



DIVERSITY AND UNITY

THE ROLE OF
HIGHER EDUCATION
IN BUILDING DEMOCRACY



Edited by
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THE FORD FOUNDATION

Maskew Miller Longman (Pty) Ltd
Howard Drive, Pinelands, Cape Town

Offices in Johannesburg, Durban, Bloemfontein,
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COVER ILLUSTRATION

'Voodooism' (Detail)
by GEORGE RAMAGAGA
Mahogany 1976
84 x 44 cm

Collection of the University of Fort Hare

The complexity of aesthetic experience and creative production in Africa is evident in this carving by George Ramagaga, who produces a timeless icon, borrowing from modernist Europe, and reconstructing meaning much like Picasso did when he borrowed from Africa at the turn of the century. This work illustrates the complex interaction between the diverse (local) and the universal (global).

—Marc Edwards, 1998



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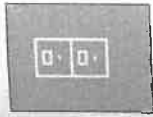
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Foreword



Albie Sachs

Justice of the Constitutional Court of South Africa

Non-racism and diversity are not in opposition to each other. It is not a choice: common citizenship, fundamental rights and non-racism versus diversity, uniqueness and difference. On the contrary, the trick is to find the connections between the two and it is through dignity, dialogue, association and respect for difference that these connections are found. To me what is frequently lacking in these debates is an acknowledgement that non-racism is the bedrock of diversity; that shared citizenship, far from being the enemy of difference, is the bedrock for the recognition of difference. It is only when culture, background, language and appearance become used as a means of controlling resources and political power – ethnic mobilisation for the purpose of advantage – that culture in that sense becomes politicised and is precarious and antagonistic to the culture of others. Where common citizenship is profound and strong, then the expression of one's culture in no way requires the disrespect of another's.



Avoiding closure and challenging frameworks

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The time has come for critics and artists of the new cultural politics of difference to cast their nets widely, flex their muscles broadly, and thereby refuse to limit their visions, analyses, and praxis to their particular terrains. The aim is to dare to recast, redefine and revise the very notions of 'modernity', 'mainstream', 'margins', 'difference', 'otherness'. We have now reached a new stage in the perennial struggle for freedom and dignity. And while much of the First World intelligentsia adopts retrospective and conservative outlooks that defend the crisis-ridden present, we promote a prospective and prophetic vision with a sense of possibility and potential, especially for those who bear the social costs of the present. We look to the past for strength, not solace; we look at the present and see people perishing, not profits mounting; we look toward the future and vow to make it different and better. (West 1995a: 171)

In this chapter we synthesise and explore key themes and ideas discussed during the ten-day Seminar. It is not our aim to provide a comprehensive account of all issues covered by the delegates. We have selected only those issues which we consider the knots of our intellectual networks with

engagements, with other diversity practitioners in the future. The task of moulding it into some comprehensible shape has not been easy. It would never have been accomplished without the preliminary thoughts distilled by the team of 'Wise Women', who received the task of facilitating continuity of conversation with previous meetings in India and the United States, of shaping questions and discussion over the ten-day period, and identifying cross-cutting or recurring themes that could open opportunities for lively engagement and the possibility of future international collaborative projects. Their report provided a basis for some of the arguments outlined here.

The Seminar was designed in such a way as to provide suitable context for a critical examination of prevailing constructions surrounding Campus Diversity Initiative (CDI), and jolt pre-conceived notions and mental sets that have been the starting point for many of these initiatives in the participating countries. This was to be achieved through a programme which immersed participants in various facets of South African life, opened a window on the many divergent and converging South African voices, and mapped out local and regional histories and particularities. Site visits in KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape and Western Cape were chosen precisely with the primary purpose of locating the Seminar within the complex matrix of South African society and, as such, avoid enclosure and open new opportunities and possibilities, theoretical and practical, to the theme of the Seminar. As the group progressed down the eastern coast, public campus forums were held at the Universities of Natal and Fort Hare, and Peninsula Technikon. These were followed by campus-based interest group discussions facilitated by local staff at the host institutions. This multifaceted experience which presented the organisers with some interesting logistical challenges was to ensure that the Seminar had a catalytic effect on local campus diversity initiatives by making the knowledge and experiences of the visiting delegates accessible to as wide an audience as possible.

