A Review of Comparative Education and History of Education from Saches

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Welcome to volume 11 of *SARE with EWP*. This is the first issue produced by a new Editorial Collaborative. It is also the sixth issue to be refereed. I am grateful to the outgoing editor, Sheldon Weeks, and the Botswana Editorial Collaborative, for sustaining the journal over a number of years, ensuring its accreditation with the assistance of Aslaam Fataar, and for continuing to produce *SARE eNews*. Sheldon’s indefatigable energy has been a source of inspiration. We all wish him a speedy recovery from his recent operation.

I also wish to thank the new Editorial Collaborative for their assistance, Marion Boers for sub-editing the journal, improving the layout and putting the journal to bed with minimum fuss, as well as all the readers who have been of assistance.

The Southern African Comparative and History of Education Society (SACHES) and this journal keep comparative and history of education alive in the region. There is, however, much that can be done to enhance the field in the region. We would like to encourage authors submitting single-country studies to situate them in comparative contexts and would like to promote articles that enhance understanding of educational issues in the region. But we would also like to promote inclusion of articles that discuss the theoretical and methodological issues in doing comparative and history of education in the region at present, cross-national comparisons as well as research that reflects on educational matters of common concern from a broader, comparative and/or regional perspective. Historical research that looks at regional relationships or the history of education in a regional context is also encouraged.

In this issue, we include studies on Zimbabwe, Tanzania, South Africa-Botswana and Uganda. They include valuable insights into issues that are of general concern to others in the region: the effectiveness of the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council in managing examinations in rural schools in Zimbabwe, the relationship between teacher misconduct and a sense of professional identity, student resistance to radical feminist teachers and teaching in Botswanan and South African university lecture halls, and an historical re-examination of the racial and cultural discourses in the Eiselen Commission of South Africa in the 1950s. Our Research Note reports on an initiative in Uganda to reach out-of-school children through non-formal education, and our Debate and Discussion section includes the keynote address that Salim Vally gave at the 12th World Congress on Comparative Education in Havana, Cuba. The Conference was convened by the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) and the Association of Cuban Educators (APC). We invite responses or continued debate on the points he raises in subsequent issues.

Our Book Reviews section will grow in subsequent issues and we intend to include a List of New Books as well.

We look forward to a Special Issue on Comparative and History of Education in the region as our next issue and to your continued support.

*Linda Chisholm*
Professional identity and misconduct: Perspectives of Tanzanian teachers

William AL Anangisye and Angeline M Barrett
University of Edinburgh and University of Bristol

Abstract

Teacher misconduct and unprofessionalism, together with corruption amongst educational administrators, threaten to undermine current initiatives to improve educational quality in many low-income countries, including most of sub-Saharan Africa. In this paper it is argued that strategies to raise ethical standards need to be based on an understanding of the positive professional models to which educators aspire. Research conducted in Tanzania elicited the views of teachers and other educationalists on misconduct and primary school teachers’ constructs of their professional identity. Similarities exist between Tanzanian teachers’ understandings of their professionalism and those found amongst teachers in other parts of Africa. Prevalent forms of misconduct were found to transgress four orienting themes of the Tanzanian teacher identity landscape. On the basis of these findings, we suggest ways forward for tackling teacher misconduct and recommend the research approach taken for application in other contexts.

Introduction

Professional misconduct is as old as the professions themselves (for a historical look at professionalism and misconduct see Lieberman 1956: 419; Kaneko 1999) and no profession is immune from the problem. However, unethical practice tends to be most common and most extreme in conditions of economic scarcity (Bennett 2001; Hallak and Poisson 2005: 2). When it comes to teachers, ethical conduct is considered important because of their responsibilities in relation to the care and development of young people and children:

If parents in search of a good education for their child discover that the best available in terms of academic knowledge and pedagogical skills is a person who is known to be privately a liar and an adulterer as well as disloyal, shifty, sarcastic and bullying, irrespective of his attested knowledge and skill as a teacher in some more technical sense, they may well have grave reservations about placing their child in his care (Carr 1993: 195).

Whilst parents and organizations advocating children’s rights may worry about the effects of teacher misconduct on students’ welfare, internationally, the planners and sponsors of education focus on the impact that unethical behaviour has on access and quality. This has prompted UNESCO’s International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) to embark on a programme of research into corruption in education (Hallak and Poisson 2005). Previous research in this area has tended to be small-scale and has traced the causes of teacher misconduct to low salaries and poor management practices (e.g. Davies 1992; Hedges...
Unethical behaviour has also been related to the occupational culture of the teaching force, variously described as characterized by patriarchal attitudes (Davies 1993), resignation in the face of systemic ineffectiveness (Harber and Davies 1997) and a collective identity as victims denied employment rights (Welmond 2002). Suggestions for raising teacher morale have targeted the management and professional support given to teachers, at the national and school levels (e.g. Coombe 1997; VSO 2002).

In Tanzania, concerns have repeatedly been raised regarding the prevalence of misconduct amongst college and school teachers in recent years (see, for example, Mosha 1997; Kuleana 1999; Warioba 2000; Sambo 2001; Boimanda 2004; Telli et al. 2004). Yet, whilst the phenomenon is widely recognized and frequently reported in newspapers (e.g. Ngoya 2000; Limu 2001; Mussa 2001), there have been few studies investigating misconduct and its causes amongst teachers and educators. The only recent example known to the authors, Telli et al., has been controversial because of both its findings and its methodology. The non-governmental organization (NGO) publishing the research invited the general public to enter an essay competition addressing the two questions, ‘What forms of corruption are prevalent within the education sector?’ and ‘How might they be combated?’ From an analysis of 3,000 submissions, Telli et al. deduced that the most prevalent forms of corruption were sexual misconduct, bribery, nepotism, misuse of pupils’ labour by teachers and mismanagement by head teachers.

Comparative researchers have long argued that policies to improve teachers’ practice need to be founded on an understanding of the educational values that teachers themselves hold and that these depend on country context (Broadfoot et al. 1993; Jessop and Penny 1998). In this paper, we argue that in a similar way initiatives to improve the ethical conduct of teachers need to be informed by a qualitative understanding of teachers’ own constructions of their professional identity. We set out to demonstrate the potential of such an approach by devising a schema, based on the findings of research conducted in Tanzania between 2002 and 2005. Within this schema the most common forms of misconduct are interpreted as violations of specific elements of teacher professionalism, as understood by Tanzanian teachers. The schema may be used to inform the design of initiatives to tackle misconduct tailored to the Tanzanian context. There are significant similarities between Tanzanian teachers’ conceptualization of professionalism and that found by research into teachers’ narratives and identity elsewhere in Africa (Jessop and Penny 1998; Welmond 2002). This suggests that our research approach may be applied in other sub-Saharan African countries. Throughout the text, the term ‘professional identity’ is used to refer to teachers’ shared identity as an occupational group that they collectively construct through interaction with each other and other groups, such as education administrators, parents, students and the media (for further elaboration see Barrett 2005a: 44).

Professionalism is a contested concept (Downie 1990) that has traditionally been normatively defined in terms of the characteristics of those occupations, such as law and medicine, that were by common consent regarded as ‘professions’ (Hoyle and John 1995: 1-2). In this manner, sociologists identified expertise, autonomy, altruism or service for the public good as the most essential elements (e.g. Elliot 1972; Bennett and
Hokenstad 1973; Freidson 1994). This view of professionalism is historically rooted in the UK and North America, where, over the past two decades, it has given way to notions that owe more to business and management than the classical professions (Whittington et al. 1994; Bottery 1998). One consequence of this shift is that teachers’ status as professionals has become less ambiguous than in the past (Etzioni 1969), as the association between professionalism and an extended training has been superseded by an emphasis on marketization of services and accountability against measurable standards (Caldwell 1997; although critics argue teachers are being deskilled, e.g. Ozga 1995). The dimension of professionalism that concerns us most here, however, is that of altruistic service or, more simply, ethics.

As the quote in the opening paragraph of this paper implies, teachers have always been expected to conform demonstrably to certain moral standards, whether formally defined or otherwise. In the past, when many schools in Britain and America were sponsored by churches, these were more closely aligned with expectations placed on Christian priests or ministers than the benevolent altruism expected of doctors or lawyers (Waller 1932/1965; Lortie 1975). Today, in many sub-Saharan African countries, Tanzania included, this expectation is formalized in a professional code (e.g. Wright 2004; Ukpo 2005). However, in this paper, we draw on interview data collected from educational professionals in Tanzania to infer shared notions of what constitutes ethical or unethical behaviour.

The next section gives an overview of the methodology and methods used in two independent research projects, the findings of which form the basis for our argument. Section three is based on a project concerned with professional ethics and outlines the forms of misconduct that teachers, teacher trainers and education officers observed as prevalent. Section four draws on a research project on teacher identity to outline the four main orienting themes that shape teachers’ constructions of their professional identity. Section five reflects on the implications of this model for tackling misconduct in Tanzania and informing theoretical insights into teacher identity and its relation to misconduct in low income contexts more generally.

**Research design**

The findings presented in the next two sections are drawn from two separate studies on teacher professionalism in Tanzania. The studies shared an interpretivist approach, in which meaning is viewed as socially constructed through interaction between people. Hence, research is viewed as constructing knowledge through dialectic interaction between researcher, research participants and literature. Findings on misconduct are derived from ongoing research by Anangisye on the ethical dimension of teacher professionalism. Fieldwork was conducted in three of Tanzania’s 21 regions, Mbeya, Iringa and Dar es Salaam (see map in Figure 1), between July 2004 and January 2005. Besides having colleges of teacher education, the regions are renowned for their academic performance. In 2002, Dar es Salaam, Mbeya and Iringa were ranked first, second and fourth respectively out of 20 regions in the Primary School Leaving Examinations (United Republic of Tanzania (URT) 2003). The main data collection activity consisted of semi-structured one-to-one interviews with a range of educationalists, pupils, community members and law enforcement officials. Table 1 gives the categories and numbers of informants interviewed. In addition, 190 primary school pup-
Table 1: Informants interviewed by Anangisye

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teachers:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School and college teachers</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired teachers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher educators</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student teachers</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUBTOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>63</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other educationalists:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School inspectors</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District education officers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired regional education officer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officers of Teachers Service Commission (TSC)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National curriculum developers</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Officer of Tanzania Teachers Union (TTU)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUBTOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>17</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pupils and community:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary school pupils</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>School board members</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Village community members</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUBTOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law enforcement:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB) officers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police officers</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SUBTOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>4</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>95</strong></td>
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Anangisye and Barrett

...ils were invited to list in writing the characteristics they liked and disliked about their teachers and three discussion groups, each involving four teachers, were conducted. Interviews were supported by documentary research drawing on articles in journals, books, booklets, policy documents, unpublished dissertations and grey literature. The forms of misconduct reported by teachers nearly always referred to colleagues, rather than being first-hand accounts, and were broadly in agreement with the forms of misconduct identified in the literature and by administrative staff. This suggests a consensus between researchers, the media, students, practising teachers and their managers on the ethical standards and conduct expected of educational professionals.

The findings on professional identity in section four are taken from Barrett’s research on teacher identity, which is reported in full elsewhere (Barrett 2005b). Data was collected in the two regions of Shinyanga and Pwani between November 2002 and May 2003 (see map in Figure 1). Neither region is regarded as educationally advantaged, with Shinyanga consistently being ranked last in the Primary School Leaving Examinations. Pwani was ranked 11th out of 20 regions in 2002 (URT 2003). However, within-region and even within-district variations, which do not appear in national statistics, are often more dramatic than those between regions. Hence, in each region about half of the schools visited were located in a relatively advantaged cosmopolitan district and half within a less advantaged rural area. Thirty-four primary school teachers from 18 schools in both rural and urban...
areas were interviewed one-to-one at their schools. The schools were a mixture of large schools located in urban areas with around 30 to 40 teachers and between 1 000 and 2 000 pupils, medium-sized village schools located close to a main road or town with 10 to 15 teachers for around 500 pupils, and remote village schools that usually had less than their entitlement of seven teachers (one for each year group) and served upwards of 200 pupils. The interview sample included teachers with lengths of service ranging from 1 to 38 years, with 12 having trained within the last 10 years. Sixteen of the interviewees worked in town schools and 18 were women. In 2002, 45% of teachers were women (URT 2002). The reason for the over-representation of women in this study is the relatively small number of very remote schools visited, where there are low numbers of female teachers. In a survey of over 1 700 primary school teachers, Cooksey et al. (1991) found that over 80% of teachers in urban schools were women, and this appeared still to be the case in the urban schools visited as part of this study. In short, the sample was not in any sense statistically representative of the population of all teachers in Tanzania, but did cover the range of ages and types of postings available.

The interviews were semi-structured and included questions on characteristics of a good teacher and relations with pupils, parents, the community and various levels of administration from school committee to central government. As teachers’ espoused educational values may differ from the values they put into practice (as demonstrated by Schweisfurth’s case studies of teachers, 2002), interviews were supported by one week’s intensive observation in each of two schools. This gave the researcher insight into teachers’ day-to-day routine that aided her interpretation of the interview data and also gave her an opportunity to get to know several teachers over a period of time, as she made return visits to the schools following the period of formal observation. In addition, in-depth studies of three teachers were carried out, for which a series of interviews were conducted alongside observation of classroom practice.

Forms of misconduct found in Tanzania
This section draws on both field research and documentary research on professional ethics carried out by Anangisye. It provides a categorization of the types of misconduct mentioned most frequently by students, teachers, administrators and law enforcers. The four categories used are corruption, abusive behaviour to others, behaviour inappropriate to status, and purposeful dereliction of duty. Each of these is discussed in sequence.

Corruption
Included under corruption are leakage or cheating in examinations, securing or awarding a position for illegitimate reasons and mismanagement of school resources. Teachers’ complicity in examination irregularities has been observed in various sub-Saharan African countries (Bumpoh 2002; Maunda 2002: 219; Odongo 2002). In Tanzania, examination officials and local education officials are also commonly suspected of leaking examination papers. Irregularities in the conduct of examinations generally take the following forms: (1) host teachers at the examination centre conspire with invigilators, (2) parents bribe head teachers or examination invigilators to release examination papers or help their children, (3) teachers smuggle their solutions to previously leaked papers into examination rooms for students to view,
and, more rarely, (4) teachers sit examinations on behalf of their students (see, for example, Mgaya and Alute 2002). There are also reported incidents of teachers cheating when they are themselves the examination candidates, as one officer within the Teachers Service Commission (TSC) reported:

She registered to sit for the form four examinations [national secondary examinations] but because of fear that she might not perform well she conspired with her daughter, a form six leaver, to take the examinations on her behalf. (TSC officer, Iringa)

Corruption in the allocation of positions is similar to that practised throughout the public or private sector (Warigi 2001). In focus group discussions, officers from the Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB) affirmed that they had come across incidents of education officers, inspectors and head teachers practising nepotism or tribalism in the selection of personnel for promotion and other privileges. Bribes or sexual favours were also exchanged for career development opportunities or professional development opportunities, such as selection for examination invigilation or to attend in-service training. There was evidence of teachers offering ‘gifts’ such as sacks of rice or goats to education officers and individuals forging certificates, e.g. academic qualifications or marriage certificates, in order to obtain positions, transfers or promotions as teachers. PCB officials also claimed that they handled incidents of teachers, sometimes in collusion with administrators, embezzling public funds or property meant for school or college projects. Since 2001, as part of a recent nationwide programme to improve access and quality of primary education, the government has disbursed funds for classroom construction. There was evidence that some of these had been diverted:

Primary school head teachers in collaboration with other teachers, for example, would claim to have hired a lorry to transport cement from town to a school in the remote village at one hundred thousand shillings [roughly equivalent to 100 US dollars] instead of sixty thousand. They conspired with the lorry owners or drivers. Or where the actual cost of carrying sand for construction was sixty thousand they would write one hundred thousand shillings. Likewise, they were accused of stealing cement. Also, if the target were to build three classrooms, only two would be built. (PCB officer, Mbeya)

Perpetrating a form of theft that abuses their position of responsibility towards students, teachers have also been accused of swindling money from students. This type of malpractice is particularly common in private schools. In one case, reported by a secondary school student in a letter of complaint that was found in the school files, a teacher had ‘borrowed’ and failed to return money the student had brought to school as payment for school fees.

Abusive and violent behaviour
This is arguably the most serious form of misconduct and, in Tanzania, has been the subject of research concerned with children’s rights (Kuleana 1999; URT and UNICEF 2001). Whereas corruption is a cross-sectoral problem in Tanzania (Ishumi 1988; Warioba 2000), it has been argued that mass education is peculiarly susceptible to explicitly or implicitly supporting violence and abuse towards students (Harber 2002; Tafa 2002). Abusive behaviour within education institutions can have far-reaching consequences for the individuals affected and, when it is widespread, the society as a whole. Precisely because schools and colleges are places where children and young people learn the norms of social behaviour, they have the potential to perpetuate and escalate cycles of violence and corruption across generations (as argued by Bennett 2001).
Corporal punishment is legal in Tanzania. However, legislation exists to control its use. Only the head teacher or one carefully selected member of the teaching staff is authorized to administer corporal punishment, schools are obliged to record its use and caning should be limited to no more than four strokes at a time, even for the most serious offences. Many schools nominate a female teacher to be responsible for discipline of girls. Nonetheless, observations and interviews indicated that corporal punishment is commonly administered unofficially, with significant variations between districts in the extent to which it is used. This may be because discipline is more of an issue in urban than rural schools (as Sumra has observed, c.2004: 26). Primary school pupils complained of its inappropriate or excessive use as a reprimand for relatively minor infringements or merely to vent a teacher's frustration. One group of secondary teachers also argued that corporal punishment was often out of proportion to the offence and degenerated into an exhibition of teachers' power over students or expression of a grudge against the targeted student. Students also raised concerns over teachers verbally insulting students. One group of pupils gave the example of a teacher who consistently called them 'goats'.

In Tanzania, reports of teachers sexually abusing female and, less often, male students are widespread and range from verbal harassment to rape (Chumi 2001; Mvero 2004; Telli et al. 2004). A female pupil observed that some teachers would publicly humiliate schoolgirls by verbally abusing them in front of their classmates as vengeance for rejecting sexual advances made in private. As Leach et al. (2003) point out, it is not always clear to what extent girls are coerced into sexual relations with teachers or enter them freely. Securing a 'sugar daddy' is a strategy used by some teenage girls and young women for funding their education (Leach 2001: 35; Vavrus 2003). Nonetheless, in this study, informants expressed disapproval not only of consensual sexual relations between teachers and students in secondary schools or teachers' colleges, but also of adulterous affairs between members of staff.

**Behaviour inappropriate to status**

Informants regarded behaviour such as drunkenness, drug addiction and dressing inappropriately as unethical and bringing not only the individual teacher concerned but also the profession as a whole into disrepute. It is hard to conduct any research in schools in Tanzania without encountering teachers who suffer from alcoholism to the point that it affects their ability to do their job. In many of the schools visited, a member of staff was regularly or long-term absent owing to alcohol-related illnesses, including a contact teacher who was supposed to facilitate access to other informants. On one occasion Anangisye came across a college tutor in a drunk and disorderly state on campus while lessons were in progress. A former district education officer observed that alcoholism was most common amongst well qualified men posted to remote areas, a group that Barrett (2005b: 269) found to be particularly demoralized by a sense of being neglected by 'the government'.

Teachers' dress was viewed as sending strong messages to colleagues, students and the community. Hence, teachers were expected to dress in a manner that was appropriate to their status as white-collar workers and distinguished them from peasants or manual workers. This meant wearing clothes that were neither too casual nor too smart and that were clean and not crumpled
Women were expected not to dress provocatively in partially transparent materials or short skirts. However, in rural areas, many teachers raise extra income through farming and may in a single day move between the classroom and their farming plot. Hence, it is not uncommon to hear accusations of schoolteachers or college tutors appearing in class dirty and shabby, with crumpled clothes and dirty shoes or flip-flops. The following is an excerpt from a newspaper report:

The Teachers Service Commission of Serengeti district rebuked the scruffy dress amongst teachers in the district, where one teacher was found in a classroom teaching with mud-covered feet with trousers folded up to his knees; and another one benefited from Samaritans who bought him clothes which he later sold to get money for a drink (Uhuru 25/3/1999: 1).

Informants in both research studies were quick to condemn slovenly dress on the grounds that it was inappropriate to teachers’ role as an example to students and community members. Primary school teachers in rural areas were deeply resentful if the state of their housing was such that there was no dust-free cupboard or surface on which to keep their clothes.

**Dereliction of duty**

Dereliction of duty amounts to breach of contract conditions by repeatedly taking absence without leave for parts of or a whole working day or insubordination to managers. As was mentioned above, absenteeism runs at chronic levels in Tanzania. In 1995, a World Bank survey found that 38% of primary school teachers were reported to have been absent for a minimum of two days in the week prior to data collection (Schleicher et al. 1995 cited in Kuleana 1999: 33). However, a large proportion of absences are for legitimate reasons, such as illness or attendance at in-service training. Nonetheless, teacher truancy featured in interviews with inspectors, education officers, students and TSC officers, suggesting that illegitimate absenteeism is a serious problem affecting quality of education. A TSC officer categorized long-term ‘truancy’ into three types: ‘retail truancy’, where a teacher’s commercial business takes him or her away from the classroom for days or weeks at a time; ‘absconding’, when teachers break contract without notice in order to take up employment in the private sector; and, lastly, when a teacher is absent for a legitimate reason, such as illness, but has failed to notify the head teacher or request leave. Reasons given by informants for regularly missing lessons or days at work included the time demands of private informal businesses or delivering private tuition and indulging in leisure activities during the working day, such as plaiting each others’ hair (amongst female teachers), chatting in the staffroom or visiting a local bar for a drink (more common amongst male teachers). Absenteeism thus appears to have economic as well as social or personal explanations.

There were complaints that some teachers persistently refused to accept the authority of heads of department or head teachers who were less well qualified than themselves. The other form of insubordination mentioned was resistance to transfers. Government teachers’ contracts stipulate that they may be posted anywhere within Tanzania at any time (URT 1990).

**Professional identity**

The frequency and extent of misconduct suggests a need to transform what Davies (1992) calls the occupational culture of teachers. However, policy initiatives need to take into account teachers’ own constructs of their professional identity. Informants’ uni-
form disapproval of all the forms of misconduct described above, even amongst those who were known sometimes to indulge in misconduct themselves, indicates that teachers in Tanzania do share a framework of ethical values and recognize a positive model of professionalism. Only after understanding their ideals of professionalism is it feasible to postulate reasons why so many teachers in Tanzania today fail to live up to these ideals, to understand the implications for their collective professional identity and individual self identities and to consider how policy can create the conditions for a regeneration of professional ethics.

The identity of any social or occupational group is always complex, with differences between subgroups (e.g. male and female, town and village-dwellers, young and old) and individuals. Identity is also dynamic, constantly changing over time as members evolve their shared sense of identity through dialogue and in response to contextual change. It is for this reason that identity has been referred to as both differing and deferring (Hall 2003: 239). It is deferred in the sense that identity is always evolving, in the process of becoming. It is also deferred in the sense of being a model, which may be aspired to but is never perfectly realized.

In his work on Beninese primary school teachers, Welmond (2002) accommodated differences in teacher identity by theorizing an identity landscape upon which teachers negotiate their position. He located four different ‘cultural schemata’ positioned relative to the two axes of ‘teaching for the state’ versus ‘teaching for the community’ and ‘teaching as doing’ versus ‘teaching as being’ (see Figure 2). ‘Beacon teachers’ are vessels of special knowledge available as a conduit between the community and the outside world. They convey knowledge in the classroom not so much through the act of teaching as by their presence. The teacher as ‘civil servant’ is a civil servant who happens to teach. Civil servants in Benin have access to peripheral entitlements, many of dubious legality, and can, if properly compensated, serve as a conduit between their communities and government. The ‘dedicated teacher’ is a self-sacrificing, hardworking good person, who is a surrogate parent, a moral example and a key figure within the community. In return, ‘dedicated teachers’ expect respect and gratitude, often expressed through material gifts. Lastly, the ‘efficient teacher’ holds a restricted view of responsibility as ensuring that students pass examinations. Jessop & Penny (1998) found that the narratives of primary school teachers in the Gambia and KwaZulu-Natal contained two ‘frames’, the relational and instrumental, which had similarities with the last two of Welmond’s schemata. Relational teachers, like dedicated teachers, saw themselves as moral examples who care for children and the community. The intrinsic rewards of teaching founded in their loving relationships with pupils were privileged over any formal or informal material rewards. Instrumental teachers, like efficient teachers, were concerned with transferring knowledge, producing results, receiving their salary and other contractual entitlements. They tended to blame educational failure on a lack of resources.

By presenting their findings in terms of ‘narrative frames’, Jessop & Penny implied that a single teacher is not necessarily locked within one frame or the other but may draw on discourses associated with either. Welmond used the analogy of a landscape to explain how teachers try to negotiate an identity for themselves that is aligned with one or more of the schemata. Movement around a landscape represents the fluidity, even duplicity, of positions that individuals
may assume as well as highlighting the tension between those positions. In the Tanzanian teacher landscape it is possible to identify four orienting themes that overlap with the characteristics described by Jessop & Penny and Welmond. The first, teachers as ‘second parents’ to children, expands on a theme included in Jessop & Penny’s relational frame. The second, teachers as role models, can be traced within Welmond’s description of both the beacon teacher and the dedicated teacher as well as Jessop & Penny’s relational frame. The third concerns the position of teachers as contracted government employees and carries elements of both the civil servant and instrumental teacher. The last revolves around the conception of teaching as a vocation and bears a strong resemblance to the Beninese dedicated teacher.

Teachers as ‘second parents’
Primary school teachers frequently drew on the parent metaphor, describing themselves as ‘second parents’ or ‘second guardians’ to their pupils. The parent analogy did not necessarily imply an intimate or nurturing relationship between adult and child, but rather emphasis was placed on moral guidance and, where possible, material or practical provision. Although integral to their occupational identity, the assumption of a ‘duty of care’ was traced to the culture and values of Tanzanian society and considered to be generic to all responsible adults:

To be a teacher is to be a guardian. To care for children as if they are one’s own family is the responsibility of a teacher, to attend to any important needs. This is the custom and tradition of Tanzania, to care about each other. (Primary teacher discussion group in Pwani)

Teachers’ extended contact with children provided them with the opportunity to care for children whom they perceived as being neglected by their own parents. ‘Care’ was usually interpreted as practical action, e.g. making sure a child who had turned up at school with a fever received medical attention or providing a new shirt for a child whose clothes had fallen into disrepair. One teacher, however, discussed counselling a girl who suffered neglect by her mother and stepfather. ‘Correction’ was also considered to be a part of care, which might include corporal punishment but also required paying special attention to the child over a long period of time.

