for papers on Higher Education with nostalgic interest. I think that there is little in your comments on the state of Higher Education with which I disagree fundamentally. However, as a retired educator, I want to take the liberty of reflecting on a few issues through somewhat different lenses, from a somewhat different perspective, from my somewhat comfortable armchair,

It seems to me that much of the discourse in the South African context have Colonialism and Apartheid as points of departure. At the risk of sounding pedantic, let me say that for me, this is limited and limiting: Through this perspective, we see only a fragment, a tiny speck, on the time continuum. The Europeans that came to the African continent were themselves in a severe economic plight, and that their leaving the shores of their countries, given their limited knowledge of the universe (and the superstitions) as well as the inadequate navigational equipment, is a powerful statement of a bold and adventurous spirit. But not satisfied with sufficient, the heroic spirit fell victim to greed and the desire for power. The present is an attempt at a re-affirmation of the African spirit, a reinstating of what has been lost, and a claim for denied privileges.

But this too is just a part of the process of growth and change, which commenced with the emergence of a single unicellular self-duplicating organism. Its struggle to survive in the grit and grime of the earth impelled it to change. And so it evolved (transformed?), taking on changing and complex bodies, rising higher on the phylogenetic scale until it eventually took the shape of man.

The implications of this theory are quite astounding: firstly, that all processes, whether at the macro - or micro-level, commence with a single unit, which proliferate and variegate into multiplicity; and, secondly, that each one of us possess all the experiential knowledge and potential energy of all creation as we know it. (It is less that we should see ourselves as related to each other, but rather as being one with each other.)

With the emergence of man, organic evolution reached perfection. But the process does not stop at this point. Julian Huxley refers to the psychosocial evolution of man: Man's most comprehensive aim is greater fulfilment—the fuller realisation of more possibilities by the human species collectively and more of its component members individually. Man's evolution operates by the mechanism of cultural tradition, which involves the cumulative self-reproduction and self-variation of men-

tal activities and their products. Major steps are achieved by break-throughs to new dominant patterns of mental organisations of knowledge, ideas and beliefs.

At the human level, an inner transformation begins to occur. Although one may possess a human body, one does not necessarily possess human capacities, but possess characteristics and tendencies of one's evolutionary past. Hitherto, change was external; now, the transformation of mind and intellect commences. While in the earlier stage, the impulse came from Nature herself, now, the impulse has to come from man, endowed with the powers of reason, will and discrimination.

The peculiarity of the mind and the senses is that they are out-going. When unchecked, it leads to the cultivation of a sensate culture. Consider the ancient Greek and the present American cultures. The former shows how, when the mind is controlled and the energies are properly directed, there come the finest flowers of human possibilities. And the latter shows how, when the accent is on the enjoyment of the senses and the mind is enslaved, that a sensate culture develops. (To answer the hedonist, sense-enjoyments are short-lived and they deaden the senses, thus defeating the original purpose of continued heightened sense gratification.)

While the Greeks had turned outwards to find perfection, the Indo-Aryans had turned their minds inwards. They saw how impermanent Nature was, how ephemeral existence was, how elusive eternal joy was. They refined and strengthened the mind to use as a tool of their investigation. With this, they voyaged through the uncharted universe of the inner world. They found that behind the universe there was a single power or force that pervaded everything, held everything, and gave identity and function to all. They discovered that in the internal world, there was this same power that was the power of reason and the light of intuition.

Concluding that they were neither the body nor the mind, nor anything that could be perceived by their senses, they directed all their energies to realise in essence their oneness with that single Consciousness. Erwin Schrodinger, the nuclear physicist, writes: 'Consciousness is never experienced in the plural, only in the singular . . . Consciousness is a singular of which the plural is unknown; that there is only one thing and that what seems to be a plurality is merely a series of different aspects of this one thing ...'

According to the Sankhya system, the expression of the universe commences from Undifferentiated Matter or Primordial Energy. This evolves into cosmic mind, ego and intellect. From these, through successive steps evolve the universe as we know it. When creation is complete and a critical point is reached, there is a process of involution. (The Big Bang theory fits into this scheme quite aptly.)

Perhaps the relationship between the individual and the absolute at all levels of being is illustrated in the following verse:

The Ocean of Bliss

The world is an infinite ocean of matter
of form and colour
and fascination.

And we are whirlpools
to which they come
through which they pass

The world is an eternal ocean of thought
And our minds are whirlpools.
Thoughts leave the whirlpool of my mind
see how they enter you!

The world is an Ocean of Spirit
become thought and matter.
All that is perceived
All that is conceived
All is the essence of Spirit

In matter we are one
In thought we are one
In spirit we are one

All this is the Ocean of Bliss.

I think that the logical goal of all human endeavours should be the attainment of the ability to perceive and realise this oneness at all levels of existence; the aim and purpose of each individual should be the expansion of his consciousness until he is one with the Whole.

Here then is the challenge to the Higher Education, here is the task of the educators: for the intellectuals and academics to expand their horizons of thought to that final point, to create conditions both in the university and society that will ensure the growth and transformation of each individual towards realising their highest potentiality, to direct and guide society for towards material upliftment and economic stability.

Implicit in all this is a value system and an ethical foundation. If Consciousness is all pervading, then one's essential nature is that Consciousness. In the words of Swami Vivekananda, 'Each souls is potentially divine.' If that is understood in the deepest way, thoughts and actions that would be injurious and detrimental to others would be impossible (or tantamount to self-destruction).

In both nature and in society, two forces are always working: one is constantly differentiating, the other constantly unifying. It is the higher man that can use the energies to enjoy and benefit from differentiation, and with a higher vision transcends it.

I have dreamed on a bit, presenting a somewhat idealistic, non-secular perspective

which does not always concur with the pragmatic reality that academics have to endure outside the escapist comforts of these pages. But I think that it is to idealism we must turn if we wish to counter the shameless slide towards pragmatic instrumentalism which reduces the academic and the intellectual to a faceless functionary.

Thank you Rubby for allowing me the latitude to indulge in a little tirade of fantasy as I now turn my attention to preparing a lecture on ...

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Contribution to multi-author work
Bellew, RT and King, EM. 1993. Educating Women: Lessons from Experience. *In Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policies,* King, EM and Hill, MA. (eds). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Unpublished works
Matsapa, JK. 1981. Wastage in Lesotho Education System (unpublished dissertation (Phd.), University of South Africa).

Papers
Makau, BM. 1994. Review of Significant Statistics on Education of Girls and Women in Kenya. Paper presented at a National Symposium on Education of Girls at the Garden Hotel, Machaka, Kenya.

Articles and reports in newspapers and magazines
Rees, S. 1996. End The Rhetoric: We Need Efficiency. *Sunday Times,14* January, 32–33.

Government documents
National Department of Education. 1997. *Human and Social Sciences Illustrative Learning Program.* Pretoria: Deptartment of Education.

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