The three-day formal seminar in Durban focused on conceptual papers which set the scene for the rest of the Conference. These spoke to the emergent 'Diversity' theme

*the Seminar had a
catalytic effect on
local campus
diversity initiatives*

programmes, did not compromise academic rigour. The programme served to underscore a frequently raised contention about the fluidity and vexing nature of conversations that deal with difference and diversity.

An important feature of these emergent conversations is that participants were given an opportunity to step back, backtrack, and interrogate their particular discourses around diversity initiatives – and more specifically, their assumptions behind the issues such as ‘what we are doing’, ‘how are we doing it’, ‘why we are doing it’, and ‘why we are doing it in a particular way’. As such the Seminar emerged as an attempt to introduce some movement into the concepts at work in CDI – concepts such as ‘diversity’, ‘unity’, ‘identity’, ‘multiculturalism’, and ‘citizenship’. This posed a challenge which required asking these sorts of questions: Will current conceptualisations of CDI in America survive the challenge of an increasingly complex American society? Can these conceptualisations provide an adequate basis for current or similar initiatives in other participating countries, particularly in South Africa? Is there a principled way of closing the gap between American practitioners and Indian and South African practitioners who see themselves as profoundly involved in transformative projects taking place in their countries – and may as such feel sceptical about some concepts and practices that came to be accepted in the American context (starting with the name of the initiative itself – Campus Diversity Initiative)? Are we prepared to move beyond a universalising model that is mainly concerned with improving how others practise our precepts? Is there something for us to learn from colleagues in other national and cultural settings? Asking such questions with an open mind was not just a matter of ecumenism of goodwill. It was a way of enriching the answers to questions, which increasingly affect our understanding of, or engagement with, issues of diversity. To this end, Deputy President of the Ford Foundation Bernstein set the tone at the outset by reminding the Seminar that unless ‘we couple what we are learning from each other, with constructive, bold, innovative action when we return to our respective locales then this will be nothing more than a

Globalisation, diversity, and identity

This theme emerged most clearly in discussions about concepts and constructs associated with globalisation, the cornerstone of so many policies and debates at present. In the context of campus diversity, globalisation can be conceptualised as a process of emission and reception of ‘common places’ at a global level, which increasingly is becoming institutionalised particularly within discourses of major international cultural organisations. As a cultural endeavour, globalisation has its own conceptual problematic, particularly in the manner in which questions are framed. Should, for example, globalisation as a form of ‘global communication’ be understood as an encounter between different cultures? Or as an encounter between individuals of different cultures? Or both? What are the theoretical and practical implications of these questions?

There are two basic approaches to globalisation and all of them have relative strengths and weaknesses. The first approach is the market-place approach, i.e. the acceptance of globalisation as the determination of a ‘common place’ by market forces. This is tied up with the assumption that it is unrealistic for the people on the margins to think that they can sidestep the patronage system of the global village driven by world’s hegemonic forces. Future identities will be determined by competitive flow of ideas, knowledge, technology, values, symbols, and all cultural imaginary that can be channelled throughout the world through improved means of mass communication. Explicitly or implicitly, concerns were voiced about this view. The pushes for globalisation, it was argued, may institutionalise or disguise the embedded hierarchisation of cultures and the reality of privileged access to this global culture and identity. The question of unequal access to the benefits, which purportedly flow from global citizenship, should not be dismissed. As was argued by one participant, globalisation and global citizenship posit a convergence in which developing countries will ‘lose the race’, as many types of ‘defeated knowledge’ are not part of globalisation, as ‘our diversity is taken away from us’.

