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Building a People's University in South Africa: Race, Compensatory Education and the Structural Limits of Democratic Reform at the University of the Western Cape

by

GREGORY ANDERSON

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Sociology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Abstract

Building a People's University in South Africa: Race, Compensatory Education and the Structural Limits of Democratic Reform at the University of the Western Cape

by

Gregory Anderson

Advisor: Professor Paul Attewell

In 1982, the University of the Western Cape officially opposed the use of racial criteria guiding admissions to tertiary education in South Africa. By introducing the country's first non-racial, open admissions policy, the once segregated "bush" college -- designated under apartheid for the education of Coloureds or people of mixed descent – was transformed into an important site for political mobilization and pedagogical reform in South Africa.

This dissertation is dedicated to telling the story of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) before and after the fall of apartheid. Viewing UWC as a microcosm of the country's efforts to free itself from the shackles of apartheid, the thesis explores the political dynamics and racial and ideological tensions surrounding the demand for access to post-secondary education in South Africa. An important aspect of this research involves examining the role of national-liberation ideology in shaping the direction of democratic reform within South African institutions of civil society.

Also pivotal to the dissertation is a critical discussion of the racial effects of segregation on the language development of Black students, and the extent to which

apartheid has inhibited the acquisition of critical, abstract and conceptual reasoning skills. The university developed an innovative compensatory program intended to overcome these language disadvantages. The dissertation therefore examines an example of open admissions and compensatory reform in its institutional, pedagogical, and political context.

My field research focused primarily on capturing and reporting on the various perspectives of participants, and the kind of experiences which took place in the university's classes on an everyday basis. But I also went beyond this, digging to discover the pedagogical, ideological and philosophical ideas informing UWC's transformation, as well as the institutional constraints and opposition to the compensatory changes undertaken at the university. Thus, although my approach focused on pedagogical issues, I have not neglected the important influence of funding shortages, institutional and national-liberation politics, and the dynamics of class, ethnicity, and race as they affected who participated in compensatory courses and how students responded.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my dissertation committee for all the support and advice I have received over the years. My advisor, Professor Paul Attewell, deserves special mention, as his dedication and mentorship gave me sustenance and clarity during the most difficult of times. Correspondingly, Professor David Lavin's institutional acumen and influence afforded me the opportunity to conduct my dissertation field research in South Africa, and helped me focus exclusively on my thesis upon returning to New York.

Without the generous financial support of the City University of New York's Central Office, this dissertation would not be possible. In particular CUNY's ex-Deputy Chancellor Larry Mucciolo played a decisive role in the funding of my dissertation field research in South Africa. In 1995-96, I was also fortunate enough to be a recipient of the Spencer Foundation Dissertation Fellowship. Not only did their sponsorship provide economic relief during the dissertation writing process, but their ongoing interest in my career and research is a living testimony to the Foundation's educational mandate.

I would be remiss if I didn't acknowledge the administration, faculty, staff and students of the University of the Western Cape. Beginning with UWC's Education Policy Unit (EPU), I owe an especial debt of gratitude to its director, the late Harold Wolpe. Although we did not always see eye-to-eye, Professor Wolpe granted me unlimited access to his fine administrative staff (Rozenda, Zeni and Marlene) and librarians (Faye and Shareese). Without their assistance, chiding and support I would have been lost. In addition, the junior researchers at the EPU (Fred, Nazeema, and Robbie) were always there for me to bounce ideas off of and to debate different perspectives.

Indeed, much of what I have written in this thesis stems directly from the exchanges I had with UWC faculty, staff, and students. Charlton Koen, a lecturer in UWC's Sociology/Anthropology department was an indispensable source of information. Charlton's willingness to grant me access to the sociology/anthropology tutorial program and to alert me to the important research conducted within his department, were pivotal to my dissertation. I would also like to thank the Academic Development Center and its staff, as well as the creator of English for Educational Development, Terry Volbrecht, and the course's coordinator, Charlyn Dyers, for allowing me to observe classes and for taking the time to discuss critical issues involving compensatory reform at UWC.

When I first started thinking about South Africa as a thesis topic, it was suggested that I speak with a retired Cape Town teacher named George Herman. Mr. Herman's views on politics and education, and his stories of life in the Western Cape, fueled my passion to write about my people's history and their experiences. I also benefited immensely from the advice of Professor Frank Kirkland and Professor Tom Karis, and from the continual support of my friends Carlos, Robert, Valentino and Terrence.

Lastly, I want to express my appreciation, love and respect to my family and my wife. I sincerely hope that the completion of this dissertation demonstrates to my mother and father that the sacrifices they made in order to give my sister and I an opportunity to grow up in world without predetermined limits and boundaries was all worth it. And to my wife, Usha, who has endured my frustration and apprehension surrounding the completion of the dissertation with grace, patience and beauty, mere words could never convey my undying gratitude.

Table of Contents

List of Diagrams

List of Abbreviations

AD	Academic Development
ASPECT	Academic Support for Engineering at Cape Town
ANC	African National Congress
BC	Black Consciousness
DEC	Department of Education and Culture
DET	Department of Education and Training
ENG 105	English for Educational Development
EPU	Education Policy Unit
FADC	Faculty Academic Development Committee
IDT	Independent Development Fund
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe (the military arm of the ANC)
NECC	National Education Coordinating Committee
NP	National Party
PAC	Pan African Congress
SADSC	Senate Academic Development Steering Committee
SANSCO	South African National Students' Congress
SAPSE	South African Post-Secondary Education (Information System)
SASO	South African Student Organization
SRC	Student Representative Council
UDF	United Democratic Front
UWC	University of the Western Cape

Introduction

There are few issues within sociology of education that have generated as much controversy and debate as efforts to enhance access to post-secondary institutions for "disadvantaged" students. At the heart of the divergence of viewpoints and perspectives surrounding policies such as affirmative action and open admissions, is the difficult objective of achieving equality of educational opportunity without curtailing the pursuit of excellence, or diminishing rigorous academic standards. A challenge of this magnitude is rarely taken up by administrators, bureaucracies and governments without tremendous pressure being exerted by groups seeking to acquire credentials and skills historically denied them on the basis of race, class and/or gender. Hence, efforts to enhance access to higher education have invariably been accompanied by major shifts in ideology, as social movements, crises of political and cultural legitimacy, as well as labor and student unrest, have all contributed to significant changes in post-secondary policies guiding admissions.

This description of the changing parameters of access to higher education transcends national boundaries and time frames. In the aftermath of the struggle for civil rights and the violent urban outbursts of the late 1960s and early 1970s, the landscape of American higher education was dramatically altered by the introduction of open admissions in New York and the expansion of the community college system throughout the country. Some two decades later, in a region half way across the world, South Africa has also grappled with the kinds of pressures and demands that prompted the United States to revamp the structure of its public higher education system.

What is striking about these two very different settings is the manner in which the respective higher education systems have been confronted with the same dilemma: how to most effectively address the cumulative disadvantages of a rapidly changing student body punctuated by racial-ethnic cleavages, gender and class differences, and marked disparities in levels of preparedness.

Public secondary school systems, often under-funded and characterized by rigid tracking mechanisms and outmoded curricula, have been unable to adjust fast enough to prepare students from diverse backgrounds for the demands of university education. During periods of expansion within higher education, many students therefore enter universities and colleges under-prepared, and lacking an applicable cultural and academic reference point to help cope with an alien pedagogical environment. This observation applies to advanced countries such as the United States, as well as developing nations like South Africa.

What distinguishes efforts to enhance access to higher education, however, is the manner in which post-secondary institutions have addressed the cumulative disadvantages of incoming students vis-à-vis the programs, pedagogical techniques, and overall philosophies employed to overcome a legacy of inferior schooling and government neglect. In the case of the United States, remedial approaches were designed according to the assumption that students from "disadvantaged" backgrounds would be able to acquire the basic skills needed for university education through the provision of special classes in reading, writing and math skills. By identifying -- usually through the use of standardized testing -- those in need of extra instruction entering post-secondary

education, and placing these students in basic skills classes set apart from the mainstream curriculum, it was felt that the less fortunate would be able to reach a level of comprehension in reading, writing and math required for them to compete at the university level.

Contrary to the United States, the use of remedial approaches have been widely criticized in South Africa. Viewed as little more than elaborate ideological mechanisms to "blame the victims" for the sins of apartheid, remedial programs have been deemed unsuitable for the task of compensating the majority of students for years of ineffective and racially structured public schooling. Instead, as students from severely "disadvantaged" backgrounds began to enter South African post-secondary institutions at a rapid rate in the early 1990s, historically "black" universities initiated Academic Development (AD) Programs.

These ambitious programs were designed to transform the South African universities from within, by challenging post-secondary institutions to alter their pedagogical practices, their curriculum, and assessment procedures. Rather than unrealistically expect students exiting deficient public high schools to reach university standards over the course of a semester or two of remedial work, historically black institutions developed a "pedagogy of the oppressed" to embolden "disadvantaged" students and give them a sense of their own voice and to demonstrate to them that they have things to say, as well as things to learn.

Influenced by Paulo Freire and by the work of European socio-linguists, emphasis was placed on cultural empowerment through intellectual and political engagement with

issues and topics relevant to students' experiences. Changes in evaluation procedures gave students more opportunities to express their own unique points of view in the form of in-class and weekly take-home written and oral assignments. Courses and materials were developed that, while focusing on basic skills acquisition, did so within the context of students' own cultural and political perspectives.

Academic Development in South African higher education was conceived as a process reaching far beyond the acquisition of basic skills. Both policy-makers and educators saw pedagogical reform as an important political and cultural tool, helping frame a moment in South African history in which traditional forms of authority, apartheid socialization, and racialized ways of understanding the world, could be challenged, and new and potentially liberating alternatives could be explored, as well as implemented within post-secondary institutions.

Yet despite this potential for change, recent developments in American higher education involving remediation, open admissions and affirmative action, illustrate that historic gains made by marginalized groups demanding greater access to post-secondary institutions, are by no means set in stone. The passage of proposition 209, which outlawed the use of race-conscious criteria for admissions to the University of California system, and the controversial decision to eliminate remediation within the senior colleges of the City University of New York (CUNY) by year 2001, provide stark reminders that the political winds of change do not blow in one direction for too long.

Indeed, within roughly a twenty-year period, affirmative action has gone from representing a central component of the drive for racial equality in America, to its current

status as an unconstitutional example of reverse discrimination. Similarly, while remediation remains an integral part of what universities and colleges do across the United States, the fact that such preparatory courses continue to be required has, according to the New York Times, become a source of embarrassment and controversy within post-secondary education (Arenson, 1998). Increasingly, remedial programs have come under fierce attack by conservatives who view such compensatory efforts as altering the mandate of excellence in higher education, as lowering academic standards, and last but not least, as wasting tax payers' hard-earned money on undeserving students better suited for vocational training.

As shifts in ideology and economic trends contribute to a volatile post-secondary environment in which drastic policy changes can abruptly occur without the benefit of studied research, there is a pressing need to document the successes and failures of efforts to enhance access to post-secondary education. It is for this reason that research on democratization of higher education in South Africa is important, not only within the context of understanding the kinds of policy initiatives currently taking place in the country, but also in relation to the retrogressive steps taken by American post-secondary institutions involving the elimination of affirmative action in California and the scaling back of remediation at CUNY.

While the black majority ANC government remains committed to the democratization of institutions of civil society, global economic realities, internal political strife, as well as a scarcity of state resources, underscore an uncertain future with respect to the direction of post-secondary reform in South Africa. In the midst of these

economic and political tensions, stands an example of higher education reform at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) which encapsulates many of the discussions and debates surrounding demands for access, compensatory programs and racial equality in post-secondary institutions in South Africa and elsewhere.

In 1982, the University of the Western Cape became the first post-secondary institution in South Africa to officially oppose the use of racial criteria guiding admissions to South African tertiary education. UWC paid a heavy price for its principled efforts to "build a people's university", as the apartheid regime slashed state subsidies and engaged the institution in a protracted legal and ideological struggle over the right to govern itself and determine its own educational policies. Despite powerful opposition, UWC blazed a path of resistance to apartheid that, prior to the country's first fully democratic and non-racial national election in 1994, earned it the unofficial title of "the future university of South Africa".

Statement of Purpose and Methods of Inquiry

This dissertation is dedicated to telling the story of the University of the Western Cape before and after the fall of apartheid. In introducing the experiences of UWC to an audience outside of South Africa, an aim of my thesis is to highlight themes common to post-secondary reform involving policies designed to increase racial-ethnic, class and gender representation within post-secondary education. The problem of students whose English language usage lies far below the academic standard; the issues facing students of color, who must overcome definitions of themselves as unsuitable or unwanted in the institution; the suspicions and conflicts arising between distinct groups of students with

different ethnic backgrounds. These were all apparent in South Africa, but are no less a part of the landscape of urban universities across the United States and Europe. For democratization of higher education to succeed, we therefore need a international body of scholarship that portrays what is being done, what pedagogy or theory underlies current efforts, how well programs meet (or fail to meet) their goals, and why. I believe that this dissertation contributes to that knowledge.

I should make clear my values and political stance regarding this type of research. As the eldest child of Black South Africans (classified as Coloureds under apartheid) compelled to leave their homeland in the 1960s, I am a proponent of academic democratization and the inclusion of previously-excluded groups in higher education. I believe that providing some form of compensatory education or academic development is important for ensuring that under-prepared or "disadvantaged" students have a chance to succeed. However, I am quite aware that some programs are ill-designed; others are poorly implemented. Some students waste the opportunities offered them, and some programs become ineffective because of institutional indifference or hostility. Thus, while a supporter of these kinds of programs in principle, I am quite able to maintain an objective stance, to see their promise and achievements, but also their weaknesses and failings.

My thesis involves an examination of the political dynamics and racial and ideological tensions surrounding the demand for access to post-secondary education in South Africa. Viewing UWC as a microcosm of the country's efforts to free itself from the shackles of apartheid, a central aspect of this research involves examining the role of

national-liberation ideology in shaping the direction of democratic reform within South African institutions of civil society. Also pivotal to my dissertation is a critical discussion of the effects of segregation on the language development of "black" students and the extent to which apartheid socialization has reinforced racially-based, hierarchical ways of thinking by inhibiting the acquisition of abstract and conceptual reasoning skills.[1] The university developed an innovative compensatory program intended to overcome these language disadvantages. The dissertation therefore examines an example of open admissions and compensatory reform in its institutional, pedagogical, and political context.

While at the University of the Western Cape, I undertook approximately a year's field research between September 1994 and August 1995. Affiliated with the institution's Education Policy Unit, I began my research with participant-observation fieldwork, spending several months over two full academic semesters attending lecturers and tutorials at UWC. I interviewed the scholars who helped design the university's academic development program, and interacted with a cross-section of administrators, faculty and staff engaged in AD teaching and research endeavors. In addition to sitting in on classes, I also interviewed students and tutors, and collected documents, course assignments, and syllabi. I focused especially on a first-year foundation course designed to address UWC students' language disadvantages called English for Educational Development or English

[1] When the description "black" is either put in quotation marks or is capitalized it is to signify the manner in which the term refers to African-speaking, Coloured and Indian peoples of South Africa under the rubric of the Black Consciousness Movement.

105, concentrating on a range of issues from pedagogy, to academic politics, as they played themselves out in this domain.

My field research also targeted one of the largest departments in the Faculty of Arts, Sociology/Anthropology, in an effort to understand the problems experienced by many UWC students, tutors, faculty and staff struggling to cope with overcrowded classes and the pedagogical challenge of how best to use a few precious hours per week to overcome years of prior educational disadvantage. To this end, I designed and administered two short-answer questionnaires focusing on students' attitudes involving racial tensions on campus, and their views surrounding how the advent of Academic Development at UWC affected them personally and intellectually. I also developed a more detailed questionnaire for tutors in the sociology/anthropology program concerning their views and opinions on a host of topics: race relations at UWC, the learning and language difficulties of their students, the level of preparation they received from faculty and staff, and their overall impression of the successes and failures of the university's AD initiatives.

An essential part of my research focused on capturing and reporting on the various perspectives of participants, and the kind of experiences which took place in these classes on an everyday basis. But I also went beyond this, digging to discover the pedagogical, ideological and philosophical ideas informing academic development practices at UWC, as well as the institutional constraints and opposition to this compensatory program. Thus, although my approach focused on pedagogical issues, I have not neglected the important influence of funding shortages, institutional and

national-liberation politics, and the dynamics of class, ethnicity, and race as they affected who participated in academic development courses and how students responded.

An Overview of the Chapters

Starting with a discussion of the unique racial-ethnic history of the Province of the Western Cape, Chapter 1 furnishes a brief synopsis of the effects of apartheid legislation on employment and educational opportunities for Coloured (mixed-race) and African-speaking peoples in the region. The creation of the University of the Western Cape by the apartheid government will be presented as part of an overall strategy to inhibit "black" unity and garner Coloured support in the province. Also examined in this section are the roots of radical change at UWC, stemming from the rise of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa during the late 1960s and the 1970s, which led to the institution's rewriting of its Mission Statement and the introduction of a non-racial, open admissions policy.

Chapter 2 extends a macro-political analysis into the 1980s by examining the shift in national-liberation ideology from an exclusionary mode of protest centered around black membership, to a more inclusive version of resistance articulated in South Africa's Freedom Charter. Particular attention will be paid to the advent of non-racial coalition politics under the umbrella of the United Democratic Front and the influence of this movement on the growth of opposition to apartheid within institutions of civil society such as the unions, the provincial and federal courts, and publicly-funded universities and polytechnic colleges.

In pinpointing the influence of national-liberation ideology on UWC's transformation, a conceptual framework based on the Marxist writings of Antonio Gramsci is developed. This framework highlights the structural limitations of mass struggle when waged within institutions under state control, and identifies the contradictions, and discontinuities between radical theories of access to institutions of civil society, and the day-to-day practices of resistance within segregated communities in the Western Cape.

These structural limitations and ideological contradictions underlying UWC's transformation are discussed in Chapter 3, as the impact of open admissions is examined in relation to the severe fiscal constraints experienced on campus and the veiled tensions amongst the university's racially and ethnically divided student body. Conflicts between Coloured and African-speaking students over scarce resources, language rights, control over political structures, and the use of boycotts and mass meetings, are all framed within a critical examination of the university administration's ideological alignment with ANC national policy.

Calling into question the legitimacy of embracing a non-racial philosophy based on the concept of a majoritarian democracy under African leadership, part one of the dissertation concludes by arguing that university's endorsement of ANC national policy was ill-suited to deal with the ambiguous political and cultural status of Coloureds in the Western Cape region. Nor was such a policy capable of addressing the suppressed racial animosity between mixed-race and African-speaking students on campus brought about by years of segregation and government manipulation.

The second half of the thesis focuses on pedagogical and curriculum reform, as well as the changes in assessment procedures that took place at UWC as a result of open admissions. Chapter 4 traces the theoretical origins of the concept of Academic Development and provides a working definition of UWC's compensatory program vis-à-vis its external and internal funding sources and its governance structure within the hierarchy of the university. In addition, an overview of the kinds of projects undertaken under the banner of both action research and the infusion model guiding the implementation of Academic Development initiatives within departments and faculties is furnished.

In an effort to situate UWC's reforms within an established model of educational and ideological change, the work of British socio-linguist, Basil Bernstein, is introduced. His discussion of the kinds of "problems of order" than can emerge when making the transition from a collection to an integrated knowledge code is used to analyze the unintended consequences stemming from UWC's management of the fiscal and academic crises that occurred in the wake of scarce resources, sky-rocketing enrollments, and high student failure rates. Bernstein's writings explain how without an ideological consensus amongst the major participants (administrators, faculty, staff and students) at UWC, deep-felt resistance to egalitarian reforms was generated that threatened the entire organization and its compensatory mandate.

UWC was nevertheless capable of initiating important and innovative interventions in the area of language development. Chapter 5 outlines efforts by AD specialists on campus to conceptualize the learning and language difficulties of UWC

students and to design a comprehensive foundation course in academic literacy entitled English For Educational Development (ENG 105). An analysis of the underlying pedagogical tenets of ENG 105 and its heavily politicized course materials is provided. Careful attention is given to the personalized, Bakhtin-inspired approach developed in ENG 105 to engage "disadvantaged" students in the practice of dialoguing, reading and writing in English. This chapter also highlights the extent to which the design of ENG 105 was living proof of UWC's commitment to developing a pedagogy of the oppressed that not only resonated with the experiences of the most "disadvantaged" and excluded members of South African society, but also culturally affirmed their histories of struggle and triumph against the apartheid order.

Despite the ground-breaking attempts at UWC to make pedagogy relevant to the democratic struggles of the people, important caveats characterizing ENG 105's academic literacy approach are explored in Chapter 6. Crucial to the assessment of English for Educational Development is a discussion of the limits of a non-racial ideology in South Africa and the extent to which UWC's opposition to apartheid racial categories inadvertently unleashed a number of defense mechanisms amongst Coloured and African-speaking students that reinforced segregated practices of group interaction on campus. The socio-linguistic work of Bernstein is again utilized, this time to examine the racial effects of segregation and apartheid socialization on the consciousness and language development of Coloured and African-speaking students at UWC.

While recognizing the potential for ENG 105 to furnish an important pedagogical site for "black" students to overcome the damaging legacy of apartheid, the second half of

the dissertation ends on a cautionary note: unless Coloured and African-speaking students are equally represented in compensatory language courses at UWC, the employment of segregated, public language formats will be strengthened amongst "black" students while their command over the use of elaborated or analytical modes of communication will be deterred.

Chapter One

Racial Identity, the Apartheid State and the Creation of the University of the Western Cape

Traditionally coverage dealing with South Africa has depicted the struggle against apartheid in black and white terms only. Often missing in such portrayals, however, is a critical awareness of the racial-ethnic diversity that characterizes South African society. Nowhere is this realization more striking than on the tip of the continent in the Province of the Western Cape, regarded by many as the home of the Coloured (mixed-race) people of South Africa.[2] Neither considered black nor white, Coloureds have occupied the space between polarized racial classifications for decades, often at the cost of being manipulated by the apartheid regime and used as a buffer to insulate white privilege from the political and economic demands of the African-speaking majority.