Teachers as role models
The ideal that teachers should be role models or exemplars for their students and the communities in which they live has a long history in Tanzania, relating to the visibility of teachers within villages as relatively well-educated salaried employees:

The village school teacher must remember that his work is not only confined in the four walls of the classroom. He is a teacher of both the children and the people around his school. Pupils and other people will copy what he does and so he must set a good example. (Fovo 1965: 16)

All informants in the study on teacher identity regarded themselves as an ‘example’ or ‘mirror’ in which children should see the possibility of an attractive future for
themselves. This principle was foundational to a shared code of ethical conduct, which teachers claimed had been taught to them formally as part of their teacher training and was repeatedly reinforced by their managers.

Teachers should be an example in all their behaviour. ... Because many times children copy the behaviour of the teacher. If the teacher has good behaviour and habits, the child learns from the teacher. But if the teacher uses bad language and does unsuitable things, the child will learn these from the teacher. (Primary school teacher, Pwani)

This emphasis on being an example blurs the boundary between professional and social identity. When asked to elaborate on what they meant by 'ethics', teachers talked about behaviour that is visible beyond the school, most especially appropriate dress, polite language and not being a drunkard. Being a good teacher was synonymous with being a good citizen. To an extent, this is true in any country and context, as the quote contained in the opening paragraph of this paper illustrates. In Tanzania, however, a teacher is not only an example of a moral citizen but also of an educated citizen. Rather like Welmond's 'beacon teachers', Tanzanian teachers are supposed to embody in their conduct and appearance the cultural and material advantages of education and hence motivate their students to persevere with schooling and seek promotion to the next educational level.

Teachers as government employees
As well as having a moral responsibility to care for children, encapsulated in the parent metaphor, teachers acknowledged that they had formal duties, which are defined by the government. Official requirements of them included being in the school compound during certain hours, teaching their timetabled classes and carrying out duties allocated to them by the school administration, such as acting as school storekeeper or caretaker.

However, it was the flipside of their contractual relationship with the government – their rights as employees – that dominated teachers’ talk, most especially when they were gathered in groups. They shared a fierce sense of grievance fuelled primarily by dissatisfaction with salary levels and delays in payment (Sumra elaborates on teachers' pay conditions, c.2004). Other sources of grievance, such as the curtailment of various allowances added on to salaries prior to 1997 and shortfalls in housing provision in remote areas, related to a sense of erosion of their entitlements and status. To illustrate the legitimacy of their complaints, teachers compared their employment conditions with those of other public sector workers, most commonly the army or police.

Teachers by vocation
Long-service teachers, who had qualified before the mid-eighties, often identified themselves as ‘teachers by vocation’. They had entered teaching during or shortly after a period of rapid expansion and came from peasant backgrounds or, in the case of the eldest women, were amongst the first generation of female teachers. They gave altruistic reasons for entering teaching that were also personal, such as love for children or a desire ‘to develop children in the same way that I was developed’. There were distinct similarities between the vocation theme and Welmond’s ‘dedicated teacher’. Those posted to remote schools compared their position as ‘teachers by calling’ to that of priests or Catholic nuns. The analogy was not only meant to indicate a moral dedication to their work but a sense of being in some way ‘special’ or set apart from the community, which they served. At the same time, it illustrated the sacrifice, in terms of their income
and lifestyle, that their occupation demanded of them:

The life of a teacher, on my side, I see that truly it is like the life of a priest, not to have a large income, and this helps a person to be respected and to be attractive, as I was attracted by my teachers. (Female village teacher in Shinyanga with 40 years of service)

For many village teachers, teaching was more than a job that they did during school hours. It was a way of life because it determined where they lived, how they lived and the conditions in which they brought up their own families, without easy access to amenities, such as a hospital or pre-school.

However, some teachers in urban schools also identified themselves as teachers by vocation. They contrasted themselves, either implicitly or explicitly, with a negative reference group (Nias 1989) for whom teaching is just a job, in order to construct their own identities as ‘good teachers’:

In my experience in teaching I have learnt that there are two types of teacher. There are those who are teachers by vocation and there are others who just come to work. They don’t have a sense of compassion towards the children. (Long-service male teacher, Shinyanga)

Other teachers in urban or peri-urban schools emphatically rejected the term ‘vocation’, complaining that government used it to oblige them to work for unacceptable rates of remuneration. They also felt that it no longer represented their lifestyle, which resembled that of any other urban-dwelling white-collar worker. Some deployed the term strategically, claiming that if they did not have a sense of vocation they would not be teachers at all, as the employment conditions were not sufficient to attract and retain employees. Teachers’ conflicting views on the vocation discourse illustrate the tension between orienting themes within the teacher identity landscape as well as movement in teachers’ collective sense of identity in response to their evolving work contexts.

A schema relating misconduct to teacher identity

In this section the forms of misconduct, described above are related to orienting themes in Tanzanian teachers’ identity landscape. The purpose is to show how teachers’ professional identities contribute to their understanding of what constitutes misconduct and their tolerance of misconduct. Misconduct is recognized and defined as such because it contravenes an ethical ideal of professionalism. Each theme on the teacher identity landscape implies the possibility of its own transgression. Table 2 illustrates this by equating each category of misconduct given above with violation of one of the themes of professional identity. Less directly, the same discourses that represent positive elements of teacher professionalism may be deployed strategically to conceal or even tacitly condone unethical behaviour (for an in-depth discussion of the approach taken to discourse analysis, see Barrett 2005b: 81-86). The relationship between professional identity and forms of misconduct is more complex than the rough schema in Table 2. Whilst each theme of professional identity is unequivocally violated by one particular form of misconduct, associated discourses may be deployed to excuse other forms of misconduct, especially when teachers feel that they are themselves misused by their employer. The discussion below shows how this works in practice for each theme of professional identity.

‘Second parents’ and abusive behaviour

Violent or abusive behaviour towards students violates the positive model of the teacher as parent. The authority that an adult has to reprimand a child becomes
detached from its purpose of giving moral guidance. When teachers behave abusively, they not only break a professional code of conduct but also show contempt for societal culture. The perpetrator is both an unethical teacher and an irresponsible adult member of society. At the same time, the ‘second parent’ discourse may be interpreted as justifying reasonable use of physical punishment as part of guiding the child. Parenting is an informal activity, unregulated by the legislation that surrounds teaching as a formal profession. Whilst the ‘second parent’ analogy implies teachers bring their intuition and social values to their relations with children, the same is also true for the discipline of children. Hence, where society as a whole accepts that parents have the right to physically rebuke children, ‘teaching as parenting’ may be viewed as extending this right to teachers. At the very least, it overlooks the role of legislation or a formal professional code of ethics in regulating teachers’ interactions with students.

Table 2: Misconduct as transgression of the themes of Tanzanian teacher identity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Violation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Second parent</td>
<td>Abuse and violence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role model</td>
<td>Behaviour inappropriate to status</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil servant</td>
<td>Corruption and dereliction of duty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocation versus job</td>
<td>Dereliction of duty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Role models’ and status

Behaviour inappropriate to status makes a mockery of the role model theme that was integral to all informants’ sense of professional identity. This partly explains the importance that teachers and others placed on a smart appearance and avoiding alcoholism. The repeated mention of alcoholism also represented a collective acknowledgement that this was a common problem. In rural areas, disapproval of drunken behaviour was associated with disapproval of local bars, where potent home-brew was served cheaply. Many considered it inappropriate for teachers to frequent these places, presumably for the same reasons that they were supposed to differentiate themselves from peasants through their dress. Village teachers are placed in a double bind as they are expected to survive in rural areas – which often means undertaking some kind of farming activity – but be visibly different from their neighbours. It is not surprising that many teachers, especially highly qualified teachers who, after several years in the cosmopolitan environment of educational institutions are in many ways least well-equipped to adapt to village life, find this a difficult line to walk. Recognition of the value placed on an appearance of respectability underlines the extent of personal and professional tragedy that chronic alcoholism is for teachers. It also explains the strength of feeling that poor housing and low income generate when teachers perceive this to undermine their social status within their communities.

‘Government employees’, corruption and dereliction of duty

Corruption and dereliction of duty may be interpreted as direct transgressions of the terms of contract of government employees. However, teachers’ perception that the government as their employer does not fulfil its obligations means that identification as a wronged government employee may be interpreted as a justification for the same forms of misconduct. In a pyramidal bureaucratic system, where each tier of managers is answerable to the tier above, those located in institutions or offices at a distance from
the administrative centre may find that their management of finances and people is relatively invisible. This creates specific conditions upon which unscrupulous school leaders can capitalize to the direct detriment of the quality of education in their schools. Not only does corruption impoverish a school’s material resources, but teachers who had worked under corrupt head teachers in the past recalled experiencing intense demoralization as their efforts in the classroom were undermined by deliberate mismanagement at the school level. Demoralization can in turn lead to dereliction of duty, in particular frequent absenteeism or inattentiveness to work. However, even in schools where the head teacher was respected and liked by staff, vagaries in the payment of salary or provision of basic resources could become a justification for dereliction of duty. Whether salary delays were caused by genuine administrative hitches or because money was diverted illegitimately, teachers tended to assume corruption on the part of the education officers. If teaching is a job underpinned by a contract, then teachers’ persistent dereliction of duty and lax attitudes to work even when in school may be viewed as a collective protest against their employment conditions.

Vocation and dereliction of duty
The vocation theme is the most complex. It compounds aspects of the other themes into a single holistic image of what a teacher should be that includes dedication to the development of children, a position of status and responsibility within the community and being a representative of government. So any form of misconduct may be construed as transgressing the vocation construct of professionalism. What is unique to vocation, however, is the notion that teaching involves personal sacrifice. Hence, withholding this sacrifice through deliberate dereliction of duty violates the foundation of vocation by prioritizing personal welfare over the demands of being a teacher. The tension that teachers perceive between the ideal of vocation and teaching as a job highlights weaknesses in the vocation theme. Vocation powerfully provided a sense of professional identity and pride for an earlier generation of teachers, who had modest levels of education (primary or primary plus two years of secondary). Since 1993, entrants to teachers’ colleges are required to have at least four years of secondary schooling. Hence, many newly-qualified teachers have grown up in urban areas and all have spent a longer period of time in the cosmopolitan environments of secondary schools and teachers’ colleges. Consequently, they have higher career aspirations (see Barrett 2005b: Ch. 6, p. 169). In a survey of student teachers, Towse et al. (2002) found the majority had entered teaching having failed to gain entry to a more desirable occupation. For this group, the sacrifice expected of a teacher by vocation is not a reasonable one. They are more likely to be attracted to a model of professionalism premised on teachers being employees, in which effective teaching, diligence and skill development is rewarded by intellectually-engaging work, ongoing professional development opportunities and security of income.

Conclusion
In the discussion of professional identity above, identity was described as complex and dynamic. Given this, initiatives aimed at the renewal of professional ethics will involve changes to teachers’ notions of professionalism in ways that are not necessarily predictable. Teachers may be expected to mediate policy aimed at improving ethical
conduct in the same way that they have been found to mediate policy aimed at changing their pedagogic practice (Osborn et al. 2000; Schweisfurth 2002). Nonetheless, the relationship between professional identity and misconduct outlined above does suggest ways forward for improving conduct. Teachers who genuinely identify as second parents need to be encouraged to be intolerant of abusive behaviour by their colleagues. This means establishing mechanisms for reporting and investigating misconduct that protects whistleblowers. It also requires that education managers and inspectors demonstrate intolerance of violent or abusive behaviour. As being a role model is such an essential element of professional identity, teachers could be encouraged to reflect on what this should mean for their conduct and practice beyond a concern for their appearance before students and society. Even if it is not possible to raise teachers’ salaries to a level that will allow them to live and bring up their families without recourse to informal income-raising activities, it is essential that salaries and pay rises be awarded on time and that management practices are as transparent as possible. Then teachers’ identification as government employees can work positively to reinforce timekeeping and diligence rather than excusing corruption and dereliction of duty. Finally, the vocation identity tells us much about the challenges of working in remote village schools. Early career teachers need special support when posted to such schools, not just from colleagues at the school but also from the wider education system. This may take the form of visits from a mentor or centrally located in-service training events during the first two or three years in a post.

The understandings of misconduct and model of professional identity discussed in this paper are specific to Tanzania. Teachers’ professional identity depends on the particular history, politics and organization of the education systems in which they work. However, similar forms of misconduct are known to be common in other parts of sub-Saharan Africa and there were clear similarities, as well as differences, between the findings of Barrett’s research reported here and research conducted by Jessop & Penny (1998) in the Gambia and KwaZulu-Natal and by Welmond (2002) in Benin. Whilst the schema devised in this paper is unlikely to be transferable beyond Tanzania, it can provide insight into professional misconduct in other parts of Africa. Further, the approach taken can be applied to other contexts. A deficit approach to teacher professionalism is likely to yield only a partial understanding of why misconduct is so prevalent amongst teachers in low-income contexts. By contrast, seeking to understand teachers’ own constructions of their professional identity can provide deeper insight into why certain forms of misconduct are tolerated and what changes are likely to have the greatest impact on improving ethical conduct.

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Student resistance to radical feminist ideologies

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Abstract
The feminist teacher is committed to an educational project based on the values of social justice, human rights, relevance and critical thinking. This means that she educates with the objective of effecting conceptual shifts in her students in accordance with anti-discriminatory discourses. In other words, she attempts to normalize feminist sensibilities as a new social ideal by encouraging students to examine and subvert discriminatory social practices. However, despite the ‘nobility’ of her educative objectives, teaching is a complex and ambiguous activity; hence defining the place for ideologies in classrooms is a subject fraught with ambiguity and tensions. This holds true for the project of conscientizing and socializing students into feminist and social justice sensibilities.

Curriculum and pedagogy are increasingly becoming a focus of research and analysis in African classrooms. Although attention is paid to changing pedagogy, feminist research and literature are seldom drawn upon for either its conceptualization or insights into the challenges facing this process in the African context. This article draws on feminist research on pedagogy in Southern African classrooms in higher education to provide a conceptual framework for understanding student resistance to radical pedagogies. It examines strategies of denial and discounting, distancing and dismay and argues that educators must accept student resistance as an integral part of learning if pedagogy is to change.

Contextualizing the study
The discussion in this paper is based on 24 hours of lecture observations and 14 hours of interviews held with six feminist educators located at three Southern African universities. The feminist educators included Jennifer, Lisa and John from the University of South Africa (Unisa), Vijay from what was formerly the University of Durban-Westville (South Africa) and Themb and Molly from the University of Botswana.

Jennifer and Lisa (two white females) and John (a white male) co-taught on the ‘Contemporary Women’s Writing’ English honours course at Unisa. Given that Unisa is a distance university, students attend short periods of intensive contact sessions. Approximately 10 students attended the one-day honours seminar that I observed. The class comprised nine females (one black and seven white) and one (black) male student. Their ages ranged between 25 and 59. Discussion revolved around why gender needs to be deconstructed, what it means to deconstruct gender and how one goes about doing so.

At the University of Durban-Westville I attended a ‘Language and Power’ course that Vijay (a third-generation South African of Indian descent) was teaching to third-year BA students. Posters announcing the death of young students interspersed with HIV/
AIDS pamphlets and posters announcing AIDS Awareness Week greeted me as I walked down the corridors. For the duration of my lecture observations, the class was involved in discussions around preparing for an HIV/AIDS assignment. Committed to developing the intellectual in a post-colonial society, Vijay built into the course a component that required students to conduct ethnographic research. Charged with a strong socio-linguistic sensitivity, the HIV/AIDS assignment aimed at involving students in the upliftment and positive transformation of their societies. The course comprised 13 black students (six males and seven females) and four Indian females, aged between 19 and 24 years.

I observed a three-hour lecture session titled ‘Gender Issues in African Literature’ that Thembi and Molly, two Botswana nationals, co-taught to third-year BA students. Using various critical and literary theories as analytical tools, students were encouraged to assess the roles that literary characters assumed, with a view to examining the changing perceptions of the writers about their own societies regarding gender relations and the attendant issues of domination, oppression and exploitation. This racially homogeneous English language class comprised 15 black students (four females and 11 males).

Researching participants from South Africa and Botswana highlighted at least one significant historical similarity: both countries had experienced the debilitating impact of British colonialism. South Africa suffered the added insult of racial apartheid. However, the feminist educators, from both countries, emphasized that national preoccupations of social redress seemed invariably to neglect the scourge of patriarchal oppression. Thus, as teachers who teach English from a feminist perspective, these educators employed their teaching space to conscientize their students about discriminatory gender and socio-linguistic practices. In so doing, they attempted to teach students that language and gender constructions are powerful conduits for the transmission of cultural values and attitudes. As socio-cultural constructs, discriminatory linguistic and gender practices can be deconstructed and reconstructed to institute a just social order. Hence, the educative authority of the feminist teacher is evident in the values she attempts to inculcate in her students. She does this by getting students to understand the social conditions under which messages are constructed. Hence, her educative authority is grounded in her ability to influence the belief and the perception of students and to alter their ways of being and knowing in accordance with new normative ideals based on feminist and critical language (re)visions of social justice. The process of normalizing feminist social redress usually comprises four iterative steps, viz. (a) narrating the status quo of language and gender relations, (b) highlighting the injustices that characterize the status quo, (c) exploring ways in which to disrupt the discriminatory status quo, and (d) activating social justice projects.

Although the feminist educators in this study distanced themselves from demanding that students conform to their personal ideologies, the moral and ethical intentionality tied to their pedagogic and educative objectives aimed at provoking students to interrogate the implications of their learning for their own lives and those of others. However, this is met with resistance from pockets of students.

Student resistance to radical ideologies
Finke (1993) reflects on the teacher-student
dyad and claims that ‘teaching is a practice which proceeds not progressively through time, but through resistance, regressions, leaps, breakthroughs, discontinuities, and deferred action’. Gore (2002) contends that where there is an emphasis on the formation of radical understandings, normalization will be a dominant technique, and there is likely to be some resistance by students. Foucault (1980) also cautions that radical educators may experience resistance to the techniques and knowledge that they seek to promote.

In confirming Foucault’s (1980) contention, Willis (1977) and Giroux (1983) posit that the concept of resistance emphasizes human agency, in the sense that individuals are not simply acted upon by social structures, but actively subvert and struggle against imposed social meanings and forms of socialization to create meanings of their own. It is within this struggle for agency that the complex pattern of student resistance is produced. Students might resist participating in pedagogical techniques avidly espoused within feminist discourses (e.g. participating in group, paired or collaborative work) and/or they might resist the ideological pressure to adopt a feminist or radical perspective. Layder (1993: 64) distinguishes among five types of student resistance, viz. a) collective and individual and b) non-cooperation, escape/ avoidance, and concealment.

Drawing on four postures of student resistance (denial, discounting, distancing and expressing dismay), the ensuing discussion explores student resistance as a basis for, rather than a barrier to, learning.

**Denial and discounting**

According to Titus (2000), researchers concur that the strongest denial of patriarchal oppression comes from males who feel they are being cast into the role of exploiters and blamed for what they take to be women’s mythical oppression. When students are faced with values and beliefs that question their ideological framework, they deny that women constitute an oppressed group, regardless of the structural barriers they might experience to their own success (the latter being the case especially among female students). Some students may dismiss the significance of gender or absolve themselves of any responsibility to agitate for gender equality, and shift the blame onto some unchangeable factor. This might actually be employed as an avoidance mechanism from examining their lives more closely.

An allied posture that students adopt is the tendency to discount the authenticity of ‘allegations’ of female oppression. Taking the view that feminist theory is based on opinion rather than fact, they see a feminist as someone having a personal vendetta against patriarchy. Given that people who have a personal interest in something are considered incapable of objectivity, they conclude that feminist teachers are biased rather than credible. This is further exacerbated since the feminist teacher is likely to be intolerant of sexist and misogynist attitudes, racist beliefs, etc. They see feminists as seeing sexism everywhere and exaggerating the reality of inequality. Vuyo’s comments in the extract below from the observation of Thembi’s lecture illustrate features of student resistance in the form of denying and discounting women’s oppression in patriarchal societies.

**Vuyo** (black male): I don’t think women were denied any chance. There is a problem with women. They have a serious problem. They lack the initiative to stand up, but they want to laugh and like to support their men. *(class laughs)* You know, it’s part of their nature. Their male counterparts are working day
and night, trying to make women believe in themselves. Women are not going to take up the initiative and the courage. Why are they like that? ... They lack the initiative. (class laughs) I will give them the liberal politics in Botswana, and the freedom that we have. Women deny themselves the chance. I’m describing the status quo, there are very few women who have actually displayed the courage and the zeal to go forward in so far as challenging the male is concerned. Why is it like that? Women, instead of thinking about living, they think about the niceties of life. They enjoy singing, cheering, voting, partying. (class laughs)

Thembil (teacher): Okay, it’s your observation; you’re looking at the status quo. Fine, but our business here as students of literature is to interrogate the status quo, to question what is happening and try and trace this to its roots. Hence, it keeps on saying, “What are these the result of?”

Vuyo: But I think that what you are doing is the other side of finding the answer. I believe that somebody else may have better answers than that which we have in feminism. This is another issue and way of explaining it, and it cannot be taken without a meticulous interrogation because some other schools of thought are meant to give us an answer as to why the situation is the way it is. We actually have to study these things with caution because if we are not careful we are going to be programmed feminists and then we won’t be able to address another view somewhere else.

Jake (black male): I hear my colleague, but there are socializing processes.

Thembil: That’s a very important point, which is part of our cultural belief that we have to explore.

[Lecture observation]

Vuyo’s response is an embodiment of the classic denial and discounting postures that have come to characterize resistance to feminist critiques of patriarchy. Vuyo comments: I don’t think the women were denied any chance. There is a problem with women. They have a serious problem. They lack the initiative to stand up ... Blaming the victim is an established phenomenon, alluded to in, for example, De Beauvoir’s (1953) metaphoric articulation of the problem: ‘They clip her wings and then complain she cannot fly’. Vuyo’s intolerance, annoyance and perplexity emerge in his repeated question: Why are they like that? ... Why is it like that? Vuyo’s blaming women for lacking agentic potential is met with the suggestion from Thembil that he interrogate the status quo. Perhaps in doing so, he would be conscientized to the causal relationship between structural inequalities and the generally inferior psychological and cultural socialization of females. Women and girls have to unlearn their devaluation in order to become agents of personal and social transformation. Vuyo’s non-recognition of the underlying barriers to female actualization leads him to discount the existence of women’s oppression and to attribute it to their personal choice. Perhaps his more ‘privileged’ male status makes him incredulous about the authenticity of women’s social oppression. Further, in citing the more liberal politics of Botswana, he does not recognize the disjuncture between the symbolic and functional nuances of democracy.

Second, Vuyo makes sweeping generalizations about women and their failure to act for themselves. Compounded in his belittling male gaze of women, he also externalizes his belief that women are associated primarily with infantile trivia. He says: Women, instead of thinking about living, they think about the niceties of life. Inherent in his utterance is the image of women as lacking the capacity and zeal to engage more important social responsibilities, like assuming leadership. Instead, they gravitate naturally towards supporting and supportive roles, while their male counterparts work tirelessly to motivate them to aspire to greater pursuits. Even though women might participate in voting, an activity that re-
quires the power to make a personal and political decision, the fact that it is embedded among such frivolities as singing, cheering, partying is perhaps meant to demonstrate that women lack the perception to distinguish this as an important and serious activity that should in fact not be a ‘laughing matter’. Vuyo’s conception of women finds ample support in thinkers such as the linguist Jespersen (in Cameron 1990), who, in castigating women’s communication patterns, wrote:

... women ... are conservative, timorous, overly polite and delicate, trivial in their subject matter, ... softly spoken and soft in the head.

Against this reductive perceptual backdrop, Vuyo finally shares his scepticism as to whether feminism is the most appropriate discourse to interrogate patriarchy. Suggesting that there might be a flaw in drawing on a feminist critique of patriarchy, he cautions that feminist theorizing may well be operating as yet another regime of truth. He maintains that one should be careful not to become programmed feminists. Judging from his comments, it would appear acceptable to operate as a programmed sexist and misogynist rather than a programmed feminist.

Vuyo’s resistance to the ideological intent of feminist theorizing is met with educative normalization techniques from Thembi. Firstly, Thembi alerts Vuyo to the patriarchal foundations that circumscribe a minoritizing view of females. Thus, she urges him to examine the status quo by tracing it to its roots (they are a result of something, she tells him). Thembi’s next normalization technique relates to deconstructing the status quo, thus moving Vuyo (and the other students) to critical consciousness and counter-hegemonic thinking. Thembi tries to socialize Vuyo into the discourse of deconstruction when she responds: Fine. But our business here as students of literature is to interrogate the status quo ... Cumulatively her response to Vuyo correlates with the normative educative outcomes she identified for the ‘Writings in Africa’ course, which Thembi outlined as follows in an interview:

I think the objectives are twofold. One is to make students sensitive and conscious to what they read and to the world around them. The other is to encourage this same student to examine the dominant representations of gender in African literature and consider how these could be subverted.

Based on the above objectives, the discernible technique of normalization offered to the student’s ideological resistance is associated with, first, making Vuyo sensitive and critically consciousness to the Word (what they read) and the World; second, encouraging Vuyo to examine the status quo; and, third, subverting the discriminatory status quo by considering an ideological shift. The teacher’s educative authority aims at altering the student’s perception and effecting a conceptual shift in his belief and value system. In so doing, Thembi attempts to reconstitute a just social order.

Mphele, another male student, offers a similar line of argument to Vuyo. He enquires:

Mphele (black male): I think Christianity is very fine. Christianity tells you that men were created in the image of God and why do we have to question the original?

Thembi: It’s good to question that because if you read the Bible as literature, which allows you to go into all of that, and you see a lot of references and so forth. ... look at it as literature, in fact it is literature. [Lecture observation]

Inherent in Mphele’s question is the need to know why we are not accepting of the status quo. Appealing to God and all the attendant attributes vested in deity, it seems audacious to subtend hierarchical power relations and structures. Suggesting
a stance counter to the educative goals of creating critical thinking individuals who would challenge and change oppressive social relations, Mphele prefers to subscribe to the belief that our way of being in the world is natural and divinely ordained. Thembi’s response to Mphele, while not as elaborate as that she offered Vuyo, nonetheless embodies the same message. She contends that if Mphele classifies the Bible within the literary genre, which she points out it is, then the Bible, like all other literature (e.g. African literature) needs also to be engaged with critically. Its claims and value system in general, but particularly in relation to dominant gender representations, need to be subjected to the same processes of critique, which are the normative characteristic of developing critical consciousness.