The second approach is a move towards what West (1995a: 167) refers to as the ‘Go-it-Alone’ attitude, which

parochialism and narrow chauvinism but, if it becomes permanent, 'it is self-defeating, in that it usually reinforces the very inferior complexes promoted by the subtly racist mainstream' (West 1995a: 167). It would certainly risk nations to self-ghettoisation, as some dialogue and the forging of alliances and coalitions (CDI for example) are inevitable and necessary at the international level for almost any creative practice. If all these options entail sailing in troubled waters, what are then the challenges?

Certainly, globalisation as a market-place where a 'common personality' of groups and nations is forged regardless of their identities, differences, and unequal access to resources, an arrest into an 'arrogant group insularity', or the disempowering 'Go-it-Alone' attitude offer no or limited opportunities. As Cloete and Muller (1998: 4) have argued elsewhere, 'the distance and tension between cosmopolitan and local traditions has eased' with the changing forms of production of knowledge and concomitant epistemological bases. With them, we endorse insight from Scott (1997: 20):

So long as the intellectual and scientific culture of the West persisted in its universalising claims, other cultures were marginalised, obliged to choose between imminent (and irreversible) redundancy and angry ideological opposition. But these claims have been eroded from 'within', in the cognitive sphere, by the radical scepticism that has always been part of the Western tradition and the epistemological doubts that have emerged recently; and from 'without', in the wider social and economic environment, by new patterns of knowledge production. As a result, the tension between Western and 'other', elite and democratic knowledge traditions has eased. Perhaps we no longer have to choose because perhaps we can no longer clearly differentiate them.

A critical 'coming-together' type of strategy should be found which will ensure a just balance between (global) universality and (local) singularities through suitable dialogue and conversations. Choices should be made about what forms of communication are appropriate to achieve this ideal. Balibar (1997: 175) tentatively considers the

It is what allows a discussion of the 'good' and 'bad' forms of communication: those that tend to institute the universal in respect for singularities or that find a 'balanced' way of combining them, as opposed to those that crush singularity under uniformity (currently such an effect is often feared to result from the contemporary evolution of 'mass communications' and the world-wide diffusion of certain hegemonic models) or that, going to the opposite extreme, exacerbate singularity to the point of isolationism. The median, desirable path would put communication in the service of the reproduction of differences, that is, it would affirm singularity by the mediation of the universal. And, reciprocally, it would affirm the reality of the universal by the mediation of singularities.

Promoting an 'intellectual hospitality of ideas'

The words 'unity', 'diversity', 'identity', 'democracy', and 'citizenship' dominated our conversations. Not only are these words in constant use throughout the world but they have also become central to our everyday discourses. We made use of them as if we had common understanding of the meaning(s) attached to them. Yet as conversations unfolded we came to realise that they are highly contested words and no single definition of them remains undisputed. We persistently tended to look at them through the tinted lenses of our own particular histories, cultural and intellectual settings, with innocent reluctance to move beyond the narrow frontiers they impose on us and to embody the views and knowledges of the other. No country was immune from the tendency to push for closure by preaching the ascendancy of their reading of diversity. This was best summed up by a participant who talked about the need for the group to develop an intellectual hospitality of ideas. As Visvanathan put it, 'Local knowledges, tribal knowledges, gendered knowledges, civilisational knowledges, dying knowledges, all need a site, a theatre of encounter which is not patronising, not preservationist, not fundamentalist, but open and playful.' Certainly 'without this mix of theory, the communities of knowledge one is searching for might be stillborn' (Visvanathan, Chapter 4) and the diversity project may be doomed to failure. This

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impossibility, of bringing local or indigenous knowledges into the formal, professionally accredited curriculum.