While mainstream western media have only recently begun to discuss the racial-ethnic diversity in South Africa, the few articles dealing with mixed-race communities in the Western Cape have tended to highlight Coloured advantages in relation to the country's African-speaking majority (Marable, 1998). Yet, statistics involving mixed-race participation in post-secondary education prior to the fall of apartheid, indicate a

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[2] It should be noted that there has been considerable debate amongst mixed-race peoples concerning the validity of the term "Coloured". Some have suggested placing quotation marks around the term in order to connote its artificiality as an apartheid creation; others insist on using a small "c" at the beginning of the word to indicate an absence of full cultural authenticity; finally many like to employ the term "so-called" as a prefix to the label Coloured. In this dissertation I will use the term Coloured minus quotations, lowercase letters and prefixes, since it is my belief that whatever mixed-race people of the Cape should or should not to be called, the fact remains that they are an identifiable group with their own unique mixture of cultural, religious and language practices. For an introduction to the debate, refer to the essay "The Construction of Peoplehood", Race, Nation and Class (Balibar and Wallerstein, 1991).

more complex reality. For example, in 1989, Coloureds attended South African universities and polytechnic colleges at a rate of 6 per 1,000, only slightly better than African-speaking students (4 per 1,000) (Gerwel, 1991). Similarly, poverty, health, unemployment, and crime rates in Coloured communities also expose the simplicity of viewing mixed-race peoples in South Africa as representative of a homogenous middle class, firmly planted between the wealth of the majority of whites and the abject poverty of African-speaking communities (Theron, 1976; Van der Ross, 1993; Western, 1996).

The Western Cape is also considered one of the last vestiges of white political power in South Africa, as the National Party (NP) managed to win the province in the country's first non-racial, democratic election in 1994. To no small degree, the architects of apartheid owe their only major electoral success to mixed-race voters, as Coloured uncertainty over their future status in a "new" South Africa was seized upon by the National Party. Taking seriously the popular adage "better the devil you know, than the devil you don't", campaigns conducted by the NP discouraged Coloured opposition by presenting African National Congress policies on language rights and affirmative action as a threat to the material and cultural well-being of mixed-race communities in the Western Cape. Ironically, these campaigns were most effective in Coloured rural areas of the province, as well as sprawling, urban mixed-race townships in the Cape Flats, where living conditions are harsh and have much in common with African-speaking communities across the country.

But divide and rule strategies are not new to either mixed-race peoples residing in the Western Cape, or the successive white governments that have controlled the area

since the first settlers landed in 1652. Indeed, the emergence of a distinct Coloured identity cannot be separated from the divisive tactics employed by both the British and Dutch regimes throughout the Cape colony's history. Moreover, with the rise to power of the National Party in 1948, the philosophy of divide and rule was further institutionalized by apartheid legislation overseeing residential segregation, racial job preferences, and separate and unequal education.

In the area of higher education, universities created by the apartheid state were specifically designated for particular racial-ethnic groupings in South Africa (Gwala, 1988). Such was the case with respect to the University of the Western Cape; a post-secondary institution legislated for the education of mixed race people.

In this chapter, the apartheid government's decision to create the University of the Western Cape is presented as part of an overall strategy to inhibit potentially dangerous political alliances from developing between Coloured and African-speaking peoples. A central component of this strategy involved the establishment of ethnic "bush" universities in South Africa designed to produce credentials in line with occupational positions within the civil sector specifically designated for Coloured, Indian, and African-speaking peoples, respectively.

Yet, as E. P. Thompson eloquently reminds us, 'no ideology is fully absorbed' (Thompson, 1968, p. 431), and despite the often brutal efforts of the white minority government to enforce divide and rule legislation, apartheid was not capable of breaking the spirit of the majority of South Africans. The concluding section of Chapter 1 will thus furnish a brief overview of the emergence of both the Black Consciousness Movement in

South Africa and the radicalization of UWC students in the 1970s leading to the appointment of the institution's first "black" Rector. Finally, a breakdown of the ideological currents influencing the rewriting of university's Mission Statement in 1982 which resulted in the establishment of the first non-racial, open admissions policy in South African tertiary education will be provided.

The Emergence of a Coloured Identity in the Western Cape

By the early eighteenth century, the Western Cape region was a veritable potpourri of religions, languages and cultures, as English, French, Portuguese, and Scandinavian merchant mariners, as well as Huguenot and Dutch settlers, commingled with local Khoikhoi pastoralists and diverse slave populations from Indonesia, India, Sri Lanka, Madagascar, and Mozambique (Thompson, 1990). Moreover, with signing of the peace settlement in 1814, British sovereignty was declared over the Cape colony resulting in a new influx of immigrants from England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland.

According to noted South African historian, Leonard Thompson, out of the countless sexual unions between white men and slave or freed slave woman, emerged a "..."black" population of the colony [which] became considerably lightened, and [a] "white" population [which] became somewhat darkened" (Thompson, 1990, p. 45). Nevertheless, despite the blurring of the color line, a complex racial hierarchy in the Cape was firmly established by the turn of the nineteenth century, as 1904 census data distinguished between three clearly defined groups: White, Bantu (native) and Coloured (Goldin, 1987a). The last category was sloppily conceived as "all intermediate shades between the first two", indicating the degree to which the term Coloured had not yet fully

encompassed a distinct cultural identity based on language, religion and other cultural practices.[3]

The majority of Coloured people during this period were employed as unskilled and industrial laborers, as well as servants. However, in part because of their vulnerability to wage undercutting by African-speaking workers flooding into the Cape, Coloureds began making their way into the ranks of artisans and the semi-skilled. Unfortunately, Coloured artisans found little job security or social mobility, as white-controlled unions rife with prejudice, forced mixed-race workers to increasingly rally around a reconstituted ethnic identity in order to survive economically. This identity was based on a common language (patois Afrikaans) and the religion of Islam.

The assertion of a Coloured identity specifically excluded African-speaking or Bantu peoples residing in the Cape for a number of reasons. The first involved a long-standing practice of South African society: residential segregation. In the Cape, the impetus for the establishment of segregated townships can be traced to a plague epidemic which ravaged the region in 1901 and provided the authorities with a convenient excuse to cordon off African-speaking peoples in compounds far removed from white city residences. Fearing a similar fate, a stratum of educated and enfranchised Coloureds began to organize in an effort to stop the City Council of Cape Town from segregating all non-Europeans. Hence, as Goldin points out, "the assertion of a distinct Coloured identity became a means by which to mobilize in defense of the erosion of franchise, trade-union and residence rights" (Goldin, 1987a, p. 161).

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[3] Census of the Cape of Good Hope, 1904, G19-1905, 10.4, para. 102.

The second reason underpinning the emergence of a distinct Coloured identity concerns the popularity of Victorian ideologies of the day and the embracing of social Darwinism as the basis by which the British High Commission in South Africa hierarchically ranked human beings according to their racial origins. While African-speaking peoples were viewed as occupying the bottom of the human evolutionary chain. Coloureds – although branded as mutant offspring and representative of a threat to white civilization in South Africa -- nevertheless possessed some European blood. and were therefore considered superior to their Bantu counterparts. The notion of superiority would be used by Coloureds throughout the twentieth century to protect themselves in the face of severe racism. often at the expense of forming crucial alliances with African-speaking communities and organizations.

Divide and Rule Strategies and the Birth of Apartheid

One of the chief objectives of the British High Commissioner of South Africa was to "...teach Coloured people to give their loyalty to the White population" (Magubane. 1979. pp. 10-11). Insisting that classifying Coloureds as Bantu would "..force them away from their natural allegiance to the Whites and mak[e] common cause with the Natives (Ibid.), Cape governments during the first half of the twentieth century sought ways to drive a wedge between mixed-race and African-speaking peoples in the region. This was accomplished through legislation such as the Urban Areas Act in 1923, which exempted Coloured persons from having to carry compulsory pass books for non-whites.[4] Moreover, as residential segregation and other prison-like controls continued to

[4] Native (Urban Areas) Act, No. 21 of 1923, Section 28.

negatively impact on the lives of African-speaking peoples, recognition of the relative privileges bestowed upon Coloureds contributed to the strengthening of a mixed-race identity in the Cape. Thus, by the 1930s, Coloured exemptions from influx control mechanisms as well as legislation governing urban segregation for African-speaking communities, generated a wide material and cultural gulf between mixed-race and Bantu peoples.

Equally significant, political organizations representing the respective racial-ethnic groupings based their membership on exclusionary criteria, which served to reinforce Coloured isolation from the mainstream of black (African) resistance in South Africa. With the National Party coming to power in 1949, the architects of apartheid initiated legislation that heightened Coloured alienation from African-speaking communities. Moreover, the Population Registration and Group Areas Acts of 1950, as well as the Separate Representation of Voters Bills of 1951 and Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, significantly disenfranchised Coloureds and ensured their complete segregation in the Western Cape.

The National Party ideologues argued that by separating Coloured communities from other racial-ethnic groups, such conditions would nurture an identity distinct from both European and African cultures. However, lurking behind the assertion that apartheid would eventually lead to a separate mixed-race nation were a host of measures operating in the Western Cape which guaranteed that "[t]he fortunes of Coloureds were...inversely related to the predicament of Africans" (Goldin, 1987a, p. 172). By the late 1950s, a Coloured labor preference policy was firmly entrenched in the Western Cape, as African-

speaking workers were not allowed to reside in the region unless they received permission from the apartheid government and were occupying positions in which Coloureds were unable or unwilling to fill.

The Creation of the University of the Western Cape

An important corollary of the apartheid project involved the passage of the Extension of University Education Act in 1959, enabling the establishment of a number of racial and ethnic post-secondary institutions.[5] The following year, the University of the Western Cape was created for the education of "Cape Coloured, Malay, Griqua or other coloured group persons".[6] According to the first Rector of the university, Afrikaner J. G. Meiring, UWC was established out of an obligation by 'the white guardian to provide an institution for his Coloured ward so as to inspire them with an ambition to serve his fellow men'.[7]

Despite the paternalistic rhetoric, the establishment of UWC -- like other ethnic post-secondary enclaves under Extension of University Education Act -- was intended to fragment "black" opposition to apartheid along racial-ethnic lines through a combination of repressive controls and promises of economic opportunities within the civil services (Gordon, 1957; Wolpe, 1995). Gordon concludes that the new racial and ethnic universities were "...meant to produce the administrative corps for the bantustan and

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[5] In addition to the University College of the Western Cape, the University College of the North (for Sotho, Tswana, Tsonga and Venda students), the University College of Durban (for Indian students), and the University College of Fort Hare (for Xhosa students) constituted the four institutions covered under the Extension of University Education Act of 1959.

[6] UWC: A University in Action, 1989, p. 4.

[7] Ibid.

department of Indian Affairs and Coloured Affairs bureaucracies and to assist...in the project of separate development (Gordon, 1957, p. 8). To this end, historically "black" universities such as UWC were restricted to fields of study heavily concentrated in the social sciences, humanities, and in particular, education (Wolpe, 1995).

For the first decade of UWC's existence, the college functioned according to the dictates of the apartheid government. Senior academic appointments, as well as the university's administration and Senate, were monopolized by conservative whites and student protests were relatively absent. However, in 1973 Coloured students began to organize and challenge the racist practices endemic on campus, resulting in a number of suspensions and expulsions, and the closure of UWC for a short period. These events coincided with the mass mobilization of workers and students elsewhere in the country and the emergence of the Black Consciousness (BC) Movement.

Black Consciousness and the Transformative Years at UWC

The Black Consciousness Movement had its roots in student protest from 1968 to the time of its banning by the apartheid regime in 1977. Its central tenet involved organizing oppressed members of South African society under a redefined concept of Blackness encapsulating African-speaking, Coloured and Indian communities, and the outright exclusion of whites from participating in BC politics. On a psychological level, the BC movement was forged to counter a subservient or slave mentality generated by years of degradation under apartheid via the inculcation of a positive "black" world-view

in South Africa.[8] On a political level, the BC movement emerged out of a dissatisfaction with the paternalism of liberal university organizations dominated by white students. In response, "black" students formed the South African Students Organization (SASO).

At UWC, students fueled by Black Consciousness activism and supported by a small but dedicated group of staff, pushed for anti-racist reforms on campus. In 1975, Professor Richard van der Ross, UWC's first "black" Rector was appointed. During this same period, conservative faculty in senior positions at UWC began to give way to more progressive staff. By the end of the decade, white conservatives had lost the political battle over the institution's administration and Senate.

Following the Soweto uprising, political struggles by UWC students intensified on campus between 1976 and 1980. In 1980, clashes between security forces and UWC students further radicalized the university and coincided with public school boycotts in the Western Cape. These clashes symbolized a new era at UWC, as student protest on campus became more clearly linked to the national-liberation struggle. In effect, student confrontations at UWC with security forces enhanced the institution's standing as a progressive institution and forged new and broader linkages with anti-apartheid campaigns occurring in "black" communities in the Western Cape and elsewhere in the country. Conversely, the change in senior leadership at UWC, and the interruption of

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[8] Black consciousness was defined by Steve Biko and others as "irreversible process of self-understanding and self-assertiveness of black people in the face of an oppressive socio-political structure imposed by a white government; a philosophy that translates itself into active opposition to government policies intent on estranging black people from themselves and therefore an active resistance to every form of injustice meted out of to blacks, a philosophy which expresses black solidarity. Refer to Volume 2 of The Struggle for South Africa: A Reference Guide to Movements, Organizations and Institutions, (Davies, O'Meara, Dlamina, 1984), pp. 302-308.

classes, was condemned by the white owned media, the business community, and apartheid officials.[9]

In 1982, progressive faculty and staff -- some of whom rose out of the ranks of university's student body in the 70s – persuaded UWC's Senate to reject the institution's mandate under apartheid. With the rewriting of its Mission Statement in 1982, the university laid down the foundation for South Africa's first non-racial, open admissions policy in higher education. Spearheaded by Professors J. F. Durand and Jakes Gerwel (a future Rector of UWC), the one-page document entitled UWC Objectives (1982) listed a number of conditions which forced the university to alter its policies and academic programs in light of the ongoing national-liberation struggle against apartheid.

Among the most important issues discussed in the mission statement were 'the university's rejection of the politico-ideological grounds on which it was established: a recognition of the predominance through a large and very significant part of UWC's traditional hinterland of a lifestyle and circumstances which may be described as Third World; and an acknowledgment of the coexistence of First and Third World lifestyles as an insistent fact of South African society' (See Appendix). UWC Objectives also asserted that one of the university's most pressing tasks was to find ways to support the development of the Third World communities in South Africa.

Essential to this commitment was the expansion of research based on building effective outreach programs in community development, health, legal assistance, and adult and workers' education. But UWC's institutional transformation was not merely

based on enhancing research in the area of community relations and the development of services. Equally significant was its radical change in pedagogy and policy articulated in the last paragraph of the Mission Statement: "the main prerequisite for the fulfillment of the university's commitment is that the admission of the students and the appointment of lecturers and researchers to universities should in no way be restricted on the grounds of race, color or ethnicity" (UWC Objectives, 1982).

With this simple statement UWC dramatically altered the landscape of tertiary education in South Africa by adopting an open admissions policy whereby any student regardless of his/her racial classifications under apartheid was eligible to attend UWC. The only requirements for acceptance to UWC were those established under South African law guiding admissions to post-secondary institutions: that being proof of high school graduation for diploma programs or the completion of a standardized, national high school exiting exam for degree programs.

The option to employ additional standards for admissions to tertiary education in South Africa, such as the stipulation of a C or better in the national high school matriculation examinations, had long been exercised by predominantly white universities intent on excluding large numbers of students of color from attending their institutions. UWC, on the other hand, was fully cognizant of the fact that eradicating the use of additional criteria for admissions -- beyond those established by law -- would open the doors of higher learning to all South Africans, but especially African-speaking students

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[9] I am indebted to Professor Nicky Morgan's written account of UWC's history in UWC: A University in Action, 1989.

denied sufficient access to tertiary institutions outside of the apartheid designated "homeland" or bantustan universities.

From an ideological perspective, shedding its image as an exclusively Coloured institution based on the apartheid policy of separate development meant that UWC could more effectively function as institution in support of mass struggle and national-liberation in South Africa. In doing so, UWC's commitment to Third World communities went far beyond merely opening its doors to African-speaking students in the Western Cape and elsewhere in the country. It also encompassed major reforms in pedagogy.

According to Durand, underlying UWC's transformation were the following ideological and pedagogical goals: `the democratization of education through the negation of Apartheid education by making pedagogy relevant to the democratic struggles of the people; the achievement of a high level of education for everyone; the development of a critical mind that becomes aware of the world; bridging the gap or chasm between natural science and the humanities and between manual and mental labor' (Durand, 1990).

With the rewriting of its mission statement, UWC initiated sweeping reforms guiding admissions, pedagogy and research. None of these changes would have occurred if not for the efforts of Coloured students, faculty and staff who fought hard in the 1970s and early 80s against the kinds of institutionalized racism embedded within the governing structures of the university.

It wasn't long before the university was assailed by the apartheid government. Central to their attack on UWC was the slicing of state subsidies to the public institution.

Ironically, while opposed to the policies of apartheid, UWC was nevertheless dependent on the National Party government for its funding, raising serious questions about why the university decided to serve as an ideological site for political mobilization against the regime? The answer is linked to efforts by anti-apartheid activists and scholars throughout the 1980s to merge theory with praxis in South Africa, by delineating strategic areas within civil society – such as universities -- capable of bringing together different racial-ethnic groups in conflict with the National Party regime.

This counter-hegemonic model of political contestation could not have blossomed at UWC, however, if the Black Consciousness Movement had not been replaced by more inclusive forms of protest in the Western Cape based on the concept of non-racialism. Providing a critical working definition of this concept within the context of both UWC's decision to oppose the apartheid government, and the changing macro-political and economic environment in the Western Cape region, will constitute an essential component of the next chapter.

Chapter 2

Non-Racialism, Civil Society and the Structural Limits of Segregation in the Western Cape

In response to the growing discontent expressed by anti-apartheid opposition such as the Black Consciousness Movement, and to the failure of the apartheid state's "total strategy" to quell mass struggle,[10] the National Party made concessions in the early 1980s. In an effort to appeal to "black" communities residing in "white" areas comprising the so-called Republic of South Africa,[11] the apartheid state implemented a number of reformist strategies. For example, between 1978 and 1982, 'state spending on African education in "white" areas increased by 130%, while expenditures on Coloured education during the same period rose by 64%' (Bundy, 1986, p. 9).

Increases in state spending was based in part on the recommendations made by the respective Riekert, Wiehahn, and De Lange Commissions. Among the most important recommendations was the assertion that South African industry required more "blacks" at semi-skilled, skilled, clerical and managerial levels, which necessitated that the apartheid government accept the existence of a more permanent African-speaking

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[10] The total strategy referred to an ambitious plan developed in 1977 by the National Party in an attempt to bring together all elements of the South African elite ranging from politicians, big businessmen, bureaucrats and soldiers in order to defeat the threat of communism. Essential to this objective was the centralization of planning and the coordination of the military and administrative state functions, as well as a call for the media to help shape public policy by reporting on the causes of rebellion and the positing of reforms leading non-violent, evolutionary change. Refer to Apartheid's Rebels, (Davis, 1987), pp. 158-164.

[11] It is important to the note that the homelands or bantustans officially designated by the apartheid government for African ethnic groupings were not included in the Republic of South Africa.

urban population residing in areas comprising the Republic of South Africa (Hyslop, 1988).

In 1983, the apartheid state introduced a Tricameral parliamentary system granting Coloured and Indian populations limited representation alongside the white ruling minority. In addition to 'the constitutional proposal to seat representatives of Coloured and Indian communities in two additional houses of parliament, the apartheid state also introduced the Koornhof Bills. The bills guaranteed stronger influx control laws and local government structures which provided the establishment of autonomous municipal institutions in the African townships' (Swilling, 1988). It was hoped by making such changes that opposition to apartheid would become fragmented and more stratified.

Not only were the reformist policies expected to increase tensions between different racial-ethnic groupings, but they were also designed to intensify 'conflict and competition over residential rights between permanent urban dwellers versus migrants looking for employment in the cities; as well as between workers vying for collective bargaining agreements; and between an emergent educated, petty-bourgeoisie and the working class' (Hyslop, 1988, p. 189). The result of the constitutional reforms however, would prove to have the opposite effect on resistance politics in South Africa, as a broad based oppositional movement began forming a year before the introduction of elections for the Tricameral parliament in 1984.

Non-Racialism and the Rise of the United Democratic Front

Out of the growing opposition to state reforms, emerged the United Democratic Front (UDF); a broad coalition consisting of trade unions, youth organizations, student movements, women's groups, churches, civic associations, political parties and a range of support and professional organizations. Initially, the political objectives of the UDF centered around a national campaign featuring door-to-door canvassing to enlist support for a boycott of the 1984 Tricameral parliament elections. However, after successfully enticing poor national voting turnouts, the UDF initiated a civil disobedience campaign at the local levels through a combination of street protests, rent and consumer boycotts, and limited political confrontations (Berger and Godsell, 1988; Brewer, 1989; Swilling, 1988).[12]

In the Western Cape, a substantial faction of the government-banned Black Consciousness (BC) Movement threw their support behind the United Democratic Front (UDF). What made the UDF different from other anti-apartheid organizations like the BC Movement, was its non-racial and multi-class composition, loosely held together by a common belief in a national democratic program expressed by the South Africa's Freedom Charter.[13] Of particular importance to the transition from a racially exclusive

[12] These tactics fell broadly under the heading of "peoples' power", as alternative organs were created to undermine the moral authority of the apartheid state. The strategy of "mass conscientization" and political mobilization included the establishment of street and area committees responsible for administrative, judicial, educational and cultural functions, and included the running of community newspapers, initiating community policing and people's courts, as well as awareness groups featuring debates, plays and poetry readings.