Finally, Sipho’s comment that women are not refined receives the following crisp response from Thembi:

Thembli (teacher): Please just repeat your question and then I’ll take it down. Or make a statement.
Sipho (black male): I’m saying from the feminist group, I’m oppressed, and she is saying, I am more refined.
Thembli: You’re oppressed and more refined than …?
Sipho: When we look at women they are not refined. (laughter)
Thembli: Once more, please read the concept of the Other in the Simone de Beauvoir extract from The Second Sex. We are going to explore these concepts in regard to gender relations. … men define women not in herself but as relative to him. De Beauvoir says: ‘… women on the whole today are inferior to men, that is, their situation affords them fewer possibilities’. The question is should that state of affairs continue? We have to understand how she develops the concept of the Other. [Lecture observation]

Rather than entertain extended discussion, Thembi refers Sipho to the concept of Othering as elucidated in The Second Sex, which has been prescribed for class reading. De Beauvoir’s thesis of the Other explores women’s inferior and denigrated status in patriarchal society. In referring Sipho to the article, the educative intention would be that he would interrogate his assessment of women’s lack of refinement in relation to an alternative feminist ideological normative.

Thembli’s responses to Sipho, Vuyo and Mphele aim to resocialize students into a normalization of critical consciousness in general, and critical gender consciousness in particular. In responding to the students’ resistance to feminist ideologies, Thembi refers to the educative goals outlined for the course as well as the prescribed course readings, e.g. the extract from De Beauvoir’s The Second Sex, Mill’s essay The Subjection of Women, etc. The feminist teacher’s educative ideals and authority are bolstered by the texts that she has prescribed for the course. These texts serve to provide theoretical and ideological support for the conceptual shifts she attempts to effect in her students so that they would be sufficiently inspired to confront and subvert discriminatory social practices.

However, Thembi’s responses to the resisting students are made in a subtle, almost hands-off kind of way. This may be attributed to the lesson she reflects on learning a while back when one of her students interpreted her enthusiasm and passion for gender equity as a ‘brainwashing’ exercise.

While Vuyo and Mphele’s responses shed some light from a male perspective on the postures of denial and discounting of the existence of women’s oppression, in the following extract Lisa attempts to elicit a response from Portia as to the possible cultural impediments that she as a black female experiences. Lisa’s attempt to secure a counter-response from Portia is framed against the following response from Meshack, a black male student:
Jennifer (teacher): Where do you situate yourself?

Meshack (black male): I think that I am very male – sexually and male gender-wise. Well actually, it places me in a right position in my society. It makes me feel comfortable. I feel myself. I feel like I am fulfilling my duties - that's where I belong.

Lisa (teacher): How far do you think that is attached to your cultural affiliations and the way you were brought up culturally? Do you have a strong cultural bond?

Meshack: Yes, it gives me power – a sense of power …

Lisa: (referring to Portia - black female). Now you answer, I want you to answer, if you don’t mind … I have experienced this - with a sense of cultural impediment, and it attacks women but it empowers men within the cultural framework. Do you feel that, or am I wrong? (Silence) Do you know what I’m talking about? Do you feel imprisoned at any time by the way you are brought up in your cultural environment?


Alison (white female): I must say, as a woman, I don’t think that it is ever that easy, even at the most basic level. If you want to buy a car, I am very, very conscious that as a woman I am trivialized in many, many ways. It is a perception that when I am driving a car I’m stupid. (general consensus from class) … but I’m very, very conscious that I am a woman. It is an uphill battle much of the way … I am conscious of that and it makes me very, very angry.

Lisa: And yet you contribute to it, don’t you?

Alison: I do. I do. I do. And I’m conscious of that as well.

Jennifer: And also it makes the relationship easier to play the role rather than to stand up and deliver a lecture on women’s identity and women’s competence to some guy who is treating you stupid.

Alison: … because he is treating me stupid it doesn’t really matter. [Lecture observation]

Portia’s initial silence, followed by her hesitant response that she only feels disempowered sometimes, not always, is of course open to multiple interpretations. Felman (1982) argues that student ignorance may in fact be an active dynamic of negation, an active refusal of information. This ignorance is a kind of repression that can be understood at both an individual and cultural level. Thus Smith (2003) cautions that even if a teacher manages to communicate that she or he is a safe audience for the student, the possibility of being expected to discuss personal experiences or provide more information could be uncomfortable for the student who is being vague or minimally participatory as a survival strategy. The student may in fact identify herself with the dominant culture for good reason, or it may be a survival technique. We can surmise that being the only black female student in the class, Portia may well have felt exposed. Her possible disenfranchisement by race, gender and language, in a predominantly white, female, English-speaking class, may have caused her to be vague or minimally participatory as a survival strategy or a coping mechanism.

The other likely possibility is that female students often resist feminist theorizing if they feel characterized as victims. Manicom (1992) cautions that when female students reject feminist analysis, this has variously been labelled false consciousness or resistance, and has often been conceptualized as a flaw in the student herself. Lisa is uncertain whether Portia knows what she is talking about. This suggests that Portia may possibly not have begun to interpret her cultural socialization as an impediment but accepts it as normal and natural. It is possible that for her the development of a feminist consciousness may only come much later.

We see that student Alison assumes the role of accessory to teacher authority, by drawing on her own experience to identify and name patriarchal impediments. Wary
that Portia’s hesitant response and episodes of silence regarding the cultural impediments women experience may be read as rare or mythical phenomenon, Alison, a middle-aged white student points to the pervasiveness of female denigration in patriarchal society. Irrespective of race, she points out, women are trivialized and made to feel stupid, thus making participation in patriarchal society an uphill battle much of the way ...

In examining Portia’s response to Lisa’s question alongside Alison’s, we note that although both students seemingly respond differently to patriarchal oppression, there is nonetheless an underlying similarity. It appears that Portia may occasionally perceive herself as a victim of patriarchal cultural impediment, and is thus not overtly suspicious of the status quo. Alison, however, is incensed by the status quo, but opts for being consciously complicit, and strategically compliant in playing the patriarchal female devaluation game. Feminist discourses aim at making critical gender consciousness and resistance thereof normative. However, student Alison and feminist educator Jennifer indicate that normative knowledge/consciousness of gender discrimination does not necessarily eventuate in overt resistance politics. Alison admits to contributing to patriarchal complicity, because as Jennifer elaborates it makes the relationship easier to play the role rather than to stand up and deliver a lecture on women’s identity and women’s competence.

In understanding why women become self-consciously contradictory by being complicit in patriarchal postures, Hogeland (1994) suggests that to understand what women fear when they fear feminism it is necessary to make a distinction between gender consciousness and feminist consciousness. The difference resides in the connection between gender and politics. Feminism politicizes gender consciousness, by locating it in a systematic analysis of histories and structures of domination and privilege. Fear of feminism, then, is not a fear of gender, but rather a fear of politics, which may be understood as a fear of living in consequences of reprisals.

Examining the note on which the Lisa-Portia-Alison-Jennifer exchange ends, discernible features that correlate with the normative educative goals identified for the course become evident.

Feminist teachers Jennifer and Lisa, through their leading questions, have managed to elicit confirmation from Alison that women’s oppression in society as a result of cultural impediments is not mythical. They have done so through the normative educative goal of making connections between the literature students are reading and society. In a course designed to examine gendered representations in contemporary women’s literature, student Alison is able to draw on personal experience, e.g. the perceived stupidity associated with women driving a car. The educative agenda of naming the status quo of female oppression, examining the status quo and subverting it is evident in the discussion, the exception being that rather than subversion assuming an overt form, it assumes a subtle compliance. Essentially, student Alison shows that she has been socialized into the normative ideal of gender consciousness. She appears to be on the same ideological wavelength as her feminist teachers; however, she opts to enact her resistance through strategic compliance. Perhaps the reason is that, as Hogeland (1994) points out, ‘to stand opposed to your culture, to be critical of institutions, behaviours, discourses, when it is clearly not in your immediate interest asks a lot of women.
Of course women are afraid of feminism – shouldn’t they be?’

Distancing
Assuming distance as a resistance posture occurs when female students express concerns with excluding men when discussions and pedagogic content focus upon women. Statements that men are victims just like women serve as a dis-stancing mechanism, indicating that as females they do not necessarily associate themselves with a critique of patriarchy. Women students feel advantaged relative to other times of their lives, while the male students feel disadvantaged. The following extract illustrates this:

Pauline (white female): But, John, how do you feel in all this? We sometime emasculate you. We are looking at all this gender as if it is women who are threatened, but what about men?
Lisa (teacher): Gender has become a synonym for women’s issues.
Pauline: Yes.
John: That’s true ...
Pauline: That is why I asked the question: do you have a struggle maintaining your masculinity? I think that men do.
Jennifer: There are novels, particularly The Long View and The Magic Toyshop, that say it is not all that nice falling in love with somebody of the opposite sex all the time because what happens is that you get married and end up barefoot and pregnant in the kitchen. I know that that is a terrible oversimplification ...
Pauline: Or the man ends up being trapped by all the children. We always look at it from a woman’s point of view. There are lots of men who have also been trapped ...
John: Yes, yes.
Jennifer: Or the man gets trapped into doing all the fixing around the house ...
Pauline: It seems men today - more than in my generation - feel that they deserve their independence. Guys getting married today feel worried about being trapped with children.
Alison: In other words, it is about the gender separation, and the roles. Women are to stay at home and look after the children and this frees the man financially ...

Pauline: I’m not talking about financial freedom ...
Jennifer: You mean physical freedom – give him more time to do his own thing. That relates to another of those oppositions, which is very traditional in gender theory – that is the public/private dichotomy. The male domain is that of the public – public achievement, going out and becoming successful in the corporate world, and being a leader of nations ... whereas the private domain has always been that of women. You just have to read Virginia Woolf’s essay, The Angel in the House, or you just have to watch yourself at home picking up and cleaning to see how pervasive that still is. [Lecture observation]

A dis-stancing resistance posture to feminist theorizing is evident in student Pauline’s concern that there is a tendency to look at all this gender as if it is women who are threatened, but what about men? ... do you have a struggle maintaining your masculinity? she enquires of John. Pauline’s empathizing with John lends credence to Titus’ (2000) observation that female students sometimes play a care-taking role, becoming protective of the feelings and emotional well-being of their male colleagues in order to maintain harmonious relationships. The teaching team does not negate what student Pauline is saying, as there is a measure of validity in her observation that men may feel trapped by children, fixing around the house, etc. However, in line with the educative goals of the course, Jennifer normalizes and legitimizes the critique against patriarchal gendering of roles and responsibilities. Jennifer points out that traditional and current practices locate women within the private domain of housekeeping drudgery, while men occupy public offices that generally give them financial, temporal and spatial/physical freedom. Jennifer draws on techniques of normalization by referring to the educative goal of the course, which she
defined as follows: Students need to reflect critically, they need to isolate and identify issues in literature, and they need to be able to think about those issues in the context of other discourses ... not only theory, but ideas that are circulating in society at the time. Jennifer achieves this by referring Pauline to gender theory, which confronts the public/private dichotomization of male and female social positionality. The repertoire of literary texts (The Long View and The Magic Toyshop) and gender theories that Jennifer selected and prescribed for the course also serves to institute revised gender relations and positionalities. In the same way that Thembi referred students to De Beauvoir's theorizing about the Other, Jennifer summarizes the crux of the debate in gender theory by exposing students to the discriminatory status quo that associates women with the private and men with the public domain. In so doing, she articulates a new normative for conceiving of gender relations and positionality. Furthermore, by referring to the literary texts The Long View and The Magic Toyshop, which suggest alternatives to heterosexual relationships, Jennifer alludes to the objectives of the course, which is concerned with deconstructing gender. In addition, her reference to Virginia Woolf's essay The Angel in the House becomes an exemplification of the way gendered dichotomies are taken for granted and regarded as normal. This pervasive stereotypical gendered social arrangement not only shortchanges and circumscribes women's public and career opportunities, but may be equally restrictive for those men who might be attracted or predisposed to domesticity.

Dismay
Inasmuch as the postures of resistance play themselves out through denial, discounting and distancing techniques, some students are not resistant to feminism as a normalizing ideology in the conventional sense; instead, they express being puzzled, overwhelmed, unsettled and sometimes depressed by a sense of fatalism. In these cases students admit to feeling virtually 'paralysed' by the enormity of the task of social transformation and the perceived impossibility of creating a more humane, just and pain-free society.

In the following extract there are hints that Rani feels overwhelmed as to how to research the AIDS assignment while simultaneously educating her interviewees:

Vijay (teacher): You're very sure that all the people you know are aware about AIDS? ... So how can you ask questions that enable you to make people consider those measures? What are those situations that get in the way of knowledge, where knowledge is no longer empowering? What are the situations that you are referring to?

Rani (Indian female): The question that we are asking will most probably be about how does one get AIDS? We don't want to go out there and tell people that AIDS is bad. We just want to find out how do we think AIDS affects everybody. We are not there to ... I don't know what you want ...

Vijay: ... let's work a way out ...

Rani: I don't think you want us to go out there and try to prevent AIDS as such ...

Vijay: ... but you don't feel strong enough to be able to do education and training? Where's the gap, and how can we fill the gap?

Rani: ... and how are we going to educate them?

Buyee (black female): I think it would be a good idea if you start educating yourself about AIDS ... It's not like you are going to go there and start being a Sister and show charts. Whatever you know about AIDS, the basic things that you know, you will share. Ask as many questions, and answer as many from what you know. There are many misconceptions about AIDS, and you can try and clarify these.

Rani: So Vijay, what is it that you want from us?

Vijay: No, that's what we are trying to
work out. Let’s address the question, what is it that we know about AIDS that other people may not know? Let’s query it amongst ourselves. What’s the most important point each of us knows about AIDS? [Lecture observation]

Comments like I don’t know what you want ... How are we going to educate them? suggest a sense of being uncertain and overwhelmed. In diagnosing the student’s sense of dismay, Vijay perceives that Rani probably feels ill-equipped in terms of her knowledge base to negotiate the demands of the AIDS assignment interview process, evident in Rani’s query/statement: We just want to find out how do we think AIDS affects everybody. We are not there to ... I don’t know what you want ... At this level, Rani is seeking clarification on the scope of the AIDS assignment topic. At another level, her sense of being overwhelmed is related to her role as researcher and the AIDS-preventative intervention role she feels the research project will expect her to play. More importantly, implied in Rani’s query is her sensitivity to the magnitude of the AIDS pandemic and the stigma and silences that render it a highly personalized matter to engage with. Fellow student Buyee suggests that commencing with self-education and recognizing that the AIDS assignment is likely to be a reciprocal learning process may help alleviate the stress of dismay and feeling of being overwhelmed. Buyee’s suggestion resonates with Titus’ (2000) recommendation that when students feel overwhelmed and dismayed teachers (and student accessories to teacher authority) may help them acquire a sense of the possibilities for positive social transformation. Vijay’s response to Rani may be traced to the following educative goals that she outlined for the ‘Language and Power’ course:

Vijay: For me the intellectual has a far more important role in our society. I have always been very annoyed by this whole dilettantish aspect of intellectuals who live on the fringe and are really weird and wonderful. We are publicly funded and for me that defines everything ... It ties our work with the notion of a whole civic responsibility. There is enough room for existential angst in those crises. [Interview]

Thus, in responding to Rani’s sense of being overwhelmed by the enormity of the AIDS issue, Vijay perceives: but you don’t feel strong enough to be able to do education and training? Where’s the gap, and how can we fill the gap? ... what is it that we know about AIDS that other people may not know? It is in these statements that the normalization occurs, which is linked to the educative goal of educating her students, who in turn as intellectuals have a civic responsibility to the wider society to educate others who may be lacking in knowledge. Thus, rather than be paralysed by existential angst and the enormity of social crises, students are encouraged to embrace the normalizing educative goal and locate themselves in community social movements that harness the power of collective action as an avenue for change.

I have examined postures of resistance that students offer to feminist ideological course content. In the ensuing discussion, I examine ideological tensions that emerge when students in the dialogue process express insensitive views that run counter to the radical educative goals of the course. When course content brings into question students’ seemingly comfortable acceptance of culturally sanctioned assumptions that justify inequality and social oppression, students feel their taken-for-granted identification with the existing social order is being confronted. In such instances, while protests could be interpreted as barriers or resistance, their opposition is not a refusal to engage in the content of the course so much as it is a challenge to that content. For
example, in the following extract from Jennifer’s lecture, student Joan expresses herself in a less than sensitive way, when she advances the ‘trauma theory’ regarding the ‘abnormality’ of homosexuality.

Joan (white female): The way I see it is as though there are two types of gays. The one I would say is a gene that probably one is born with and the other is acquired, for example the rugby player – something goes wrong – probably at puberty. I would say that there are definitely two types of gays.

Jennifer (teacher): Listen to what you are saying – something goes wrong … (John laughs. Jennifer appears unhappy with the way the student has expressed herself).

Joan: I have a friend who was straight and she had a boyfriend who let her down very, very badly. She went out for a while and ended up in a gay relationship, and as far as I know that’s where she’s been. Before that time she was perfectly normal.

Jennifer (teacher): What goes along with that is the pathology of AIDS. AIDS is only something gay men get and it is their fault, never mind the fact that well over 50% of HIV/AIDS-positive people in sub-Saharan Africa are women. [Lecture observation] Jennifer responds to student Joan’s remarks with an urge for her to look at why she thinks that and listen to what she is saying. She suggests that the student pause to be more sensitive to what she is saying and to think about the basis for her ideological perspective. Both Jennifer and John point out the stereotyping that has resulted in the pathologization of homosexuality, and the attendant misconceptions and generalizations that have been perpetuated, e.g. the association of gay men with AIDS. Jennifer’s call for the student to look at and listen to what she is saying is essentially a call for her to examine her use of language and how it shapes her ideological perspective. This is especially important given that our ways of talking about things reveal attitudes and assumptions that testify to the deep-rootedness of sexism, homophobia, linguicism, etc. Thus it is more likely that feminist teachers will encounter resistance as they decentre hegemonic ideologies and normalize anti-racist, anti-homophobic, anti-classist ideologies.

It is in the light of Joan’s insensitivity that Laditka’s (1990:3) enquiry becomes
pertinent. Laditka asks: ‘Is it really desirable to vanish one’s teaching authority in dialogue that never leads to judgement but only to a continued cycle of questions and comments?’ Evidently not, as both Jennifer and John attempt to make Joan aware of her insensitive use of language about gays, while also suggesting that she examine the cultural ideologies that have shaped her thinking.

While in the above extract we see teachers challenging the student, in the following extract we see female students confronting sexist comments made by a fellow student:

Nathi (black male): What about returning to cultural practices for girls to protect them and keep their virginity? (somebody chuckles)

Vijay (teacher): And men?

Nathi: (laughs) For men, it’s like …

Vijay: So men can go and kill themselves? (class laughs)

Nathi: No, it’s not like that, but if a woman …

Vijay: Do you care about men … use a condom?

Nathi: The idea is that if a woman abstains from sex and keeps her virginity, you’ll be safe if you marry her.

Devi (Indian female): Will she be safe if she has sex with you? (class laughs)

Nathi: The thing is you will marry her …

Vijay: So you yourself will be a virgin?

Nathi: No, no, that I can’t guarantee … (laughter and general protest from class about double standards) I know, but for women it’s different. They have to keep their virginity. Men should have a choice …

Thandi (black female): You don’t think that men should stay virgins?

Nathi: If I want to stay a virgin then I mean it’s my choice.

Thandi: Then why are you just saying women?

Devi: Then it should be her choice as well.

Nathi: Ja, it is her choice, but I was only making a point … you don’t have to bite my head off. (class laughs)

Vijay: Sorry, there’s no need to, what?

Devi: Bite his head off. (class laughs, Vijay moves onto the next student) [Lecture observation]

The double standards oozing from Nathi’s comments are met with the contempt and challenge that they deserve. A defensive Nathi indicates that he was only making a point, but evidently his point of view, like Joan’s in the previous extract, run against the educative norms and values of the feminist classroom. Hence, both are subject to regulative and normalizing mechanisms.

In commenting on this exchange in the post-lecture interview, Vijay confirms that it is something that she would have addressed, but exercised her teacher discretion by devolving authority to the female students to handle it. Rather than applauding Nathi for participating in classroom dialogue, he comes under attack for his sexist views and has to request not to have his head bitten off.

The message transmitted via these dialectic regulatory techniques requires that those who speak should be able and willing clearly and as fully as possible to articulate the reasoning behind their statements by supporting their arguments with evidence drawn from the course materials, making their case from reason, and be willing to carry their remarks through to their logical conclusions. Students should not be accustomed to being rewarded simply for speaking. While feminist educators support students developing their power to construct their own understandings of themselves and the world, the educative authority they are mandated with certainly means that they would want students to come to view the world in a way that includes fighting inequalities, oppression and prejudices in line with the normative ideal of engendering social justice.

Synthesis

From the discussion we note that when teachers attempt to engender a new (radical)
pedagogic or ideological normative this is met with pockets of resistance from some students. Their resistance assumes various guises, viz. *discounting, denying, distancing* and expressing *dismay* about the prevalence of patriarchal and allied social injustices. These are manifested through permutations of collective and individual resistance, non-cooperation, escape/avoidance and/or concealment. The following significant points emerge from an analysis of student resistance:

First, teachers use different kinds of narratives to tell different kinds of stories. They also sanction certain narratives and discount others for ideological and political reasons. In reflecting on the various postures of resistance to issues in the course content, two important points emerge. The first relates to the contradiction that sexist, racist and homophobic utterances are unwelcome in the feminist class, yet when they are made they offer a valuable platform to confront and critique prejudicial ideologies. These productive, teachable moments come at the expense of students who are prepared to expose themselves in a public forum and risk coming under criticism for doing so. The second point relates to the laughter that is generally generated when students like Joan and Nathi air their jaundiced views. Laughter as a dialogic, communicative strategy is an interesting response. While it may be open to various interpretations, it may well be read as shock at the audacity and/or parochial world view of the student voicing such undesirable ideologies in a class designed to subvert such thinking by urging a new normativity based on tolerance of diversity, difference and social justice. It could very well be read as an expression of support of a perspective to which certain students also subscribe, but lack the courage to make public.

In this regard, 'O Gorman (1978) ponders whether as teachers we have the right to raise the consciousness of students. She extends her question to ask whether teachers, as agents of consciousness-raising, have the right to manipulate others’ ideological perspectives. This is a vital question, one especially to be addressed in the debate as to whether classrooms are value-free or designed to manipulate students with particular ideological ends in mind. Smith (2003), in describing the pedagogical enactments of bell hooks, notes that in spite of hooks encouraging student-centred classrooms, and regarding every class member’s contribution as important, she does not relinquish her teacherly authority, neither does she necessarily think every student has something valuable to say. Some students may be calcified in a kind of mono-vision that is racist or sexist, while also harbouring other prejudicial ideologies. Rather than valuing student utterances as worthwhile in themselves, hooks values them as entry points for raising students’ consciousness, employing them as markers to critique, analyse and resist prejudicial ideologies. Conceiving her job as an educator as being to provide a world view that opposes racism and sexism, hooks describes her teaching style as ‘confrontational’. Unlike some feminist pedagogical models that suggest students best come to voice in an atmosphere of safety, hooks encourages students to work at coming to voice in an atmosphere where they may be afraid or see themselves at risk. Thus, according to Smith (2003), hooks’ classrooms are not devoid of conflict. It is in this light that hooks’ pedagogic stance provokes an interrogation of what we mean when we talk about making feminist classrooms egalitarian. Even though feminist classes may appear homogenous and free from power differences, they are implicated in the struc-
atures and prejudices of the outside world. Students are of different genders, sexualities, ethnicities, colour, etc. The various postures of resistance that students enact suggest that if feminist teachers work to create counter-hegemonic teaching, they must also be conscious of their own gendered, classed and raced subjectivities as they confirm or challenge the lived experiences of their students. This does not mean avoiding or denying conflict, but legitimating this polyphony of voices and making both our oppression and our power conscious in the discourse of the classroom. Our jobs as teachers should include active resistance to students’ active resistance, which, while it does not require the assumption of a traditional teaching position, does draw a purely student-centred pedagogy into question.

Second, there is the need not to distort the nature of differences in an educational setting by oversimplifying them. For example, student Joan’s trauma theory about gays was expressed in an insensitive way, and student Nathi advocated two separate standards of sexual morality – one that sanctioned male promiscuity and another that expected female sexual purity. However, it is important to note that, for each of us, voice and identity are multiple constructions, and the idea of each person having a (single) voice and identity is a fallacy. This suggests also recognizing the potentially evolutionary and multiple voices of students in general, and those who utter discriminatory viewpoints in particular. Thus, although some students may voice/express discriminatory views, it is possible that with changes in time and context, such students may re-evaluate their prejudiced world views and align themselves with anti-discriminatory discourses.

Third, because feminist pedagogy embodies the object of effecting ideological and conviational changes in students, it may be regarded as a conversionist discourse. Diawara (1994: 217) notes that irrespective of whether conversionist discourses are motivated by religion, science or politics, they tend to underestimate culture or liken it to pathology. Conversionists, whether they are politicians, religious leaders or teacher activists, tend to blame the culture of the people they are trying to convert. They expect people to come to a revolutionary consciousness, or a spiritual awakening, and walk out of their culture in order to change the world. Conversionist discourses invariably address epistemological crises, which emanate from the unproblematic expectation that coming into consciousness from a state of ‘cultural innocence’ will automatically result in the acquisition of and identification with new knowledge.

Fourth, Pitt (1997) argues that identity does not precede identification; rather identification informs identity formation. Feminist pedagogies, for example, invite students to identify with their teachers and with the images of marginalized Others (women, the economically disenfranchised, etc.) who populate the texts of feminist knowledge. These textualized characters portray narratives of oppression and counter-narratives of resistance. Pitt (ibid.) suggests that the shortcoming of this approach to learning resides in its assumption that –

1. the identificatory processes it entails will be unproblematic for the student;
2. the student is rationally in charge of how knowledge will affect him/her; and
3. identification proceeds from and results in the affirmation of identity.

According to Laplanche and Pontalis (in Pitt 1997), precisely the opposite is true. They refer to Freud’s work where the concept of identification reverses the relationship between identity and identification and
suggests that – 
1. identification precedes identity; and 
2. identification constitutes the grounds of possibility for the emergence of identity.

Engagement with feminist textual knowledge and feminist pedagogical and methodological practices instantiates something that is in excess of how social actors learn their place in the world. What becomes central are the dynamics by which feminism becomes the grounds of possibility for the fashioning of a new identification, and a new sense of Self and agency. The pedagogical practices and epistemologies set the terms by which the student may engage the question, ‘Can I recognize myself in this course?’ The reply to this question cannot be adequately supplied by attempts to acknowledge social differences through textual representational inclusivity. What is generally forgotten is that encounters between the Self and textual representation cannot be reduced to scenes of recognition. Rather such encounters set in motion psychic dynamics of identification, which are an ambivalent process of recognizing and recovering from the loss of the illusion that the Self is a ready-made subject.