In a world of richly diverse histories and traditions as represented by the delegates, detailed prescription of universal applications of concepts entailed in the diversity initiative is neither helpful nor desirable. Of central importance is an understanding of their complexity to appreciate that much needs to be learned about the parameters, constraints, or resources, within which ideals of democratic practices are to be performed and a life of democratic virtue to be pursued. To this end, the Seminar was indeed successful – particularly in highlighting through South African history that those who make use of, or instrumentalise, diversity concepts in the pursuit of democracy should be aware of the long history and great wealth of meaning which lie behind them, and the need to problematise them in the changing historical contexts.

Against this background, the Seminar brought to the forefront the importance of contextualisation of research and concepts on diversity. Research on diversity cannot be disconnected from history and context (Smith 1997: 4). As Bernstein has noted, the South African past highlights the fact that unless discussions of diversity are informed by, linked to, or focus on an analysis of disadvantage and social-justice values (reaffirmation of identity, redistribution of power, privileges and opportunities), we are not likely to fulfil our best aspirations; for arguments for simple affirmation of diversity 'fail to challenge relations of dominance and subordination'. In this perspective, a plea was repeatedly made for the reworking of diversity concepts and an awareness of the danger in closing the debate too early. This approach opened up opportunities for lively debate and created a range of possibilities for future engagements. These will receive our particular attention in the following sections.

The way in which culture has become a prescriptive rather than an analytical category was a concern shared by the South African and Indian delegates. What is striking today is the generalisation of the discourse of culture to

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they been thoroughly interrogated. This important theme dominated part of the proceedings of the Seminar. The issue raised was whether the answers to the haunting questions 'Who am I?', 'Who are we?' or 'Who are they?' can be adequately addressed with reference to culture. Put differently, how sustainable is the argument for identification in the field of culture under present socio-cultural circumstances?

Cloete *et al* (see Chapter 3) left the orthodoxy puzzled by drawing attention to the limited possibilities offered by culture in the modern world as a key domain of identification as a consequence of the increasing 'thinning of culture'. This refers to the blurring of cultural frontiers as group's or people's cultures in society converge; people are increasingly finding a 'common place' and becoming 'cultural partners' – in the South African case, more South African than they have come to realise. This is not to fall into an essentialising or homogenising trap which regards all South Africans as really alike, and which obliterates class, gender, ethnic, regional differences, or differences in sexual orientation. These differences challenge the very possibility of constituting culture as the field of experience in which identities can be recognised. In this regard, the 'crisis of cultural diversity' as the field of identification is imminent.

Alternatively, Cloete *et al* see diversity as a plurality of identities, which are not necessarily the effect of an enunciation of difference, determined by cultural representation. This would certainly naturalise identity by making it a matter of culture, an inescapable trait of one's being by virtue of belonging to a particular cultural constellation. For them it makes more sense to talk about 'identity diversity' than 'cultural diversity', particularly within the South African context where apartheid's leaders celebrated diversity in their own venal, perverse way, and this led to greater injustices and a denial of rights to the majority'. Identity diversity is *primarily* determined by current struggles over control or access to resources. This re-conceptualisation of difference has two important dimensions. On the one hand, it provides for the agency, capacity, and ability of people who have been culturally

'Cultural diversity' or identity

life chances. On the other, it shines away narrow and divisive fundamentalist particularisms, parochialisms, separatisms, false universalisms, and homogenous totalisms or cultural essentialisms – and all other pathological ‘-isms’.

In his recent evaluation of the role that cultural identity plays today, Balibar pursues a similar argument but tackles the issue from a different angle which brings to bear other conceptual and theoretical complications of the traditional ‘cultural diversity’ paradigm. He proposes the following double thesis: (a) there is identity only by and for subjects; (b) there is culture only by and for institutions (Balibar 1995: 183).