[13] The Charter, represented a compilation of written suggestions produced by political and cultural organizations scattered all over the country, and was edited and drafted by a small committee and reviewed in the ANC's National Executive. In 1955, the Freedom Charter was accepted by the Congress of People. According to Nelson Mandela, "like other enduring political documents,...the Freedom Charter is a

mode of protest associated with the BC movement. to the non-racial approach developed under the UDF, was the Freedom Charter's emphasis on individual (rather than group) rights, and its rejection of all forms of discrimination based on race, color or sex.

Whereas the BC movement had excluded whites from participating, the UDF had committed itself to "uniting all people, wherever they may be in the cities and countryside, the factories and mines, schools, colleges, and universities, houses and sports fields, churches, mosques and temples, to fight for our freedom" (Barrell, 1984, p. 13). Their ideological position stressed the potential for collaboration of communities. regardless of race or class, thereby embracing white participants who supported the national-liberation struggle against apartheid. Thus, Bloch concludes that UDF's non-racial emphasis was profound and contributed to 'extending the reach and scope of alliances that could be created, in addition to increasing the skills available to organizations' (Bloch, 1992, pp. 282-3).

The inclusion of whites in broad-based political coalitions was but one factor contributing to the radicalization of the Western Cape. Equally significant, was the manner in which UDF's non-racial coalition fostered Coloured activism in the Western Cape throughout 1980s. While the Black Consciousness Movement's redefined notion of "blackness" became the symbol by which UWC students identified with the national-liberation struggle in the 70s, mixed-race communities overall did not embrace the label. One reason for this involved a recognition that there was less insulation between the

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mixture of practical goals and poetic language. It extols the abolition of racial discrimination and the achievement of equal rights for all. It welcomes all who embrace freedom to participate in the making of a democratic, non-racial South Africa". Long Walk to Freedom, (Mandela, 1994), pp. 160-162.

boundaries dividing Coloureds and whites than those separating mixed-race and African-speaking communities (Goldin, 1987b). Common languages (Afrikaans and English), and what was punitively deemed by apartheid laws as "acceptable" ancestry, contributed to the tendency for Coloureds to relate most with white cultural practices, while shunning anything "African" out of fear of being reclassified by the government.

With the emergence of the UDF, however, this historical barrier hindering Coloured opposition to apartheid was suddenly averted, and replaced by an ideology that did not require a declaration of Blackness in order to organize politically against the regime. As a result, Parent/Teacher/Student associations were formed in the Department of Education and Culture schools designated for Coloureds. Previously reactionary unions such as the Garment Workers and the Cape Teachers Professional Association, moved closer to embracing not only the Freedom Charter, but the ANC as well. And increasingly, Coloured cadres joined Umkhonto we Sizwe or MK, the military arm of the ANC (Gerwel, 1991).

Segregation and the Structural Limits of Non-Racial Protest in the Western Cape

Throughout most of the twentieth century, white governments have pitted Coloured and African-speaking peoples in the Western Cape against each other in competition for scarce resources. Moreover, apartheid legislation and the enforcement of residential segregation not only minimized contact between African-speaking and Coloured communities in the region, but had also fomented a history of misunderstanding, ignorance and manipulation. With the shift in political emphasis from a "black" identity to a non-racial ideology accompanying both the rise of the United

Democratic Front in 1983 and the unbanning of the ANC in 1989, the complex and often antagonistic history between mixed-race and African-speaking communities was more-or-less side-stepped. As a consequence, support for the ANC grew amongst the Coloured youth on the streets and within Cape Town public schools.

Historically, the ANC had played a minimal role in the Western Cape for a host of reasons. The number of African-speaking people residing in the province was relatively small due to apartheid legislation and influx control measures. In addition, those migrant workers who did manage to find employment in the Cape, tended to support the Pan African Congress (PAC). Also, Coloured political organizations that dominated the area for decades such as the Unity movement, developed a critical stance towards the ANC and their policies. Yet, as state repression increased in the region, Coloured students began mobilizing around UDF/ANC positions.[14] By 1986, the United Democratic Front aligned National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC), asked boycotting "black" students to return to the public schools and transform them from within. The change in oppositional strategy from boycott to participation within the educational system, was linked to the reforms underlying the De Lange Commission which --- regardless of its divisive intentions -- expanded educational opportunities for "black" students in the early 1980s.

Despite this positive development, segregation in the Western Cape continued to limit contact between Coloured students attending DEC (Department of Education and

[14] For example, in a leaflet issued in Cape Town in the Fall of 1985, slogans such as "we are 'Xhosas', 'Zulus', 'Coloureds', 'Indians' and 'Malays' no more" were popularized. In the DEC schools designated for Coloured students, press reports of youth meetings were 'punctuated with cries of "Viva ANC" and graffiti on the walls of Coloured suburbs and townships celebrated Mandela and Tambo' (Bundy, 1986).

Culture) and their African-speaking counterparts in the DET (Department of Education and Training) system. As a result, student unity in the Western Cape during the mid-1980s 'did not extend to significant joint actions between the DEC and DET students' (Bundy, 1986). Moreover, deep divisions within the student movement in the Cape Town were created by the apartheid state's decision to threaten to wipe out the entire school year for Coloured students in 1985, if they chose to boycott writing matriculation examinations. While in DET schools, more flexible arrangements were granted African-speaking students.

With the lifting of the school boycotts in 1986, the division between DEC and DET students in the Western Cape over participation in the writing of the matriculation examinations was no a longer a pressing issue. Nonetheless, the apartheid state's use of divide and rule tactics serves to illustrate an important distinction between the ideology of non-racialism, on the one hand, and the segregated nature of resistance politics in the Western Cape, on the other. When Western Cape students were asked to develop a platform for People's Education based on ideologically transforming the public high schools from within, Coloured and African-speaking youths were not directly engaged in the struggle together. Instead, protest by youths in the Western Cape were organized within separate educational systems.

It was therefore not possible, given the segregated nature of student resistance and the manipulative and divisive tactics by the National Party, for a non-racial ideology to overcome the cultural and historical barriers separating Coloured and African-speaking communities in the Western Cape. Nor, as Bundy noted, was it likely that the

student/youth movement could 'form a powerful and effective reformist pressure group in South Africa, as resistance in the apartheid schools was impermanent and discontinuous' (Bundy, 1986, pp. 29-30).

Bundy's insights drew on the work of Eric Hobsbawm, who argued that in times of severe economic and political crises, a rapid increase in the number of students in society could lead to the development an intellectual class capable of producing radical reforms (Hobsbawm, 1973). While Bundy's view of the youth movement in the Western Cape clearly indicates that high school students were unable to converge across racial-ethnic lines to produce revolutionary change, his analysis raises the question of whether a powerful and effective class of intellectuals and activists, operating within the more established ranks of professional and legal organizations, trade unions, churches and universities, could bring about substantial reforms in civil society?

The Illegitimate State and Counter-Hegemonic Strategies

Although the UDF's role in the Western Cape was considerable, the apartheid state's brutal reaction also accelerated support for the ANC in the region. Beginning in 1985, a series of state of emergencies was initiated by the apartheid government in response to the ongoing economic recession in South Africa brought on by school, rent and consumer boycotts, work stoppages and international sanctions. On October 26 of that same year, a state of emergency was declared for the entire Western Cape province which was in turn, followed by a nation-wide declaration of emergency in June of 1986.

To situate the seemingly contradictory fusion of overt repression and reformist tendencies underscoring the South African political environment in 1980s within a

theoretical perspective, it is useful to refer to the influential writings of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci. In his Prison Writings (1971), Gramsci expands on Lenin's concept of hegemony in an effort to account for the absence of workers' revolutions in advanced capitalist countries in the early twentieth century. Gramsci concluded that unlike revolutionary struggles in developing countries, which tended to revolve around a "War of Movement" strategy featuring a full frontal assault against an authoritarian state. advanced capitalist nations were less likely to experience revolution.[15]

Gramsci attributed the lack of violent state overthrows in advanced capitalist countries to the hegemonic or consensus-building role played by institutions of civil society. For Gramsci. institutions such as the media, the church, and the legal and educational systems. allowed for limited access and participation by the masses seeking concessions from the state. and whose demands often concerned shorter work days. greater parliamentary representation, and enhancing educational opportunities, etc. If. in the process of contestation and negotiation within institutions of civil society certain concessions were made. the masses would begin to view state apparatuses as legitimate arenas for democratic participation. While maintaining the basic exploitative economic arrangement underlying capital accumulation, negotiated settlements of this sort nonetheless legitimated the state and stabilized the dominant social order. Hegemony was therefore established in advanced capitalist societies when negotiations between

[15] A War of Movement, according to Gramsci, occurs when a state is viewed by the masses as illegitimate as the social order is maintained through coercion (the police, the army, and secret service). For Lenin. such overt forms of oppression are likely to bring about revolutionary change as alliances between different factions of the masses (the proletariat and the peasantry, for example) form with the intention of overthrowing the state.

representatives of the masses and the ruling elite or power bloc took place within institutions of civil society.

Whereas domination in developing societies was often based on the coercive apparatus of the state (armed forces, police, secret services), hegemony in advanced capitalist countries ultimately hinged on the impulse for participatory democracy. Legitimacy was established if the masses were able to voice their grievances and contest government polices within institutions of civil society. Gramsci was careful, however, to stress that in capitalist nations with highly developed civil societies, the forms of institutional contestation were always in a state of flux, as they generated unforeseen contradictions that furnished the potential for radical change or co-optation. This scenario was particularly prevalent when the working class and their representatives employed what Gramsci called "War of Position" strategies in an effort to promote a critical consciousness amongst the masses that challenged the "common sense" or official explanations underlying state reforms geared towards legitimating its moral authority and power.

For Gramsci, broad-based social movements or united fronts entering into hegemonic institutions of civil society did so in order to transform the consciousness of the dominated classes. Participation, in turn, mobilized the masses to take action by establishing alternative structures and political spaces within state apparatuses that critically challenged and extended reforms. The success of these counter hegemonic strategies was contingent on whether civil society had sufficiently developed democratic practices within institutions such as the media, the legal and education system.

Without these institutions functioning as legitimate arenas open to participation by the masses, the state would be forced to rely on the brute force of the army and police to maintain social control. This approach could never entice the kind of democratic participation required to legitimate the state. Nor was it likely to nurture the development of an inclusive-enough civil society to garner mass support. Hence, if coercive measures were consistently employed by the state to dominate and control the masses, then institutions of civil society would be viewed as ideological extensions of repression, and therefore incapable of legitimating the authority of the state.

To now apply Gramsci's theorizing to the South African context, it can be argued that the 1980s witnessed a merging of War of Position and Movement strategies. On the one hand, government reforms such as increased state expenditures on "black" education, the legalization of "black" unions, and the inclusion of limited representation of "blacks" in parliament, furnished different segments of the dominated classes with access to institutional sites where contestation of the dominant ideology was permitted. The state's invitation was both taken up, and challenged by, the formation of the UDF as disparate oppositional interests groups rallied around a non-racial platform. On the other hand, the brutality underlying the numerous state of emergencies also kept the anti-apartheid opposition busy fighting the security forces on the streets and in the segregated townships (Kruss, 1987).

Civil Society and the Institutionalization of Mass Struggle at UWC

The apartheid state's tactics involving full frontal assaults on townships and communities, contrasted with its decision to engage with UDF/ANC aligned intellectuals,

trade unionists, activists and professionals, in a struggle over the future parameters of access to the state (Gerwel, 1988). Although reformist policies tailed off from 1983-84 as the economy worsened and anti-apartheid resistance increased, the state did not abolish every concession it had made underlying its effort to promote legitimacy. As a consequence, at the level of institutions, the reforms initiated in the late 70s and early 1980s generated 'new fields of struggle' within the apparatuses of the apartheid state that were more or less tolerated by the National Party. (Wolpe, 1988, p. 100).

Indeed, the combination of repression and reform which characterized the 1980s represented an important development in South African politics. It generated another level of resistance outside and above the violent terrain of the streets and in the townships, as activism and reform took place within the ideologically-contested realm of institutions of civil society penetrated by representatives of the UDF. Moreover, developments such as the NECC's call for students to stop the school boycotts, and the consolidation of trade unions under collective bargaining agreements in the mid-1980s, spurred speculation by some anti-apartheid activists and intellectuals that access to state apparatuses provided the possibility for mass or class struggle.

According to Harold Wolpe, the possibility of state reforms furthering mass struggle, depends on the extent to which the law protects the rights of the dominated classes to participate within institutions of civil society. Wolpe also cites as an important condition shaping the possibility for mass struggle, the institutional structure of the state vis-à-vis the degree to which access to its apparatuses 'isolates individual subjects from one another and individualizes conflicts' (Wolpe, 1988, p.57). Wolpe stipulates that state

schools and legislative assemblies furnish the best possibilities for radical change within civil society because 'they are premised on and depend upon, access of individual subjects or representatives brought into direct relationship with each other' (Wolpe, 1988, p. 58). Furthermore, state apparatuses such as schools and universities do not have an 'isolating effect on individuals, since they make participation a sine qua non of the functioning of the institutions and thus establishes an essential condition of the possibility of political participation' (Wolpe, 1988, p. 58). Finally, Wolpe also contends that when institutions of civil society have been altered by reforms that are protected under the law, 'the restructuring of the state permits consequences other than those intended by the regime' (Wolpe, 1988, p. 100).

Wolpe's theoretical account of access to South African institutions of civil society provides a framework to explain why anti-apartheid activists chose the University of the Western Cape as an ideological site to contest the apartheid state. During the 1970s, UWC became a battleground for Coloured students who increasingly identified with their African-speaking counterparts in resistance elsewhere in the country. The BC movement influenced student radicals attending UWC, including its future rector Jakes Gerwel, who would help rewrite the university's mission statement that ushered in open admissions on campus. By the early 1980s, an important strata of former students at UWC influenced by Black Consciousness politics were now active members of the university's faculty and political supporters of a UDF/ANC nexus.

Between 1982 and 1986, UWC underwent what could be described as a calm period before the storm, as the implementation of open admissions did not fully impact

on the running of the university until 1987. In fact, the apartheid state actually strengthened UWC's ideological position through the passage of the University of the Western Cape Act of 1983. Coming on the heels of the constitutional proposals for a Tricameral parliament, this Act granted UWC a greater degree of autonomy over the 'control, government, and executive authority of the University vested in the Council'. With the exception of the National Party maintaining the capacity to stack the Council with politically conservative appointments, the Act of 1983 granted UWC tremendous freedom over the day-to-day operations of the university -- especially in the areas of lecturers, departments, faculties and the senate being allowed to determine all curricula governing existing degree and diploma programs.

The battleground may have been set with the rewriting of the mission statement in 1982. However, it wasn't until Gerwel's inaugural speech as UWC's Rector in 1987, where he openly declared UWC to be the "intellectual home of the left", that the war of position between the state and the university truly began. The state's first overt act of aggression occurred when the Minister of Education and Culture, F. W. De Klerk (a future National Party Prime Minister of the country), attempted to impose conditions on the granting of subsidies in an effort to erode UWC's autonomy. UWC responded by taking the state to the Cape supreme court, where it received a favorable ruling, declaring the measures to be null and void. Interestingly, the apartheid state accepted the ruling without resorting to either loading the university's Council with apartheid supporters or drafting new regulations to meet their objective.

The National Party's response to UWC's legal challenge indicates the extent to which the apartheid state "legitimated" forms of resistance when they were articulated through the legal system, provided that contestation took place within institutions like universities that were under the government's economic control, or in organizations that were willing to take part in negotiated agreements, such as trade unions. Yet, the state's resolve to uphold the law was discarded when mass struggle erupted within communities and townships.

In May 1986, the police and the South African Defense force bulldozed and removed the Crossroads settlement on the outskirts of Cape Town despite a supreme court interdict restraining such actions (Kruss, 1987). Similarly, while headlines in daily newspapers frequently reported breakthroughs in South African courts which brought "new" rights and challenges to the state (Haysom and Kahanovitz, 1987), the Detainees' Parents Support Committee in the Western Cape estimated that 20,000 individuals had served detentions during the 1986 state of emergency.[16] Finally, while the apartheid state allowed established trade unions to hold indoor meetings despite the general ban on assembly, attempts to act in unison with community organizations were squashed. For example, when the UDF and Western Cape Teachers Union (WECTU) sought to exploit existing loopholes in the emergency regulations so as to win 'the right to hold lawful community meetings, the apartheid state repealed the regulations and then drafted new ones which restored the restrictions, just days before the case was to heard in court'.[17]

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[16] Kruss, 1987, p.177.

[17] Ibid.

A number of qualifications should be made at this juncture of the presentation. especially as its pertains to the macro-political context enveloping and shaping UWC's transformation. In no way should this examination of the relationship between UWC and the apartheid state be construed as an endorsement of the views expressed by some critics of university's transformation, such as the Neville Alexander and Andrew Nash. that a group of privileged intellectuals placed themselves in a position to inherit the vestiges of state power under a new dispensation.[18]

Such views not only diminish the real sacrifices made by progressive faculty members, but equally important, negate the struggles of mostly Coloured students who rose out to the ranks of UWC in the height of the Black Consciousness movement and worked tirelessly with people of all progressive political hues and colours towards a "realpolitik of engagement" organized according to a non-racial ideology. Moreover. one need look no further than Jakes Gerwel. the son of peasant farm laborers in the Eastern Cape, to understand the extent to which UWC provided opportunities for students coming from working class, poor and/or rural backgrounds to genuinely engage in the national struggle against apartheid.

Another qualification involves the rejection of a big brother-type theory surrounding perfectly planned National Party strategies that resulted in ANC activists being duped to serve the objectives of the white-ruling minority. There is little doubt that the ideological reformulation accompanying the apartheid state concessions created a

[18] Left critics of UWC's transformation, for example have noted with some ire the fact that Gerwel, along with Professor Durand, were part of a select group invited to attend meetings held in Lusaka in September 1986 to discuss future ANC policy and potential negotiations with the apartheid government. Refer to Nash (1993) and Alexander (1988).

number of contradictions and unintended consequences that were neither wholly anticipated by the National Party, nor capable of fully inhibiting educational institutions from serving as dynamic sites of mass struggle. For example, the state had no way of predicting that the National Education Coordinating Committee (NECC) would urge students to return to schools to complete high school, some 4 to 6 years after the reforms had been put in place which increased expenditures for "black" education. Nor was it possible for the state to foresee in 1986 that the NECC's strategy would coincide with a change in UWC's policy made four years earlier, resulting in a dramatic jump in the numbers of African-speaking students seeking admissions to the university from 1987 onwards.

Such events indicate that rather than merely reproducing the established racial order, the anti-apartheid political strategies developed in second half of the 1980s which aimed to enhance the parameters of access to the state allowed the University of the Western Cape to function as an important arena for political mobilization in South Africa.[19]

Having hopefully neutralized any intentions to view the university as either blindly serving the dictates of the National Party, or to portray members of its faculty as a politically, power-hungry interest group, the fact remains that its ideological transformation was constrained by structural limitations and contradictions related to both

[19] For example, during its most intense period of struggle with the state, UWC was engaged in the production of ANC policy concerning preparations to govern under a new dispensation. UWC's Education Policy Unit, created by external donor money in 1990, produced the section on "Higher Education" in the ANC's Policy Framework for Education and Training. Others examples include the appointment of high ranking ANC intellectuals and exiles to positions within the university, such as the future minister of law,

the nature of UWC's symbiotic economic relationship with the apartheid state, and the legacy of racial segregation in the Western Cape.

In the first place, the lack of social and political contact between Coloured and African-speaking communities in the Western Cape (which had contributed to the inability of the youth movement in the region to push for substantive reforms), remained a consistent deterrent to UWC's efforts to furnish a non-racial site for collective mobilization against the apartheid regime.

While the UDF's adoption of a non-racial ideology did indeed foster Coloured activism and support for ANC policies in mid-1980s, by the time mixed-race and African-speaking students were brought 'into direct relationship with each other' at UWC (Wolpe, 1988, p. 58), it became painfully clear that they did not share either a common political vision, or a deep-seated sense of comradeship.

Secondly, by opposing apartheid through the implementation of South Africa's first non-racial open admissions policy, UWC was subject to the contradictions inherent in biting the hand that fed the university, since it remained dependent on government subsidies to function as a public institution of higher learning. As Chapter 3 demonstrates, this structural limitation represented the single most influential factor underlying the provision of non-racial education at UWC, and severely hampered the institution's self proclaimed intentions of "building a people's university" in South Africa.

Dullah Omar, as well as the Rector and Chancellor's active involvement in community affairs in the Western Cape first through the UDF and later on via unbanned ANC.

When these two structural (segregation and state funding) limitations are considered, warnings involving the potential for civil society to remain 'a site for siphoning resources, warlordism and forms of ethnic division, which enhances conflict rather than participation in South Africa' (Bloch, 1992, p. 285), must be seriously taken into account when analyzing the impact of efforts to enhance the parameters of access to the University of the Western Cape.

Chapter 3

Building a People's University: Open Admissions, Fiscal Constraints and the Racial Politics of Scarce Resources

In the Western Cape, a non-racial ideology could not overcome the numerous historical misconceptions and prejudices between Coloured and African-speaking communities. In the case of UWC, non-racialism sent contradictory signals to mixed-race students. The university's transformation implicitly demanded that Coloureds affirm their political commitment to South Africa's Third World communities, by accepting that the hierarchical relations of domination under apartheid placed African-speaking peoples at the bottom of society.

While there was no disputing this fact, the university's commitment to redressing African-speaking students' disadvantages ultimately undercut the non-racial ideal supported by the majority Coloureds attending UWC. Moreover, this brand of non-racialism tended to highlight the relative privileges of Coloureds in comparison to the majority of African-speaking communities, at the expense of concentrating on the huge material gulf between both groupings and whites in South Africa.[20] Thus, when comparing UWC to the two historically white universities operating in the same region in 1988, the institution received only 36% of the funds allocated to the University of Cape

[20] For example, it has already been noted in Chapter 1 that in 1989 only 6 out of 1000 Coloured-students gained admissions to tertiary education, whereas 4 out of 1000 African-speaking students managed to enter post secondary institutions in South Africa. Compare these numbers to white admissions to tertiary education, which during the same period constituted approximately a rate of 30 out of 1000 (Gerwel, 1992), and it is not difficult to see why some Coloureds questioned the rationale behind UWC's transformation.