Finally, educators must examine whether they impose their own critique of culture on their students, leading those students to resist what they experience as oppression. In this regard, Lindquist (1994) points out that:

... we are caught in a contradiction if we applaud and encourage student resistance when it is a challenge to the dominant culture and is compatible with the politics of the educator, but treat resistance as something to be ‘ignored or overcome’ when feminist teachers experience it.

Ropers-Huilman (1997) suggests that we must accept student resistance as an integral part of learning and as feminist teachers learn from the questions it poses, the tensions it supports and the alternatives it suggests for crafting new classroom cultures.

References


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The 13\textsuperscript{th} Congress of the World Council of Comparative Education Societies will be held in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, from 3 to 7 September 2007.

The Congress theme will be \textit{Living Together: Education and Intercultural Dialogue}.

The 12\textsuperscript{th} Congress was held in Havana, Cuba, in late October 2004 and was considered to be most successful, with nearly 1 000 participants, although not very many were from Southern Africa.

The Mediterranean Comparative Education Society (MESCE) and the University of Sarajevo will organize the 13\textsuperscript{th} Congress.

Look for announcements on the WCCES website [www.hku.hk/cerc/wcces, or the Congress page itself at www.hku.hk/cerc/wcces/World-Congress/world_congress.htm] and through Saches eNEWS. If you are not getting the eNEWS please list yourself with Sheldon Weeks at gudrun@info.bw. Anyone who has changed their address should also inform him.
Racial discourse in the Commission on Native Education (Eiselen Commission), 1949-1951: The making of a ‘Bantu’ identity

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Abstract
Through a review of the report of the Eiselen Commission and the evidence with which it worked, this article engages with the puzzle emanating from the report of the apparent disavowal of the notion of race on the part of the Commissioners. A reading of the report itself gives the impression that the Commission evaded the very questions it posed for itself and appears to renounce its primary interest in the linkage between race and culture. The article shows, however, that this appearance belies a real engagement with the questions of race in so far as the Commission not only fulfils its own mandate, but, what is more, takes a ‘white supremacist’ attitude. The means by which this supremacist position is inserted into the Commission is achieved, at one level, through the exercise of direct power, but more fundamentally, at another, through the construction of – borrowing from Foucault – alternative regimes of truth. Rival understandings of notions of race are subverted in the Commission’s hearings and replaced with racial-biological concepts and ideas typical of the period.

By limiting and filtering the visible, structure enables it to be transcribed into language. It permits the visibility of the animal or plant to pass over in its entirety into the discourse that receives it ... And their importance, for Classical culture, does not lie in what they make it possible to see, but in what they hide, and in what, by this process of obliteration, they allow to emerge...

(Foucault, 1973: 135 and 137).

Introduction
Almost without exception, the centrepiece statutes of apartheid and racial hegemony in South Africa – the 1913 Native Land Act, the 1936 Representation of Natives Act, the 1953 Bantu Education Act, the 1959 Bantu Self-Government Act, inter alia – have all emerged from and been legitimated through the process of what is known, in the Western democratic tradition, as the commission of inquiry. Their parameters defined by ‘experts’ and their trajectories scrutinized in public hearings, commissions of inquiry in South Africa, and no doubt elsewhere, have been understood to embody the criteria of scientific rationality and public accountability. It is now a matter of South African history, with respect to their divisive and oppressive outcomes, that such claims bear little scrutiny, as many, particularly people of colour, have long insisted. The commissions that have come to provide the conceptual filling for the apartheid canon, indeed the South African race canon, have all, to some degree or another, been distinguished by their partiality (see Bozzoli 1981, and Ashforth 1991). Their reports, as a result,
have been correctly read as texts of hegemonic discourse or the intellectual amplifications of ruling class ideology.

For the purposes of this paper, however, it is not simply the textual status of these reports, either as ruling class imprimaturs or authorizations of ideology, that is important, but the mode of their construction. Significant as the reports are as codified products of ruling class thought, it is the means by which particular forms of knowledge come to prevail over others with which I am concerned in this paper. To illustrate this, I use the evidence presented to the Eiselen Commission – whose report preceded the Bantu Education Act of 1953 – as the basis for this work. I try to show how the state uses the commission of inquiry as a terrain of power and domination in which, on the one hand, it conjures up the appurtenances of neutrality and accountability, but, on the other, creates the rules by which it exercises its hegemony.

The Eiselen Commission, or the Commission on Native Education, was formally instituted by the National Party government in 1949, barely a year after it had come to power. Profoundly aware of the political hazards that black proletarianization and political mobilization posed for white rule, the Nationalists were determined to put in place a policy of containment of black aspirations. Having observed, with alarm, the cascade of black resistance in the wake of the 1946 Miners’ Strike (see Molteno 1984: 91 and O’Meara 1983: 173), thinking in the National Party, as Molteno (1984: 91) put it, was that ‘the repression of revolts and the suppression of political organization could not in the long run suffice to save the racist structures of exploitation and domination’. A policy was required that would forestall black aspirations. EG Jansen, a leader in the Nationalist Party and future Minister of Native Affairs, said ‘(t)he relationship between the Afrikaner and the Native arose through their learning to know and understand each other and because each knew what his duty was to the other’ (O’Meara 1983: 173). For African people to think that eventual integration and equality in mainstream white society was possible was completely unacceptable.

It was partly in answer to this problem that the Eiselen Commission was established. A companion with the Tomlinson Commission of 1950-1954 which investigated the viability of dismembering South Africa territorially into ‘Bantu’ homelands, the Eiselen Commission essentially laid out the philosophic and organizational foundations for the much reviled 1953 Bantu Education Act. Widely perceived as providing the blueprint for apartheid education, it recommended, for example, that African pupils and students be separated from other communities, arguing that Western culture had given African people a false sense of their destiny – one that could not be fulfilled. The future of African people was to be found in the ‘safety’ of their own environment, a socio-cultural space autonomous from but subordinate to European society. The education of black people therefore had to change from its missionary and European forms to prepare them for participation in this separate society. Where the previous policy and practice of Native Education might have trained the ‘civilised Native’s gaze’ towards the mainstream of European society, and even intimated the possibility of his or her incorporation into it, Bantu education, coming as it did in the wake of the 1946 Miners’ Strike and a rising sense of expectation amongst radicalized young Africans, sought to divert the attention of African people from the prize of assimilation into white society. It was to avoid this possi-
bility that the Eiselen Commission’s recommendations urged that the locus of African socialization, through schools, churches and so on, be shifted right out of white society and be placed in the confines of a social environment that was unmistakeably Bantu. The impact of these recommendations, in a world unambiguously signposted by Western and Eurocentric route-markers was, not unexpectedly, interpreted by people of colour, and others, as an attempt to maintain and perpetuate the subordinate status of African people.

The process by which the Eiselen Commission arrived at its conclusions, however, was by no means without its curiosities. Central amongst these was the apparent volte face that the Commission took during the course of its work. The Commission began with a crude notion of race – as a rationale for separation – but superseded this, in its report, with a notion of culture. How this happens is largely what I set out to uncover in this paper. In these terms, historical as this work is, it is at the same time sociological in its interests.

The trajectory for the Eiselen Commission is clearly prefigured in its terms of reference:
1. The formulation of the principles and aims of education for natives as an independent race, in which their past and present, their inherent racial qualities, their distinctive characteristics and aptitude, and their needs under the ever-changing social conditions are taken into consideration.
2. The extent to which the existing primary, secondary and vocational education system for Natives and training of Native teachers should be modified in respect of the content and form of syllabuses, in order to conform to the proposed principles and aims, and to prepare Natives more effectively for their future occupations.
3. The organization and administration of the various branches of Native education.
4. The basis on which such education should be financed.
5. Such other aspects of Native education as may be related to the preceding. (U.G. No. 53/1951: 7).

A reading of the report itself gives the impression that the Commission evaded the very questions it posed for itself, and appears to renounce its primary interest in the linkage between race and culture. I show, however, that this appearance belies a real engagement with the questions of race. Not only does the Commission fulfil its own mandate, but, what is more, it takes a ‘white supremacist’ attitude. The recommendations it makes are fundamentally imbued with the ideas of European cultural precedence and the inappropriateness of this cultural stock for African people rooted in what is perceived to be a socially retarded way of life. The means by which this supremacist position is inserted into the Commission is achieved, at one level, through the exercise of direct power, but more fundamentally, at another, through the construction of – borrowing from Foucault – alternative regimes of truth, the imposition of which is complex. It begins in the systematic subversion and silencing of rival understandings of the world – through both omission and denigration – and their replacement with logic that purports to comprehend the full complexity of human relationships and the society in which these are played out. Key to this process, in Gramscian terms, are the elements by which subordinate groups – by being known – are incorporated into the social and epistemological regimen of the controlling order. Ruling is about power, but more precisely about the mediation of
that power through its ability to name, classify and catalogue social information. The power of the Eiselen Commission, and thus the power of racism, is located in the imperceptible syntax and grammar inscribed in particular forms of knowing, which itself, as Christie and Collins (1984) have shown, is implicated in the complex class relations of the 1940s. Having rendered the African people 'comprehensible', they are, as Verwoerd's classic '[t]here is no place for him [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour' speech to the Senate in June of 1954 showed (Roux 1964:395), instantly commodifiable and, as a consequence, available for economic manipulation in the labour market.

Recognizing the intricate modalities by which oppressive knowledges are discursively operationalized by no means suggests that there were no crudities involved in the establishment of the Eiselen Commission (see Bloomberg 1990, and Gerhart 1978). Of these there were many. Two stand out in particular. In the first instance, of the eight appointees to the Commission, four were prominent Afrikaner ‘race’ intellectuals and two were important National Party members. Dr WWM Eiselen, a professor of social anthropology at the University of Pretoria, had previously been an Inspector of Native Education and, almost inevitably, later became Secretary for Native Education in the Verwoerd government. Another member, MDC de Wet Nel, had been a National Party organizer, had won the Wonderboom seat in the 1948 election and was to become Minister of Bantu Administration in 1958 (Venter 1980: 191). Gustav Gerdener, a Dutch Reformed Church theologian educated in Germany, was a founder member of the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs and its chairman from 1951 to 1955 (Beyers 1981). Jan de Wet Keyter had also studied in Germany and was the founding professor of sociology at Grey College in Bloemfontein (Beyers 1981: 276-277). Its English-speaking members were Prof. Andrew Howson Murray, Dr Peter Alan Wilson Cook and John Macleod. Murray was a faculty member at the liberal University of Cape Town and Cook, a supporter of CT Loram’s (Cook 1934) ideas, had extensive experience of working in African schools and training institutions. Needless to say, none of the members, as Davis (1972: 9) pointed out, was African.

In the second instance, and clearly a cause for much offence amongst African people in particular, as the evidence indicates, the questionnaire that the Commission circulated prior to its hearings was crassly suggestive of the kind of information it sought. ‘Is it true that Natives must be regarded as a separate and independent race?’ and ‘What do you understand by the “racial characteristics” of the Native?’ it asked.²

These features did nothing to enhance the standing of the Commission. If anything, in the eyes of some, it was a cause for outright suspicion. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of South Africa remarked that ‘[b]oth the terms of reference and the questionnaire suggest that the Commission is committed in advance to a particular theory of race and the relationship between it and culture’. Of more weight, however, were the suspicions inter alia of the Bloemfontein Non-European Child Welfare Society and individuals with standing in the eyes of the Government such as Dr JS Moroka, a member of the Native Representative Board. ‘If it were possible to be honest in this matter,’ said Moroka in giving evidence to the Commission, ‘[b]ut I am just wondering whether it is possible. I very much doubt it.’ [Evidence at Thaba Nchu]³
People did, nonetheless, speak their minds, and they did so verbally in hearings and in written submissions to the Commission. Of the latter there were more than 200, with approximately 20 coming from people and organizations one would describe as African and one from a largely coloured organization. In virtually each case, the people concerned could be said to represent the middle class, including the tiny but very influential middle class of people of colour. Amongst those classified African, most were teachers, traditional leaders, middle-level administrators in government, ministers of religion and the occasional academic. A wide variety of perspectives came to light in the evidence submitted in both the verbal and written submissions. What the Commission does with these perspectives is the central question of this piece. For understanding this question there are distinct discourses that emanate from the process of the Commission. These discourses or working philosophies manifest themselves as the organizing frameworks in which relationships in society are conceptualized, rationalized and conducted, and while they are clearly predisposed to taking on a racial or ethnic identity, with white supremacy, for instance, being the discourse of Afrikaners, they cut across statutory racial classifications and cultural allegiances. This matter is discussed at greater length below.

There are at least four distinct racial discourses that are audible in the evidence submitted to the Commission. That which holds the high moral ground is what I call *race-blindness*. For this group, race as a biological fact does not exist. A modification of this recognizes race but chooses to render it neutral. This I call the *race-neutral* group. At the other end of the spectrum are to be found two groups, the *race-matters* group, which insists that racial differences are of material consequence, and the *race-supremacist* group, which not only holds that races are empirical realities but that they are hierarchically ordered. While these discursive categories are clearly artificial, generated as they are through my own reading, they provide a means for approaching the contested ideological terrain of the forties and fifties.

Having established this framework for approaching the data, I show how the Commission chooses to work within the philosophical ambit of one of the discourses at the expense of the others. I adopt this approach to the Commission essentially as a way of seeking to understand the etymology of the formal insertion of race into the South African curriculum. Much has, of course, been written about the racial nature of the South African apartheid curriculum, beginning with Loram (1969) in the 1920s and developed by Tabata (1960), Horrell (1968), Luthuli (1981), Marcum (1982), Kallaway (1984), Nkomo (1990), Cross and Chisholm (1990), Unterhalter et al. (1991), Kallaway et al. (1997), Hlatshwayo (2000) and Cross (2000). Curiously, however, little of this body of work has examined the process of the Eiselen Commission. The only allusions to the process itself are to be found in the work of Dugard (1985: 82), Hartshorne (1992: 8-9) and Kros (1990/91 and 1993), where Dugard talks of his misgivings ‘about too close ties with the Department of Native Affairs’ and Hartshorne of a confrontation with Eiselen himself. Kros’ work, while centrally concerned with Eiselen and his period (1990/1991, 1993 and 2002), represents the beginning of an important recontextualizing of the dialectic at work in the emergence of social ideas such as apartheid. Where for many years a strict materialist, indeed reductionist, narrative governed explanations of the rise of apartheid, and, for example, detached class, as a
privileged social factor, from colour, what Kros’ work, and that of Dubow (1989, 1992 and 1995), achieves is a reconceptualization of the relationship between social actors and their environments. What work such as this does is help us understand more fully the fractured and even discontinuous nature of discourse. In Eiselen, as Kros (1993) tracks the trajectory of his life, a protean subject emerges who is neither, as she says, ‘the (ideological) “purist” nor the humane volkekundige ...’ (Kros 1993: 3). Instead we learn of Eiselen being encouraged by the Nationalist Party to ‘play with his thoughts’ (Kros 1993: 3). Kros (2002: 66) shows how complex the product of this ‘play’ is. While much of this playing did take place in the domain of a racialized understanding of the world, significant in understanding it is the recognition that apartheid discourse did not come ready-made, but emerged in a dialectic in which the state, the economy, resistance and individual influence all interacted. The etymological account of the formal insertion of the race agenda into the curriculum, therefore, as the argument below seeks to show, is one in which discourses becomes hegemonic through their engagement with alternative discourses.

Discourses in the Eiselen Commission
Racial self-perception within South African society in the late 1940s is a complex field marked by continuities and discontinuities. Continuities, as evidence of the inescapable grip of dominant racial thought, are apparent in the similar vocabularies of different groups. Discontinuities, reflecting the power of individuals to define and constitute themselves differently to hegemonic thought, appear in the disparate social constructions human beings make of their environments. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that in all the distinct South African communities, on the basis of the evidence, there is both consensus and dissonance, generating a wide spectrum of opinion. In the Commission itself were to be found individuals and groups who articulated Marxist-type positions, while on the right were to be found individuals and organizations whose understandings bore the heavy imprint of Social Darwinism with its scientific presumptions about race. While left-wingers consistently rejected race as a scientific verity, a hallmark of the latter’s approach was their classification of human beings in essentially zoological terms. Between them were to be found all the permutations and combinations – taking somewhat bizarre forms on occasion – of thought on the subject.

Race blindness
The dominant view amongst African and other participants of colour within the process were those favouring the left view. This was the case to a much smaller degree amongst people classified white, and even less so amongst those who spoke Afrikaans. The essence of their position was that race did not exist. I refer to them, therefore, as the race-blindness group. Amongst them were liberals and Marxists, the latter represented predominantly by Africans and coloureds. The position of a Mr Ntantile, a teacher, exemplified their position. In response to the question about the racial characteristics of African people, he remarked that there was only one human race (Memorandum 52). The Teachers’ League of South Africa, a largely coloured organization, similarly rejected the racial overtones of the Commission: ‘[it represents] an attitude which cannot find any scientific support at all, but it is a manifestation of a mentality peculiar to Nazism and “thinking with one’s blood”’ (Memorandum 68). Within
the community of liberals, a very diverse group, many were appalled by the Commission's attempt to demarcate racial boundaries within the spectrum of the human race. Such people invariably found themselves involved with opposition movements, both white and black.

This race-blind position was to find support in interesting places. The Salvation Army of South Africa, for example, told the Commission that 'as a point of Christian principle ... we believe that the “racial characteristics” of the Native are the characteristics of all human beings' (evidence on 23 July 1949). The Association of European Teachers in African Education sent a resolution it had passed at a meeting that challenged the meaning of race: 'The term “independent race” is in a double sense meaningless' (Memorandum 115). The most radical position, but eccentric and therefore possibly suspect, came from the Venerable Arthur Amor, Archdeacon of Kroonstad, who, in a lengthy addendum in which he quotes liberally from Arnold Toynbee, argues that 'race-feeling' has 'not the shadow of physiological justification ... if colourlessness is the pink of perfection the rare albino ought to be hailed ... as a king of men ... These ... indicate that there is no logical or rational ground for the manifestations of race-feeling... they are an emergence to be combated and destroyed' (Memorandum 9).

Similar positions, less academic perhaps, were taken by the American Board Mission in South Africa, the Anglican Diocese of Johannesburg, the Johannesburg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, Leo Marquard, a distinguished liberal, the spokesperson for the East London Municipality, the Soutpansberg Joint Council of Europeans and Natives and, significantly – because of its standing – the South African Institute of Race Relations. This perspective was to be put across to the Commission frequently, much to the frustration of the Commission. When the Commission spoke with the Executive Committee of the Cape African Teachers' Association (CATA), a Commissioner, Dr Cook, complained, saying, '[y]our recommendations are all or nothing... leave out the term “race”. You have been utterly suspicious of the Commission, but can't you put forward a plan?' To this, a member of the CATA delegation replied that '[o]ur fundamental standpoint is one of equality. You can speak of different ethnic groups’ (Evidence, Eastern Cape, 2-11 November 1949).

There is evidence throughout the Commission of the witnesses regularly subverting the process of giving evidence. While indignation, dressed in ponderous analysis, is frequently the stance taken by Africans in response to the Commission, also apparent is an undercurrent of cynicism where they take the 'learned' cues (meanings) that they are offered and rearrange them to suit their own political purposes. One wonders, for example, what exactly Chief Johannes Mhlongo was saying in the address below: 'I thank you very much. We find out today that the Government has love for us' (Evidence, Durban, 28 September 1949). Not all chiefs were so subtle, however. Pushed aggressively by one Mr Hofmeyer, a Commissioner, to acknowledge that there was 'backwardness in their [African] character', Chief Moshesh from the Eastern Cape told his questioners, 'No. Not in their character, but in the character of the education [they] receive' (Evidence, Eastern Cape, 2 November 1949). A Mr SM Mabude went even further. Writing to the Commission, he said that he found the entire exercise of investigating the racial basis for a separate culture and education for Africans repugnant: '[The African had been made] a museum specimen, a
fossil, a preserved animal for scientific experimentation. In short, the person in him has been killed’ (Memorandum 51).

**Race neutrality**

In eliciting public opinion the Commission had clearly taken a gamble that had not quite succeeded. Seldom were the responses they were to hear entirely satisfactory. An unambiguous admission of African minority status in the hierarchy of world peoples and civilizations was to be heard only from the unabashed racists. Even those who chose to credit the possibility that race was measurable were quick to dismiss the equation of difference with notions of inferiority and superiority. This was particularly so amongst African witnesses. The Orange Free State African Teachers’ Association, for example, stated that, ‘by racial characteristics we understand such characteristics as stature, colour, type of hair, fortitude, humour etc, which while universal in the human race, are especially pronounced in the Naive (sic)’ (Memorandum 84). These, however, they were quick to add, counted for nothing in determining the human abilities and capacities of human beings. With the Transvaal Interdenominational Ministers’ Association (Western Transvaal), they argued that it was incorrect to see Africans as a separate race and that ‘characteristics were merely physical’ (Memorandum 71). This discourse, the race-neutral group, frequently merged with and often found itself subsumed within the race-blindness discourse. Showing how complex discourse worked, Rev. Kuzwayo of Durban stated bluntly to the Commission that ‘it was a fallacy that all Africans have the same characteristics’ (28 September 1949).

It was not, however, only Africans who chose to express themselves in this way. For many people classified white, race, as a signification of difference, was a reality that could not be ignored but that need not be of material consequence. Like their counterparts in the race-matters and the white supremacist groups, race was inscribed in biological fact. It was physiologically self-evident, said the Catholic Bishops of South Africa (Memorandum presented 23 May 1949), making Africans a distinct ethnic grouping. Racial qualities, said Kenneth Kirkwood of the University of Natal at Durban, were genetically determined.

These characteristics, however, race-neutral commentators were to say, had no value in and of themselves. If African people were presently different from Europeans, it was essentially because of their cultural heritage. Interpretations that drew on culture to account for difference were thus notably in evidence within this discourse, even amongst African witnesses. A large number expressed the opinion that African people were distinctly different from Europeans, but that it was environment, they argued, that had created this difference. Even Africans who perceived themselves to be physically distinct as a people were to assert the potential of African people to rise to the same heights as other human beings. An intriguing witness, a Mr S Sol Modise from the Kolege Ya Bana Ba Afrika, was to say that ‘without European contact, the Bantu would still be the so-called savage he was three hundred years ago’, and went on to argue that the question of racial characteristics had ‘no practical bearing ... to the matter under discussion’ (Memorandum 167).

The differences that existed between human beings, it was agreed amongst those of the race-neutral discourse, were, however, mutable. ‘Africans,’ asserted Dr GHM Bobbins, an Inspector of Schools in Port Elizabeth, ‘are equal to Europeans. They are
Certainly equal to the Europeans in arithmetical powers ... I feel that they should have a course in general knowledge which is sadly lacking with the average Native ... he does not get [that] in his home life or in his environment’ (Evidence, 2-11 November 1949). Ray Phillips perhaps summed up this position best:

I have found no differences between Natives and Europeans that cannot be adequately accounted for by different social environment and home background. As the environment of the Native more closely approaches that of the European these differences in what we might call ‘racial characteristics’ correspondingly disappear. In people like Professor Z. Matthews, Principal D. M'Timkulu, Dr. A.B. Xuma, and others, you simply have cultured, educated, men. (Memorandum 23)

Environmental influences could, however, be changed, as the Joint Council of Soutpansberg explained: ‘The race characteristics of the Native are common to all backward races and are rapidly altering as their environment, climate, diet, etc. change and the European Civilization has more effect on them’ (Memorandum 172).

Distinct in the address of those classified white, and distinguishing them from African people, however, was a very different attitude to African culture. Where many of the African witnesses celebrated African people’s communality, song and tradition, evident amongst their white counterparts was a deep disdain for the heritage of African culture. The ‘failings’ of African people, said the Bishop of Umtata, were ‘due to a strong tendency to imitativeness and memorizing’ and were by no means permanent and therefore ‘does not imply that the Native needs a separate education’ (Memorandum 74). Developing the train of thought, an Afrikaner liberal, WTH Beukes, a lecturer at the University of Pretoria, rigorously refuted attempts to construct the African as biologically and permanently inscribed with social characteristics. The only way in which one could interpret the differences of people, he argued, was by examining their cultural history. In the case of the African people, unfortunately, that history was decidedly unexceptional: ‘It is not particularly inventive nor is it given to analysis and logical reasoning’ (Memorandum 94).

Race matters

In the discourse of race-matters the logic of physiology brought its spokespersons to a more radical conclusion. It was a mistake, they argued, to believe that race did not matter. It did matter. Unlike those of the race-neutral discourse, they were categorical about the good sense of race. Most who chose to give evidence to the Commission deferred, not unexpectedly given the hegemony of Anglophile thought in the post-Second World War environment, to the conceit of Empire symbolized by language, culture and race.

Responses to the Commission encompassed a range of representations. A W McCagie from Richmond, Natal, said that African people were ‘definitely so’ a distinct race (Memorandum 17). Elaborating, he explained that ‘considerations of skin pigmentation and the intensities of light (sic) make it nearly impossible for “white” and “black” to live healthily in the same environment. And this is a permanent cleavage that no education or legislation can affect.’ The ‘science’ in his explanation emerged as he elaborated his position:

It has now been established that the pigmented skins of non-Europeans necessitate their owners living in the sun as much as possible, so that an adequate supply of “actinic” rays of light should penetrate to the layers of the body where, for example, vitamin D is manufactured. The race history of the Bantu shows a
people living in an environment and
adapted to that environment wherein
nearly every hour of the waking day was
spent in the sunshine. Light starvation is
a very real predecessor of TB ... Clothes of
European type spell trouble for the
African.

A degree less crude was the ‘common
knowledge’ asserted by the Pietermaritz-
burg City Council spokesperson that ‘the
Native is capable of far greater physical
effort than the European or Indian races’
(Memorandum 43), or the cameo created by
Mr Harms from Hermansburg who expres-
sed astonishment at the ‘extraordinar(il)y
well developed intellect of the Native. Here
was the son of a savage who could be taken
through the educational system and (who)
could come out the other side with a degree’
(Evidence, 28 September 1949). Only their
appropriation of liberal badges separated
people such as these from white supremacy.