Within the framework of cultural diversity, identity is more precisely a ‘discourse of tradition’. As Balibar (1995: 187) argues, in this domain there are no identities but identifications (‘either with the institution itself [culture or tradition] or with other subjects by the intermediary of the institution’); identities are only the ideal goal of processes of identification. In this process, some identifications succeed in a contradictory way; others fail and even become unliveable. Nothing tells us that in all cultural contexts, cultural representations, and the images individuals develop about themselves or others culminate in the distinctions ‘I’ and ‘we’, key manifestations of inclusion and exclusion, and as such of identity.

The idea that cultural diversity culminates in diverse cultural identities can only be relative or accidental. The processes that would allow for translation of individual subjectivities into an objective cultural identity or for the perfect realisation of the norms of collective culture in the identity of subjects may be contradictory or conflicting. This is particularly because individuals are increasingly moving from ‘unique’ (or singular) cultural spaces into cultural intersections with the prominence of globalising and converging movements in culture. Or as Balibar (1995: 176) himself puts it,

One might doubt this merely by observing the repetition of negative observations of the type: ‘culture’, ‘cultural identity’ cannot be grasped except by articulating objective and subjective dimensions, universal and

In this regard, Cloete *et al* allude to possible choices that individuals make about cultures on ethical grounds – e.g. good or bad – based on the assumption that the identity of each culture would have to be recognised as containing a universal value. This for Balibar (1995: 174–75) has tremendous implications: ‘It is what permits, for example, a distinction to be proposed between a “good” and a “bad” concept of cultural diversity, from an ethical and political standpoint (to put it schematically, an egalitarian concept and a hierarchical one).’ Related to this is the fact that ‘the same discourse that makes the very culture into a “whole” poses as an impossibility belonging to several cultures’, which means that no nation or community could be multicultural (Balibar 1995: 187).

Similarly West sees identity as a matter of desire and death. For him understanding identity construction requires that we look at the various ways in which human beings have constructed their desire for recognition, association, and protection over time and in space, for access to resources, always under circumstances not of their own choosing, and the role of material resources and the various systems that generate their distribution and consumption (West 1995b: 16). Rancière (1995: 70) holds that identity is first about fear: the fear of the other, the fear of nothing. The two definitions are complementary and relevant to our discussion. This explains for example the problems of narrow nationalism and xenophobic identity politics in Europe, United States, India, South Africa, and the rest of the continent.

Re-thinking multiculturalism

What bedevils discussion of multiculturalism and the interaction between culture and identity is often the way in which the terms are used, progressively, dynamically, interactively, or restrictively. The three ‘Wise Women’ were often hard pushed to ensure that this dissent did not fragment or close off discussion by attempting to refocus group anger to ensure that dissent opened up questions and became a generative creative force. It came without surprise that *reflectionist* arguments were posed by some delegates which hold that the fight against marginalisation for

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the negative and depressing representations of them; or social engineering arguments claiming that since any form of representation is constructed and selective in light of broader aims, the marginalised – particularly blacks – should offer positive images of themselves in order to inspire achievement among young people and counter stereotypes (borrowing conceptualisation from West 1995a:160). Both arguments reflected the reminiscence of multiculturalist ideologies. These arguments were met with strong criticism from those delegates who not only have lost hope on the multiculturalist project but also consider it profoundly mistaken; for 'it is a diversity of identities, not of cultures, that lies ahead'. With the thinning of the cultural content of identities, identity politics is about respect and recognition, not about cultural content.

By developing an argument for identity rather than culture, a number of delegates coming from all three continents were challenged in their assumption that multiculturalism is part of a progressive politics. Some South African and Indian delegates were also challenged to re-interrogate their experience of certain forms of multiculturalism as a reactionary politics. To both groups, the politics of identity provided a temporary compromise and a promising alternative route for exploration as a more empowering basis for diversity.