Town and 37% of the moneys received by University of Stellenbosch, yet its enrollment numbers equaled 88% of the former and 86% of the latter university (Pillay, 1992).

The fact that a disadvantaged Coloured institution, rather than the historically privileged, and liberal white universities, would provide 'a sort of laboratory situation for experiments involving non-racialism' (Gerwel, 1989), generated resentments, tensions and contradictions at UWC. I am not suggesting, however, that UWC should have waited for historically white universities in South Africa to implement an open door policy for "black" students before changing its own admissions criteria. I am merely pointing out that the university's adherence to a non-racial ideology – one which catered to the majority's sense of entitlement as a historical expression of deprivation under apartheid -- inadvertently pitted the demands for equality of opportunity by African-speaking students against an another oppressed grouping, rather than the oppressors themselves.

A Profile of the Changing Student Body:

As stated earlier, African-speaking students did not really impact on the university until 1987, since DET boycotts throughout the first half of 1980s limited the number of high school graduates in South Africa. However, between the period between 1986 to 1992 enrollment more than doubled. Unfortunately, with this dramatic development, the lack of direct involvement and contact between African-speaking and Coloured communities began to radically challenge UWC's non-racial ideology.

As an exclusively Coloured institution prior to open admissions, instruction was offered in both English and Afrikaans, allowing students and lecturers to switch back and forth depending on their level of familiarity with both languages. With the increase in the

number of African-speaking students attending UWC, the university had to rethink its bilingual policy for a number of reasons. Firstly, by 1991, university figures indicate that approximately 31% of UWC's total student body listed one or more African language(s) as their primary means of communication (refer to Figure 1).

Secondly, the majority of African-speaking students attending UWC had little familiarity with Afrikaans – the official language of South Africa during apartheid. Moreover, African-speaking students viewed Afrikaans as a colonial hangover of apartheid and as a matter of principle, refused to speak the language. Yet, doing away with Afrikaans and replacing it with English as the official medium of instruction did not necessarily guarantee a better learning environment for UWC students. Instruction in English at home and at school, for both rural-based Coloureds and most African-speaking students, was irregular and in some cases, non-existent.[21]

It wasn't long before UWC was forced to make a decision regarding which language(s) should serve as primary media of instruction. Since Afrikaans was the official language of the apartheid state and as such, had achieved national pariah status amongst African language speakers, UWC's bilingual policy was highly problematic for a university purporting to represent the non-racial educational aspirations of all South Africans. Yet, throughout the period of rapid expansion at UWC, Coloured students remained the largest single racial-ethnic grouping until 1994 (refer to Figure 4). Most listed either Afrikaans or a combination of Afrikaans and English as their predominant

[21] For a discussion of the difficulties confronting "black" students and teachers with respect to the use of English as a medium of instruction in South African public schools refer to "The Milieu Inside the School" (Odendaal, 1986) and "Language in Black Education: The Environment Outside the School" (Malefo, 1986).

mode of communication (refer to Figure 2). Thus, in addition to the 31% of the student body that spoke at least one African language in 1991, the breakdown of the language distribution at UWC was as follows: 38% Afrikaans speaking, 11% listing Afrikaans and English, and 20% identifying English as their home language (refer to Figure 1).

Although numerous recommendations would emerge surrounding language planning for a post-apartheid South Africa and the question of medium of instruction at UWC, English became the de facto academic language on campus. The reasoning behind this development was that English was viewed as the national linking language. It was also argued that Afrikaans-speaking students were more familiar and accepting of English than African language students were of Afrikaans, and as a result English represented the most accessible choice.

It was clear, however, from the experiences of departments in the Faculty of Arts such as sociology, that shifting to instruction in English continued to disadvantage African language speakers in a number of ways. Responses to a survey conducted in the sociology department in May 1992, for example, revealed that 85% of first year sociology students considered the writing of essays to be challenging" (Academic Development Research Project, Sociology Department, 1992). African-speaking students, in particular, had difficulty understanding assignment instructions written in English, often answering questions in point form, rather than completing short essays as requested. African-speaking students in sociology also expressed a greater anxiety and uncertainty concerning their performance, particularly with regards to their command of English and their written usage of the language, illustrating that they were well aware

Figure 1: Language Breakdown in Percentages of UWC Students in 1991

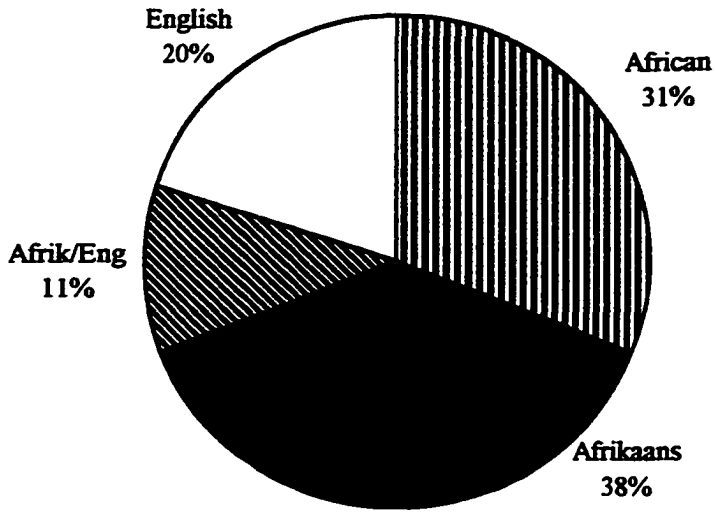
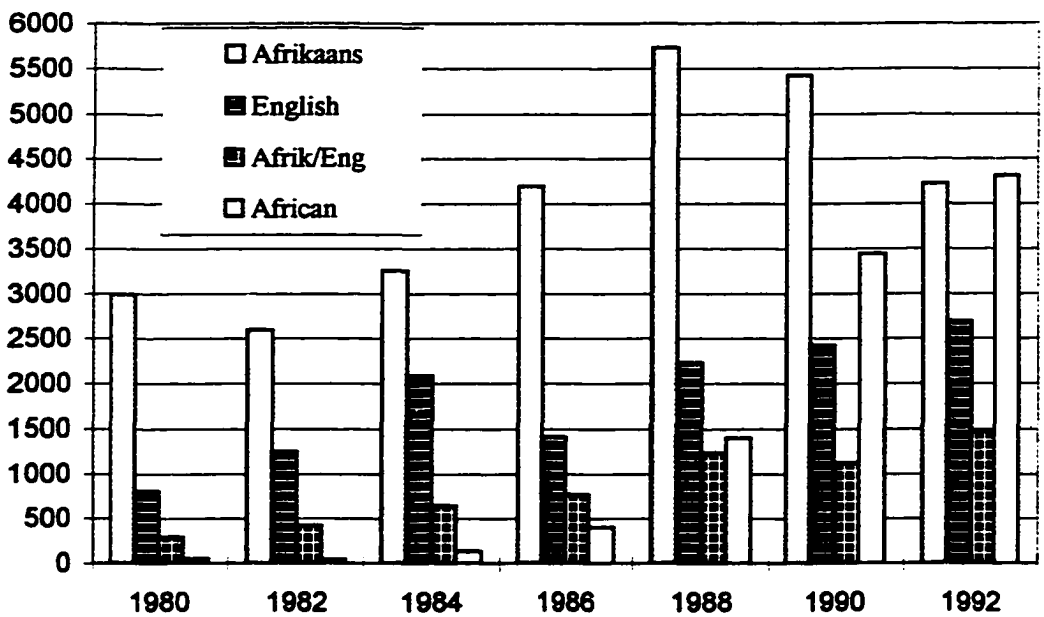


Figure 2: Language Distribution by Headcount of UWC Students (1980-1992)



Source: UWC Statistics, 1960-1993

of pitfalls of switching to English.

A 1991-92 survey conducted in the sociology department, revealed that nearly 60% of the Xhosa speaking students enrolled in the first year introductory course had obtained a grade of E in their national high school exiting exam results before entering the university. Furthermore, according to the final grades in June 1992, 49% of those students did not pass sociology 111 (Academic Development Research Project, Sociology Department, 1992). A problem frequently identified by the sociology department was the difficulty in developing independent, critical thought amongst their students because of the tendency of apartheid education to promote rote learning methods. This was especially true of DET schools where an emphasis on conformity and social control had reflected apartheid's racial ideology. Thus, when completing short essay assignments in sociology aimed at developing critical analytical skills, many African-speaking students exhibited "a rich mixture of plagiarism and misinterpretation in their responses, and problems formulating coherent arguments" (Koen, 1994).

The point here is not to stigmatize Xhosa or other African language speakers, since the language problem was not limited to African-speaking students. Indeed, a substantial proportion of Coloured students at UWC spoke Afrikaans as their first and in some cases, only language. Moreover, upon administering an English Proficiency Test at UWC in 1992, approximately 70% of entire first year cohort – regardless of their racial background -- required some form of academic support in English (On Campus, 1995, p. 1). Hence, what is of primary importance is the complexity of "disadvantage" amongst

UWC's student body, as well as the difficulties in identifying the constituent elements of the "language problem", and in developing a compensatory program to address these difficulties.

Proposing to switch over to English, for example, was tantamount to denying many Coloured students the right to learn in their native tongue. This was particularly disturbing for rural, mixed-race students who only received instruction in Afrikaans in public schools, and often represented the first generation in their family to attend university. Yet, as the number of African-speaking students continued to increase at UWC, focusing on instruction in English became the lesser of all evils.

African-speaking students would not accept being taught in Afrikaans, a language they vilified along with the minority white government and its colonial brand of nationalism. Unfortunately, with the possible exception of Xhosa, there were not enough qualified African-speaking teachers in the Western Cape to think about offering instruction in one of the 11 distinct African languages, nor were there translations available for such an approach to be carried out in any serious manner. In essence, English was chosen by default, with the university making a commitment to producing more texts in Afrikaans as well as Xhosa.[22] Yet, the idea of reducing the usage of Afrikaans at UWC was viewed by some Coloureds on campus as prioritizing the needs of African-speaking students, symbolizing that the position of mixed-race people within

[22] The choice of producing texts in Xhosa, instead of other African languages such Sotho, can be attributed to the fact the majority of African-speaking students attending UWC came from either the Eastern or Western Cape, where Xhosa was the predominate language amongst African communities residing in the two provinces. In addition, Xhosa speaking people represent the dominant ethnic group within the ANC power structure.

both the university and a future South African society, was in serious question. Consequently, UWC was faced with the possibility of alienating both racial-ethnic groupings regardless of its decision with respect to the university's media of instruction.

The tensions stemming from UWC's decision to switch over to English underscored the contradictory nature of non-racialism on campus.[23] Students' perceptions were that the "other" grouping (African-speaking or Coloured) was receiving the lion's share of material, symbolic and educational privileges. Suspicions surrounding the awarding of university busaries or grants, and residence accommodations, increasingly took on racial overtones. In addition, forceful tactics employed by African-speaking student leadership on campus, such as school boycotts over fee increases, further divided the student body along racial lines. These racial tensions and perceptions were not merely a product of segregation, but also resulted from the lack of resources available to UWC to deal with the rapid expansion of its student body.

State Subsidy Cuts and Enrollment Growth at UWC

Despite the government's unlimited powers during state of emergencies, the National Party carefully chose which legislation or judicial decisions it was prepared to adhere to, and which items it was willing to ignore or override. With respect to UWC, the apartheid state did not attempt to disobey or overturn the Cape supreme court's decision supporting the university's right to control its own affairs. Instead it used its power over

[23] An example of the racial friction on campus surrounding language usage was furnished in an interview with a well known Marxist philosophy professor at UWC, Andrew Nash, who spoke of an incident where African-speaking students in his course hissed when he briefly broke into Afrikaans to try to explain a point to a Coloured student having difficulty understanding his lecture (Nash interview, 1994).

tertiary funding to manipulate and contain the radical efforts of UWC. [24] This structural limitation underlying UWC's radical transformation meant that the National Party had a fundamental influence on the changes underwent at university.

Once it was evident that students were returning to the public high schools under the NECC theme of contesting and transforming them from within, the apartheid state quickly moved to limit the scope and quality of educational opportunities afforded an expectant and militant youth. The state knew that with the flood of students reentering the public schools in 1986, there would soon be an increased demand for access to post-secondary institutions. Having failed in the courts to deny subsidies to South African universities that disobeyed racial policies guiding admission to tertiary education, the apartheid state altered the subsidy formula to punish post-secondary institutions willing to open their doors to accommodate the increased demand for admissions. By basing all subsidy payments to South African universities on 1986 enrollment figures, the state made its position clear: if a university increased access from 1987 onwards, it would be cutting its own throat financially.

As a result of UWC's open admissions policy, between 1984 and 1991, enrollment jumped dramatically from 6,125 to 13,805 (refer to Figure 3). The brunt of student growth occurred within a four year period between 1987 and 1991, starting with an increase of over 2,000 in 1988. Another growth spurt occurred between 1993 (12,554)

[24] It can be argued that the apartheid state was engaged in a process of testing the ideological limits of mass representation within institutions of civil society. Since the university's capacity to enhance access for African-speaking students was contingent on the allocation of state funds, the legitimacy of UWC's version of mass struggle was inescapably tied to the dictates of apartheid state,. Indeed, while the apartheid state represented an illegitimate entity for the majority of South Africans seeking direct democratic representation, UWC's opposition to the National Party regime, ultimately required the state's sanction.

and 1995 (14,650). Equally important, the number of African-speaking students shot up from 6% (400) in 1986 to 33% (4,072) in 1992, and by 1995, 50% (7,276) of the total student population identified themselves as African-speaking (refer to Figure 4).[25] Not only would UWC be penalized for growing, the subsidy formula was also based on pass rates and the length of time it took for students to complete their studies. If a university's pass rates declined and/or students deviated from the three-year time period allotted each student to earn a BA, subsidy payments would be adversely affected. Although this change in the subsidy formula had an impact on all tertiary institutions in South Africa, the apartheid state was aware that UWC's effort to increase its intake of African-speaking students graduating from the worst funded public high schools in the country, would likely result in falling pass rates.

Of the 4,765 1st time entrants at UWC in 1988, slightly more than half, 2,492 (52.2%), received a result of a D or E on the national high school exiting exam (UWC Statistics, 1960-1993). While UWC would document that matriculation results below B and C grades were poor predictors of university success (Strebel, 1987), the fact remained the university's decision to select students from a large pool of candidates with D and E scores was not conducive to establishing high pass rates or solid three year graduation rates.

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[25] Interim Research Report: The Enhancement of Graduate Programs and Research Capacity at Historically Black Universities: University of the Western Cape, Section 3: Profile of student enrollments. Education Policy Unit, University of the Western Cape, 1996, p. 3.

Figure 3: Student Enrollment Growth at UWC by Headcount (1980-1995)

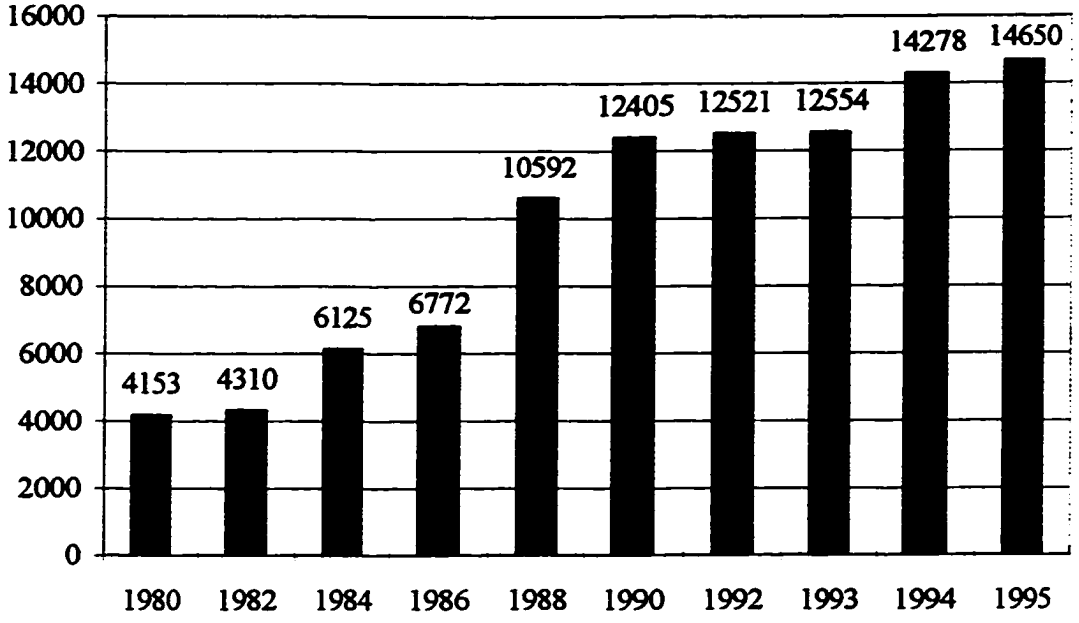
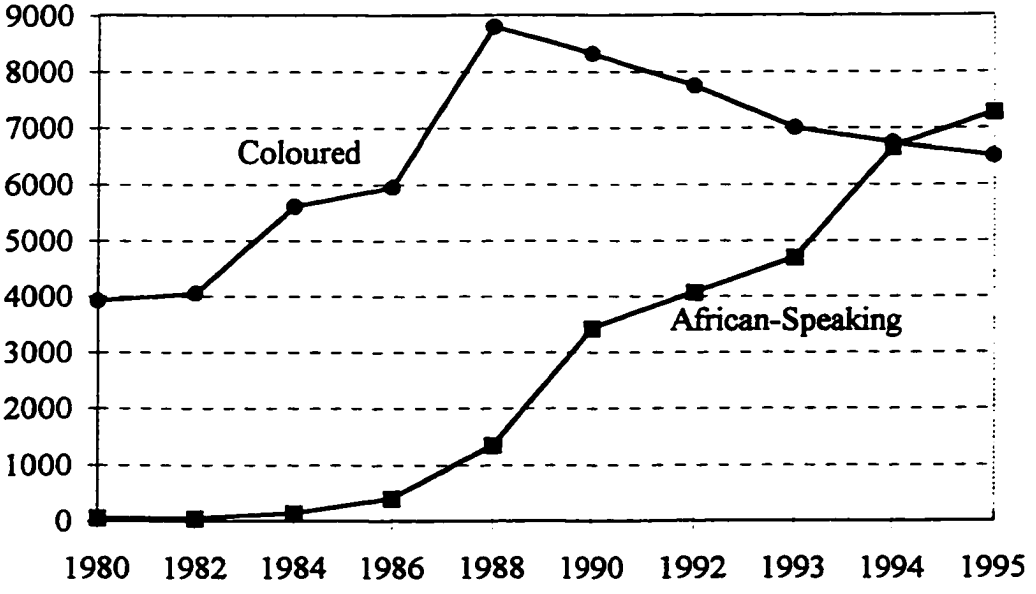


Figure 4: Coloured and African-Speaking Student Enrollments at UWC (1980-1995)



Source: Interim Research Report: The Enhancement of Graduate Programs and Research Capacity at Historically Black Universities: University of the Western Cape. Section 3: Profile of student enrollments. Education Policy Unit, University of the Western Cape, 1996.

The rapid increase in student enrollment, combined with declining pass rates, initiated a devastating series of subsidy cuts by the state. In 1989, for example, UWC suffered a 52% state subsidy cut. The next worse cut experienced by a South African university equaled approximately 25% (Gerwel, 1992). The cuts at UWC were so severe that during the period when enrollment doubled at UWC, the administration could only afford to increase its academic staff from 353 to 471 (Koen and Roux, 1992a, p. 1). Also, since the subsidy formula was weighted towards more favorable financing of postgraduates students, UWC along with other historically "black" universities, found themselves even further disadvantaged by the relatively small numbers of students enrolled in their postgraduate programs.

Student Boycotts and the Racial Politics of Scarce Resources

Despite the installation of Jakes Gerwel as the Rector, African-speaking students did not rally around UWC's call to help "build a people's university". Instead, as Maseko remarks, 'the politics of militant abstentionism were employed by students at UWC, who refused to take co-responsibility in the running of the university, while it was still under the control of an illegitimate South African state' (Maseko, 1994, p. 80). Moreover, with the dramatic growth of student numbers came infrastructural problems such as the need for the expansion and improvement of the university's teaching, library, residence and food facilities. In February 1990, it was estimated by the head of UWC's residences, that slightly over 2,000 students were without lodgings (Koen and Roux, 1992a). This situation prompted students without adequate resources to resort to squatting

in the residences, which fostered tensions and conflicts, as well as placing a greater fiscal burden on the university to find a way to accommodate the demands for housing.

African-speaking students were especially hard hit by the resource shortages, since many attending UWC resided outside the province and therefore had to pay not only the costs of tuition, but also residence and meal fees. A study of socioeconomic backgrounds, conducted by Koen and Roux (1992a), gave an indication of the enormous economic and educational obstacles facing "black", but in particular African-speaking students at UWC. The study, consisting of 775 students, with slightly over half (55.5%) of the participants identified as African, found that 62% of the respondents had parents who made less than 1,500 Rand (approximately $250 US) per month. 71% of the African-speaking students classified their fathers as unskilled, while about 62% of the Coloured students made such a claim.

Almost 77% of the African-speaking students stated that their fathers were receiving some form of welfare. The numbers were even worse when looking at the mothers of African-speaking students: 97% were employed as unskilled workers, while approximately 95% were receiving welfare benefits. Almost 66% of the respondents revealed that their families comprised between 3 and 6 children. Finally, approximately, 74% of the respondents listed busaries (grants) as the primary source of funding for their tuition fees.