While few were to derive characteristics
of culture from racial attributes, as sought
by the Commission, implied in many such
submissions was the possibility that cul-
tural difference could not always be dis-
sociated from a biological base. The Rev. WH
Kinsey of the Presbyterian Church of South
Africa, for instance, in his written response
to the Commission articulated a sense of the
unease with which the relationship of
biology and culture was addressed:

God made the Native a son. We cannot ...
make him less. (However), ethnologically,
the Native belongs to a separate and
independent race... (They) are backward
i.e. only emerging from barbarism and
cannot be compared with people of
centuries of civilization behind them.
(Memorandum 104)

What is worthy of emphasis at this point
is the generic Eurocentricism inherent in
the perspectives presented. Embedded in
the politics of both those in the race-neutral
and race-matters discourses tended to be the
idea that while human beings might be
constituted differently in either physical or
cultural terms, ultimately all were
confronted with the questions defined by
European, British in particular, philosophy
and culture. European ‘progress’, in this
perspective, thus provided the template for
all human development. Even though, as
those in the race-matters discourse would
have it, Africans were somewhat low along
the scale of human development, they would
have no choice but to walk the path beaten
out by their European predecessors. In this
view, the race-matters group believed Afri-
can people were decidedly different, and
worthy of being treated differently from
white people. Their education therefore had
to be different, many argued.

**Race supremacy**

On the whole, Afrikaner testimony to the
Commission tended to be much more consis-
tent and predictable than that of other
groups who gave evidence to the Com-
mission. Nice moral scruples about how one
spoke to race and racial differences did not
arise for most who gave evidence to the
Commission. Of course, as we saw above,
there were many of Afrikaner background
who expressed themselves very differently.
A key organization, the Sinodale Sending
Kommissie (Synod Missionary Commission)
of the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk (one of a
number of Dutch Reformed Churches active
within the Afrikaner community), for
example, explained that what appeared to
many to be psychological and inherent was
merely a ‘sociological manifestation’ [my
translation] (Memorandum 45).

However, the line brought to the Com-
mission – representing the race-supremacy
or white supremacy discourse – was gen-
erally faithful to the idea that African people
constituted ‘God’s forgotten children’. To the
question of the distinct racial nature of Afri-
can people many Afrikaners were almost
peremptorily responsive. A Dr Engelbrecht of the University of Pretoria, for instance, presented the matter in uncompromising language:

The Native is clearly a distinct and separate race. His physical racial characteristics are easily measured and well-known ... While not amenable to direct measurement, it does seem clear, however, that he is possessed of intellectual attributes of a racial nature which set him apart from other races. (Memorandum 55)

W Krause, from a place aptly called Duiwelskloof (Devil’s Ravine), declared that ‘(e)ven (Native) teachers and children are resistant to civilization ... Their children walk around in a state of filth’ [my translation] (Memorandum 84).

Expositions of this perspective were littered through the presentations of many Afrikaners (and indeed, it must be said, in those of some English-speaking whites). Amidst describing the necessity for a separate educational system for African people, they were eager to catalogue the characteristics that made African people a subordinate species. Overwhelmingly, those Afrikaners who chose to submit memoranda or give verbal evidence were not given to racial modesty. A sample of some of the most striking comments, verbal and written, made in the course of the Commission’s investigations is presented below.

• ‘[The native] is ... dead slow, imitative (except in terms of speed and intelligence), superstitious and primitive ... He has a tendency to sing, ... make beer. He is short-sighted, careless and stupid. His music is monotonous ... He has mainly bad characteristics ... It will take education, at its best, 2 000 years to bring him to the level of whites today ...’ [My translation] (IS Steyn, Memorandum 73)

• ‘[Despite everything] they still remain kaffirs ... Their particular characteristic is laziness ... Their social heritage is ... to have as many children as possible. It is that which stamps him as a noteworthy individual.’ [My translation] (JM Potgieter, Memorandum 78)

• ‘[There are] physical differences. [Natives] are incapable of abstract thinking.’ [My translation] (WTC Endemann, Memorandum 83)

• ‘[H]e has weaker intellectual ability and ... is incapable of thinking analytically.’ [My translation] (OFS University College, Memorandum 85)

• ‘His logic is negative, particularly when it comes to ideas which are European. Most cultivated habits are, in the native, still raw ... and uncontrolled. The analytic ability of intelligence of a 23-year-old is equal to that of a normal white child of about 14 years.’ [My translation] (J Taljaard, Memorandum 95)

• ‘I spend more time as a school inspector with disciplinary issues ... The majority of the cases are of a sexual nature and these I put down to the natural uncontrolled animal instincts of the native ...’ [My translation] (GC Clark, Evidence at Lydenberg)

• ‘We have in the Native a predilection for the concrete as opposed to the abstract, group behaviour as opposed to individualism, an obsession with magic as opposed to the realistic.’ [My translation] (Rev. JH van Wyk, Memorandum 46)

• ‘The Native is not disposed to be a leader. He is in temperament slow and unmotivated.’ [My translation] (HW Theron, Memorandum 59)

• ‘He is primitive and ... as a result a compulsive imitator.’ [My translation] (Dundee Afrikaans Study Group, Memorandum 98)

The weight of this information, in the view of some, meant that Africans were condemned to a perpetual life of subordination.
'It is obvious', said HD Trumpelman of the Botshabelo High School in Middelburg, Transvaal, ‘that there are radical differences between white people and Natives, and that there can be no thought given to the idea of a single and united race in South Africa' [My translation] (Memorandum 49). Others, such as WP de Villiers, were of the view that because African people were creations of the same god that Afrikaners worshipped, some caution had to be exercised in deciding how to deal with them. Equality implying racial assimilation, felt De Villiers, was the product of an ungodly humanism. ‘To be Godly’, he said, ‘we have to view each people as an organism ... This does not mean superiority, separation, yes’ [My translation] (Memorandum 75). Present in many of these perspectives were the unmistakable traces of the Christian Nationalism thought promoted amongst Afrikaners at the time. Central to Christian Nationalism was the idea that Afrikaners were destined to be the ‘master’ race of Africa, with the task of bringing the proverbial light to the continent’s dark savages.

Interestingly, however, this Christian Nationalism was taken up in several different ways. While it is correct to identify much of this testimony as being unambiguously racist, evident within some of the discourse is the adumbration of the ‘separate but equal’ thesis. Most people who aligned themselves with Christian Nationalism were undoubtedly aware of its separatist ethos. How that separatism was to be justified, however, was not yet clear. Was the basis of Afrikaner superiority their racial or their cultural heritage? Because of its lack of clarity, there is a distinct tendency towards the scientific racism that was very much part of the conventional wisdom of race that derived from Darwinist ideas.

developed in the middle of the nineteenth century. Only a very few Afrikaners were able to work their way through this maze. And it was they who in some senses constituted the intellectual vanguard upon which Eiselen and his fellow Commissioners were to draw. While they were insistent that African people were sufficiently different from Europeans to demand their exclusion from white society, they were extremely careful not to reveal themselves as proponents of white supremacy.

Constructing the regime of truth: Race and culture

There are a number of difficulties in seeking to make sense of the significance of the Eiselen Commission. For a long time, as both academic and polemic commentators have held, the Eiselen Commission has been portrayed as the progenitor par excellence of modern-day apartheid education. The pages of polemical journals of organizations such as the Teachers’ League of South Africa, for example, abound with characterizations of Eiselen and his fellow Commissioners as irredeemable racists. Descriptions have Eiselen initiating the process of bludgeoning the educational system into its four racial enclaves. Even if violence is not attributed to the Commission, it is implied that, at the very least, the Commission was responsible for visiting a kind of ideological violence on the oppressed of South Africa. And there is indeed, in the subsequent history and biographies of Eiselen and his fellow Commissioners, abundant evidence for such claims.

Yet to understand how the racialization of the educational system occurs in the fifties, we have to be very much more circumspect in our characterization of the Commission. To be sure, the Commission prepared the ground for the Bantu Educat-
ion Act of 1953. The manner in which it went about its work, however, was hardly a question of absolute power. Subtler forms of ideological manipulation and imposition were responsible for the policy that had indeed come to visit intense ideological violence upon the subject people of South Africa.

To understand this subtlety, it is necessary to recognize the veiled agenda of the Eiselien Commission. The elements of this lie in a skillful conflation of culture and race in which the first, I would argue, is explicit and used as the public text, while the second is submerged within the structure of the first. Together they constitute a discourse of white supremacy deftly installed in the passage of the Commission’s work by means of elision. Elision in this context is a process of omitting that which is most salient for the Commission, the culturalization of racial attributes, but in doing so placing it beyond the bounds of critique. I argue here that race is ‘absently’ present in the way in which the discourse of the Eiselien Commission is structured.

To arrive at the point where one can see the ascendancy of this white supremacist ideology in education, it is necessary to weigh up the alternative discourses of race that confronted the Eiselien Commission. While the discourses identified here by no means exhaust the variety of perspectives on race in South Africa, they certainly represented those that were dominant in the forties. The first group, the race-blindness group, is overwhelmingly represented by Africans and other people of colour and is joined by important English-speaking representatives. The point sought to be made by this group is that racial distinctions are entirely ‘arbitrary ... and meant to [keep] the groups designated “non-white” ... Deliberately in a state of ignorance and servitude’ (The Teachers’ League of South Africa, Memorandum 68). The central concern of people in this group was that the racialization of South Africans into distinct biocultural communities was inherently a hierarchalization of people into superior and inferior types. They vehemently rejected race as a concept. In the context of the forties and the epistemological paradigms that held sway, which, for example, were premised on ideas of progress steeped in Western thinking (whether socialist or capitalist, individualist or functionalist), this point of view was undoubtedly as radical as one could find at the time. At the same time, one needs to say, this view was culturally myopic and hence ethnocentric in its implied dismissal or subordination of African tradition. It perceived progress and civilization entirely as the acquisition of European education, and failed, wholly so, to problematize the meaning of European education. Be that as it may, its conjunctural significance lay in its opposition to the racialization of the educational system with its inherent tendency to subordinate African people within it.

The race-neutral perspective operated in much the same orbit. Its point of departure was that anthropometrically Africans were distinct from Europeans but that those distinctions were not significant in terms of the capabilities of people. Represented equally by both English-speaking whites and Africans, and a small number of Afrikaners, this group was of the view that all human beings were equal in their basic abilities. What did matter for those who shared this view was that seeking to use those differences as distinguishing markers of human ability was politically mischievous. Like the race-blind community, they were keen that African children be treated exactly like white children.
For the race-matters group it was necessary to recognize the possibility that not only were Africans different from white people, but also intellectually weaker. Placing them in the same category, in their view, was grossly unfair to Africans, because this implied judging Africans by European standards. In this discussion, the distinction between race and culture is sufficiently blurred, wittingly or not, to the extent that one is unsure whether it is phenotype or culture being invoked in describing the distinctions between Africans and Europeans.

No such ambivalence is to be seen in the discourse of white supremacy. In this perspective, Africans were intellectually and genetically substandard. Some in this camp drew on intelligence tests carried out by two well-known Afrikaner psychologists, Fick and Van Rensburg, which showed that ‘the capacity for learning amongst Natives was lower than that for whites’ [My translation] (The Orange Free State University College - Memorandum 85). The conclusion to which this group came was that ‘they are a separate race and their civilization is far behind that of the European, and, therefore, they are his inferior...They have to be taught to be grateful to Europeans for their progress’ (JM Potgieter, VR Amor, Memorandum 78). African people, therefore, they argued, had to be taught in terms of their own traditions, natures and attitudes. Essential in this process, furthermore, was the necessity for them to ‘learn the right attitude of respect to whites as their superiors’ (Memorandum 146).

We see here clear and overarching racial discourses that cut across racial groups. It can be argued, quite correctly, that it is in the space between the latter two discourses – the ambiguous nexus between race as phenotype and race as culture, supported by Afrikaners and, their moral posturing notwithstanding, English-speaking whites – that the fundamental principles of apartheid education are worked up in South Africa. Of greater concern to us in this paper, however, is how these discourses come to inform the findings of the Commission.

What does the Commission do with the evidence? As a way of making sense of the Commission’s report, I argue that race is sublimated within culture in the Commission. While the Commission’s report is constructed around culture as the central signifier of difference between African people and white people, culture is used here as a form of parody for race. Dubow (1992: 220-221) has shown elsewhere how culture as a signifier for race constituted a powerful strand of thought in Afrikaner debates in the thirties and forties. Clearly, the authors of the report were aware of the different positions in the Afrikaner intelligentsia with respect to the relationship between race and culture and were careful to avoid the posture of the Koot Vorsters who were to claim that colour difference was the ‘manifestation of a deep, radical physical and physiological difference’ between white and black people (Dubow 1993: 221). At the same time, while eschewing an explicit white supremacy, and avoiding its address and vocabulary, their attraction to it was evident in the syntax and grammar of the report. As Boonzaier (1988: 61) helpfully observes, Carl Linnaeus, the father, so to speak, of the philosophy of applying subdivisions for the purpose of classifying human beings, used primarily behavioural as opposed to physical traits in his analyses. Thus it was that Europeans – Europeaus — were identified as ‘light, lively and inventive’, while Africans – Africanus – were ‘cunning, slow and negligent’ (ibid). It is only
in the fifties with the publication of UNESCO's (1969) *Race and Science* that culture was decisively separated from race, bringing to a close this phase of racial science. The point is that the syntax of thought presented in the Eiselen Commission (arguably a product of Eiselen’s own Darwinistic anthropology), notwithstanding its textual opaqueness, is inscribed with the syllogism of Linnaeus, in which culture equals race. This is evident in the consistent way in which culture, and in this case the supposed cultural inferiority of African people, is drawn upon as a scientific resource – the common-sense – for constructing the rationale for a separate educational infrastructure for African people. While the racial assumptions of Eiselen and his fellow Commissioners are consistently occluded as text in the report, and are even compromised by moments where discourse around language media in African schools (Commission on Native Education 1951: 158) is characterized by a non-essentialist pragmatism, they have a real and figurative presence in the way in which culture is presented and discussed. For instance, the report comments that the evidence the Commission received with respect to intelligence was so ambiguous and indefinite that the Commissioners could not reach a conclusion. Elsewhere, particularly in the opening paragraphs of the report, the Commission avoids an encounter with the dominant icon of race and expresses itself in extremely measured terms. It would appear, therefore, that the Commission nowhere uses the evidence put before it. It is this appearance that disguises and occludes the syntactical grid of race that remains, as an absent-presence, embedded as the meta-theory of the report.

One assumption that the members of the Commission carried into their work, bluntly racist, related to the social characterization of African people. The ‘true Bantu’, most Commissioners agreed, was to be found in the Reserves – the areas into which African people were herded upon their dispossession during the 1890s and early 1900s. Those who had migrated to the city had simply become an amorphous mass of people whose true identity had been diluted and, therefore, was in need of restoration. The much maligned middle class, including teachers, were particularly unworthy of consideration as representing African people. In fact, in numerous points in the information gathering process, Commissioners led participants on with respect to teachers, encouraging them to emphasize teachers’ alleged moral failings.

In refracting in the report a particular conception of the ‘Native’ and portraying his or her customs as racial property, as the report extensively seeks to do, the Commission does in fact engage with the evidence put in front of it by distilling a ‘sociologically accurate’ picture of Africans and their lives that it uses as the science with which to conduct its work. It invents an ideal African type who is reified. In its report it remarks ‘[f]rom the involved definition of the term “Native” contained in the various laws of the Union, one might conclude that it would not be so easy to determine who is a Native (Bantu). In practice identification usually offers no difficulty’ (Report of the Commission, 1953: 9). It is particularly in the sections dealing with the ‘scientific facts’, particularly Chapter II of the report, entitled ‘The Bantu’, that the Eiselen Commission constructs the regime of truth with which it works. Under headings such as ‘Origin of the Bantu’, ‘Traditional Culture and Schools’, ‘Social Structure’ and so on, the ‘Native’ is drawn in his (never her) ‘true’ state. The basis of the ‘Bantu’s outlook on
life’ is shown by means of exact descriptions of his attitude to family and religion. The value of this description for the Commission is to lay out the social reality of being ‘Native’. ‘Native’ life is portrayed as a wholly self-contained and inherently logical way of life, but which, nonetheless, is unmistakably inferior.

Conclusion
The purpose of this paper has been to show that the apartheid ideological underpinnings of race are by no means pristine and fully formed but emerge in a complex dialectic with other ideological ideas. In the case of the Eiselen Commission a mode of discoursing about African people takes place in the late 1940s and early 1950s that is significantly more sophisticated than the blunt kragdadigheid that is attributed to it. Central to this discoursing is an anthropological gloss rendered in the language of culture but continuing to draw on deep racial ideas. What this anthropological gloss does is disguise but celebrate scientific empiricism that claims to be able to empirically recognize the ‘original Bantu’, who then becomes, as in racial science, systematically classifiable and, like any zoological species, available as an object of knowledge for inspection and analysis. What the Commission does is to appear to talk outside of racial biology but, in fact, to hold fast to its conceits.

The central effect of presenting the report in this grammatical form is to conjure up an image of a ‘true Bantu’ that the Commission can line up to justify the necessity for white trusteeship of African people. The ‘Native’ is revealed as an interesting specimen of nature, fascinatingly human in many of his attributes, but not quite ready to take his place within ‘the society and civilization’ of white people. Thus is the philosophical basis for a separate education for Africans is put in place.

Notes
1. I would like to thank Lyn Hanmer, Neville Alexander and Jane Taylor for their assistance in the writing of this work. The information contained in the article comes from the papers of Prof. A Murray, lodged in the African Studies Library at the University of Cape Town.
2. Indeed, if one wished to be punctilious, the essential direction for education in South Africa had already been determined in 1943, before the Commission had even been conceived, when Afrikaner intellectuals at a cultural congress had published a manifesto for education that stated: ‘We wish to have no mixing of languages, no mixing of cultures, no mixing of religions and no mixing of races’ (Davis 1972: 7).
3. Not everyone was as suspicious. A member of the Natal Bantu Parents’ Association, Chief Johannes Mhlongo, told the Commission, ‘I thank you very much. We found out today that the Government has love for us. We also like our Government. We are all his children.’ (Durban, 9 September 1949)

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The effectiveness of the Zimbabwe School Examination Council in managing examinations in rural day secondary schools

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Abstract
The study assessed the effectiveness of the Zimbabwe School Examination Council (ZIMSEC) in managing examinations in rural day secondary schools. Quantitative and qualitative techniques were used in the study. Examination results from a purposive sample of 97 rural day secondary schools, focus groups with 30 purposively selected heads of departments, and personal interviews with five purposively selected heads of departments were analysed. The analysis pays attention to the achievements of ZIMSEC, the challenges facing ZIMSEC and the way forward. In conclusion, the article focuses on the positive and negative elements of the examination system.

Introduction
The Zimbabwe education system underwent tremendous changes after independence. In the pre-independence era and the post-independence era up to 1993 Ordinary level (O level) and Advanced level (A level) examinations were run by the Cambridge International Examinations Board, through the Examinations Branch, a department of the Ministry of Education, Sport and Culture (Makhurane 2001: 2). With the advent of a new socioeconomic order after independence a need was felt to localize examinations in order to address local needs. There was also a need to reduce costs and improve the affordability of examinations, and localization meant that examination fees would be charged in local currency. This would alleviate the problem of dropouts, which is caused, in part, by high examination fees, which rural parents cannot afford (IIEP 2001: 216).

The process of localizing examinations began in 1984 through the Examinations Branch (Makhurane 2001: 2). The Examinations Branch worked with the Cambridge International Examinations Board to train local examiners and localize the setting and marking of examinations in phases. The Cambridge Examinations Board played a monitoring and supervisory role. The aim was gradually to wean the Examinations Branch from the Cambridge International Examinations Board. This aim was finally achieved in 1994 when the Zimbabwe School Examination Council (ZIMSEC) was established (to replace the Examinations Branch) as a body corporate with sole responsibility for managing all school examinations in the country (ZIMSEC ACT No. 17 of 1994: 67).
ZIMSEC's vision is to be the centre of excellence within the subregion and beyond in quality assessment in education (ZIMSEC 2001: 1). The mission of ZIMSEC is spelt out as the quality assessment of candidates' learning/performance and the awarding of nationally recognized certificates at different levels of the school education system, while optimally utilizing the human and material resources it has available to it. The core values underlying the business of ZIMSEC include integrity, commitment, valid assessments, customer satisfaction and continuous improvement. Commitment, customer satisfaction and continuous improvement are key aspects of total quality management (TQM) (Deming 1986: 24-86). ZIMSEC can therefore be said to be effective if it lives up to these values. The main function of ZIMSEC according to the ZIMSEC ACT No. 17 (1994: 67) is to organize and conduct assessment and examinations for the education system.

Some of the most critical components of an education system are its assessment and examination procedures, and Colby (2003: 2) says assessment helps students to demonstrate their educational attainment and is therefore important in any education system. For assessment to be effective it must be qualitative. Quality in assessment is not a unitary concept. Instead, there are various attributes that must be present in the assessment processes if there is to be quality in the assessment (Ashcroft & Palacio 1996: 33-39; Zabulionis 1999: 2). Assessment ought to be both valid and reliable. To increase validity and reliability, assessment must include essays, examinations, practical work presentation and project work, since written examinations per se force students to learn things merely for examination purposes (Ashcroft & Palacio 1996: 57-59). The Independent Panel of Experts (2002: 2) posits that the quality of an assessment can be enhanced by the use of inter-board comparability studies and statistical comparisons with other trends. The importance of an external input into the assessment tools is also emphasized by Zabulionis (1999: 3), who maintains that it is necessary to use an external referee to judge the assessment items.

Ashcroft and Palacio (1996: 33-34) argue that a system of assessment is likely to be of a high quality if those who operate it believe in it and are committed to it because they are the people who have to maintain its standards and safeguards. For a council like ZIMSEC to be successful, it is therefore critical for teachers to have confidence in its processes, as they are the ones who operate it. The assessment system must have rigorous standards that compare favourably with other systems at the same level. Ashcroft and Palacio (1996: 34) further point out that quality of examination systems focuses on security of the systems and comparability between markers. This comparability between markers can be achieved through rigorous moderation by chief examiners, who must be appointed on the grounds of their educational qualifications and teaching and marking experience (Zabulionis 1999: 2).

It is also necessary for examination questions to be error-free. On this point Zabulionis (1999: 3) says the usual issues of printing, checking, proofreading and rechecking have to be done to the very highest standards if the fragile nerves of candidates are not to be tested by getting a paper containing a printing error. Colby (2003: 3) also points out that to ensure quality in assessment it is important to use clear, precise, intelligible language throughout the question paper and to get the right papers to the candidates at the right time.
Intensive training of those who operate the assessment system also enhances the quality of the system. Cangelosi (1991: 100) argues that well-planned, rigorous and continuous training enhances the capacity of teachers to be more effective and efficient in their execution of examination duties. The Independent Panel of Experts (2002: 2) points out that successful training for GCSE examiners in Britain was accomplished through the use of subject panels led by experienced and highly qualified teachers. Training is likely to increase teachers’ awareness of what examining entails and improve working relationships between teachers and the assessment board (Colby 2003: 2).

Colby (2003: 2) argues that one indicator of the quality of an education system is the credibility of its examination and certification processes. If ZIMSEC is to be effective in discharging its duties, it must ensure that its assessments and examinations are conducted in a manner that reflects quality. However, there have been concerns about the way ZIMSEC conducts its business, and reports of inefficiency abound (Sibanda 1999: 2; Sibanda 2001: 5; Chronicle 15 November 2002). It is important that the performance of the examination council is appraised regularly to ensure good service to the customer and value for money.

The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary explains that effectiveness refers to the degree to which a thing produces the intended result. In a similar vein Cheng (1996:13-24) alludes to three models that can be used to measure effectiveness. Cheng (1996:13) says according to the goal model the formally stated goals of an organization should be used to assess the effectiveness of that organization. An organization is effective to the extent that it achieves its stated goals with given resources. Cheng (1996:18) says furthermore that the effectiveness of an organization can be assessed using the satisfaction model. This model approximates organizational effectiveness to the satisfaction of its powerful and strategic constituencies. The third model that can be applied to organizational effectiveness is the ineffectiveness model (Cheng 1996:24). This model entails analysing those issues with which clients are not satisfied. In this study the effectiveness of ZIMSEC was assessed using the goal model, wherein the goals of ZIMSEC as enshrined in their mission and values would provide the yardstick for measuring effectiveness. The satisfaction model was also used by analyzing the views of heads of departments and school principals who are clients of ZIMSEC. The ineffectiveness model was also applied by soliciting data on those aspects that school personnel feel are not being dealt with effectively by the examination council.

Statement of the problem
The localization of examinations through the introduction of ZIMSEC was a major change in the administration of public examinations in Zimbabwe. Change is normally accompanied by apprehension, and in this case there have been some fears that the newly established examination council may fail to perform the task satisfactorily. There have also been concerns that ZIMSEC may lower the standard of examinations and in the process compromise the quality of education. Given the backdrop of this uncertainty, it is critical that the effectiveness of ZIMSEC should be analysed.

The problem in this study was: How effective has ZIMSEC been in managing examinations in rural day schools? The study focused on rural day secondary schools because they are the worst resourced and if ZIMSEC’s performance is significantly
effective in relation to them, it is likely to have an even more significant impact on other school types. ZIMSEC (2003b: 2) points out that one of the most frequently asked questions is whether the localization of examinations has led to a decline in standards, so this study also sought to assess the views of heads of departments and principals in this regard.

Research design
The main function of ZIMSEC according to the ZIMSEC ACT (1994: 67) is to organize and conduct assessment and examinations for the education system. The examinations are administered by the schools, to school pupils, so the effectiveness of ZIMSEC can be assessed using the performance of the pupils in the examinations and the views of school personnel on the operations of ZIMSEC, among other data sources. This study therefore combined quantitative and qualitative strategies so that it would yield rich and complete results (Borland 2001: 5; Meadows 2003: 371). Literature sources on the operation of ZIMSEC were also analysed to augment data from the empirical study. The data collection schedule was pilot-tested in ten schools that were not part of the sample to check whether it captured the desired information. The quantitative phase yielded numerical data relating to O level examination pass rates, while the qualitative phase yielded data on the perceptions of school managers and principals of the impact of ZIMSEC.

To assess examination pass rates the study used a descriptive survey, which is deemed appropriate for quantitative analysis (Meadows 2003: 400; McMillan & Schumacher 1997: 37). Purposive sampling was used in selecting 97 rural day secondary schools from one education region (McMillan & Schumacher 1997: 37; Leedy 1997: 210). A purposive sample was deemed appropriate because the study focused on the effectiveness of ZIMSEC in managing examinations in rural day secondary schools rather than over the entire gamut of school types. Cohorts that were in Form 4 and had been together from 1999 to 2003 were chosen to ensure that recent and more meaningful and relevant data were used (Lucey 2002: 181-184; Wegner 2000: 333). Document analysis, which yields accurate data, was used to collect data on O level pass rates from records of O level examination results (Leedy 1997: 191). Data were aggregated and presented using arithmetic means and percentages.