Universities as sites or spaces for diversity and democracy practices

Campus diversity initiatives have gained credit by notably authorising higher education institutions and activities to be considered as the pre-eminent site in which to seek a resolution to social tensions to which democratic citizenship has become a response. This theme arose when the debate focused upon the role of higher education in developing citizens for a new democratic order and on the continuing importance of institutional programmes of redress. The theme poses three main difficulties. First, the question remains as to whether the development of democratic citizens by lecturers is a possibility, given that they themselves have not experienced a true democracy: they are located within a higher education system with continuing historical disparities and divergences and a

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in such a way as to make it impossible to plan campus programmes or diversity initiatives without engaging with the underpinning discourses or ideologies. As has been the case with diversity, citizenship is a highly contested concept. Conversations around citizenship highlighted the difficulty confronting any attempt to achieve widespread agreement on a generous, holistic and all-embracing definition of citizenship. As Hearter (1990: 282) puts it:

The evidence of history provides little cause to believe that any search for an agreed, all-embracing, and permanent definition of citizenship might be successful. Both its theory and practice have constantly changed in response to particular economic, social, and political circumstances. The justification for the concept and institution, it can well be argued, lies precisely in its pragmatic flexibility.

In 1995, Schneider made the following observation:

Our nation's campuses have become a highly visible stage on which the most fundamental questions about difference, equality, and community are being enacted. To this effort, filled with promise and fraught with difficulty, the academy brings indispensable resources: its commitments to the advancement of knowledge and its traditions of dialogue and deliberation across difference as keys to the increase of insight and understanding.

These ideas were reiterated at the Seminar as participants explored the possibilities that universities offered as laboratories for democratic citizenship and a testing ground for relevant practices.

CDI grew out of the realisation that campuses or higher education institutions could play an important role as sites where issues of tolerance, inclusion, access, and structural inequities in society could be addressed effectively. Different and competing approaches to CDI emerged, particularly in the United States. Some saw CDI as a way of dealing with earlier homogeneity both at a particular institution or in higher education. Some saw CDI as promoting access and participation to previously excluded groups. Others saw it as setting a climate conducive to research. Others saw it

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these things simultaneously. In the United States, Smith classifies the whole range of activities taking place under CDI into four dimensions:

- representation embracing all activities designed to foster inclusion and success of previously underrepresented groups;
- campus climate and intergroup relations including programmes aimed at addressing the impact of institutional environment on institutional and student success;
- education and scholarship for programmes focusing on the inclusion of diverse traditions in the curriculum, the impact of issues of diversity on teaching methods, and the influence of societal diversity on scholarly inquiry; and
- institutional transformation which refers to the restructuring processes to meet the needs of a diverse student body and to prepare students to live and work in a pluralistic society (Smith 1997: 8–14).

Details on the actual programmes and activities fall beyond the scope of this chapter.

It seems however that in the South African context, irrespective of the divisive past, conceptions that stress commonality at the expense of plurality and respect of differences are doomed to failure. In the same way, conceptions that deny any form of commonality in the name of plurality and difference will not succeed. Current trends in the South African debate seem to favour a form of commonality that accommodates or respects diversity and makes room for different forms of identities or dualities within a democratic setting.

Future plans

In the concluding session of the Seminar, each country reported on possible activities for the future. Not surprisingly, the United States delegation concluded that the Seminar had reinvigorated participants to pursue their individual programmes and activities. For the Brazilians, the Seminar led to a much greater awareness of diversity issues in their own country and they decided that they are

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pursue their existing campus diversity programmes with new insights and vigour while others intend to engage in critical reflection on CDI in India. Surprisingly, the South Africans agreed that the primary issue was transformation and not diversity, but that diversity is an important component of any transformation project. They also agreed that campus diversity programmes will be developed in two broad areas: students' services (with a new focus on promoting citizenship and tolerance), and curriculum restructuring (in relation to different kinds of knowledges and its forms of organisation).

While the Seminar provided an impetus for renewed interest in country-specific programmes, some participants were disappointed by the fact that, despite the promises of globalisation, the group did not manage to suggest a single transnational project.

The next Iri-National Seminar will be take place in the United States in October 1999.

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