UWC maintained one of the lowest tuition scales in the country. Yet despite the relatively reasonable costs, students would often come to UWC without any financial assistance whatsoever, and looked to the university for some support. For example,

although UWC managed to initiate a 1 million Rand loan fund for students in 1987, the university could only serve 790 of the 2400 students seeking assistance (Vice-Chancellor Report, 1987, p. 9). In 1991, it was estimated that student debt was 9 million Rand (Annual Financial Report, 1991). This amount did not include the backlog in unpaid student fees accumulated in the previous two years amounting to the tune of approximately 8 million Rand (Ibid.). Given UWC's chronic lack of resources, many students dropped out, while others incurred large debts for tuition and residence costs.

Faced with rising student debt, the administration had little recourse but to exclude those students who failed to pay outstanding fees. It also demanded partial up-front payments, as well as increasing the cost of university tuition by 30% and residence fees by 40%. In an effort to curb student debt in 1992, 'some 2,300 students were excluded because of their failure to service their debt, while another 700 were not allowed to register due to a combination of financial reasons and poor academic performance (de Swardt and Lever, 1992, p. 4).

The university's decisions precipitated a series of student boycotts starting in 1992. Boycotts had long been considered a respected tradition at UWC, either as a legitimate medium for protest against the Afrikaner-dominated administration in the late 1960s and 1970s, or equally important, as a vehicle to support student protests elsewhere in the country. Now this honored tactic was being turned against the ANC aligned administration of the most progressive university in the country.

The fiscal crisis on campus had a circular effect, as the state subsidy formula stipulated that 'a university whose student success rates dropped because of boycotts

would be automatically penalized financially' (Bulletin, Vol. 3, No. 1, 1992). The apartheid state was thus able to use the occurrence of student boycotts at UWC to further punish the university by reducing the amount of funds made available to operate and run the institution. Given the decline in state payments, the importance of student fees increased, as government subsidies were legally responsible for 81% of the university's running costs, with the balance collected mainly through the tuition fees (Vice-Chancellor's Report for 1989, p. 6). This is why the university was forced to demand that students furnish partial up-front payments, and also raise the costs of tuition.

The students' resort to boycott tactics placed the university's administration in an untenable position: if UWC capitulated to student protest and agreed to inherit further student debt, the institution would not be able to compensate for the reduction in state subsidies; but if it had confronted student debtors, UWC would have been forced to expel the kind of students its mission statement had pledged to support in struggle.

Given the economic obstacles especially facing African-speaking students, politics at UWC increasingly revolved around the acquisition of university busaries (grants), private grants, loans, employment opportunities and accommodations on campus. Consequently, as the number of African-speaking students enrolled at the university continued to rise, the political leadership overseeing academic boycotts was increasingly monopolized by those students living in campus residences. Hence, the student leadership at UWC often had a personal stake in avoiding fee increases and expulsion over outstanding debts, as well as a political interest in placating the demands of their core student supporters, fellow campus dwellers.

The change in composition of the student political leadership at UWC was an important factor underlying the contradictory manner in which a non-racial ideology precipitated tensions on campus. Prior to the arrival of African-speaking students at UWC, Afrikaans-speaking students residing in the Cape Flats, the platteland, and the Eastern Cape, had dominated student politics throughout the early 1980s (de Swardt and Lever, 1992). However, from the 1987 onwards, African-speaking students supporting SANSCO (the ANC youth movement) quickly took over the positions of student political leadership on campus. This change in leadership occurred despite African-speaking students failing to constitute a majority on campus until 1995.

Enrollment figures indicate that there were less than a total of 1,000 African-speaking students enrolled at UWC in 1987 (UWC Statistics, 1960-1993), yet their presence on campus had an immediate effect. African-speaking students' dominance can in part be explained by the influence of SANSCO on the university's Student Representative Council (SRC). SANSCO was nationally recognized as the leading student movement in South Africa, constituting the vanguard of youth politics in the country. In addition, because of its ideological alignment with ANC policy, UWC's administration generally supported the concept of "African leadership" as a natural consequence of majoritarian politics in South Africa, which tended to legitimize and reinforce the changes in student leadership.

By 1988, both English-and-Afrikaans-speaking Coloureds attending UWC were withdrawing from participating in student politics altogether. Between 1989 and 1992, the SRC carried around the title of interim, because of its inability to generate enough

electoral participation to confer its representative authority.[26] UWC's administration sought to explain the ceding of political space by Coloureds, on the basis of mixed-race students' political experiences. Gerwel, for example, asserted that 'whereas Coloured students in the Western Cape came out a tradition of theorizing, African-speaking students grew up with Casspirs and soldiers in the townships, and therefore experienced far more oppression and exploitation, which fueled their activism' (Die Berger, 1989).

Notwithstanding this claim, the clash between 'two political cultures -- one militant and confrontationalist, and the other less militant and theoretically oriented' -- is at best a partial explanation for growing Coloured apathy at UWC (Maseko, 1994). Gerwel himself acknowledged as much, when he concluded that 'the material reality of a social grouping of Coloured people, has political implications for the working out of non-racial unity. It is a reality that this group of people are treated differently legally and socially – with variations of degrees naturally – from other groups in South Africa, which must be recognized and worked through, in the same way that African-speaking students must work through it as well'. (Die Berger, 1989).

Resolving these differences, according to Gerwel, was for the most part, 'the prerogative and obligation of the students' (Die Berger, 1989). Holding such a position, however, avoided having to confront the fact that Coloured and African-speaking students did not share a common political definition concerning non-racialism. For most African-speaking students, non-racialism at UWC was another way of articulating the

[26] The lack of political participation by Coloured students, resulted in subsequent SRC elections failing to attain the 25% student voting turnout required to form a legitimate democratic body on campus until 1993.

demand for majority rule in a future democratic South Africa -- which invariably meant non-racialism under "African leadership".

This belief, according to Gerwel, 'flowed from the analysis in which the main component of national liberation was and must be, the liberation of the African majority, as the most oppressed and exploited group in society' (Die Berger, 1989). Gerwel's comment highlights the contradictory manner in which the application of a non-racial principle at UWC adhered to a hierarchy of oppression supported by appeals to democracy and majority rule. Since the politics of national-liberation in South Africa were based on prioritizing and redressing the needs of the majority, Coloureds were left in a kind of racial limbo, as only partial members of the oppressed, not historically deprived enough to warrant the same consideration under a non-racial ideology as an African majority. Given this somewhat untenable situation, it is not surprising mixed-race students opted out of participating in politics on campus.

Ironically, Gerwel's analysis of non-racialism reinforced the tendency for differences in material, symbolic and political resources at UWC to be couched in racial terms vis-à-vis Coloureds, on the one side, and African-speaking students, on the other. Yet, the university's ideological position was morally and politically premised on a rejection of race as legitimate criteria constituting a future national identity. Understandably, focusing on racial differences at UWC could have potentially 'undermined the moral fiber of the anti-apartheid struggle and played into the hands of those wanting to mobilize on racial or ethnic grounds' (Gerwel, 1989). Nonetheless, failing to confront the racial differences on campus – whether perceived or real – was

tantamount to relinquishing institutional control over forms of student protest that were undemocratic, and which violated the rights of the majority of students, who happened to be Coloured. Such was the case in 1992, when student boycotts disrupted classes and heightened racial tensions between Coloured and African-speaking students.

One of the major developments at UWC was the influx of African-speaking students who came from outside of Cape Town proper. As open admissions built up from year-to-year, African-speaking students living on campus quickly began to outnumber Coloureds residing in UWC dormitories. With the expansion of the residences in the late 1980s and early 1990s, it wasn't long before the active political student population was almost entirely comprised of African-speaking students.

The increase in tuition and the 40% hike in residence costs in 1992 at UWC, was a blow felt most by African-speaking students. While the tuition and residence fees increases were by no means a cause for celebration amongst Coloureds, the majority of mixed-race students were more likely to manage the extra economic burden better than their African-speaking counterparts. For example, in February 1992 registration figures indicate that almost 80% of students at UWC were able to pay in full, the up-front payment (600 Rand) demanded by UWC (de Swardt and Lever, 1992). The remaining 20%, consisting mostly of African-speaking students, were given the opportunity to pay 200 Rand upon registration, provided that they promised to give another 400 Rand by April 3, 1992. Subsequent negotiations between the interim SRC and the administration resulted in UWC allowing students to register if their debt did not amount to more than 2,000 Rand. In addition, students had the option of attempting to work out their own

individual arrangements with the university, as long as the made some sort of financial obligation to UWC. However, these concessions did not go far enough to satisfy certain sectors of the student body.

The focal point of student discontent over increases in fees was located in the university residences. On March 24, a mass meeting was held at UWC by mostly African-speaking students living on campus, resulting in the calling of a university-wide boycott. According to the meeting's resolution, a central aim of the boycott was to 'challenge the commitment and seriousness of the administration to transform UWC into the progressive home of the left' (Mass Meeting Resolution, 1992).

The political legitimacy of mass meetings at UWC had been a source of controversy for some time, especially since the university's SRC had been tagged with the label of interim. Because the SRC was not considered a true representative organ of the students, mass meetings would be called, and students would vote on issues such as whether to boycott classes. Since the main hall – where mass meetings were held -- was not equipped to hold more than 2,000 people at a time, important decisions would often be made by a minority of students. Indeed, 2/3^{rds} of the students in attendance would suffice to legitimate decisions effecting the entire student body (over 12,000 strong in 1992). Those in attendance of mass meetings were overwhelmingly African-speaking students, as most Coloureds were commuters living off campus. In addition, mixed-race students viewed this form of decision-making as undemocratic, and even dangerous to attend, depending on the unpopularity of their political views.

A survey conducted by de Swart and Lever in April 1992, based on 989 self-administered questionnaires given to students attending undergraduate classes in Sociology and Botany, revealed a 'deeply divided student body' with regards to the use of boycotts and mass meetings (de Swardt and Lever, 1992). Women and African-speaking students were over-represented in the survey. However, when controlling for home language, it is clear that racial differences played an important role shaping opinions involving student politics at UWC.

When students were asked if they 'agreed with the recent decision to call an academic boycott over student fees and exclusions', 47% (284) of Afrikaans and 71% (208) of English speaking students answered no. In contrast, 64% (352) of Xhosa and 68% (117) of other African language speakers stated that they agreed with the decision. Similarly, when asked whether they 'thought that mass meetings should have the power to call an academic boycott', 62% of English speaking students stated no, while 64% of Xhosa and 62% of other African speakers answered in the affirmative to the question. Finally, when asked if the administration's policies involving up-front payments and the student debt were handled fairly, 38% of Afrikaans and 53% of English speaking students answered "quite fairly", whereas 58% of those students who spoke an African language felt that the university's treatment was "unfair". [27]

[27] Language also played a role in distinguishing different political responses within African and Coloured groupings at UWC which cannot be simply accounted for by the existence of a racial divide. For example, as de Swardt and Lever noted, 'Afrikaans-speaking students have consistently demonstrated different patters of political responses than English-speaking students' (de Swardt and Lever, 1992, p. 24). One possible reason for this is that Afrikaans-speaking students at UWC tended to come from rural areas, often sharing many similarities with African-speaking students, both in terms of an overall lack of resources and the need to live on campus.

The results of De swardt and Lever's survey are summed up quite nicely by a number of student answers to open-ended questions concerning the boycott, mass meetings, and the disruption of classes on campus. For example, one student in support of the use of mass meetings wrote:

> Mass meetings are representative of the mass opinion because mass meetings involve each and every student....Those who come to meetings fully represent others...Those who think they are not representative are the ones who don't not attend...A certain section of the student population is indifferent or apathetic – I am sorry to say that `middle class coloured students' and those who live off campus...[are] satisfied with their condition or accept any other decisions made...Mass meetings are democratic because they are democratically handled...It is representative of interested/informed students on campus...If you share an interest, you should be present...in a few occasions it is not necessary that mass meetings be representative.... [28]

Another student, against mass meetings asserted that

> it seems that the black students have more say than other parties involved. [Moreover], [n]ot everyone is fully informed about meetings – usually they take place on the same day [as notice is given]...Mass meetings are held during lectures not lunch-time, and democracy is not done...The fact that intimidation and assault are used to get students to attend makes it doubtful to believe that they are representative...[29]

Other students also touched on the issue of majority versus minority rights, indicating the degree to which the concept of majority/minority varied depending on one's view of the defining context: the mass meeting itself, or the entire student population at UWC. For instance, one student argued that "[I]f a decision has been arrived at by a student mass and there is a minority who disagrees and that minority is

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[28] Ibid., p. 16.

given a chance to influence the majority, the minority is bound by the decision of that meeting..."(Ibid.). Conversely, another student contended that "...a minority of the whole population attend mass meetings. Why? This can be traced to various factors, such as ignorance, arrogance and even racism...". [30]

The marked divergence in opinion along racial-ethnic lines indicates the existence of a substantial divide between Coloured and African-speaking students regarding what constituted legitimate forms of democratic practice at UWC. The reality is that for the most part, Coloureds did not attend mass meetings, and mixed-race students indeed forfeited political space on campus to articulate their views and contest events that they believed were unfair. Yet, explaining why Coloureds withdrew from student politics cannot be reduced to the differences in the relative privileges between themselves and African-speaking students. Nor can Coloured apathy be accounted for by appealing solely to explanations surrounding the respective political traditions of Coloured and African-speaking students.

While these factors contributed to an overall Coloured withdrawal from the political process at UWC, the administration's lack of forceful leadership and its tacit approval of undemocratic and coercive practices -- instigated by the SRC and small numbers of African-speaking students – must be taken into account. For example, the administration did little to stop the coercive tactics of the SRC and a small group of African-speaking students. These tactics included the 'arbitrary suspension of classes, the

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[29] Ibid., p. 17.

[30] Ibid.

closure of the library, the student center, the cafeteria and dining halls during academic boycotts' (Maseko, 1994). Most disturbing, was the administration's tolerance of so-called "disruption squads" which used 'physical force against students who did not comply to either boycotts or the "majority's" view expressed during mass meetings'.[31]

Disruption squads consisted of small numbers of male African-speaking enforcers roaming the university in an effort to stop students from attending classes, or studying in the library, during periods of student protest. These strong-armed tactics occasionally precipitated physical confrontations between supporters and non-supporters of individual boycotts. Observing that such tactics had resulted in 'mass meetings becoming largely composed of a captive audience', Maseko also commented that 'the majority of students who bore the wrath of the "disruption squad" were Coloureds who commuted to campus on a daily basis.[32]

After students occupied the Rector's office and other parts of UWC's administration building, allegedly destroying university property, Gerwel was quoted in a Cape Town newspaper as condemning the behavior as "acts of thuggery" (The Argus, April 1, 1992). In response, the SRC claimed "that they did not condone these acts and therefore could not be held responsible".[33] Despite the SRC's disclaimer, Gerwel insisted that 'student leaders must take responsibility' for such behavior'. [34] Yet, as de Swardt and

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[31] Maseko, 1994, p. 81.

[32] Ibid.

[33] The Argus, April 1, 1992.

[34] Ibid.

Lever have pointed out, 'no disciplinary steps were taken, nor have been taken against coercive gangs, although the possibility of doing so has been routinely aired' on campus (de Swardt and Lever, 1992, p. 12).

With the administration failing to take decisive action it appeared to Coloured students that their democratic right to be educated paled in comparison to the university's commitment to Third World communities in South Africa in the struggle for national-liberation. Faced with a predominantly Coloured administration whose non-racial ideology made it difficult to condemn the actions of some African-speaking students without running the risk of contravening UWC's political mandate, mixed-race students chose to abdicate their responsibility for "building a people's university".

While their non-participation was understandable given the political climate of UWC, choosing not to represent their own interests ultimately dispossessed Coloured students of the right act collectively. Moreover, if African-speaking students had looked to their Coloured counterparts with some disdain because of the perception that this group was racially privileged, the effect of Coloured students withdrawing from politics on campus served to further entrench this belief.[35]

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[35] Factors other than the racial differences between Coloured and Africans, such as gender and a rural/urban distinction (Koen and Roux, 1992b), also contributed to the crystallization of perceptions of group privileges on campus. For example, since female students consistently complained that their male counterparts dominated class participation, it was often difficult to determine whether it was race or gender that underscored accusations surrounding differential treatment by lecturers, tutors and the administration. In addition, African-speaking students were not immune from ethnic polarization based on geography and language, as witnessed by a first year Setswana speaking female at UWC, who observed that 'students from the Transvaal, they think they are better than guys from East London' (see 1995 short-answer essays in Appendix). Moreover, there was an Indian student presence on campus that must also be acknowledged, constituting 4% of the total student body in 1992 and mostly located in the Faculty of Dentistry (representing 36% of dentistry's total enrollments).

This self-fulfilling process highlights the contradictory effects of the apartheid order, which placed Coloureds a rung above the majority of African-speaking communities occupying the bottom of the racial hierarchy. But it also raises an important question: how was it possible given the dynamics of oppression in South Africa for Coloured students at UWC to participate in demanding equal and fair treatment in a non-racial setting? Asking such a question does not absolve Coloureds from criticism with respect to their apathetic attitudes and behavior on campus, although it does point to the ambiguity, uncertainty, and even indifference, felt by this group when confronted with the prospects of affirming a mixed-race identity. Nor does raising this question stop one from recognizing that perceptions surrounding mixed-race superiority at UWC were also the product of Coloureds' racist attitudes towards African-speaking communities. These perceptions were also an expression of collective fear over the possibility of an "African" takeover, and the loss of the paltry privileges bestowed upon mixed-race peoples by the National Party.

Because of these caveats, the dilemmas facing Coloured students demonstrate that UWC functioned less 'as a kind of laboratory or microcosm for a future South Africa' (Gerwel, 1989), and more as a vehicle for understanding the failure of a non-racial, national political discourse to take hold in the Western Cape. For example, when Coloured students did choose to mobilize politically by appealing to their interests as a group, such efforts were met with derision at UWC. In 1989, Afrikaans-and-English-speaking students began organizing under the somewhat problematic banner of the

"Coloured Brotherhood".[36] This exclusive association called into question 'the political dominance exercised by African-speaking students through the control the SRC and SANSCO and the influence of the residence committees' (Koen and Roux, 1992a).[37]

The "Brotherhood" was 'scathingly described at UWC as a retrogressive organization upholding the principles of "Apartheid" and denied platforms on campus to express their opinions' at UWC (Koen and Roux, 1992b, p. 7). The failure of the "Coloured Brotherhood" to garner institutional or popular student support at UWC gives some indication of the "Catch 22" inhibiting mixed-race political mobilization in the Western Cape. In other words, it was acceptable according to a non-racial ideology to embrace the concept of African leadership at UWC on a national level, since democracy in a future South Africa was to be based on majority rule. Nonetheless, it was unacceptable for Coloureds, who were the majority in both UWC and the Cape region, to organize according to a racial identity, because to do so would evoke old apartheid classifications that were illegitimate.

While Gerwel correctly observed that what was 'striking among the dominant discourse of Coloureds was the consistent denial of the existence of such a group' (Die Berger, 1989), he was also quick to note the 'material reality in which Coloured people were treated differently from other groups in South Africa'. Pointing out that ethnic

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[36] The term Brotherhood when translated into Afrikaans, conjures up unpopular images of the secret, Afrikaner, Mason-like organization that played an essential role in the development and maintenance of apartheid. Hence, the choice of the term evoked a considerable backlash by both African-speaking and Coloured students attending a university under a non-racial mandate.

[37] It would misleading, to assume that Coloureds were the only students at UWC who 'resented the dominant role of which a relatively small group of ANC-leaning members of SANSCO/SASCO had

groups were treated differently in South Africa is, in itself, not a controversial observation, and can apply to a number of groupings in the country. For example, to a degree, Zulu nationalists in the province of Natal, experienced different treatment by the apartheid state, than say, the treatment of Xhosa people in the same region (Nixon, 1991). In fact, the ANC and other progressive organizations accused the Zulu based Inkatha Party of colluding with the apartheid state, as well as manipulating identity politics to serve the interests of leaders such as Buthelezi (Nixon, 1991). Despite these serious allegations, very few people in South Africa have questioned the rights of Zulu peoples to openly organize as Zulus, or suggested their ethnic identity is a racist hangover of apartheid. The same cannot be said, however, of Coloured people residing in the Western Cape.

It is true that Coloureds cannot claim a descent from one pre-colonial culture, but this realization by no means negates the unique fusion of languages, religions, and social practices that constitute the culture of mixed-race people in the Western Cape. In an opinion poll involving Coloureds, conducted in October of 1994 by the independent National Surveying Institute, `75.4% of the respondents did not mind being referred to as "coloured'', while 44.3% of the Western Cape participants felt the need for self-determination (Weekend Argus, October 15/16, 1994). These findings indicate that the political paralysis inflicting mixed-race students at UWC should not only be attributed to their rejection of the term Coloured as an invention of apartheid. An equally convincing explanation is that UWC's non-racial ideology provided little space for Coloured students

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arrogated to itself almost as a right'. Indeed, while `SANSCO/SASCO was perceived as "African", many

to represent themselves and their own interests without appearing to support an illegitimate and racist apartheid hierarchy.

The ANC's failure to confront this paradox during the 1994 national elections, helps explain how Coloureds could embrace non-racialism throughout the 80s, yet proceed to help vote in the National Party to power in the Province of Western Cape. As Maphai has argued, 'there is a dangerous tendency in South Africa to identify non-racialism with everything virtuous, including democracy and justice'. Maphai goes on to state that 'it is a mistake to believe that such virtues are intrinsic to non-racialism, since ultimately, it is not the racial configuration of political organizations that should be of primary concern. The crucial issue is whether these organizations are committed to democracy or not' (Maphai, 1994, p. 34).

Despite the wisdom of Maphai's remarks, UWC's commitment to serve as a democratic organ of the national-liberation struggle was limited by the university's historical configuration as a Coloured institution. As significant numbers of African-speaking students became fixtures on campus, it became evident that they did not automatically view the university as a legitimate institution fighting for the rights of the oppressed majority. Rather, most African-speaking students felt that UWC remained a Coloured institution situated within the apparatus of an illegitimate apartheid state. Moreover, the apartheid government's adverse influence over the UWC's funding and limited resources, led many Africans-speaking students -- as representatives of the

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African-speaking students at UWC were strongly opposed to it' (de Swardt and Lever, 1992, p. 24).

nation's oppressed majority – to increasingly challenge the administration's commitment to "building a people's university".