In the qualitative phase data was collected on how heads of departments and school principals perceived the impact of ZIMSEC. Meadows (2003: 398) says that qualitative research helps us to understand a social phenomenon in a natural setting, with emphasis on the views and experiences of the participants. A purposive sample of five schools was selected. In each of the five schools, six heads of departments were purposively selected to ensure that information-rich participants were included in the study (Parton in McMillan & Schumacher 1998: 397; Marshall 1998: 60). To facilitate the simultaneous collection of a large amount of data, focus groups were used to collect data from the heads of departments. Focus groups may increase the quality and richness of the data, as group members are stimulated by the perceptions and ideas of others within the social environment in which the group is situated (Daymon & Holloway 2002: 186; McMillan & Schumacher 1997: 453). Six members per group was deemed an appropriate sample size (Daymon & Holloway 2002: 192). Each focus group session lasted approximately one hour and 15 minutes.
Purposive strategic informant sampling was also the rationale for including the principals of the five selected schools in the sample (Marshall 1998: 60). The principals are in charge of administering the ZIMSEC examinations and they are assisted by heads of departments, so it was felt that they were information-rich participants (Parton in McMillan & Schumacher 1997: 397).

Data was collected from the principals using personal interviews. The interviews were semi-structured to avoid imposing 'the researcher's frame of reference on the data to be generated' (Marshall 1998: 38) and to ensure comprehensive coverage of all critical issues.

Interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed verbatim and then analysed. The researcher read through the transcribed data thoroughly to get an overall picture of the information so as to be able to segment it into coherent themes (Daymon & Holloway 2002: 234). The main data segments that emerged were programme achievements, programme challenges and the way forward.

The criteria for trustworthiness applied to the study are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Daymon & Holloway 2002: 93). To ensure trustworthiness the interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim to give an accurate reflection of the respondents' views. This simultaneously catered for dependability, which involves consistency and accuracy of findings. The use of focus groups as well as personal interviews also allowed for data triangulation, as data were collected from different groups and by different methods (Daymon & Holloway 2002: 99).

Permission was sought from the Secretary for Education, Sport and Culture to conduct the study in the schools (McMillan & Schumacher 1997: 195; Bell, McBridge and Wilson 1999: 52). The informed consent of the subjects was obtained by providing an explanation of the research and the implications of participating. Respondents were also guaranteed anonymity and were free to withdraw their services at any time (McMillan & Schumacher 1997: 194; Christians 2003: 139).

Discussion of findings

Achievements of ZIMSEC

From the data it was possible to identify a number of ZIMSEC’s achievements. These are described briefly in the next few sections.

Full localization

In all the focus groups respondents acknowledged that ZIMSEC had accomplished full localization. The localization of O level examinations was finalized in 1999, and on 23 August 1999 the Accreditation Agreement between CIE (Cambridge International Examinations Board) and ZIMSEC came to an end (Sibanda 1999: 1). This meant that ZIMSEC assumed full autonomy as an examinations board and was therefore put in a position to respond more appropriately to the needs of the community it serves. The fees for administering the examinations are now charged wholly in local currency and this makes examinations affordable even to the economically vulnerable groups in rural areas. Candidates pay Z$500 per subject.

Monitoring standards

Respondents observed that ZIMSEC has introduced a number of measures to safeguard standards, such as working with other examinations boards and providing training for markers. This development is confirmed by ZIMSEC (2003a: 2), through its affiliation to the Association of Educational Assess-
ment in Africa (AEAA) and the International Association of Educational Assessment (IAEA). It is monitored by the National Academic Recognition Information Centre (NARIC), which also monitors reputable examinations boards like CIE. This ensures that ZIMSEC adheres to internationally acclaimed standards of assessing student achievement, and thus ensures that localization of examinations has not necessarily led to a lowering of standards. The quality of assessment can be verified by the use of inter-board comparability (Harlen 1994: 20).

Training
All respondents agreed that the examination council makes an effort to train its markers as a way of improving the quality of marking of examinations, a move confirmed by available literature. Training has been used to ensure high standards of assessment. According to Examinations Circular No. 15 of 2003, applicants who wish to train as examiners must be certified graduates with not less than five years’ secondary school teaching experience in a particular subject. Applicants are drawn from schools, regional offices, colleges and universities, and are screened on such attributes as punctuality, reliability, initiative and orderliness. Supervisors of applicants also make appraisals of the potential examiners, who then undergo an initial five-day training programme (ZIMSEC 2003c: 2-6). External consultants are used for the training sessions. In 2001, for instance, 704 examiners were trained by consultants from the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB), the National Examinations Council of Tanzania (NECTA) and the Caribbean Examinations Council (CXC) (Thabethe 2001: 16). Before each examination marking session examiners undergo some marking standardization, and item writers are trained periodically. This trend is consistent with the views of Riding and Butterfield (1990: 85) and Cangelosi (1991:100), who argue that training is important for the sustainment of quality in assessment.

Decentralization
According to Sibanda (1999: 1–4), ZIMSEC has managed to decentralize to all regions in the country. The decentralization is similar to that of the GCSE in Britain, where communication with schools is the responsibility of geographically accessible centres (Riding & Butterfield 1990: 82). This has had the effect of enhancing an interface between the examination council and schools, parents and the community.

Growth in candidature
ZIMSEC has experienced significant growth in O level candidature, as reflected in Table 1 (Murira 2001: 9). Between June 2000 and November 2001 ZIMSEC candidature grew by 401%. In this regard ZIMSEC enhanced customer satisfaction by making the examinations accessible to more candidates. Access to a service or product is the first step towards customer satisfaction. The increase in candidature, from 58 095 in June 2000 to 291 069 in November 2001 may be due to affordable fees (Z$500 per subject) charged by ZIMSEC and easy access to examination venues. The growth in candidature was also

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Exam session</th>
<th>Number of centres</th>
<th>No. of candidates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>58 095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>June</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>64 749</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>1 706</td>
<td>280 673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>1 718</td>
<td>291 069</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Growth in candidature for the years 2000 and 2001
acknowledged by heads of departments and school principals. All the respondents said the most evident achievement of ZIMSEC was the improvement of access to the O level examinations. They argued that the examination fees are affordable and there are now more students registering for the examinations than before. This is a major shift away from the situation in the pre-independence era, where only 2% of students completing primary education finally accessed the O level examinations (Zvogbo 1986: 26). This growth in candidature is consistent with trends elsewhere. For instance, the GCSE in Britain tries to cater for at least 90% of secondary school students (Riding & Butterfield 1990: 22). If ZIMSEC is maintaining trends that are internationally comparable, it is proving itself effective.

Release of examination results
All the school principals agreed that examination results were being released in good time by ZIMSEC, which contributes to customer satisfaction. The results for the November 2001 examinations were dispatched to schools on 1 February 2002. This was earlier than in any other year in the previous 21 years (Murira 2001: 9) and was an indication of good time management and effectiveness.

Relevance of examination questions
The majority of the heads of departments deemed in all focus groups that examination questions had become more relevant to the rural set-up in which rural day secondary schools operate. This was supported by school principals as well, with one saying, 'It has brought in a Zimbabwean outlook into the examinations, and the questions are now more relevant to the children.' Another principal added, 'I think it has been positive in the sense that the syllabi developed by ZIMSEC are now relevant to the situation of children in this country. Every child now has a better opportunity to write an examination that is related to his environment.' Liston (1999: 4) says relevance is a key indicator of the impact of an educational programme. Relevance of the examinations has the potential to raise the pass rates, thereby contributing to the improvement of the internal efficiency of the school system (Natarajan 1993: 11). To this end ZIMSEC has been effective in managing examinations in rural day secondary schools.

Cost savings
The participants largely agreed that ZIMSEC has also instituted cost savings and made the examinations more affordable than before. 'It makes a lot of financial sense and improves access to education, especially for the disadvantaged rural people,' said a head of department. Participants pointed out that the examination fees are now charged in local currency, and so the cost per student has gone down. In support of this development Sibanda (1999: 1) states that 'the fees to administer the examinations would now be wholly charged in local currency and this makes the examinations affordable even to the economically vulnerable groups in rural areas.' Low cost per student is in keeping with the suggestion by the IIEP (2001: 7) that efficiency implies an optimal relationship between inputs and outputs, so ZIMSEC has been effective in its management of examinations in rural day secondary schools.

Publication of revision booklets
Respondents observed that ZIMSEC had improved its effectiveness by publishing revision booklets for use by teachers and students. According to a head of department
ZIMSEC is also producing revision booklets, which assist students to prepare for the examinations. This is good and it helps the students to pass. These booklets contribute to the learning resources and guide students on how to tackle examination questions, and can thus improve pass rates. Improved pass rates assist the students in entering the world of work or studying further (Natarajan 1993: 11), thus rendering ZIMSEC an effective examinations body.

Challenges facing ZIMSEC
It is clear from the data that ZIMSEC also faces many challenges in its functioning. These challenges are described briefly in the next few paragraphs.

Low pass rates
Pass rates at ZIMSEC have generally been low, especially for rural day secondary schools, as shown by the analysis in Table 2.

Not all students who initially enrolled in Form 4 finally wrote the O level examinations. For the five years under study an average of 83.7\% of students who enrolled for Form 4 eventually wrote the examinations per year. This means that 16.28\% dropped out for various reasons. Gatawa (1998: 10) argues that, while developing countries have done remarkably well in terms of extending education to an appreciably large percentage of their school-going population, ‘... school performance, as measured by dropouts and examination results ... has not been encouraging’. One of the main reasons for students failing to write the O level examinations has been failure to pay the examination fees (IIEP 2001: 216). It is possible that the high dropout rate is due to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Initial Form 4 enrolment</th>
<th>Candidates who wrote the exam</th>
<th>Candidates who passed five or more subjects, including English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2 226</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1 779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2 514</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1 727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4 740</td>
<td>3 506</td>
<td>74.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2 487</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2 835</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2 438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5 322</td>
<td>4 557</td>
<td>85.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2 614</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2 362</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2 639</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2 215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5 253</td>
<td>4 577</td>
<td>87.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2002</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2 510</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1 965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2 694</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2 094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5 204</td>
<td>4 059</td>
<td>78.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2003</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>2 256</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2 144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>2 488</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>2 309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4 744</td>
<td>4 453</td>
<td>93.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2(a): O level examination pass rates by gender and year
failure to pay examination fees, and if this is the case the effectiveness of ZIMSEC is being compromised.

The mean pass rate for male students was 11%, with a standard deviation of 2.2, and this was higher than the mean pass rate for females, which was 8.7%, with a standard deviation of 3.1. This means there was less variation in the pass rates for male students than in that for female students. In each of the five years the pass rate for males was higher than that for females, and it was concluded that males perform better than females in the O level examinations. The reason for this could be that girls do not get as much time to study at home as boys do, since girls may have the added responsibility of household chores. It is also possible that the effect of fatigue resulting from long distances walked by students to school is more pronounced among girls than among boys.

The overall mean pass rate for the five years was 9.8%, which is lower than the national mean pass rate of 14.6% (Maramba 2001: 19). Students from established schools are therefore more likely to pass ZIMSEC examinations than students from rural day secondary schools. This is also confirmed by the fact that in the O level examination ratings for 2000 there were no rural day secondary schools in the top 150 schools (Chronicle, 19 February 2001). Dorsey et al (1991: 25) and Mutumbuka (1986: 116) also show that rural schools have the poorest examination results. The picture painted seems to suggest that the quality of pass rates has to do more with the schools than with the examinations body. However, reasons for low pass rates cannot be completely divorced from the effectiveness of ZIMSEC, as achievement also reflects on such aspects as validity and reliability of examinations as well as the effectiveness of the marking process, all of which are responsibilities of ZIMSEC. Thus low pass rates would reflect a lack of effectiveness on the part of ZIMSEC. If ZIMSEC examination results are perennially low for a particular population, then the ZIMSEC values of administering valid assessments and satisfying their customers are heavily compromised.

Over the years the pass rates have not been improving. Rather, they have been on the decline, more evidently for female students. There was a significant drop in pass rates from 1999 to 2003, from a mean pass rate of 14.9% to a mean pass rate of 6.6% for female students. For male students the rate dropped from 15.0% to 8.3%. The overall drop was from 14.9% to 7.4%. It can therefore be concluded that low pass rates have to do with in-school processes rather than ZIMSEC, as argued by some of the respondents. It could also mean that teaching in schools is becoming poorer, or that ZIMSEC is becoming poorer at setting examinations that address the needs and potential of students in rural day secondary schools, which would compromise effectiveness.

**Funding**

In all focus groups and in all personal interviews it emerged that ZIMSEC has problems of adequate funding. Data from the respondents is corroborated by available literature on ZIMSEC. Funding problems characterize the operations of ZIMSEC and the trend is getting worse, to the extent that the council failed to mark the 1999 Zimbabwe Junior

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Overall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Certificate Examinations (Makhurane 1999: 1). This sullied the name of the council. However, it should be noted that this shortage of funding is not peculiar to ZIMSEC, as Loboda (1999: 3) argues that examination boards face a severe crisis of resources. This tends to compromise the effectiveness of ZIMSEC, however, as without funding it becomes difficult to satisfy customers in terms of service provision.

Errors in examinations
The examination system is also beset by the repetition of questions and errors that compromise the quality of the examinations, the respondents observed. One head of department said, ‘I would like to comment on the standard of papers. You find they have errors here and there. Students and teachers have complained about errors in the results.’ Emphasizing that examination questions at times contain mistakes, a school principal observed that ‘some students get results for subjects they never sat examinations in. There are cases where wrong results have been sent, and that does not motivate anybody, I think at the end of the day confidence in that examination is lost.’ The concerns of the respondents about errors in the examinations are confirmed by Sibanda (1999: 2) when he says, ‘A more distressing development was the mismatch of O level examination papers for November 1999.’ Such a trend discredits the examination system, which is a major aspect of the quality of education (Natarajan 1993: 11). Errors in questions compromise the validity of the examinations and Desforges (1989: 65) says, ‘The usual issues of printing, checking, proofreading and rechecking have to be done to the very highest standards if the fragile nerves of some unfortunate candidates are not to be shattered by getting a paper containing a printing error.’ As far as having error-free examinations is concerned, ZIMSEC is deemed not to be effective, as these errors influence candidates’ answers and ultimately the pass rates.

Perceived inferior quality of ZIMSEC examinations
Heads of departments largely believed that ZIMSEC examinations were inferior to those offered by its predecessor, the Cambridge International Examinations Board (CIEB). They also argued that ZIMSEC certificates did not receive international recognition. ‘The pass rates have gone up numerically, but they are not of good quality. The examinations have become easy and are not marked properly. The results may not be recognized internationally,’ observed one school manager. In support of the same perception a school principal said, ‘The results are not good enough, as we have a lot of people with those passes who cannot get jobs. It means that those passes are useless. So I don’t think the results have gone up at all.’ If these assertions are taken as correct, in the view of Hoy, Bayne-Jardine and Wood (2000: 2), who quote Deming as saying ‘A product or service possesses quality if it helps somebody and enjoys a good and sustainable market’, ZIMSEC has had a negative impact on the education system.

However, according to ZIMSEC (2003a: 2), the council is affiliated to both the Association of Educational Assessment in Africa (AEAA) and the International Association of Educational Assessment (IAEA) and is monitored by the National Academic Recognition Information Centre (NARIC), so its certificates are recognized internationally. It could be that the participants are not aware of these arrangements. There could be other factors, such as the economic downturn, that result in the graduates failing to find employment. The perception of the inferior
status of certain examining boards is common among teachers and they tend to overestimate the superiority of some examinations boards over others (Harlen 1994: 10). They also believe that some examining boards set easier examinations than others.

Lack of transparency
The participants blamed ZIMSEC for a lack of transparency in the selection of people to set and mark examinations. A head of department alleged that ‘in most cases those who are experienced are not involved in setting examinations. It is not clear how those who set papers are selected.’ Another school manager added that ‘the criteria are not clear and often lowly qualified and inexperienced people are chosen ahead of better qualified and more experienced ones. There are cases where teachers mark subjects they neither teach, nor were trained for.’ The view that there is a lack of transparency was also supported by a school principal, who repeated the remarks by the head of department above, concluding by saying, ‘They need to be more transparent.’

The use of under-qualified and inappropriately qualified teachers to set and mark examinations compromises the quality of education (Moyo & Mubengegwi 1995: 62-74). Hence it could be argued that ZIMSEC has had a negative impact on the education system, as a lack of transparency shows a lack of integrity, which is one of the core values of ZIMSEC.

Leakage of examination papers
School principals alleged that at times examination papers are leaked. This observation was supported by a head of department, who said, ‘It is possible that some students who get these good passes will have seen leaked papers, so those results may not be genuine.’ This fear is confirmed by Sibanda (2001: 5), then Director of ZIMSEC, when he says, ‘There have also been reported cases of examination leakages.’ The Chronicle of 15 November 2002 also alludes to the leakage of examination papers. This shows the system is failing to secure its examinations and certification procedures, which are a key aspect of the quality of education (Natarajan 1993: 11; Ashcroft & Palacio 1996: 34). If examination results are based on leaked papers, the validity of the examination is suspect and so in this aspect ZIMSEC lacks effectiveness.

The way forward
Participants advocated that the procedures for selecting staff to set examinations should be overhauled. As one head of department said, ‘Only highly qualified people should be involved … not this situation where even people without degrees are used … They are not very different from the pupils for whom they are setting the papers and there is no quality here.’ The appointment of highly qualified staff would enhance the integrity of the examinations, one of the core values of ZIMSEC. Moyo and Mubengegwi (1995: 62-74) posit that teacher qualifications are a critical component of the quality of education. Gatiss (1996: 17) argues that quality depends on people, not things. The need to have examining done by highly qualified people to retain quality is also stressed by Riding and Butterfield (1990: 89) and Cangelosi (1991: 100). This would enhance the effectiveness of ZIMSEC.

Both school heads and school managers pointed out that there is a need for transparency in the appointment of people to do examination work. One head of department said, ‘I do not know the criteria they use to select people to set examinations, as some chief examiners are not sure of the subject content.’ The need for transparency was
echoed by a school principal, who said, ‘There is also need for transparency in the selection of markers and setters. It’s not clear how people are brought in. It is possible that there is favouritism, corruption and nepotism in the process.’ If there is transparency, the integrity of the examination council will be enhanced and the council can live up to its promised values and thus be effective.

The school principals advocated a thorough supervision of the process of setting, printing and packaging of examination papers to avoid both errors and leaks. ZIMSEC also needs to manage its information base efficiently to avoid errors in the publication of results, so that the results retain credibility, the school principals argued.

Given the low pass rates, school principals said one strategy ZIMSEC could use was to restructure the curriculum and allow those students who do not have the academic potential to pass the O level examinations to pursue practical subjects that would develop enough skills to enable them to engage in life-sustaining activities even without entering formal employment that requires an O level certificate. In explaining the curriculum, one school principal said, ‘We need a joint curriculum to cater for students who can handle the academic type of examination that ZIMSEC is offering. We also need another system … with a vocational orientation.’

Even though ZIMSEC has made access to the examinations affordable, the school managers felt there is a need to hike examination fees to reasonable levels, for instance Z$2 000 per subject. As one observed, ‘They have tried to keep the examination fees affordable so quite a number of parents can pay for their children to do the examination … The money is not enough to pay markers. There is a need to revise the fees upwards.’ In support of this strategy other school managers said, ‘Maybe ZIMSEC needs to charge slightly higher fees for the examinations to improve on its efficiency’ and ‘They should hike examination fees’. Responding to a probe on whether increasing fees would not compromise access to the examination, one school manager said, ‘No! That would actually add value to the examination, as it would take an effort to afford the examination fees. Right now some students do not take the examination seriously because it is too easy to access.’

The fact that fees charged by ZIMSEC are too low is confirmed by Chigwedere (2004: 1) when he points out that current fees are Z$500 per subject when it costs Z$16 000 to produce a question paper. The examination is being offered at far below the cost of producing it. This puts a strain on the government fiscus, as it has to subsidize the examinations heavily.

Conclusions

From the discussion of the findings of the study, it is possible to indicate both positive and negative aspects relating to the effectiveness of ZIMSEC in managing examinations in rural day secondary schools. On a positive note, ZIMSEC has made the O level examinations accessible to more people. Access to education is one indicator of the quality of education, as it shows that the intended customers are receiving the service (Moyo & Mubengegwi 1995: 62-74). The increase in access to the O level examinations is a great improvement on the pre-independence era, when only 2% of the cohort of students entering primary school managed to reach the O level (Zvogbo 1986: 26; Chung 1991: 24). Improved access to the O level examinations has been achieved mainly through reduced cost per student in
the examination fees. This was achieved by charging examination fees in local currency and it has helped more people to access the O level examinations. Reducing the examination cost per student has enhanced the efficiency of the system, as efficiency is the optimal relationship between inputs and outputs (McMahon 1993: 22; IIEP 1989: 7).

Examination questions are now more relevant to the majority of the students who write the examinations. This has the potential to raise pass rates, as the questions students have to answer have a direct bearing on their life experiences. Natarajan (1993: 110) says relevance is a key component of the quality of education. Local examiners have been trained for all the subjects, and ZIMSEC is now a fully autonomous examining body. The examinations body has also managed to affiliate to international associations to ensure that its standards are monitored and its certificates are recognized internationally. This affiliation enables it to benchmark its performance against more experienced examination boards and thus adhere to best practice all the time.

However, there have also been some negative developments associated with ZIMSEC. ZIMSEC has failed to maintain thorough examination security, as is evidenced by the high incidence of leakage of examination papers. The fact that examination papers leak is a sign that ZIMSEC is failing to manage its examinations and accreditation processes, which compromises the quality of education (Natarajan 1993: 11). Examination papers and the publication of results are fraught with errors. Sibanda (1999: 2) acknowledges that there have been serious errors in the examinations, and both school heads and school managers said this was a serious problem. Errors in examinations tend to impact negatively on the quality of education (Natarajan 1993: 11; Moyo & Mubengegwi 1995: 62-74).

There is a lack of transparency in the appointment of personnel to do examination work. A lack of transparency, as pointed out by both school principals and school managers, tends to destroy confidence in the examination system. A lack of trust in the examination system may erode the motivation of teachers to work hard.

School managers and school principals still perceive ZIMSEC certificates to be inferior to CIEB examinations. As long as this perception prevails it will be difficult for teachers, school managers and school principals to commit themselves fully to a system they deem inferior. These are the people tasked with teaching and examining the ZIMSEC syllabus and it is important that they have faith in the system they are working for. Effective assessment in the education system helps to improve the quality of education delivery, and ZIMSEC has thus had both a positive and a negative impact on the education system. It seems to be a programme that has great potential for improving the quality of educational assessment, but there is a need for improvement in the implementation and management of the programme. Siciliano (2003: 3) argues that when it is embedded effectively within larger institutional systems, assessment can help us focus our collective attention, examine our assumptions and create a shared academic culture dedicated to assuring and improving the quality of education. Assessment helps the education system to take its mission to a new and higher plane and thus it is critical for all countries to embrace it to achieve global quality of education (Siciliano 2003: 3). Loboda (1999: 1) points out that worldwide the final leaving examination serves as an intermediary between secondary and higher education and/or a pathway to occupation and employment. Thus if any
country is to succeed in achieving the aims of its education system, or any other programme, there is a need for effective and efficient assessment.

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DEBATE AND DISCUSSION

Resurgent comparative education in these exigent times

Salim Vally
School of Education, University of the Witwatersrand

Overview

This article is based on the keynote address to the 12th World Congress on Comparative Education held in Havana, Cuba. The conference was convened by the World Council of Comparative Education Societies (WCCES) and the Association of Cuban Educators (APC). Employing the poetry of the late June Jordan, formerly Professor of African-American Studies, Mahmoud Darwish, pre-eminent Palestinian poet, Emmanuel Ortiz of the Alliance for the Indigenous Zapatistas and South Africa’s Mazisi Kunene as a heuristic tool, this article attempts to enlist fellow educationists in questioning the dominant language, symbols and ideology that help frame how we understand global events post-9/11.

It explores the implications of new forms of imperialism in education in terms of both its curriculum content and control of education. The impulse to commodify education partially at the behest of agencies such as the World Trade Organization and its key agreement, the General Agreement on Trade in Services, instead of treating education as a public good will be examined.

Finally, the article cautions of the dangers of militarism, racism and xenophobia as well as the accompanying perils of an atavistic fundamentalism in these charged times. It concludes with an appeal for a renewed vigour and emphasis on values and practices that promote solidarity and social justice in our curricula response and a methodological imperative and praxis that counters chauvinism, understands the viewpoint of the victims of the new imperialism and makes common cause with them.

The bombing of Baghdad
began and did not terminate for 42 days
and 42 nights relentless minute after minute
more than 110 000 times
we bombed Baghdad
we bombed Basra...
we bombed the National Museum
we bombed schools we bombed air raid
shelters we bombed water we bombed
electricity we bombed hospitals ... we
bombed everything that moved/we
bombed everything that did not move...
we bombed the darkness we bombed
the sunlight we bombed them and we
bombed them and we cluster bombed the citizens
of Iraq and we sulfur bombed the citizens of Iraq
... and we
complemented these bombings/these “sorties”
with
Tomahawk cruise missiles which we shot
repeatedly by the thousands upon thousands
into Iraq
(you understand an Iraqi Scud missile
is quote militarily insignificant unquote and we
do not mess around with insignificant)... (June Jordan 1997: 45)

This is an extract from a poem written by the late June Jordan, Professor of African-American Studies at the University of Cali-
fornia, Berkeley, long before the World Trade Centre bombings on 9/11. Although Jordan is no longer with us, her poetry continues her unceasing commitment in life to the realization of social justice, the unseen possibilities of true human coalitions and solidarity across colour, sex and national boundaries. Her poetry and that of others you will hear is not meant to be a substitute for thorough, rigorous research and education praxis; but poetry, like music, drama and song, can point us to the urgency of these times, can demand attention to the tasks at hand, the outrage required, can inspire us to negotiate the difficult terrain most people fear to tread and, of course, healing for those who have been violated.

Think of Pablo Neruda’s (1973: 334) poem *A Song for Bolivar*, Pablo Picasso’s painting *Guernica* or Paul Robeson silencing the guns in the front line of a war through his rendition of the song *Ol’ Man River* (Brahm 1987).

Yet, beyond the narratives and descriptions of the horror and carnage, as well as the honour and courage, what are the implications of these times for educationists? How do we understand the world, how is it changing and what is our role in these processes? Should we not re-examine the values, knowledge and skills we impart and instil in our schools and universities? Or should we continue, blithely and superciliously, to shrug our shoulders, shake our heads and measure our intellectual prowess by the number of obtuse articles we ‘publish while others perish’ (Zinn 2001: 177) in esoteric journals?

In arguing that the worlds of research and action are far apart, Jean Dreze (2002), a regular collaborator with Amartya Sen on works dealing with public action by community groups in India, has this to say:

... social scientists are chiefly engaged in arguing with each other about issues and theories that often bear little relation to the world ... The proliferation of fanciful theories and artificial controversies in academia arises partly from the fact that social scientists thrive on this confusion (nothing like an esoteric thesis to keep them busy and set them apart from lesser mortals) ... To illustrate, an article in defense of rationality (vis-à-vis, say, postmodern critiques) would fit well in a distinguished academic journal, but it is of little use to people for whom rational thinking is a self-evident necessity – indeed a matter of survival .... It is no wonder that ‘academic’ has become a bit of a synonym for ‘irrelevant’ (as in ‘this point is purely academic’).

Dreze is at pains to show that he is not dismissing the importance of academic rigour but that scientific pursuits can be enhanced even further if they are grounded in ‘real-world involvement and action’. Should we continue to induce avoidance by succumbing to the temptations of money, power and pusillanimity? The late Edward Said’s (1994: 100) clarion reprimand that these lures for an intellectual are ‘corrupting par excellence’ comes to mind.

All of us here clearly condemn George Bush’s Manichean ultimatum to the world – ‘If you are not with us you are against us’ – as rank, presumptuous arrogance. Yet do we share the Indian writer and activist Arundhati Roy’s (2001) concern when she implored us, as educationists, shortly after 9/11 to understand that ‘[t]here is no way out of the spiralling morass of terror and brutality that confronts the world today. It is time now for the human race to hold still, to delve into its wells of collective wisdom, both ancient and modern.’

The human rights implications of invasion, occupation, recolonization, or ‘war’ if you prefer, and the subsequent global ‘anti-terror’ campaigns are far-reaching for educators and students. They speak to the way we teach, what we teach and how we man-
age contentious issues within our classrooms and schools, with due consideration to the real purpose of education and the rights of all those involved.

No doubt, the sight of human beings jumping from the Twin Towers in New York to avoid being burnt to death remains etched in our minds and challenges the core of our humanity. Subsequent to these events whole communities and countries have been targeted in an orgy of collective punishment. US hegemony has made the world a much more dangerous place. As educators, we need to understand the sources of these horrendous attacks and must be vigilant against jingoism, militarism and xenophobia in these times. Teachers around the world were challenged to assist students in understanding these events and respond to the myriad questions posed. It is emblematic that some preferred to avoid discussing these events with their students. Others provided answers fuelled by prejudice and stereotypes. This, I believe, does violence to our vocation. A cavalier approach to addressing these issues is also problematic; rather, the issues should be dealt with in a sensitive and reflective manner.

The anguished pleas of some people directly affected by the terror attacks on 9/11 is apposite (Rethinking Schools Collective, 2001: 4).

Phyllis Rodrigues, whose son lies buried where the World Trade Centre stood, said:

Our son died a victim of an inhuman ideology. Our actions should not serve the same purpose. Let us grieve. Let us reflect. Let us think about a rational response that brings real peace and justice to our world. But let us not as a nation add to the inhumanity of our times.

Amber Amundson, whose husband died at the Pentagon, had this to say to the US administration:

I take no comfort in your words of rage. If you choose to respond to this incomprehensible brutality by perpetuating violence against other innocent human beings, you may not do so in the name of justice for my husband. Your words and imminent acts of revenge only amplify our family’s suffering, deny us the dignity of remembering our loved one in a way that would have made him proud, and mock his vision ...

These wise and tragic words uttered shortly after 9/11 were not heeded. The Bush administration’s recidivistic actions have made it the chief recruiting agency for fundamentalist groups throughout the world. In addition, under the guise of fighting terrorism, many hard-won universal human rights have been trampled upon or eroded. Intelligence and security services in many countries have been using the ‘war against terror’ to justify an increase in monitoring communications, harassing people with scant evidence, clamping down on dissenting and critical views, and leveraging greater spending on arms and intelligence – money that could be used to fight poverty and provide for education.

At another level and without demeaning the sense of loss felt by the families of the thousands who died on 9/11, we need to ask ourselves: Was there a similar sense of outrage around the world and in our classrooms and universities when one million people were killed in Rwanda not long before 9/11? Why this inequitable distribution of sorrow and empathy? Why the unfair distinction between death that merits a camera and death that merits a few lines of statistics and death that merits no mention at all? According to the UN Food and Agricultural Organization, another sort of ‘terrorism’ took place on 9/11 – the death of 35 000 defenceless and vulnerable children across the world because of hunger and starvation (Rethinking Schools Collective, 2001: 12).

A member of the Minnesota Alliance for the Indigenous Zapatistas, and a staff mem-
ber of the Resource Centre of the Americas, responds to this duplicity, lyrically:

Before I start this poem,
I’d like to ask you to join me in
a moment of silence
in honour of those who died
in the world trade centre
and the pentagon
last September 11th

I would also like to ask you
To join me in
a moment of silence
for all those who have been
harassed, imprisoned, disappeared,
tortured raped killed in retaliation for those
strikes,
for the victims in both
Afghanistan and the U.S.

And if I could just add one more thing...
A full day of silence
for the thousands of Palestinians
who have died at the hands of
U.S.-backed Israeli forces
over decades of occupation.
Six months of silence
for the million and-a-half Iraqi people
mostly children, who have died of
malnourishment or starvation
as a result of an 11-year U.S embargo
against the country.

Before I begin this poem:
two months of silence
for the blacks under apartheid
in South Africa,
where homeland security
made them aliens
in their own country.

Nine months of silence
for the dead in Hiroshima
and Nagasaki, where death rained
down ...

A year of silence
for the millions of dead
in Vietnam – a people, not a war –
for those know a thing or two
about the scent of burning fuel,
their relatives bones buried in it,
their babies born on it.

A year of silence for dead in Cambodia and Laos,
victims of a secret war ... sssssshhhhh ...

Say nothing ... we don’t want them to
Learn that they are dead.

Two months of silence
For the decades of dead
In Colombia, whose names,
Like the corpses they once represented,
Have piled up and slipped off
Our tongues.

Before I begin this poem,
An hour of silence
for El Salvador ...
An afternoon of silence
for Nicaragua ...
Two days of silence
for the Guatemaltecos ...
None of whom ever knew
a moment of peace
45 seconds of silence
for the 45 dead
at Acteal, Chiapas
25 years of silence
for the hundred million Africans
who found their graves
far deeper in the ocean
than any building could
poke into the sky.
There will be no DNA testing
or dental records
to identify their remains.
And for those who were
strung and swung
from the heights of
sycamore trees
in the south, the north,
the east, and the west...

100 years of silence...
for the hundreds of millions of
indigenous people
from this half right here,
Whose land and lives were stolen,
in postcard-perfect plots
like Pine Ridge,
Wounded Knee,
Sand Creek, Fallen Timbers,
Or the Trail of Tears.
Names now reduced
to innocuous magnetic poetry
on the refrigerator
of our consciousness ...
So you want a moment of silence?

And we are all left speechless
Our tongues snatched from our mouths
Our eyes stapled shut
A moment of silence
And the poets have all been laid to rest
The drums disintegrating into dust
Before I begin this poem,
You want a moment of silence
You mourn now as if the world will never be the same
And the rest of us hope to hell it won't be.
Not like it always has been

Because this not a 9-1-1 poem
This is a 9/10 poem,
It is a 9/9 poem,
A 9/8 poem,
A 9/7 poem
This is a 1492 poem.
This is a poem about
what causes poems like this
to be written

And if this is a 9/11 poem, then
This is a September 11th poem
for Chile, 1971.
This is a September 12th poem
for Steven Biko in South Africa, 1977
This is a September 13th poem
for the brothers at Attica Prison,
This is a September 14th poem

This is a poem
for every date that falls
to the ground in ashes
This is a poem for the 110 stories
that were never told
The 110 stories that history
chose not to write in textbooks...

You want a moment of silence
Then take it
Now.
Before this poem begins.

Here is your silence.
Take it.
But take it all
Don't cut in line.
Let your silence begin
At the beginning of crime.
But
We,
Tonight will keep right on singing
For our dead (Emmanuel Ortiz, 2002).

We cannot be indifferent to the violence
that circulates constantly and easily in con-
temporary times – the fact that entire coun-
tries can be destroyed by cruise missiles,
through the withholding or issuing of cheq-
ues by the high priests of the World Bank, or
through slow strangulation by global warm-
ing. Cultural imperialism is the alter ego of
militarization – for McDonalds to exist there
has to be the manufacturer of fighter jets,
McDonnel Douglas. Education has to be
understood in the context of these global
processes.

Hence Nelly Stromquist’s (2002) plea to
comparative educators that we need to
develop wider and deeper understandings
and meanings of the processes of global-
ization and of the full reach it is attaining
through both the market and the state. She
argues that private firms and international
financial institutions are now the key
players, and that their influence on
education policies is maintained through
‘persistent circulation of ideas, provision of
and promises to fund reforms that move in
desired directions …’ (Stromquist, 2002: 1).
Individualism, competition and consump-
tion, within academe as elsewhere, are the
dominant values and Stromquist laments
the fact that in this situation there is ‘little
space left for contestatory and liberatory
thought’ (Stromquist, 2002: 1). The chal-
lenge for us is to expand the space that
exists. Some suggestions toward this end
will be made later in this talk, but first a few
points on the impact of corporate global-
ization on education, or rather the insidious
war on public education.

The assault on our institutions includes
the recasting of public space as a commod-
ified sphere, with students as consumers
and staff as sales consultants. Individual
and social agency as well as access to
institutions are defined largely through
market-driven notions, fiscal parsimony,
corporate values and corporate planning
frameworks. There exists a rarely questioned and unspoken assumption that the market is an appropriate model for education. In the face of mass unemployment, aligning skills to the competitive global 'new knowledge economy' holds a neoteric seduction and has become the obsession of many an education department. Learning that addresses the self to public life and social responsibility to robust public participation and democratic citizenship is marginalized and ridiculed in favour of a culture of crass commercialization and consumerism.

Educators and students are cajoled ‘to ultimately see all meaning in terms of what can be bought, sold or made profitable’ (Shumar, 1997: 5). They seek to do so through reifying socially constituted and produced educational processes as measurable things (Canaan, 2002:4). Writing on the global homogenization of education, Maude Barlow and Heather-Jane Robertson (1996: 61) argue that the ‘corporate model of education based on head-to-head competition and survival of the fittest has become the prototype for most governments and education institutions’.

Institutions submit to government funding formulas that penalise students from less affluent backgrounds, cut academic support programmes and privilege programmes that have greater purchase in the marketplace, with many arts and humanities courses being phased out. Lack of state support drives institutions to seek corporate sponsorship, with all the negative consequences that adhere to this. Barlow and Robertson (1996: 66 ) quote an extract from an article titled ‘Universities for Sale’ in This Magazine that captures this transmutation:

Knowledge that was free, open and for the benefit of society is now proprietary, confidential and for the benefit of business. Educators who once jealously guarded their autonomy now negotiate curriculum planning with corporate sponsors ... Professors who once taught are now on company payrolls churning out marketable research in the campus lab, while universities pay the cut-rate fee for replacement teaching assistants ... University presidents, once the intellectual leaders of their institutions, are now accomplished bagmen. In exchange for free merchandise, universities offer exclusive access to students for corporate sponsors. A professor’s ability to attract private investment is now often more important than academic qualifications or teaching ability.

In the university where I work, to add insult to injury, my staff card was embossed with the Coca-Cola logo, and this after more than 600 support staff were retrenched or outsourced to private companies. I assure you, ‘things did not go better’ with Coca-Cola – financial exclusions of poor students and other cuts continue.

As funds for public services are generally becoming scarcer, the commercialization, capitalization and privatization of education gains momentum, aided and abetted by the corporate lobbying machinery. The World Trade Organization (WTO) facilitates this process by insisting on the opening up of ‘education markets’ to international capital and cross-border access to foreign service providers. Governments are pressurized to loosen constraints in the ‘trade’ by lifting ‘constraints’ such as subsidies and grants, labour and consumer protection laws, qualifications and local content provisions.

The key WTO agreement for this purpose is the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). GATS covers every service imaginable, including sectors that affect the environment, culture, natural resources, water, health care, education and social services. The chief beneficiaries of this new GATS regime are companies who are determined to expand their global reach and to turn public services into public markets.
globally. According to the organization GATS Watch (2002), ‘[n]ot only are the service industries the fastest growing sector of the new global economy but also health, education and water are shaping up to be the most lucrative of all services’. Healthcare is considered to be a $3.5 billion market worldwide, while education is a $2 trillion and water a $1 trillion market annually.

Rikowski (2002: 1) writes, ‘... governments attempt to justify opening up education to corporate capital on the grounds that private sector management methods are best, and that business people are needed to “modernize” education for a “knowledge economy” based on information technologies’. There is widespread concern that this justification begins with companies’ involvement in commercial, accounting and information technology courses and then fans out to encroach on the education sector as a whole.

We all experience the impact of corporate globalization to a lesser or greater extent on a daily basis. So how do we intervene? Dave Hill (2004: 14) implies that the influence of ‘big business and their governments’ have already compromised university research. Similarly, there is a paradox – the funding of research is often linked to commercial interests; therefore, the potential for critical pedagogy, or for alternative perspectives in official spaces as a bulwark against these times, is severely constrained. I am more sanguine about the spaces and possibilities that exist in formal institutions. Once again, these relate to strategies involving issues of contestation, agency, of ‘whose knowledge counts’ and resistance. These issues confront us more starkly than before and areas of intervention are certainly possible, in fact necessary, if comparative education is to be effective in these times.

Hill, interpreting Paulo Freire, correctly claims that not enough academics are working as critical pedagogues who orient themselves toward concrete struggles in the public and political domains. Even among those educators who want to transform education to serve democratic ends, reservations abound concerning the importance of going beyond institutional spaces. Yet, Freire observed, ‘the movements outside are where more people who dream of social change are gathering’. Hill argues that ‘to engage as critical cultural workers would require academics to politicize their research by becoming social actors who mobilize, develop political clarity, establish strategic alliances...’ (Hill 2004: 16). Academics must lead the defence of higher education as a public good and an autonomous sphere of critical democratic citizenry, and resist commercial and corporate values to shape the purpose and mission of our institutions. The emphasis on technical rationality, simplistic pragmatism and undemocratic managerial imperatives must be countered. Proactively, initiatives should include linking programmes and projects to community needs and struggles as well as preventing the exclusion of poor students.

We have a role to play in ensuring that our curricula in schools and universities emphasise human rights, social justice and critical thinking toward an emancipatory consciousness. The lesson from the debates and some racist attacks in a few schools after 9/11 shows that much more work is needed in the areas of anti-discrimination. Stromquist (2002: 5) agrees that schools face enormous challenges in making young people understand that human rights and peace are linked and that ‘you cannot trample on someone else’s rights to claim yours without incurring retribution at some later point’. However, she does add a caveat: ‘Appeals for the development among people
particularly students of a stronger ethic of solidarity and empathy will not be sufficient; work has to take place both to illuminate the inequalities that exist in society as well as to redress the undesirable conditions...’ (Stromquist, 2002: 5). Pivotal to this endeavour is the development of teachers as critical, transformative intellectuals.

A priority for us should be a comparative investigation of neoliberal projects and the inequalities that arise out of these in different parts of the world. Genuinely collaborative teams of researchers linking the North and South have a role to play here. Culture and context do have particular provenance in these joint initiatives and should not be ignored (see Crossley & Jarvis, 2001). Areas requiring much more work include environmental justice, the effects of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, indigenous knowledge and collective human rights. Much research and activism is required to illuminate not only the ideology and symbols of discrimination but also the structural inequalities that perpetuate these. Crucially, an interdisciplinary approach that recognizes the contributions of history, politics and economics as well as art, literature and drama should be pursued.

The importance of the media and social communication should not escape us. We need to occupy spaces that exist while we critique media that avoid critical scrutiny of the state and the effects of neoliberal globalization. Generally, the media monopolies such as the Murdoch Group, CNN, Fox, the BBC and others have played the role of ‘weapons of mass deception’. Still there are honest journalists who are not sycophantic and ‘embedded’, as well as independent media that need to be engaged. The manufacture and manipulation of public opinion must be challenged in the tradition of Noam Chomsky, John Pilger, Robert Fisk and some of the courageous journalists at Al-Jazeera.

Methodologies of research that embrace participatory action research and popular education can become a ‘transformative endeavour unembarrassed by the label “political” and unafraid to consummate a relationship with an emancipatory consciousness’ (Kinchole & McLaren, 1998: 264). Burbules and Torres (2000: 19) comment that from ‘...these critical perspectives might emerge new educational models ... including education in the context of new popular cultures and nontraditional social movements; new models of rural education for marginalized areas and the education of the poor; new models for migrant education, for the education of street children.’

Above all, we need to accept that in the light of events over the past few years mere appeals for social justice and recitation of texts such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are inadequate. The veteran Tanzanian activist and intellectual Issa Shivji (2002: 2) indicts this perspective of human rights:

...the US presented, and continues to present itself, as the champion of human rights, despite the fact that it was at the same time trampling on the basic rights of Third World peoples – their right to life and self-determination – as it propelled and fuelled wars and supported dictators. The setting of human rights standards through international conventions and declarations is itself a very contentious political process. We should be wary therefore of a perspective on human rights which does not treat human rights in the context of history and social struggle.

According to Keet (2002: 35), UN conventions ‘differentially bequeathed rights without challenging the world order and in essence left the human rights landscape unchanged’. Following Upendra Baxi (1997a), the single most critical source of human rights is the struggles of the peoples
of the world and the praxis of victims. These, rather than human rights instruments, should inform the discourse. June Jordan (1997) explains:

And this is for Crazy Horse singing as he dies because I live inside his grave and this is for the victims of the bombing of Baghdad because the enemy traveled from my house to blast your homeland into pieces of children and pieces of sand...

And I am cheering for the arrows and the braves

In a similar vein, South Africa’s Mazizi Kunene (1982), writing with dignity and suppressed passion after the 1976 uprising where 800 people, largely children, were killed by the apartheid state’s police, is resolute:

We have entered the night to tell our tale To listen to those who have not spoken We, who have seen our children die in the morning, Deserve to be listened to... Nothing really matters except the grief of our children. Their tears must be revered, their inner silence Speaks louder than the spoken words; and all being And all life shouts out in outrage. We must not be rushed to our truths whatever We failed to say is stored secretly in our minds; And all those processions of embittered crowds, have Seen us lead them a thousand times

We can hear the story over and over again, our minds Are numbed beyond the sadness. We have received the power to command. There is nothing more we can fear.

We meet here in Cuba, a country that has made impressive gains in education, health care, sport and cultural expression despite the decades-long blockade and other measures taken by successive US administrations. Cubans have sacrificed much in the pursuit of international solidarity. Holding onto these gains should not be the responsibility of Cubans alone. Not far from us is Guantánamo Bay, which Fidel once described as a dagger in the side of Cuban sovereignty. We are confident that Guantánamo Bay, like Robben Island in my own country, soon will no longer be a place where unspeakable human abuse occurs.

To hope like this is essential, despite the bleakness of these times. The pre-eminent Palestinian poet Mahmoud Darwish (2004) succinctly captures this expectation:

Here on the slopes of the hills, facing the dusk and canon of time close to the garden of broken shadows We cultivate hope.

An unjust world is not inevitable. The riposte to the TINA (There Is No Alternative) argument is THEMBA (There Must Be an Alternative). Taking our cue from the leitmotiv of the World Social Forum, it is up to us to prove that Another World Is Possible and urgently so. Finally, we take succour from the words of Maxine Green (1998: xxix):

...teaching for social justice is teaching for the sake of arousing the kinds of vivid, reflective, experiential responses that might move students to come together in serious efforts to understand what social justice actually means and what it might demand. That means teaching to the end of arousing a consciousness of membership in a society of unfulfilled promises ... Once awakened (as a group, a community) to concrete examples of injustice (the humiliation of immigrant children, the refusal of decent housing to single mothers or the aged, the deterioration of certain classrooms and not others ...) they might, together, invent a project of remediation, palliation, repair.
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RESEARCH NOTE

Provision of alternative basic education to out-of-school children for urban areas of Kampala, Uganda: The BEUPA case

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Basic Education for Urban Poverty Areas (BEUPA) Programme and Enhancement of Universal Primary Education and Community (EUPEC) Project, Kampala, Uganda

Abstract

Owing to socio-economic and other related barriers, a large number of children in Uganda do not access primary school education, despite the existence of the Universal Primary Education Programme. To cater for out-of-school children of primary school age in poor urban areas of Kampala, the government set up Basic Education for Urban Poverty Areas (BEUPA), a non-formal education project. This project has established 72 learning centres in 70 of the 97 parishes of Kampala, trained over 170 instructors, interacted with over 1 500 community members and reached over 5 800 children. For this paper, qualitative data has been gathered through interviews and interactions with Kampala learners, community members, instructors and education officials. The paper finds that BEUPA in Kampala has been challenging to implement, as it deals with disadvantaged children. It stresses that for government to succeed in delivering non-formal education programmes, it is vital that local communities champion the process and there must therefore be determined efforts to educate these communities in this respect. The paper recommends a child rights and responsibility-based approach to development and encourages guidance, counselling and the provision of life and entrepreneurial skills.

Out-of-school children in the global context

Worldwide, an estimated 104 million children of the relevant school-going age are not enrolled in primary school (UNESCO 2004). This means that close to 14% of the world’s 742.9 million children are not getting basic education. About 67% are girls. Almost – though not all – out-of-school children live in developing countries. Further, 46 million (44%) and 44 million (42.3%) live in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and south-western Asia respectively (World Bank 2003). These are the poorest and most indebted regions, with a large proportion of the population living on less than US$1 per day (Kiiryra 2003: 1). In a world that claims to have committed itself to universal primary completion by 2015, the Eastern and Southern African region is one of the furthest from realizing this goal. As a recent UNICEF report notes, ‘in the most disadvantaged regions and countries “business as usual” will not deliver’ (UNICEF 2005: 4). In Uganda alone, owing to non-enrolment and dropping out, between 15% and 18% of children are
still out of school. In Kampala it is estimated that over 30% of children of primary school age are not in school.

Rapid urbanization is a worldwide phenomenon. In Africa, cities, particularly capital cities, have grown enormously, attracting immigrants from the countryside who are escaping rural poverty but are often confronted again by poverty and its manifestations in urban and peri-urban conditions. One of these manifestations is educational crisis and deprivation. Undoubtedly, the cities of the global south are facing an urban educational crisis, and they need to learn from each other’s experience in confronting it. This article is a contribution to this process, taking the example of Uganda's capital, Kampala, and discussing an initiative that, in the words of UNICEF, attempts to go beyond ‘business as usual’.

Recognizing the importance of education

Uganda has emphasised the importance of education for all primary age children, and is a signatory to the following:

- Article 26 of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948), which recognizes education, along with other basic necessities such as food, shelter and water, as a fundamental human right
- The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by 192 countries in 1989, which affirms the right of all children to free and relevant education of good quality
- The 2000 Dakar World Declaration of Education For All (EFA), where participants from 164 countries pledged to provide education for all by 2015

In this context, Uganda is successfully implementing the Universal Primary Edu-
cation (UPE) programme, with enrolment having increased from 2.9 million in 1996 to 7.3 million in 2003 for primary school children aged 6-14 years (MoES 2003). Having realized that formal primary education alone is insufficient, the Ugandan government has also put in place non-formal basic education programmes like COPE, BEUPA, CHANCE and ABEK, among others, as alternative basic education programmes to cater for out-of-school children who for various reasons cannot access education.

Education provides people with the tools and knowledge they need to understand and participate in today’s world (King 2004: 17; Kyeyune 2004; UNESCO 2005). It helps sustain the human values that contribute to individual and collective well-being. Kyeyune (2004) stresses that education is the basis for literacy and lifelong learning and that it inspires confidence and provides the skills needed to participate in public debate. It makes people more self-reliant and aware of opportunities and rights. It is therefore crucial to provide education for all children, including the vulnerable and disadvantaged.

Education also enhances the ability of households to manage health problems and improves nutrition and childcare.

- It provides girls and women with greater understanding of basic health, nutrition and family planning, and of their own potential.
- Educated women marry later and tend to have fewer children and receive better prenatal care (UNICEF 2004).
- The children of mothers who have been to school are healthier, better nourished and more likely to attend and succeed in school than children of mothers who have never gone to school.
- Maternal primary education reduces the risk of child mortality. In the Philippines, for instance, it reduced it by half. Secondary education reduces it by a factor of three (OXFAM 2004: 23).
- Education helps to prevent the labour, trafficking and sexual exploitation of children and their use as soldiers.

Education is one of the most effective weapons against HIV/AIDS and other diseases, and raises awareness of the need for improved living conditions and environmental protection. The UNDP (2003) reports that life expectancy rises by as much as two years for every 1% increase in literacy. The Economic Policy Research Centre (2004: 43) confirms that education is essential for economic development and eradicating poverty. It allows people to play a greater and more productive role in economic life and to earn a better living. Franks et al (2004: 3) and Bategeka et al (2004: 85) note that an adult with a primary education earns twice as much as an adult without any schooling. For example, OXFAM (2003) reports that in Niger the incidence of poverty is 70% in households headed by adults with no education, compared with 56% for households headed by adults who have been to primary school. Especially in Africa, education is essential where agriculture is vital, since farming practices can be improved through basic education. In Uganda, for example, four years of primary education raise a farmer’s output by 7% (UNESCO 2005). In the technological age, education is important since it is the foundation for acquiring the knowledge and skills necessary to participate in and benefit from globalization and technological change. Hence, being out of school means that one is losing out on quality of life.

Despite many obstacles, progress is being made in reducing the percentage of out-of-school children globally. The number of such children fell by around 4% over the decade.
1990-2000, and total worldwide enrolment in primary education increased from 596 to 648 million over the same period, an increase of 8.7% in ten years. This improvement, however, is uneven. Beyene (2002: 34) reports that there are strong regional variations. The highest increases in enrolment, outpacing population growth, occurred in sub-Saharan Africa (38%), in South and West Asia (19%) and in the Arab states (17%), yet these are also regions with very high rates of out-of-school children.

While some 57% of all out-of-school children are girls, this percentage has decreased by 0.6% over the last decade (1990-2000), with the steepest reduction occurring in East Asia and the Pacific. In these regions, however, the number of out-of-school boys has tripled. Globally, girls’ enrolments have increased faster than those of boys, but sub-Saharan Africa is still the region with the highest absolute number (23 million) of out-of-school girls, and South and West Asia, with 21 million, have the greatest disparity of any of the world’s regions between the enrolment of boys and girls.

In Uganda, for the period UPE has been in place (1997-2004), enrolment of children in formal primary schools has increased from 2.69 to 7.3 millions (Kakooza 2004: 3). Non-formal basic education programmes enrolled over 60 000 out-of-school primary school age children.