The reason for this development at UWC is simple to explain: for most African-speaking students, building a people's university meant the provision of affordable education for the masses.[38] Once it became clear that UWC did not have the financial means to reach its lofty goals, rising discontent over the quality of opportunities accompanying the expansion of access to tertiary education were often vented by African-speaking students in the direction of their Coloured counterparts. Hence, group perception of racial privileges was a defining feature of student politics and non-racialism on campus.

It is worth quoting Mahmood Mamdani here. In a discussion of democratization and institutional transformation in a "new" South Africa, Mamdani warned against pursuing the types of post-colonial educational policies initiated by East and West African countries. Referring to the experiences of those independent African countries with immigrant minorities, he argued that post-colonial policies, with an 'accent on affirmative action ("Africanization") and not democratization, tended to strengthen and legitimate colonial institutions and practices by removing them from the racial stigma [of the past]' (Mamdani, 1992, p. 16). This occurred because immigrant minorities often provided a readily available scapegoat at times of social crisis, serving to deflect pent-up

[38] For example, in a pilot study by Koen and Roux (1992b), it was reported that 96% of Coloured respondents listed non-racialism as the most important issue on campus. Whereas 66% of African respondents chose to rank bursaries as the most pressing concern facing UWC. Koen and Roux concluded that their 'findings suggest that for African-speaking students, material factors overdetermine their university experience' (p. 14).

frustrations over the inability of African governments to 'address those larger social issues that defined the existence of the majority' (Mamdani, 1992, p. 16).

While Mamdani's reference to 'colonial institutions and practices removed from the racial stigma' of the past specifically drew parallels with historically white universities in 'new' South Africa, his observation also applies to UWC since the democratization of the country's tertiary education system could not be separated from the "Africanization" of institution's student body.

As in the case of educational policies of East and West African countries that failed 'to address the larger social issues defining the existence of the majority', the implementation of open admissions at UWC was limited by a chronic scarcity of resources. Yet, it was UWC – rather than historically white universities which had benefited most from the racially skewed distribution of state funding -- that committed to an expansive affirmative action policy. In doing so, UWC's affirmative action policy inadvertently served to remove the racial stigma associated with white tertiary institutions in South Africa, as Coloureds furnished 'a readily available scapegoat' for African-speaking students during times of severe fiscal and educational crises on campus.

My point is to highlight the degree to which interrogating the huge gulf between the quality of educational opportunity afforded white South Africans versus both Coloured and African-speaking students, was inadvertently suppressed at UWC. Instead, 'entrenched notions among students that discriminatory practices privileged one group to the disadvantage of the other continued to define their social reality' (Koen and Roux, 1992b, p. 7). Employing the term scapegoat in reference to mixed-race students, therefore

addresses how the advent of non-racialism and open admissions at UWC, resulted in the symbolic substitution of Coloureds for white privilege.

A poignant example of this process of substitution can be found in the written answer of a first-year, female Xhosa-speaking student, responding to the question of whether there were racial tensions on campus between Coloureds and Africans:

> I notice that it is very rare to see white failures but the lot are only Blacks which means racial discrimination hasn't stopped yet. I have this feeling that we, failing not because we didn't know the right answers but because of our colour, even though there is no picture of yourself in your papers just seeing a Surname tells the marker who you are.... Here we don't have bursaries but are only given loans, why are there no bursaries for us. Whites, as I've noticed here at UWC are still having more privileges than us. There are classes conducted in Afrikaans whereas we are allowed only for English classes. These people know both English & Afrikaans so to me this is a chance given to them to pass whereas we are failing... (unedited)[39]

In addition to the politicization of educational issues, what is striking about this passage is the manner in which Coloured students at UWC were placed within the category "white". As a historically "black" university, the percentage of whites attending UWC was only around 1%, with the majority of these students enrolled in postgraduate studies. Moreover, the Xhosa woman was asked to respond to a specific question involving racial tensions between Coloureds and Africans-speaking students at UWC. Yet, the respondent insisted on subsuming Coloured identity under the notion of whiteness.

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[39] The written answer was in response to an essay question involving racial tensions at UWC that I designed and administered in 1995 for approximately 100 students attending the first-year introductory course in Sociology. Refer to Appendix for a sample of the questions administered.

Her comments indicate how enhancing access to post secondary education in the Western Cape resulted in Coloureds, and not whites, representing the main targets of African-speaking students' ire and discontent over the stunted rate of redressing years of brutality, injustice and discrimination. Indeed, a major theme underscoring the responses of African-speaking students at UWC, when asked about race relations on campus, centered around the perception that Coloureds were favored by the university's administration, its faculty and staff. Yet the heartfelt accusations of discrimination, such as those made by the Xhosa woman, ignored the fact that Coloureds were a distinct group in South African society with limited rights in comparison to whites; or that instruction in Afrikaans, like that of Xhosa, occurred for the most part in their respective language departments, once English became the medium of instruction at UWC.

Overall, written responses by mixed-race students at UWC demonstrate that they did not identify themselves as "black". However, it would be erroneous to conclude that most Coloured students openly embraced the view that they were white. Indeed, Coloureds at UWC were painfully aware of their ambiguous situation and did not shy away, when asked, from expressing their views of whites in South Africa. It was not uncommon for white South Africans to be derogatorily referred to as "whiteys" by Coloured students at UWC. Nevertheless, the perception that Coloureds saw themselves as white, remained firmly entrenched among African-speaking students at UWC.

A 19 year old male Xhosa student in sociology, for example, made these thoughtful comments on the state of race relations at UWC in 1995:

> Yes I believe such differences do exist especially between Coloured and Blacks. This I would say is a political issue not only at this university but

> in the society as well, so for us to address it we need to go back to the drawing board & try to find out what some of the key factors that lead to such problems. 1) Politically I think that the fact that Coloureds are not clear about their standing position is one issue. Now that we have successfully came out the Apartheid past it seems that they tend to forget the manner in which the system oppressed them. They regard themselves or associate themselves with whites whilst they were put on the same level (as us) by the very whites during the apartheid era. (edited)[40]

One cannot stress enough that surveys and questionnaires surrounding the racial politics of scarce resources at UWC demonstrate that African-speaking students viewed Coloureds as the major beneficiaries of the administration's policies, while mixed-race students saw their African-speaking counterparts in a similar fashion. Both sides perceived the university's administration as biased, both viewed the situation as one of discrimination.

The issue of awarding university bursaries (financial awards) and grants in particular represented a flash point for group perceptions of discrimination at UWC. As one Coloured student remarked in 1992, 'if your surname starts with M, S, X, your financial security at the university is assured'.[41] The respondent was referring to the propensity for African-speaking students to have surnames beginning with these letters. Similarly, 'the perception of ethnicity as a qualifying determinant of resource allocation' was summed up by the following comment: 'everybody believes they are entitled to get the best. Few work hard to get what they want. They (Africans) think the colour of their

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[40] The written answer was in response to an essay question involving racial tensions at UWC that I designed and administered in 1995 for approximately 100 students attending the first-year introduction course in Sociology. Refer to Appendix for a sample of the questions administered.

[41] Ibid. Refer to Appendix for sample of question.

skin should make things happen for them' (Koen and Roux, 1992b, p. 3) Conversely, responses by African language students typically revealed the following sentiment: '[We] Africans are not treated as other groups are treated at UWC. We are deprived of the right to obtain bursaries. There are few so-called coloured students who are financial excluded' (de Swardt and Lever, 1992, p. 22).

In reality, university bursaries (grants) and loans awarded by private donors generally favored African-speaking applicants (Koen and Roux, 1992a, p. 9). However, it was equally true that African-speaking students were not eligible for state funding allocated exclusively to Coloured students through the House of Representatives. This form of financial support was linked to the apartheid state reforms of the early 1980s that introduced a Coloured house of parliament in 1984. In addition, donor allocations at UWC were determined 'by investment return criteria which tended to direct funds toward students in the natural sciences and graduates from business management'[42]. As a result, these areas of study at UWC were dominated by Coloured students.

1992 figures illustrate that 57% of students in Economic and Management Studies and 65% in the Science were Coloureds. Slightly more than half (52.5%) of all African-speaking students enrolled at UWC in 1992 were in the Faculty of Arts. In comparison, just less than 42% of the total number of Coloureds were enrolled in the Arts. The disproportionate number of UWC's total African-speaking student population enrolled in the Faculty of Arts can largely be attributed to the nature of DET schooling which

[42] Koen and Roux, 1992a, p. 14.

underprepared their students in the maths and sciences. As one African female student explained when discussing her experiences at a DET high school:

> At my Department of Education and Training school I would often be without teachers for certain subjects. Such a situation would vary from over a few days to as long as a year...At school I did not see a microscope or stereoscope, except in the form of a photograph. I came to know and made use of these instruments at university for the first time...During my first year at UWC, my "Coloured" classmates seemed to be at ease and confident with the use of laboratory equipment, while I would copy them in frustration (Mbaizela, 1994. pp. 23-24).

The kinds of severe educational deprivation experienced by African-speaking students contributed to their perception that 'racism is still ruling in this institution and there are subjects that are specialized for Coloured e.g. Psychology, where few Blacks pass this subject no matter how hard a worker you are' (edited).[43] Similarly, a 20 year old Xhosa woman observed that 'in terms of courses, the coloured people are the first ones to dominate better courses.'[44] Although many African-speaking students were aware that these inequities stemmed from the apartheid system, it was only natural that blame was aimed at Coloured students at UWC.

Occasionally, blame was internalized. The African-speaking student who spoke of her embarrassment over the use of laboratory equipment, admitted that 'she forgot to blame the system and instead blamed herself' (Mbaizela, 1994, p. 24). Conversely, the 20 year old Xhosa female acknowledged that the problems stemming from Coloureds

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[43] The written answer was in response to an essay question involving racial tensions at UWC that I designed and administered in 1995 for approximately 100 students attending the first-year introduction course in Sociology. Refer to Appendix for a sample of the questions administered.

[44] Ibid. Refer to Appendix for sample of question.

dominating the better courses 'led not to respect one another since each of us had a hatrate [sic] for Coloureds because of this Apartheid' (unedited).[45]

While there was by no means an open race war on campus, the differences in educational experiences between Coloured and African communities had a direct impact on the manner in which UWC students 'invoked a "victim status" to deny or justify privilege' (Koen and Roux, 1992b, p. 4). On the one hand, Coloured students resented what they viewed as a culture of African entitlement fostered at UWC, stressing for themselves a concept of meritocracy based on equality of opportunity under a non-racial ideology. African-speaking students, on the other hand, emphasized justice first, as the concept of meritocracy was laden with the legacy of apartheid hierarchies that had historically denied equality of opportunity (Koen and Roux, 1992b, p. 4).

Because the practice of non-racial democracy was predicated upon varying degrees of oppression, the main point of contention for most Coloured students revolved around how white privilege seemed immune from contestation over economic resources. Perhaps this sentiment was best articulated in a response by an Afrikaans-speaking student quoted by Koen and Roux:

> In a future South Africa, preference will be given to Blacks when we compete on equal footing against each other. It is already so that students from white universities are standing first in line when it comes to job/work opportunities (translated; Koen and Roux, 1992b, p. 5).

Throughout this chapter, I have argued that despite the progressive intentions of UWC administrators, faculty and students, the effort to "build a people's university" was severely limited by a number of structural factors. First and foremost, due to ongoing

state subsidy reductions, UWC did not have the institutional capacity to cope with the diverse demands of its growing student body.

The apartheid state was thus able to play UWC's ideology of non-racial access against the material resources required to successful implement open admissions. It did so, however, without having to resort to overt and illegitimate forms of repression, such as changing the regulations guiding admission to university or even forcefully closing down the university. Hence, the state's objectives were accomplished through the employment of destabilizing economic strategies designed to reduce the impact, scope and quality of the educational opportunities afforded open admissions students.

Concomitantly, the inability of UWC students to form a cross-racial partnership capable of articulating their diverse needs, was another important factor contributing to the fiscal shortages at UWC. With each new registration period, boycotts became an annual rite of passage. As boycotts started up, only to be eventually quelled through a series of university concessions, alternative arrangements such as the making up of lost time and the pushing back of exams, extended the length of the academic year and further taxed the institution financially.

With the fiscal crisis on campus deepening, racial tensions between African-speaking and Coloured students over the perception of group privileges became a central feature shaping UWC's learning environment. Although the contradictions and racial tensions were clearly discernible on campus, they could not be resolved by appeals to the

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[45] Ibid. Refer to Appendix for sample of question.

students to 'work out non-racial unity'.[46] Despite the university's adoption of non-racialism, the scarcity of resources at UWC was increasingly viewed in racial-ethnic terms. Both Coloured and African-speaking students accused each other of benefiting most from open admissions. Furthermore, when situating UWC's fiscal crises within the context of a national-liberation ideology that prioritized redressing the needs of the most oppressed under apartheid, the university's emphasis on 'collective experiences reflecting different dimensions of disadvantage appeared to have bolstered the state engineered racial and ethnic divisions between Coloured and African-speaking students' (Koen and Roux, 1992b, p. 5). In doing so, UWC's ideological transformation initiated a number of unintended consequences that affected the kinds of compensatory reforms the university would develop and negatively impacted on the institution's commitment to "disadvantaged" students.

[46] Gerwel's declaration that the university's theme for 1989 was that of non-racialism, for instance, did little to reduce the growing discontent amongst the student body. Accompanying the adoption of a theme of non-racialism 'was a series of articles published in the Campus Bulletin addressing the question of race and political unity. These articles aimed at raising the consciousness of Coloured students by encouraging their involvement in student government. Students were urged to shed their prejudice and collectively work towards creating a just social system' (Koen and Roux, 1992b, p. 7). Koen and Roux conclude that 'these short term tactics, while noteworthy, did not however overcome the ingrained disaffection of Coloured students nor their sense of powerless'. (pp. 7-8).

Chapter Four

The Introduction of the Academic Development Program, Continuous Evaluation, and the Unintended Consequences of Crisis Management at UWC

As a proponent of ANC policy in the early 90s, and a public institution of higher education dependent on apartheid government subsidies, UWC operated within a hostile political and economic environment. This harsh landscape forced the university to deal, as a matter of survival, with the resource scarcities continually plaguing the institution. A determined UWC found innovative ways to counter the fiscal shortages by appealing to external sources for economic relief, and by establishing a university Trust Fund for research and pedagogical development.

In forging partnerships with international donor agencies to offset devastating cuts in state subsidies, UWC increasingly functioned according to outside dictates and agendas. Consequently, redressing the educational disadvantages of both Coloured and African-speaking students occurred under intense pressures, not only from the apartheid government, but also from international donors and financial/development agencies with specific research aims and timetables.

This chapter will demonstrate that without a wide-ranging ideological and economic base of support, 'a radical emphasis on an inclusive civil society can result in technical solutions that divorce the majority of people from participation and choice'.[47] In the case of UWC, its Mission Statement identified key areas of improvement for apartheid post-secondary education. Among the most important of these were the

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[47] Bloch, 1992, p. 285.

development of a "pedagogy of the oppressed" that promoted 'critical thinking amongst it students, and the achievement of a high level of education for everyone' (Durand, 1990). Unfortunately, state-induced fiscal crises, restrictions on funding by external agencies, and the administration's inability to work out an equitable non-racial pact between the different factions of the students, faculty and staff, severely undercut UWC's efforts to build a peoples' university.

Under economic siege from the apartheid state, compensatory reforms -- intended to buttress open admissions -- were 'more exercises in crisis management'[48] than 'sustainable long-term solutions to the problems experienced' by the university.[49] Moreover, this mode of survival management generated a number of unintended and negative consequences which limited the overall quality and effectiveness of the university's initiatives in the areas of pedagogy, curriculum development, and assessment procedures.

In an effort to situate UWC's compensatory reforms within an established model of educational and ideological change, the work of British socio-linguist, Basil Bernstein, is introduced. His examination of the kinds of "problems of order" that accompany the shift from the use of a collection to an integrated knowledge code, is employed to account for the unintended consequences brought on UWC's pedagogical transformation. Bernstein's writings also help explain how the absence of an ideological consensus

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[48] Maphai, SAJHE/SATHO, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1991.

[49] Walker and Badsha, 1993.

amongst UWC's major participants (administrators, faculty, staff and students) evoked deep-felt resistance to the compensatory changes implemented by the university.

Managing the Crisis at UWC

If the state had expected UWC to roll over and play dead in the face of severe fiscal pressure, the response by the university proved to be quite the opposite. 1987 represented the busiest year for UWC's building program, as the institution braced itself for a dramatic increase in student numbers. A new University Center worth 9.3 million Rand was completed in January. Construction was also underway to provide students with a new library, a natural science building, lecture halls, a social science building and residences, all to be completed within roughly a two year period. Ironically, it was mostly the national government that foot the bill for UWC's physical rebuilding process. Under South African law, the state was responsible for 85% of the construction costs for approved academic and administrative buildings (Vice Chancellor's Report for 1989), while UWC took care of the remaining 15% (covered primarily through private donations).

While UWC's infrastructural needs were being partially financed by the state, the largest single expenditure facing the university was salaries. In 1987, university income from tuition fees provided approximately 13 million Rand, whereas salary expenses amounted to 30.6 million Rand (Koen and Roux, 1992a). UWC was highly dependent on state subsidies to close this gap. With the reductions in state subsidy payments, UWC had to take immediate steps to counter the loss of revenue in a period of rising expenses.

In order to slow down the decline in subsidy payments, UWC concentrated on controlling the two major factors contributing to state cuts: the dramatic annual increases in enrollments, and the low student pass rates. The first problem confronting UWC involved reducing student growth in a fair and equitable manner. Curbing enrollment was anathema to the administration's non-racial ideology, yet a necessity due to the heavy academic and financial demands placed on the university and its staff. Faced with the realities of accommodating large numbers of incoming students during the worse economic crisis in the institution's history, UWC was forced to introduce what it called "correction factors".

Correction factors allowed the administration to curb admissions numbers (at a 4% growth rate) while still providing educational opportunities for the most "disadvantaged" students. This was done by retaining an open admission policy at UWC for 80% of its incoming students (randomly selecting by computer all applicants who met the basic qualifications for entry), while employing a number of socio-economic, gender and racial criteria for the selection of the remaining 20% admitted to the university. The correction factors consisted of the following criteria: (1) no applicant with a high matriculation pass level would be excluded; (2) a target of parity of admission for male and female applicants was established; (3) an assumption that talent is equally distributed amongst all racial groups and as such the university's intake of students should reflect the composition of the population at large; (4) geographical origin should be taken into consideration to ensure that students beyond the Western Cape would comprise a meaningful proportion of the intake of students into UWC; (5) opportunities should be

provided for students from rural areas; and (6) the university should make allowance for placement for working class students (Gerwel, 1992, p. 129). Although the correction factors placed caps on total admissions numbers, UWC continued to increase the proportion of its intake of African-speaking and/or female students, thereby maintaining the university's commitment to the most "disadvantaged".

The second major problem facing UWC involved the damaging effects of admitting growing numbers of students under-prepared for university education. As stated previously, inadequate funding of Coloured, and especially African-speaking public schools, translated into a lack of preparation in math and sciences for the majority of "black" entrants. UWC compensated for such disadvantages by placing large numbers of first-year entrants in the faculty of arts. However, increasing numbers of incoming African-speaking students in the faculty of arts generated academic and political problems for the university, since instruction in English at DET, as well as many Coloured schools in rural areas, was irregular and in some cases non-existent.

In a shift in emphasis, UWC's administration began to encourage student growth in selected fields other than the Arts, such as the faculties of Science and Economic and Management Sciences. As a result, in the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, African-speaking students jumped from 154 in 1988, to 630 in 1992, a 75.6% increase in 4 years. Despite this shift, the Faculty of Arts remained the focal point of student growth in terms of sheer numbers. Between 1988 and 1992, the number of

African-speaking students in the Faculty of Arts shot up from 834 to 2,170, while the number of Coloured students during that same period declined by a total of 1,552.[50]

The under-preparedness of the majority of African-speaking students with limited familiarity with English took its toll on the institution. Pass rates suffered, as more and more "disadvantaged" students struggled with the demands of university education in English and earned low grades. In 1986, pass rates for 1st, 2nd and 3rd year students were 68%, 72% and 69% respectively. Two years later, pass rates had declined by 7% for 1st year students, 11% for 2nd year students and 7% for students in their final year (refer to Figure 5). In total, the pass rates dropped by 9% between 1986 and 1988, a decline which contributed to the 52% subsidy cut experienced by UWC in 1989 (refer to Figure 6).

Between 1990 and 1991, two developments at UWC took place that responded to the decline in pass rates, as well as to the root causes inhibiting students' academic success at university. The first involved an alteration in assessment procedures at UWC under the rubric of what was called Continuous Evaluation. The second initiative created a compensatory program to support students' efforts to cope with language and other academic problems experienced at UWC.

Introduced to students in an open letter by the Dean of Arts in mid-1989 and later revised that same year by an Ad Hoc Committee, continuous evaluation was implemented in the 1990-91 academic year. The Dean's circular outlined a new system of evaluation: ` final grades would be calculated on both course work, and the final examination at the

[50] Refer to Table 4: Enrollments by Faculty and Race for 1988 and 1992, in Section 3 of the Interim Research Report: The Enhancement of Graduate Programmes and Research Capacity at Historically Black Universities, Education Policy Unit, University of the Western Cape, 1996, p. 8.

end of the semester or the year; in turn, the course work may cover sections or types of work not dealt with in the examination; the course work may consist of class tests, assignments, practical work, or other projects; work which has been evaluated during the course will usually not be re-examined at the end of the semester or year, however, some kinds of work could not be "written off" in this manner; all students were expected to sit for the final examination; the relative weighting of marks will be decided for each course by the departments concerned, the details of which will be outlined at the beginning of each course; and finally, second chance examinations will continue and the nature of these exams will be decided by each faculty' (Bundlender, 1994, pp. 6-7). Proponents of continuous evaluation argued that the change in evaluation format would accomplish a range of objectives: 'increase the basis and reliability of assessment; the varied format of evaluation will improve students' chances of showing what they can do and enable them to build steadily throughout the year towards a good final mark; by allowing work already evaluated during the semester to be excluded from the final examinations, the burden on the students should be reduced; it will encourage independence, responsibility and planning skills as students took control of their own learning; and it offers opportunity for discovering strengths and weaknesses of the students and therefore allows for timeous adjustments to be made'.[51]

Underlying the rhetoric, continuous evaluation in effect provided students with more opportunities to earn better grades. This was accomplished by the introduction of a portfolio of mini-assignments and multiple choice quizzes and short answer essays.