**Analysing the problem**

Despite the successes of Universal Primary Education (UPE) in Uganda, some children of primary school age are still not attending school. UPPAP (2000: 71-27) recognizes that the categories of children missing from school are related to conditions specific to where these children live. In turn, these conditions depend upon whether children are urban or rural and divisions within these categories. The economic activities of the community may also contribute to the problem of out-of-school children. Issues related to the socio-economic status of the households, families and communities where children live are also important in addressing reasons why children miss school. MoES (2004: 11), reports that among the categories of children often missing from formal school are children in pastoral areas, children from fishing communities, working children, street children and abused children. To this might be added children from small-scale mining communities, and indeed any community where child labour contributes to the family economy.

Between 15% and 18% of children of primary school age still miss out on formal schooling (Kiirya 2003: 1; MoES 2004: 12). In a country like Uganda, where Education For All (EFA) is a priority, the 15-18% ratio is significant. In Kampala alone, it is estimated that there are between 8 000 and 12 000 children of primary school age who are out of school (BEUPA-PRA 1998). Like other cities in Africa and elsewhere, Kampala has cases of neglected children and incidents of child abuse and denial of basic rights, with a substantial number of such neglected and at times abused children living on the streets.

With UPE in existence, why are there out-of-school children? Another legitimate question is, if complementary programmes to UPE are in place, what are their successes and challenges and what possible recommendations can be advanced for a more effective delivery of NFBE programmes? As a case study, this paper addresses BEUPA’s successes, challenges and opportunities. The findings will inform, amongst others, the Enhancement of Universal Primary Education and Community (EUPEC) project part-
nership on how to manage and deliver non-formal education appropriately in Kampala and Wakiso.

EUPEC is a school improvement project funded by the Aga Khan Foundation and other donors. The project is a partnership involving the Kampala City Council (KCC) and Wakiso district and is scheduled to last five years (2005-2010).

One of the principle objectives of EUPEC is to support BEUPA's successes and whatever lessons have been learnt over its lifetime through a programme aimed at scaling up achievements and building innovative interventions that promote sustainable non-formal basic education in the Kampala and Wakiso districts.

The overall goal of EUPEC is to improve the sustainability of interventions in education and to improve access to and the quality of education for children in poor disadvantaged urban communities. EUPEC will seek to achieve this by addressing the professional needs of teachers and by encouraging the effective participation of communities in the provision of education, as well as by strengthening the capacity of service providers, including non-governmental organizations, education specialists and government institutions. In particular, EUPEC will support BEUPA through efforts to improve the quality and accessibility of basic education for working children and street children within the city of Kampala and some neighbouring towns in Wakiso.

Currently, BEUPA operates in Kampala city. Even within Kampala, it benefits only a limited number of working and street children. Although many target children still remain outside BEUPA’s reach, a significant number of very young children are enrolled in the centres, effectively turning them into nursery schools.

Considering all this, EUPEC will intervene by developing and designing an appropriate strategy to provide consistent professional support to BEUPA’s non-formal education instructors, as it is already doing for government-funded formal schools. This will enable them to deliver higher quality services, carry out systematic community development to enable BEUPA/non-formal education centres to make appropriate use of services provided and become involved in the management of the centres, and conduct action research on specific issues that may be identified. It is hoped that the outcomes will go a long way to informing stakeholders on how best non-formal educational programmes can be developed and implemented.

This work is not only intended to determine what else can be done to support BEUPA efforts, but also to provide data for the baseline study.

Secondary data supplemented with some primary data were used for this paper. Secondary data consisted of policy documents, statistical abstracts, programme implementation reports, M&E reports, and published and unpublished articles, both online and others. Primary data were gathered through interviews and interaction with policy-makers, education officers, community members, instructors and learners within Kampala.

Results: Problems and opportunities

Given the gravity of the problem of out-of-school children analysed above, it is clear that basic education programmes like UPE alone cannot absorb all children of primary school age. Also, whatever enforcement is attempted or whatever incentives are put in place, there are other factors that make universal access to formal basic education for all children of primary school age impos-
sible. It is therefore important that alternative approaches to enrolling out-of-school children be explored in an attempt to circumvent these difficulties.

The government of Uganda and other partners committed to provision of equitable education for all children of primary school age developed non-formal basic education programmes. These are aimed at providing second-chance education for out-of-school children as an alternative to formal basic education. By the year 2002, four non-formal basic education programmes were in place. The table below indicates the programmes, their areas of operation and the number of children supported by a given programme.

BEUPA is the NFBE programme that serves Kampala City. This alternative education programme is important, since Kampala has the greatest number of out-of-school children in Uganda. BEUPA was set up specifically to address unique challenges facing poor urban communities in Kampala. For this reason, this paper discusses BEUPA rather than other NFBE programmes.

BEUPA is a non-formal basic education programme of the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES). The Education Department of the City Council of Kampala (KCC) implements the programme. The German government through German Technical Co-operation (GTZ) supports the project with financial and technical advice, with the MoES and Kampala City Council giving recurrent financial support. The broad goal of BEUPA is to improve the quality of life of children and adolescents in poor urban areas by providing alternative basic education. The programme aims at complementing the Ugandan government’s efforts to provide education for all as a means to combat poverty and provide appropriate life skills to children and adolescents in impoverished urban areas.

BEUPA seeks to fulfil four major objectives, namely:

- The provision of basic education appropriate to the needs of out-of-school children in poor urban areas
- The preparation and provision of a skills-oriented curriculum that caters for literacy and numeracy, and life and practical skills related to the environment of the learners
- The provision of a flexible learning programme in terms of time and content that enables learners to better carry out their

### Contribution to basic education by non-formal programmes

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>District(s)</th>
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<th>Female</th>
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<td>Moroto and Kotido</td>
<td>8 467</td>
<td>12 032</td>
<td>20 499</td>
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<tr>
<td>Basic Education in Urban Poverty Areas (BEUPA)</td>
<td>Kampala</td>
<td>2 747</td>
<td>3 097</td>
<td>5 844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community-Centred Alternative for Non-Formal Community-Based Education (CHANCE)</td>
<td>Nakasongola</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complementary Opportunities for Basic Education (COPE)</td>
<td>12 rural districts</td>
<td>10 432</td>
<td>13 070</td>
<td>23 502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>15 districts</strong></td>
<td><strong>20 567</strong></td>
<td><strong>27 248</strong></td>
<td><strong>47 815</strong></td>
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roles and functions as responsible members of their families, communities and society

- The development and provision of additional modules for employment-oriented education, examining possible strategies for career guidance and support

BEUPA has had a number of successes. With its partners it has managed to develop a user-friendly, flexible, thematic curriculum tailored to the learning needs of children in the poor areas of Kampala. For example, attendance is not compulsory, thus allowing learners to adapt their learning patterns to the homes they come from, with the time to be spent at the learning centres determined by the centre management committee in a participatory manner. Generally the majority of the BEUPA centres have implemented a three-hour learning day and learners are supposed to participate in deciding whether learning should take place in the morning or in the afternoon. Also the BEUPA curriculum has been designed in an integrated manner, e.g. integrating theoretical knowledge with pre-vocational skills, life skills and issues like HIV/AIDS, adolescent sexual reproductive health and children’s rights.

Through cooperation with community members, its instructors and other actors like ANPPCAN, BEUPA has developed the necessary teaching, learning and training material for instructors and children. These materials have been instrumental in helping children to learn and to enhance their psychomotor skills, i.e. learning that involves physical and perceptual activities and skills. This is aimed at developing life-long skills among BEUPA learners, for future application, self-sustainability and poverty alleviation.

By September 2002, BEUPA had established 54 learning centres throughout the five divisions of Kampala (Ilon and Kyeyune 2002: 4). The learning centres were spread strategically throughout the poor areas of Kampala to cater especially for working children in close proximity to their centres of work.

Over 10 000 boys and girls have benefited from BEUPA centres directly, indirectly or both. Learners have received both theoretical knowledge and practical skills, e.g. learning to make and sell mats and baskets. This is an aspect of practical skills acquisition and a move towards poverty reduction and self-sustainability.

Through formal and informal campaigns, BEUPA has spread messages encouraging the appreciation of the value of basic education for children. These have reached approximately 5 000 members of the community. Unfortunately, it is not possible to state with certainty how beneficial these sensitization activities have been in these communities. However, there is anecdotal evidence that sensitization alone cannot help in changing the attitudes of community members.

BEUPA has trained 1 908 members of the community to manage BEUPA centres as centre management committee members. Capacity developed among these committees includes but is not limited to resource mobilization skills, curriculum supervision, and general and financial management. This empowerment has been valuable to both individuals and the BEUPA programme.

BEUPA has trained 176 community-based instructors. BEUPA communities identify respectable potential persons with significant basic education attainment, thus the term ‘community teachers’. This way of identifying facilitators has the big advantage of ensuring local ownership and sustainability of the programme.
There are, however, many challenges facing the programme. Amongst the major ones are poor enrolment and learners dropping out of the programme once enrolled. This section discusses reasons for the challenges facing the implementation of BEUPA in Kampala.

Perhaps the most important barriers to children accessing formal and non-formal education in Uganda are socio-economic (UPPAP 2000: 70; UNDP 1998: 37; UNDP 2005). In Uganda, increasing numbers of children have socio-economic obligations. For example, some children have family responsibilities like looking after their siblings as a result of parental death from HIV/AIDS. Others include but are not limited to large families, poverty and the high opportunity cost for education and child labour.

Learning needs are yet another factor found to contribute to keeping children not only out of BEUPA but also out of the formal school setting. This is a serious issue, since in Uganda there is a tendency to misunderstand the learning needs of children requiring specialized education (Kajura 2002: 17). Learning needs encompass specialized needs for learning, life skills, vocational skills and remedial and/or additional competencies. In the event that the education system in place is not in a position to provide for such education, children will automatically drop out of school.

Some BEUPA centres have used harsh disciplinary measures, with instructors having negative attitudes towards learners, inadequate school facilities, irrelevant instructional materials, centralized and non-consultative planning of education programmes, and limited or no recreational facilities. This is a major factor leading to learners dropping out of BEUPA learning centres.

HIV/AIDS, malaria, malnutrition and inadequate latrine facilities and water are some of the most serious health and health-related factors leading to non-attendance and dropping out of school by learners in BEUPA centres. Topping the list is malaria. In Uganda, not only does malaria prevent learners from attending school, but, through cerebral malaria, it can lead to epilepsy and mental retardation (MoH 2005: 33).

One of the important achievements of BEUPA is the ability to involve poor urban communities actively. Therefore sustainability of community involvement is crucial to the success of BEUPA interventions. The other crucial aspect is financial sustainability. Here the major question is how BEUPA would be able to operate, for example if GTZ were to withdraw its support for the project.

Learners who complete the three years of the BEUPA programme find it hard to integrate into the formal education system. Yet the intention was that after three years of instruction at BEUPA centres learners would join formal schools at level five. That this seems to be difficult demotivates other learners in BEUPA centres. As a result of their peers failing to enrol in the formal school cycle, others with the same intention can be discouraged from continuing. After the three-year cycle, these children again add to the pool of out-of-school children.

Among facilitators, there is a lack of capacity to facilitate, train or teach and assess children with special learning needs and requirements. This means that these vulnerable children will continue to be at a disadvantage. It could be argued that this is so because BEUPA uses community teachers who are untrained. However, even in the formal primary schools in Kampala, there is not enough manpower to deal with children requiring assistance with special needs.
Other barriers to the success of the BEUPA project include inadequate monitoring and evaluation and a whole series of factors that may also affect the youth population at large, such as rape, harassment, insecurity, political instability, internal migration and mobility as a result of service in the police, army or prison forces.

**Recommendations and conclusions**

- Since the existence of non-formal education programmes like BEUPA depends on the blessing of communities, community empowerment programmes in BEUPA should be well designed, planned and executed. Adult and community education initiatives that target critical issues in society, e.g. parenting, household income generation and functional adult literacy, should be targeted. These critical issues should form major components of NFBE programmes. EUPEC, therefore, should work with BEUPA stakeholders to develop and design appropriate community development programmes that will attract community involvement and participation for sustainable development.

- Education development agencies such as EUPEC engaged with NFBE development and sustainability should regard curriculum as critical. Second-chance education for vulnerable children should involve vocational and other life skills training and orientation. It should also address fields of learning and development in early life of capacities, self-awareness, empathy for others, self-motivation and discipline. These characteristics are essential for success in learning and in later life. Therefore, in planning NFBE programmes like BEUPA, curriculum and its delivery should be carefully designed to address these issues.

- Programmes for strengthening early childhood education should be targeted to serve the communities concerned. This can be done through pre-schools, places of religious instruction, churches or mosques, neighbourhood associations or family. This could help the very young to develop the curiosity, literacy and language skills that are essential for success at school. This may help with creating interest in learning and reduce school drop-out. BEUPA, with the help of EUPEC, may wish to take some lessons from the Madrasa Resource Centre (MRC), an early childhood education and development programme with rich experience and expertise in this area.

- Guidance, counselling and mentoring for those children who have no support system, and no role models to help them find their way to successful and responsible adulthood should be emphasised within NFBE programmes like BEUPA. It would be prudent therefore for EUPEC to assist BEUPA and the new NFBE efforts anticipated in Wakiso to develop and design an appropriate programme that will help community leaders, programme managers and instructors to understand the culture and lifestyle of the least advantaged among poor communities, and help them appreciate the need to drop or at least modify those cultural values that hinder access to and retention in school systems.

- The means must be found to focus the attention of communities and local government on what BEUPA and other NFBE programmes are doing. This is a precondition for them giving the necessary support, including financial support, without which NFBE programmes like
BEUPA cannot offer second-chance education to the most vulnerable children, especially to those in poor urban communities.

- **EUPEC**, **BEUPA** and the Ministry of Education should collaborate in developing and designing a programme that would enable learners who may wish to divert to formal primary education to do so with less difficulty.

- There is a need to strengthen and enhance collaboration among central government (MoES), local government (KCC) and civil society organizations (community groups, supporting agencies like GTZ and NGOs like AKF, ANPPCAN and STF, among others).

- **BEUPA** should experiment with linking their centres with formal schools in the area. For example, a BEUPA centre could be housed in a formal school, especially from 12:00 noon onwards (space accommodating the two lowest primary classes is generally free in the afternoons). This arrangement is likely to add value to the centres and enhance BEUPA learners’ self-esteem and make them more respected in the community.

- **EUPEC** needs to assist BEUPA to plan and execute a research agenda based on well-developed objectives. Systems to ensure that periodic monitoring and evaluation take place alongside the programme interventions in an integrated and participatory manner are important and should be put in place. Participatory action research could serve this purpose. This will help in identifying gaps in programme implementation and give direction to interventions that are in line with programme objectives and the needs of the community.

If well planned and managed, innovative NFBE programmes like BEUPA can address community needs and increase opportunities for sustainable development. However, if sustainable development is to be realized, it is important that NFBE interventions be sensitive to community education requirements by using flexible approaches with regard to age, relevance of curriculum, duration, venues and methods of delivery. It is also important that, for purposes of ownership and sustainability, development of programmes like BEUPA should give a central place to community involvement and participation. Otherwise, for Kampala city and the rest of the country, with about 18% of children out of school and seven million adults with very limited levels of literacy, the attainment of education for all might not be achieved. Realizing that the task is considerably greater than anticipated, the need for an integrated effort amongst various stakeholders like central (MoES) and local (KCC) government and civil society organizations is vital. This kind of integration will utilize skills and expertise from different actors. This should create the conditions for more effective educational interventions relevant to the lives of those experiencing them. This will lead to beneficiaries from NFBE programmes developing life skills, which will in the long run contribute to poverty eradication. We are convinced that other poor communities, in Africa and elsewhere, can learn and benefit from both the positive and negative aspects of BEUPA’s experience.

**References**


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In Botswana please send P70 to Sheldon G Weeks (7130-6561) and he will do the transfer.
This collection provides essential reading for anyone concerned with research and understanding of the momentous developments of African educational reform in the last 15 years. This is work that is of great significance to comparative educational studies in the Third World in general. It also provides a window on the world of donors and agency strategy. It provides a potential template for reform for a new generation of scholars – whether policy-makers or historians of education. It is an attempt to systematically probe the nature of the post-colonial educational reform in Africa – in particular the reform undertaken since the era of Education for All (1990) and the neo-liberal turn in macro-economic policy (Structural Adjustment Policies) in the 1990s. It reveals many of the weaknesses and strengths of the educational reform agendas. In short, what are the gains to education from the transition to a ‘managed economy’ and multi-party democracy in the cases dealt with here?

It is a grim tale of the consequence of a staggering educational failure of post-colonial states with authoritarian/dictatorial systems – whether driven by Marxist ideology or African patriarchy/nationalism – and the inability to grapple realistically and successfully with urgent issues relating to the relationship between development and education. It is the story of the mixed consequences of international and agency intervention in that situation during the 1990s, when these countries were beginning to emerge into a new political era. The study foregrounds the actions of USAID and the World Bank in particular, in relation to the plans for systemic reform or rehabilitation of education. It notes the extent to which these agencies talk to and talk past the local ministries and reveals the strengths and weaknesses of systemic approaches to reform in underdeveloped policy contexts. It also notes in places how local elites or local political dynamics circumvent technocratic solutions to the question of educational delivery.

The focus of the work is on the aftermath of the seminal World Bank Policy Study of 1988 on *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion* and the commitments made at the Education for All conference at Jomtien (1990) to donor and government action to remedy the situation of ‘deterioration and despair’ that had been identified.

The five case studies dealt with in the volume include Benin (Michel Welmond), Guinea (Michel Welmond), Ethiopia (James Williams), Malawi (Karen Mundy) and Uganda (Jeanne
Moulton), where there has been a degree of common experience in the engagement with
educational reform. In each case the educational reforms are engaged with as part of a
‘historical political transition’ (p. 87) that is both generally characteristic of the times and
unique to the specific national context.

The collection recounts the variety of structural policy changes proposed for poor African
states with various degrees of cooperation and agreement. The collection emphasizes the
structural context of the changes sought – in every case the aid of donors being tied very
tightly (in form if not always in deed) to the implementation of structural adjustment
guidelines to macro-economic policy imposed by the donor or by the IMF, though the specific
economic conditionalities are perhaps not always sufficiently emphasized. The three kinds of
reform identified by Michel Welmond for Benin are extremely useful categories for reviewing
all case studies: systemic reform, preservationist reform and rehabilitative reform. The
agencies favour the former, the local ministries and pressure groups often focus on the last,
and the actual experience gained through the case study research seems to indicate that
educational outcomes are often strongly influenced by varieties of preservationist agendas
(hidden or overt) in the process of translating rhetoric into reality.

This means that the package of reforms arranged for each context needs to be linked and
understood in the context of a wide range of policy changes – the expansion of access to basic
primary education (UFA), the reform of secondary and tertiary education, curriculum
development, teacher professionalism, supply and support, the strengthening of strategic
management, attention to school governance, the supply of teaching materials, the transfer
of resources to rural schools, and the strengthening of financial controls, to mention only a
few. This package of reforms came at a time when all of these countries found themselves
vulnerable to the new constraints of international monetary policy and the globalization of
policy inherent in neo-liberal or free market solutions to educational policy issues. The
politics of the solutions is not examined with care. We are only aware that local politicians
and administrators do not always cooperate with the rational systemic solutions presented
by USAID or the World Bank. The ‘politics behind the avoidance’ or ‘ineptitude’ in the eyes of
agency bureaucrats clearly masks a whole world of African politics beyond the scope of the
study. James Williams notes that ‘Ethiopians and USAID officials sometimes understood
Ethiopian needs differently’ (p. 173). Welmond notes with regard to Benin, ‘If the ministers
and funding agencies had been able to discuss their conflicting goals and seek strategies for
mutual accommodations and compromise, the reforms might have proceeded differently’ (p.
112). But do such views of policy not betray something of a naïve belief that education reform
can take place in a perfect zone of rationality and that a smooth transition from policy design
to policy implementation is possible despite the actual political agendas that are palpable if
the wider picture is taken into account?

The ambiguities of understanding about the policy process do not diminish the value of
the studies before us – but rather beg for a deeper exploration of the individual dynamics of
educational politics in the context of weak democracies and often corrupt administrations
emerging from years of misrule. This does not refute the desirability for aid or provide grist
for an argument against aid, but it rather opens up the whole historical debate about the
specificity of educational policy and the need for area-specific solutions to education policy
issues. The case studies provide as much of an account of why policies work as why they do
not and it would be valuable to explore these issues in more detail – not just through the lines of international policy development in the field of educational aid, but through the broad politics of globalization within which these specific countries are embedded.

As the authors themselves admit, there is a great need for local scholarship, or at least non-donor research, on these issues. This call is difficult, as there is a fundamental weakness in national research capacity, and often the lack of a research environment that would make possible the development of critical African scholarship, especially in the poor countries dealt with here. The lack of research and absence of African scholars at CIES and WCCES conferences in recent years are a physical manifestation of the challenge and it occurs at a time of marked decline in critical voices in those forums since the mid-1990s. Does that mean that the agencies are now getting it right or that the critics are too wary to make harsh criticisms? Or is it that there is a bewilderment at the extent of the task to be tackled?

It would seem that this volume provides essential knowledge and insights into the education reform agendas and realities of countries with poor track records of educational delivery to the majority of the people. As such it provides an excellent starting point for a sober assessment of the prospects for educational reform in Africa in the 21st century.

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Prophets and Profits: Managerialism and the Restructuring of Jewish Schools in South Africa


Reviewed by Seán Morrow

This is an unusual and intriguing book. Its subject is the restructuring of a group of Jewish private schools in Johannesburg in 2001-2003. This might appear an abstruse topic, of limited interest outside this relatively small community. However, while keeping her gaze fixed firmly on this community, and writing as a dissenting insider, the author’s narrative ranges over vital issues in contemporary education and over the dynamics of religious isolationism and intolerance. The discussion is embedded in an absorbing description of the history and contemporary dynamics of the South African and especially Johannesburg Jewish population and an appreciation of the dilemmas, fears and sometimes craveness and opportunism of the people caught up in this drama. At the centre of the story is the Mephistophelian figure of ‘the CEO’, unnamed presumably for legal reasons, though undoubtedly generally known, brought in from a career as an educational entrepreneur to implement the restructuring intended to save the schools from financial collapse.

The author brings together two strands that will resonate beyond the Johannesburg
Jewish community, i.e. managerialism, closely identified with ‘market-led restructuring’, and a revival of ethnic and religious identity taking place in South Africa against the background of a democratic transition that in many respects seems to point in an opposite direction. Only occasionally mentioned, but lurking throughout, is the fact that all-Jewish schools are by definition also all-white schools. Instead of moving towards a more inclusive South Africa, the author suggests that ‘the synergy created between new managerialism and religious extremism, in a transitional and unstable context, [has] undermined the fragile democracy of faith-based community schools and caused them to change, shifting them towards ghettoisation, exclusion and autocracy’ (p. 14).

The book nicely balances theory and empirical detail. The introduction gives the essence of the argument, a ‘bird’s-eye view’ of the essential facts. Thereafter, the author elaborates her themes, while registering the dangers of contrasting ‘the best of the imagined community [of the pre-managerial era] with the worst of the managerialist reform’ (p. 9). She examines the armoury of modern managerialism – decentralization, goal-setting, accountability and the like – arguing that the democratic rhetoric surrounding these ideas often, to take the example of the ‘paradoxical and precarious’ idea of decentralization, ‘marginalises, de-professionalises and disempowers teachers’ (pp. 49, 47).

The modernity of this managerialist revolution is compatible, the author argues, with a retreat into religious conservatism and ethnic particularism. The schools exist in a complex world that includes Zionism and Judaism, pluralism and exclusivism, the secular and the religious, and modernity and ‘tradition’. However, in the context of rapidly changing South African society, those implementing the restructuring seized on inward-looking aspects of Jewish life and worked in tacit alliance with the most conservative elements in the community. This spilled over into the curriculum, with, for example, growing emphasis on ‘Jewish Studies’, increasingly interpreted from an ultra-orthodox perspective, and a downplaying of the Hebrew language, with its undertones of secular Zionist nationalism. Thus, though the official rhetoric was predominantly managerial, ‘the underlying discourse was mostly of religious extremism’ (p. 161).

The attempt at restructuring in the end foundered on dishonesty and incoherence and on the bullying tactics of the CEO. This raised an alliance that led to his dismissal, at an unknown but allegedly large financial cost to the schools. However, the author cannot accept that the story is merely one of individual arrogance and bungling. She ponders why the restructuring process had as much support as it did, and reflects that the environment that gave birth to it has not changed and may well lead to similar outcomes in the future.

Lastly, this book is an interesting example of a report by an insider on contentious, near-contemporary issues. The author tries to avoid extreme partiality, or at least warns her readers that she cannot but be partial. At the same time she is clear that she is telling a story from a particular angle. No doubt this book will cause big waves in the small pond of Jewish Johannesburg – but she has built an argument with much broader implications. This work should be read widely.

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Southern African Review of Education (SARE) with Education with Production (EWP)

NOTES TO CONTRIBUTORS


Education with Production (EWP) is the Journal of the Foundation for Education with Production.

Both journals were produced up to 1996 (SARE to Volume 2 and EWP to Volume 11). They then experienced a hiatus in production. The new combined issues continued, starting as SARE with EWP Volume 3, 1997.

The journal is produced by an ‘Editorial Collaborative’ based in Pretoria.

SARE with EWP will appear at least once a year. Contributors are welcome to submit articles on educational issues with specific reference to educational policy, comparative education, sociology of education, history of education and education with production.

Beginning with Volume 5 in 1999, papers submitted will be anonymously refereed. Papers are accepted on the understanding that they have not been published or submitted for publication elsewhere. Articles or review essays should not be longer than 8 000 words and may include maps, figures and tables. Reports on research, book reviews and critical comments should be limited to 2 000 words.

Contributions should be double spaced on one side of an A4 sheet with ample margins. Three copies of the manuscript should be submitted, bearing the title of the paper and an abstract of 150-200 words on a separate sheet. All pages should be numbered. Please leave a wide margin on all four sides. Maps, figures, tables or illustrations: these should be supplied on separate sheets and not included as part of the text. Their approximate position in the text should be indicated.

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The title of the contribution and the name and address where the work was carried out should be provided on a separate sheet. The address of the author who will handle correspondence should be clearly indicated. Telephone and fax number(s) and e-mail address(es) for the author(s) should be submitted as well. Authors should supply brief biographical material as a ‘Notes on contributors’ page. In a covering letter the author(s) must state that the contribution
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NOTES
Footnotes are not required ('If it is worth saying, say it in the text, or not at all'). Please cite material in the text as follows: (Hirson 1979: 9) or (Kahn 1997: 202) or (Swartz 1993: 181) or (Brock 1974: 186; Bray and Steward 1998: 66).

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