[51] Bundlender, 1994, pp. 6-7.

Continuous evaluation served to counteract poor results in students' mid-term and final exams, as the course-work grades tended to be substantially higher than examination results. As a consequence, students' overall grades improved and pass rates began to rise.[52]

One of the primary reasons for this improvement was the increase in the number of tutors employed by individual departments and paid through UWC's Work-Study Program. The Work-Study Program was sponsored by the US. Agency for International Development and was designed to employ UWC students in a number of different roles. one of which was providing tutor and grading services on campus.[53] Although UWC could not expand its regular teaching staff by applying for external donor funding, the Work Study program allowed the university to give senior and postgraduate students the opportunity to cover tuition costs and pocket the remaining earnings while working as tutors. 50% of the earnings of tutors in the first semester were directly channeled into tuition and outstanding fees, thereby helping reduce the huge debt amassed by UWC

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[52] It is important to note that UWC was in no small way able to reconfigure its assessment procedures because of its earlier legal victory over the apartheid state involving the university's right to determine its own admissions and academic policies. As a result, UWC did not require government permission to alter its evaluation methods.

[53] For instance, 1993 university figures indicate that `575 out a total of 1,858 Work Study employees were designated as tutors. Out of 575 students employed as tutors in 1993, `60% were listed as undergraduates (Bundlender, 1994, pp. 11-12).

Figure 5: Pass Rates in Percentages for 1st, 2nd and 3rd Year Students at UWC (1986-1992)

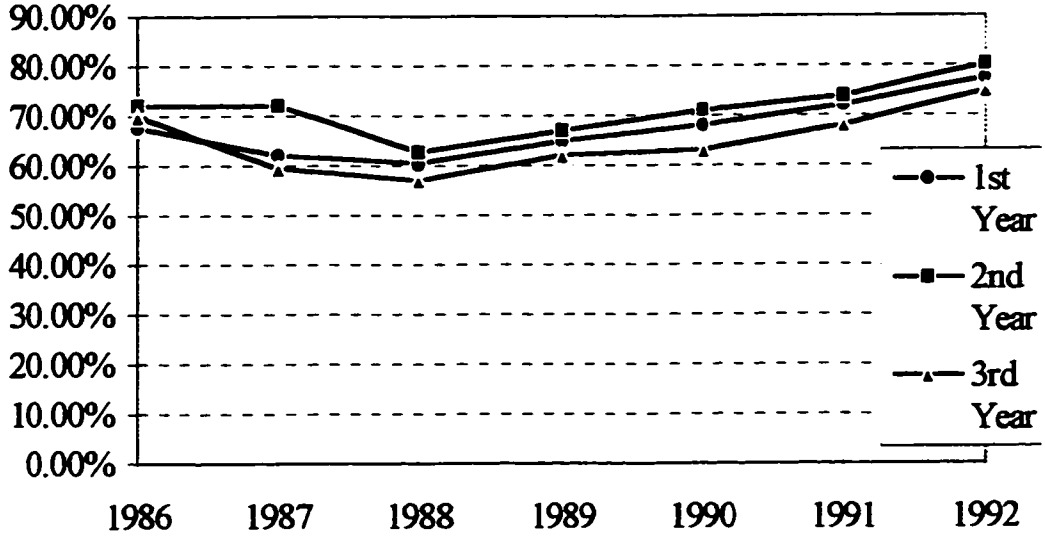
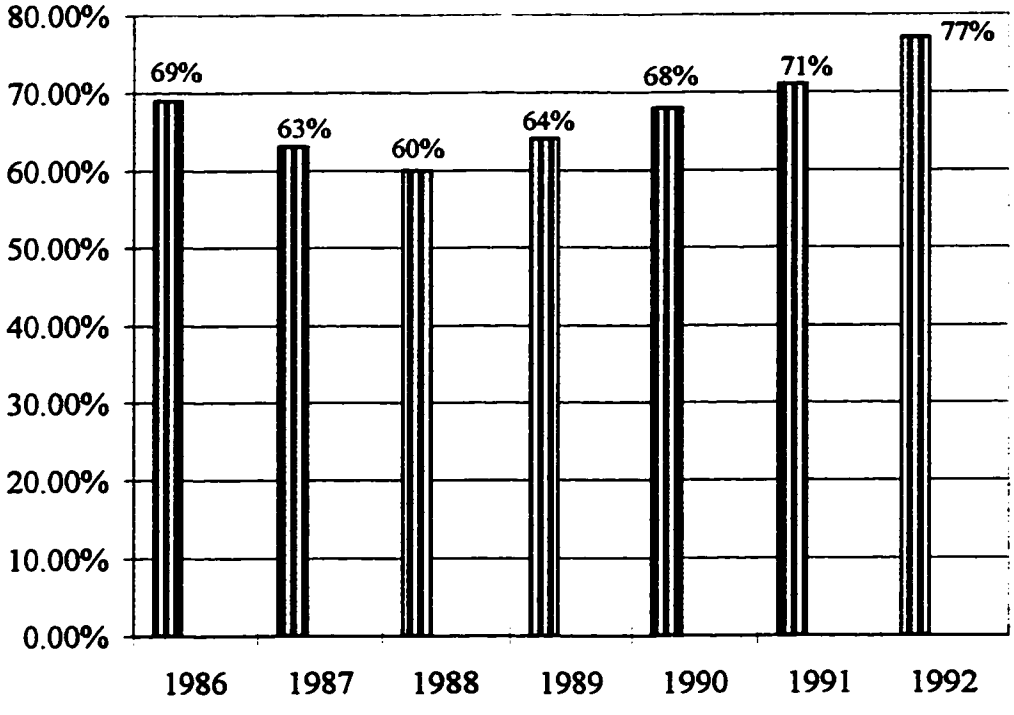


Figure 6: Combined Student Pass Rates in Percentages at UWC (1986-1992)



Source: UWC Statistics, 1960-1993

students. In effect, the work study program served as an important alternative to scarce state and university bursaries (grants) and loans. Tutors also lessened the grading and teaching responsibilities of the faculty, as well as helping students deal with the demands of large classes by running smaller weekly tutorials. This was particularly important for departments located in the Faculty of Arts, such as sociology, where large classes were the norm.

While UWC took immediate steps to counter the devastating effects of the funding formula by employing the correction factors and implementing continuous evaluation, the legacy of inferior systems of primary and secondary education for both African-speaking and Coloured communities continued to take its toll on the staff and the students. With the majority of incoming African-speaking students unfamiliar with the use of English or Afrikaans in an academic environment, UWC's administration was forced to address fundamental issues surrounding curriculum reform and pedagogical innovation on campus.

Compensatory Education and the Concept of Academic Development at UWC

In 1987, UWC commissioned an independent study of high school matriculation symbols (rankings) as a predictor of success at university. The findings, derived from a sample of 3,932 first year students between 1982-4, indicated that national exam results were a poor indicator of university success (Strebel, 1987). This quantitative study bolstered UWC's claim that using national exam results as the main criteria for admission

to South African universities, was racially biased against "black" students (Griesel, 1991).[54]

Despite changes in admissions and evaluation procedures, UWC was aware that the majority of its student body experienced a significant discontinuity between the demands of high school versus those at university. Starting at the primary school level, "black" students received far less funding per capita than their white counterparts. The differences in spending levels in South Africa between 1948 and 1981, for example, was so skewed that the total per capita expenditure on education for whites during this period surpassed that for Africans, Coloureds and Indians combined (Nkomo, 1990, p. 317). Consequently, there was a lack of quality instruction for "black" students. In 1983, 'the student-teacher ratio in African public schools was 46:1 while for whites it was only 17:1' (Pedro, 1996, p. 45). Such disparities help explain how out of 'a total of 230,000 DET students in 1990 who wrote the matriculation exam, less than 8% passed. And, why only 439 African-speaking students in the Western Cape were able to write the DET mathematics examination, with less than 10% (47) receiving a passing grade' (Basha, 1992, p. 27).

UWC sought to go beyond the kinds compensatory support programs offered at historically white universities, where a select few "black" students were targeted for admissions. Historically white universities in South Africa skimmed the very best and often most privileged, of the "disadvantaged" masses. In doing so, predominantly white

[54] UWC concluded that for a majority of "black" matriculates 'results below B or in some cases C aggregates were unreliable predictors of potential success and an inaccurate reflection of students' academic ability' (Badsha, 1992).

universities developed what were called academic support programs, where small numbers of black students would be given mentorship and in some cases, financial assistance, so as to eventually achieve the academic standards expected by the institution.[55]

At UWC, such remedial approaches offered at historically white universities were neither ideologically or academically feasible, since the majority of its students were "black" and from economically and socially disadvantaged backgrounds. Hence, UWC's objectives were, by necessity, more radical in scope. According to one of the principal authors of the university's 1982 Mission Statement, among UWC's transformative goals were: the democratization of education through the negation of apartheid education by making pedagogy relevant to the democratic struggles of the people; the development of a critical mind that becomes aware of the world; bridging the gap between theoretical knowledge and practical life; and closing the chasm between the natural sciences and the humanities' (Durand 1990).

It is evident in the language of UWC objectives that the institution's transformation was influenced by the writings of Paulo Freire, and in particular his work on the Pedagogy of the Oppressed (1987). Freire asserts that a pedagogy of the oppressed 'makes oppression and its causes, objects of reflection by the oppressed, and from the reflection will come the necessary engagement in the struggle for their

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[55] An example of this approach was the University of Cape Town's engineering program (ASPECT), where students were given intensive mentoring and academic and financial support in an effort to help "black" students improve their chances of successfully completing the program. Refer to Diversity and Quality: Academic Development at South African Tertiary Institutions, Section 1, the University of Cape Town (Pavelich and Orkin, 1993).

liberation'.[56] Moreover, Freire suggests that a "problem-posing" format will encourage students to 'develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which they find themselves'.[57] Freire claims that this format enables students 'to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation'.[58]

In opposition to what he identifies as the "banking" concept of education, where 'instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and makes deposits which the students receive, memorize and repeat',[59] Freire proposes a co-intentional approach. Simply stated, 'teachers and students co-intent on reality, since they are both Subjects engaged in the tasks of re-creating knowledge'.[60] Freire insists that 'problem posing educators reform their reflection in the reflection of their students'.[61] The role of the problem-posing educator is to therefore 'create, together with the students, the conditions under which knowledge at the level of the doxa is superseded by true knowledge, at the level of logos'.[62]

Following Freire's lead, UWC placed the onus of responsibility on the staff, its pedagogy and curriculum to find a common ground between the demands of the university, and the resources that the students brought with them. Intent on not blaming

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[56] Freire, 1987, p. 33.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid., p. 56.

[61] Ibid., p. 68.

[62] Ibid.

students for a lack of preparation, by demanding that they reach an inflexible academic standard. UWC instead sought to generate dialogue between faculty, administrators, staff and students over what constituted an interactive pedagogy that drew on the experiences of the oppressed masses as a vehicle for social, cultural, and educational change. Adopting such a perspective made it possible to conceive of a compensatory program within the context of scarce resources that still had the potential to empower "black" students. As a consequence of the university's political and ideological commitment to the oppressed majority in South Africa, UWC initiated the Academic Development Research Project in 1989 in an effort to survey the academic and related problems of the students and engage in discussions with departments, faculties and staff around their perceptions of these difficulties. Shortly after, established an Academic Development (AD) Program to critically address existing teaching methods and curriculums employed in departments.

Funding and the Implementation and Governance Structures of the AD Program

In 1990, UWC submitted a proposal to the Independent Development Fund (IDT), known popularly as the Desmond Tutu Educational Trust to create an Academic Development (AD) Center on campus. The decision by UWC to seek outside sources of finance stemmed from the national government's refusal to fund any form of compensatory education at the tertiary level in South Africa. UWC's alliances with UDF- affiliated, non-governmental organizations and civic groups supported by European and American donors held it in good stead when applying for international assistance. UWC would also turn to other outside sources for funding, such as the Kagiso Trust, the

British Council, the Medical Education for Blacks (MESAB) Fund and the Foundation for Research Development's University Development Program (FRD-UDP). However, without the IDT-Tutu Fund, the Academic Development Program and its Center would not exist at UWC.

The IDT Fund made financing available in 1990/91 for the establishment of an Academic Development Center to coordinate AD initiatives on a university-wide basis. By 1992, the AD Center consisted of 22 staff positions, 7 of which were permanent, 9 contract, and 6 joint appointments between departments and the AD Center. Of the 22 positions, more than half the staff (12) are white and 11 are women (7 of whom are white).[63] The AD Center's mandate was to facilitate a campus network for the interchange and dissemination of information and ideas concerning AD; to promote and undertake research into learning and teaching involving admissions and placement as well as the language question; to build a database of the UWC student profile; to raise funds for projects of the center and the Faculty Academic Development Committees (FADCs); to provide audio-visual services to the university; to furnish academic counseling for students; to provide computer-based education support for departments; and most importantly, to coordinate evaluation of academic development projects at UWC.

The governance structure of the Academic Development Program is comprised of two elements, the first being the Faculty Academic Development Committees (FADCs). The 7 FADCs are in theory the eyes and ears of AD, monitoring student pass rates, overseeing teaching, learning and evaluation methods, reviewing degree curricula and

[63] 1992 figures from Diversity and Quality, (Pavelich and Orkin, 1992).

course syllabi, and identifying and encouraging areas for research and development in departments.[64] Coordination between the AD program and the FADCs is ensured by the Faculty Coordinators and Academic Development officers who serve as the link between the AD center and individual faculties and departments. The coordinators and officers are members of AD center and report back to the center's executive committee and the Senate Academic Development Steering Committee (SADSC).[65]

The second governance component of the AD program is the AD Center's executive committee, which is responsible for coordinating the day-to-day activities and administration of the Center -- producing annual reports including financial statements. and representing the Center both within the university and on a national level.[66] Over the course of its first five years, the Academic Development Program received active support from UWC's financially beleaguered administration to the tune of approximately 40% of the AD Program's total budget.

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[64] The 7 FADCs from the Arts, Sciences, Economic and Management Sciences, Education, Law. Theology, Community Health Sciences (Dentistry is not included because it does not adhere to the open admissions policy) consist of one or more representatives from each faculty and the Dean (ex officio); one or members from the AD Center; two student representatives; and at the discretion of departments and faculties, project personnel and appropriate library representation.

[65] Together, the AD Center and the FADCs are accountable to the Senate Academic Development Steering Committee. The SADSC consist of the following: the Rector (ex officio); the executive members of the AD Center; the chairpersons of each of FADCs; a representative if the Research & Evaluation Advisory Group; a representative of the UWC's outreach program; a representative of the library; a representative of the Center for Student Counseling; a representative of the SRC; as well as member(s) of the Senate.

[66] The executive consists of the AD Center chairperson (elected every 2 years); the Center's representatives on the FADCs; along with its coordinators in charge of individual AD research programs involving admissions and placement, language, counseling, media (audio-visual) and computer services.

Action Research and the AD Infusion Model

The academic and learning problems experienced at UWC were two-fold. There was the issue of the under-preparedness of "black" students in math and science, which resulted in the majority of African-speaking students being placed within the Faculty of Arts. Concomitantly, placements in the Faculty of Arts was compounded by the fact that for a growing number of UWC's student body, English was their second or even third language. Unlike existing remedial approaches, which attended to the learning problems of students in designated courses outside the university mainstream, the AD program had to therefore contend with developing a comprehensive system designed for the majority of its students. As a consequence, redressing the "learning" problem at UWC would require a thorough review of curricula, pedagogy and evaluation procedures, as well as an infusion of new academic programs, and techniques to improve student competencies and enhance self-directed learning.

Compared to historically white universities in South Africa, UWC was severely disadvantaged with respect to state funding for research. In effort to enhance their research capacity, UWC's AD Program stressed the importance of "action research". Action research became somewhat of a buzzword on campus. This interactive mode of inquiry was based on a hands on approach to examining how students learn in different classroom and lecture settings (Walker, 1994).

UWC concentrated on four features of action research: the situational character of action research, where specific problems are examined within specific contexts; the collaborative manner in which action research tends to be jointly undertaken; the

participatory nature of action research involving team members themselves implementing a program; and the self-evaluative component of action research where those implementing the program or innovation continuously evaluate their own efforts (Cohen and Manion,1989).[67]

Consistent with the Freireian approach, action research on the learning processes of "black" students was conceived in dialogical terms. Viewed by AD practitioners as a form of consultation, dialogical research took into account the experiences of students -- both inside and outside the university – as an essential aspect of identifying pedagogical, curricula and assessment reforms needed at UWC. It was considered the best way to hear the students' voices firsthand, and document their experiences, as well as interrogate existing educational practices. Walker and Badsha contended that AD research at UWC had the potential to function as 'an effective and sustainable instrument for educational change, buttressing their authority to speak, and developing their understanding over time of the successes and the failures' (Walker and Badsha, 1993, pp. 9-10).

Originally, the Academic Development Program was based on a model in which departments, in coordination with the AD center, serve as the engine for institutional and educational change at UWC. This form of institutional change was identified by AD practitioners at UWC as an "infusion model" (Walker and Badsha, 1993). With the FADCs providing the link between the AD center and faculties, AD research and initiatives were to be "infused" within departments' work cultures.[68] One way this was

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[67] The University of the Western Cape: Nature and Scope of Academic Support Programs, 1992, p. 34.

[68] (Walker and Badsha, 1993, p. 9) In implementing the "infusion" model, the FADCs are responsible for the following initiatives: 'driving faculty debates around academic development issues; developing

accomplished was through members of the AD staff being assigned to specific departments so as to examine their particular pedagogy, curriculum, and evaluation procedures and discuss the degree to which these practices met the needs of its students.

AD staff, located in departments such as Physics, Chemistry, Maths, Business Economics, Psychology and Anthropology/Sociology, generated dialogue between faculty over existing educational practices and potential AD innovations. Dialogue was driven, to a certain extent, by AD officers' diagnostic evaluations of individual departments. The AD program was not only designed to create a shared understanding of the kinds of dilemmas facings students, faculty and staff at UWC, but also develop and disseminate 'research on teaching and learning grounded in sustained critical reflection on practice'.[69]

To build a knowledge base at UWC, Academic Development practitioners produced case studies within specific academic departments, and loosely organized them according to a number of 'umbrella portfolios'. These research areas included: 'the Language Project, which was concerned with university policy involving the medium of

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appropriate methods for the formative evaluation of AD projects within departments; prioritizing academic development needs within each faculty; providing ongoing support for innovation by making expertise and resources available; acting as conduits to share issues and experiences of common concern such as language development, research skills training, materials development, tutor training; developing criteria to recognize and reward quality teaching; discussing the form and content of methods of assessment; and identifying research questions, and facilitating academic development research for postgraduate students and staff' (pp. 7-8). Individual departments would submit proposals outlining potential academic development research projects enlisting financial and technical support from the Senate Academic Development Steering Committee to engage in AD initiatives.

[69] The AD program has since moved away from its original emphasis on infusion and is now concentrating on the enhancement and professionalization of Academic Development as a legitimate discipline within academia. To this end, the AD center has established a Master's Program in Academic Development at UWC.

instruction, curriculum development and other issues related to learning; an Admissions Project, which revolved around the collection of, monitoring and analysis of data on student selection; an Academic Counseling portfolio, which coordinated a peer-group learning project involving students in the university residences; a Computer-Supported Education Project, which advised on the use of software and computer systems for the purpose of academic development on campus; and finally, a Research Project charged with the responsibility of analyzing and evaluating the AD program's experiences, generating local theories, as well as accessing international education research'(Walker, 1993, p. 5).

The promotion of a research agenda reflected UWC's ambition to level the educational playing field when compared to the institutional capacity of historically white universities in the country. It was also an attempt to bridge the gap between the cultural resources of its students and the academic demands of university. In addition, enhancing the research capacity of historically "black" universities in South Africa was an offshoot of international donor policy. As Lockheed notes, in her discussion of the World Bank and Third World policy, 'strengthening research capacity in developing countries is one of the most powerful cost-effective, and sustainable means of advancing [education] and development' (Lockheed, 1991, p. 3).[70]

[70] Indeed, one of the largest research projects at UWC is the "The Enhancement of Graduate Programs and Research Capacity at Historically Black Universities" conducted by the institution's Education Policy Unit and commissioned by Independent Trust Fund. Moreover, as Walker and Badsha point out, underlying AD research-based development at UWC is the 'ideal of facilitating diversity and mutual shaping between departments and the AD center with a view to interaction and negotiation around goals and the processes of development, collaboration and continuous improvement, and the generation of their own knowledge and solutions' (Walker and Badsha, 1993, p. 9).

Borrowing from the work of Sarason (Sarason, 1990), Walker and Badsha argue that as opposed `to "first-order" change, which improves current practice without altering basic organizational arrangements or role performances, the AD program was primarily concerned with promoting "second-order" institutional change' (Walker and Badsha, 1991, p. 10). According to Sarason, "second-order" change constitutes a challenge to the manner in which an institution is organized with respect to its goals, structural relationships and roles (Sarason, 1990, p. 342). In particular, "second-order" change involves developing local work cultures in collaboration with skilled organizational and institutional leadership. This type of change at UWC, argue Walker and Badsha, `aims to bring together curriculum development, student learning, staff development, and organizational development in an integrated process at the departmental and faculty level'.[71] Thus, the AD program and umbrella portfolios spearheaded by the Center, had the ambitious intention of amalgamating educational/research, theory and practice at UWC in an effort to overcome the racial legacy of apartheid education.

Classification and Framing of Educational Knowledge

The AD program at UWC was attempting to alter what British socio-linguist, Basil Bernstein calls the classification and framing of educational knowledge (Bernstein, 1971, p. 203).[72] Bernstein employs the concept of "classification" to identify and contrast

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[71] Ibid., p. 6.

[72] While Bernstein's theory of institutional change and educational knowledge codes will be used throughout this section to examine the reforms in pedagogy, curriculum and assessment procedures associated with the university's AD program, it should be made clear that the architects of UWC's transformation did not enlist his work to guide their efforts. Nor did Bernstein have South Africa in mind when developing his theory of pedagogical and curriculum reform. Nevertheless, I am applying Bernstein's writings to illuminate the unintended consequences brought on by the introduction of both the

different types of curricula. For example, classification, connotes the 'degree of boundary maintenance or insulation between contents'[73] within a curriculum and between subjects, courses, disciplines, departments, faculties, etc. Classification is also related to the notion of "framing", which Bernstein defines as the 'boundary relationship between what may be taught and what may not be taught', or 'the strength of the boundary between educational knowledge and everyday non-school knowledge of the teacher and the taught'.[74]

The strength and nature of classification and framing is a product of the authority/power structure within institutions, which controls the dissemination of educational knowledge, as well as the type(s) of knowledge transmitted. Where classification is strong and boundaries between different contents are sharply drawn, the result is 'well insulated subject hierarchies, usually under the oligarchic control of the institution'.[75] Bernstein claims that a curriculum with a strong classification and framing is structured by a collection code.

One of the consequences of a collection code is that evaluation emphasizes "states of knowledge" or knowledge of facts. Rather than concentrating on the development of critical and independent thinking amongst students, collection codes rely on predicable assessment procedures that separate 'the uncommonsense knowledge of the

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academic development program and continuous evaluation. I believe his work helps account for the collective responses of UWC's faculty, staff and students to the changes in assessments procedures, pedagogy and curriculum.

[73] Bernstein,, Class, Codes and Control (Volume 1), 1971, p. 205.

[74] Ibid.

school or institution from the everyday community-based knowledge of the teacher and taught'.[76] Under a collection code, 'the stronger the classification and the framing, the more the educational relationship tends to be hierarchical and ritualized, the educant seen as ignorant, with little status and few rights'.[77]

In terms of apartheid education, the use of a collection code resulted in the establishment of fields of study which were sharply drawn and well insulated according to a principle of classification based on state legislated racial categories. For example, the national matriculation exams written by all South African students before graduating from apartheid high schools were standardized according to racial classification. In other words, most Coloured students wrote a DEC matriculation exam, while African-speaking pupils completed a Bantu or DET matriculation exam, etc. (Pedro, 1996). Consequently, although the content and format of these exams were similar, the test questions were different for every racial group in South Africa.

While the format and content of the national high school exiting exams differed according to racial classifications, post-secondary institutions in South Africa employed the matriculation scores as an "objective" criteria for selection, and tended to demand scores above B or C in order to guarantee admissions.[78] In addition to the test's racially-based format, critics of the national examinations also pointed out that 'the matriculation

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[75] Ibid., p. 218.

[76] Ibid., p. 222.

[77] Ibid., p. 214.

[78] Badsha, 1992.

exam did not encourage the broadening of the mind, and the development of initiative and independent thinking'.[79] Rather, 'the largest portion of grading (80-90%) went to facts, with most questions requiring essay type answers that encouraged rote learning, which left little room for problem solving'.[80]

The reliance on matriculation examinations in South African secondary schools corresponds with Bernstein's concept of "states of knowledge", as the racially based and rote learning format of apartheid schools 'reduced the discretion of students, while increasing the control and power of the evaluators'; a characteristic that Bernstein identifies as indicative of a collection code.[81] Moreover, a reliance on a collection code culturally disempowers students, as their 'community-based experiences are considered irrelevant to the pedagogical frame, as are the aspects of the self informed by such experiences'.[82] In South Africa, this process of disempowerment can be traced to the manner in which apartheid education enforced an alien medium of instruction upon African-speaking students.

Apartheid classifications were used to establish a myriad of racial-ethnic bureaucratic divisions within the education system which made effective instruction in a single language of instruction practically impossible, except for white students. From grades 1 through 4, African-speaking students received instruction in their mother

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[79] Pedro, 1996, p. 39.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Bernstein, 1971, p. 217.

[82] Ibid., p. 222.

tongue(s) in apartheid public schools. From grades 5 to 12, however, English or Afrikaans -- depending on parental choice -- then became the medium of instruction. Although English was most often chosen as a medium of instruction, Odendall reported that many DET teachers were not proficient in English and found it difficult to present English medium lessons, making instruction in public schools for African-speaking students in either "official" language (Afrikaans or English) relatively ineffective (Odendall, 1986). Furthermore, African-speaking parents rarely used English at home, which reinforced the segregated nature of apartheid education in terms of the lack of language preparation in English or Afrikaans required for university.

Introducing an Integrated Educational Code at UWC

With the advent of Academic Development on campus, UWC was attempting to make the transition from a collection code to its opposite, an integrated knowledge code. Bernstein lists a number of features that characterize an integrated code, beginning with a fundamental change in organizational structure, usually resulting from 'a crisis in society's basic classifications and frames, and its structures of power and principles of control'.[83] Social crises, in turn, reinforce the tendency for an integrated code to weaken the insulation between contents, 'as what counts as having knowledge, what counts as a valid transmission of knowledge, and what counts as valid realization of knowledge'.[84]

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[83] Bernstein, 1971, p. 226.

[84] Ibid., p. 221.

Bernstein asserts that relaxed pedagogical frames 'increase the rights of the taught by reducing the authority of separate contents'.[85] One way in which this power shift occurs is the tendency for an integrated knowledge code to produce a system of evaluation 'based on multiple criteria of assessment which allows for a greater range of the student's behavior to be made public'.[86] For example, Bernstein observes that an integrated code 'might lead to a situation where assessment takes the "inner' attitudes of the student more into account. Thus if he/she has the "right' attitudes, this will later result in the attainment of various specific competencies'.[87]

To simplify and summarize Bernstein's writings, an integrated code places less emphasis on the acquisition of "facts" or formal skills and instead encourages students to engage in the process of learning. This strategy is implemented after an egalitarian shift in ideology has taken place within an educational institution and is accompanied by the following tendencies: appeals are made to students' experiences derived from everyday life; these experiences are taken into account when developing or altering a curriculum, as well as when assessing student competencies; and there is a broadening of the criteria used for assessment in an effort to maximize opportunities to reward student engagement in the process of learning.

In spearheading the effort to alter the curricula, pedagogy and evaluation procedures at UWC, the reforms initiated by the administration and the Academic

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[85] Ibid., pp. 216-218.

[86] Ibid., pp. 223-224.

[87] Ibid., p. 224.

Development program shared many features which Bernstein views as essential to an integrated educational code. Perhaps the most influential compensatory development that took place on campus was the introduction of continuous evaluation. In line with both the institution's Freirean-inspired ideology of empowerment and liberation, and Bernstein's description of an integrated code, the implementation of continuous evaluation immediately increased the rights of the students. For instance, the change in evaluation allowed for the use of multiple criteria for assessment, offsetting the tendency for South African universities to rely heavily on a final exam format.

The change in assessment at UWC, to paraphrase Bernstein, also made `student's thoughts, feelings and values more public',[88] as tutorials served as a less intimidating venue for participation in small group settings. Students were encouraged to voice their own opinions and life experiences in tutorials both orally and within the framework of written work assigned by tutors on weekly basis. Moreover, since tutorials were for the most part, run by either senior students (Honors and Masters candidates) or by junior staff, tutors served as a sympathetic buffer between the demands of the lecturers or senior staff and those of the students. Hence, underlying continuous evaluation and the expansion of tutorials was an important egalitarian tendency associated with an integrated code: the blurring or `weakening of the boundary between junior staff and students'.[89]

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[88] Bernstein, 1971, pp. 223-224.

[89] Ibid., p. 221.

Bernstein's work also suggests that an integrated knowledge code involves the creation of a 'committee system of staff set up to provide sensitive feedback',[90] as the radical change in educational and ideological orientation force faculty or staff to 'enter into social relationships with each other based on shared, cooperative educational tasks'.[91] The governance structure of Academic Development at UWC, as well as the program's emphasis on action research involving curriculum and pedagogical innovation, corresponded to Bernstein's description. For example, AD officers were assigned to different faculties in an effort to establish dialogue within and between departments surrounding issues of pedagogical and curricula reform. In conjunction with the diagnostic, department-based exchanges taking place between AD staff and faculty, UWC also enhanced its feedback system concerning educational innovations through the publication of research efforts occurring across the campus. The AD center produced a number of publications, most notably volumes entitled AD Dialogues, and AD Issues, which provided opportunities to exchange ideas and opinions, and stimulate debates and presentations of research and projects taking place at UWC.

As a result of its compensatory program, a plethora of academic development projects and action research was generated over roughly a 6 year period. [92] Equally

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[90] Ibid., p. 223.

[91] Ibid., p. 219.

[92] For example, the inaugural issue of AD Dialogues (Volume 1, 1993) consisted of the following contributions: "Academic Development and the Challenge of Curriculum Change at the University of the Western Cape: An Overview"; "First Fruits: What it is like to come to UWC"; Collaboration for Change: Curriculum Development in the Botany Department at UWC"; "Innovations in Teaching-and-learning in the Department of Anthropology"; "Review, Reform and Reflection: Changing the Political Studies 1 Curriculum"; "Towards Academic Development and Equality of Opportunity: A Critical Analysis of the Education 1 Tutorial Program"; "Developing Academic Literacies: The English Special Project";

important, the AD program's governance structure established department-based committees overseeing curricula and pedagogical review across the university. Within a relatively short time span UWC had therefore successfully changed its assessment procedures, dramatically expanded the availability of tutorials for its students, and established the AD center on campus.

Continuous Evaluation and the Unintended Consequences of Crisis Management

The university raised its pass rates, softened the economic blows dealt the institution via state subsidy cuts, and most importantly, radically altered the orientation of the university by increasing the racial-ethnic composition of its student population.[93] In the face of crippling fiscal realities throughout the late 1980s and early 90s, university figures indicated that 1000 out UWC's 2,100 graduates in 1991 would not have been admitted to any other university in South Africa (UWC News, 1994, Vol. 2, No. 1).

"Communal Conversations: The English Department's Writing Program"; and "Meeting the Academic Challenge of Development Productively". Concomitantly, AD Issues generated critical discussion around such topics as 'Improving the Quality of Educational Provision at UWC', 'Epistemological Access in the University', 'Alienation or Engagement: Large and Small Lecture Groups in English 1', and the use of 'Lecture-room Debates in History 1'. In addition, AD Issues also provided a forum for reports outlining what projects different departments were engaged in such as 'Research and Academic Development', 'Computer Supported Academic Development', 'Tutor Training in the Physics Department', 'The English for Educational Development Project', 'Curriculum Development Initiatives in Science' and the 'Report on the Political Studies Tutorial Program' (AD Issues, Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1993).

[93] The importance of raising pass rates cannot be overstated given the fact the apartheid government had altered the state subsidy formula for South African universities in 1989 by refusing to provide additional funding to any tertiary institution that increased its student enrollment numbers from those reported in 1986. Since UWC experienced a period of dramatic growth in enrollments throughout the second half of the 1980s, the change in the government's tertiary policy (SASPE 110) not only had an immediate effect on the university's finances, but also heightened other potentially negative aspects of the state subsidy formula such as the funding mechanisms surrounding pass rates. While UWC had successfully acquired in 1982 an "autonomous" standing previously granted only white universities in South Africa, their pass rates were historically lower than their white counterparts. Raising pass rates at UWC was thus essential in order to counter the removal of the student growth component in the subsidy formula.

Despite the institution's successes, a cloud of financial uncertainty hovered over the university. Reliance on external donors could not be viewed as a permanent source of revenue for the provision of academic development, continuous evaluation and the Work Study program on campus. With every new academic year came reworked proposals to the IDT Fund and other donor agencies, who were not prepared to supplement forever the gaps in government funding. Moreover, dual strategies designed to simultaneously counter the university's financial woes, while challenging its faculty, staff and students to forge a "pedagogy of the oppressed", inadvertently took on a haphazard character, as one crisis would be skillfully dealt with only to potentially deepen or create another on campus. This was clearly the case with respect to the implementation of continuous evaluation at UWC.

The introduction of continuous evaluation was meant to address two essential exigencies of open admissions: to provide a empowering venue for feedback and dialogue to occur between faculty and students surrounding academic work; and to offset the high failure rates at UWC by increasing the amount of assessment opportunities available to students during the semester, thereby reducing the proportion of the final course grade based on mid and end-of-term examinations. At first glance, the introduction of continuous evaluation was an immediate success as students overwhelmingly supported the change in assessment procedures. Pass rates steadily increased, lessening the negative impact of the state subsidy formula. In 1989, the pass rate for first year students across all faculties was 65%. By 1992, pass rates for first year students increased to 77% (UWC

Statistics, 1960-1993).[94] However, a report commissioned by UWC to study continuous evaluation (Bundlender, 1994), revealed some disturbing trends, as the administration's efforts curb the economic crisis on campus generated a number of unintended consequences.

Bundlender remarks that 'continuous evaluation was introduced into a situation significantly different from that in which it was planned'.[95] The change in student politics at UWC contributed significantly to the discrepancies between how continuous evaluation was constituted in the proposal stage, versus the reality of implementing the new system of assessment on campus. With the emergence of a powerful subsection of the student body capable of disrupting the entire university over demands surrounding tuition and residence fees, the number of days lost due to official boycotts at UWC from 1991 onwards was a major reason for the "changed context" characterizing the implementation of continuous evaluation.[96]

Imbued with a non-racial ideology with strong African National Congress leanings, UWC's administration was unwilling to act decisively in the face of a growing

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[94] Increases were even larger during this same period for 2nd and 3rd year students respectively. Refer to Figure 5 on 1st, 2nd and 3rd year student pass rates at UWC between 1986-1992.

[95] Bundlender, 1994, p. 11.

[96] Factors contributing to the rise in boycotts at UWC were discussed in Chapter Three. In particular, issues revolving around the 'racial politics of scarce resources' on campus, as well as the administration's ideological orientation, were linked to the increase in the number of boycotts at UWC during the early 1990s. Bundlender (1994) attributes the change in the nature of student politics at UWC to South Africa's national liberation movements and the unbanning of political parties, as well as the release of political prisoners and leaders in 1990. In doing so, she associates the increase in the number of student boycotts singularly to macro-political events, thereby failing to mention the role that the administration's ideological orientation played in legitimizing the change in student leadership on campus, or the importance of the university residences as sites for monopolization by a minority of students at UWC capable of initiating boycotts.

monopolization of student politics by a minority of African-speaking students living in university residences. It chose instead to prepare for the inevitable confrontations with students over academic and financial exclusions and hikes in tuition and residence fees. These confrontations would be followed by a series of drawn out negotiations between a relatively small number of students and the administration as ' several months at a time were lost' from one academic year to another due to boycotts.[97]

Each new boycott sent an already overwhelmed and disgruntled faculty scrambling to make quick fix alterations to course syllabuses and evaluation schedules. Little time was available for staff to provide careful feedback to students concerning their academic work; a basic tenet of continuous evaluation outlined in the original proposal guidelines. The Bundlender report notes that `not a single department said that they were able to give the required individual feedback to all students'.[98] In `the context of large classes, it is only with tutors and tutorials that one can hope to achieve the individual attention, monitoring and feedback needed for the new system of assessment'.[99]

The wide scale introduction of tutorials and the employment of senior students as tutors also raised serious concerns about both the quality of feedback and instruction afforded UWC students -- especially in departments located in the faculties of Arts and Economic and Management Sciences with large enrollments. Yet despite the need being greatest for quality feedback and instruction within these departments, the Arts averaged

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[97] Bundlender, 1994, p. 11.

[98] Ibid., p. 30.

[99] Ibid., p. 11.

1 tutor per 35 students'.[100] Moreover, since approximately `60% of all tutors employed at UWC were undergraduates, many of these students were only a year or two ahead of those they were meant to assist in tutorials'.[101] Finally, the increased use of tutors was compounded by `the tendency for the Work Study program to select students to tutor on the `basis of financial need rather than ability'.[102]

Another important consideration was the lack of adequate tutor training. While the report commended the efforts of disciplines with relatively small undergraduate enrollment numbers – such as Education and Botany -- for their careful preparation of tutors, many departments with large first year classes had no effective tutorial training program. In sociology, for example, where the first year introduction course comprised 1,200 students in 1993, `there was little connection between the tutor program and the lecturing staff'.[103] Similarly, psychology, a department with a total of 1,300 students enrolled in first year courses in 1993, reported that `although some lecturers would like to have briefing sessions with tutors, tutors rarely arrive for these sessions and rather just pick up the handout' for subsequent tutorials.[104]

Bundlender concludes that while `tutor training is seen as important at UWC, it is not incorporated in faculty and staff's job descriptions, and thus neglected because of

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[100] Ibid., pp. 11-12. In comparison to the less that ideal situation in the Arts, Bundlender notes that most faculties at UWC had a`student to tutor ratio that was in the teens for the 1993 academic year'.

[101] Ibid., p. 12.

[102] Ibid., p. 12.

[103] Ibid., p. 13.

[104] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

general staff overload'.[105] In the sociology/anthropology department, for instance, none of the 9 tutors who answered a short questionnaire about their experiences claimed that they had any kind of relationship with lecturers, nor were they required to attend lectures.[106] Rather, tutors – some of whom had never taught sociology/anthropology before -- were briefed on a weekly basis by a junior staff member of the department, and then sent off to their tutorials. While the junior staff member was a well-prepared and seasoned veteran of the department's tutorial program, and covered a great deal of intellectual and pedagogical territory, these weekly sessions were no substitute for in-depth training by the lecturers responsible for the design and implementation of the first-year introductory course in sociology/anthropology.

In light of overcrowded tutorials, the relative inexperience and inadequate training of tutors, the quality of teaching and feedback taking place in the tutorial programs of departments with large classes was suspect. Moreover, as senior (2nd and 3rd year) and postgraduate students increasingly participated in the evaluation of undergraduates enrolled in large classes, the tutors' "in-between" status contributed to the improvement in pass rates. A number of tutors interviewed in the sociology department mentioned that they perceived their primary roles as `being a kind for link between the students and lecturers, allowing students to talk out their anxieties with someone they perceived as

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[105] Ibid., p. 29.

[106] Written answers to an 11 question survey of the tutors' experiences in the sociology department that I designed and administered in the spring of 1995. Refer to Appendix.

peers'.[107] Thus, to use Bernstein's terminology, 'the blurring of the boundary' between what amounted to UWC's most junior staff and their students, resulted in higher grades being awarded on the basis of empathy rather than performance.

Conversely, the increase in grades was also attributed to 'the fear that some tutors and staff have of adverse student reactions, together with a lack of confidence in their own ability and understanding'.[108] It was also observed that tutors' lack of teaching experience contributed to 'the disparity between different markers, and that the disparity in grading did not always manifest itself in wide ranges, but rather resulted in the clustering of marks and the awarding of inflated grades'.[109] Finally, another reason for the improvement in pass rates was that continuous evaluation generated more assessment events and thereby reduced the proportion of the final grade based on the results of mid and end-of-term examinations.

Pinpointing exactly what roles were played by empathy, fear, a lack of confidence amongst tutors, and the increase in assessment events, with respect to the improvement of pass rates at UWC is not necessary in order to made the following observation: with the introduction of continuous evaluation, term grades were substantially higher than the grades obtained during final examinations. This is true even in departments with outstanding tutorial training programs such as in the Faculty of Education. In 1990-91, for example, 83% of students in Education had a year-end grade in the 50 to 75% range.

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[107] Written answers to an 11 question survey of the tutors' experiences in the sociology department that I designed and administered in the spring of 1995. Refer to Appendix.

[108] Bundlender, 1994, p. 29.

[109] Ibid., p. 27.

yet 69% of the students failed their final examination. Thus, despite the poor showing by Education students in the final exam, the failure rate actually dropped by 16% in 1990-91 when compared to 1989 (Badat and Lazarus, 1993, pp. 95-98).

Although both the university's Mission Statement and the Academic Development Program pushed for student empowerment and participation in `making pedagogy at UWC relevant to the democratic struggles of the people' (Durand, 1990), the bottom line is that the change in assessment procedures was far more successful at improving grades than enhancing student engagement in the process of learning. Indeed, despite the `overwhelming support on campus for the new system of evaluation from virtually all the student bodies',[110] the trend at UWC to use of multiple choice tests and short answer assignments in tutorials ran counter to one of the basic criticisms leveled at apartheid education by UWC's own Academic Development program: an over-reliance on states of knowledge and the memorization of "facts" without critical interrogation.

While Bundlender notes that one of the `recurrent complaints at UWC involved the "mindlessness" or "routine character" of some of the testing', she also states that `multiple choice tests were mentioned widely in Science, but also [in departments with relatively large first year enrollments] such Law, Geography, Psychology, Sociology and Linguistics.[111] It was also noted, that these types of tests were not equipped to `measure essay-writing, reasoning and other required skills'.[112] Equally important, the report on

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[110] Bundlender, 1994, p. 5.

[111] Ibid., p. 20.

[112] Ibid., p. 19.

continuous evaluation noted that 'the experiences of most students was also one of overload, as they were over occupied in completing a myriad of tasks'.[113]

Other research on student experiences at UWC reported similar findings, particularly with respect to 'the strong link between the workload and the difficulty in integrating theory and practice' (Scott and Williamson, 1993; Mabizela, 1994). Hence, an increased reliance on multiple choice tests and short answer assignments, while contributing to higher pass rates, contradicted the learning perspectives adopted by the institution's compensatory program. Moreover, Bundlender concludes that 'students are less interested with overall pedagogic issues which concern staff, and more with finding a system which gives them greater chance of success; to put it crudely, they are concerned with improving marks, rather than improving learning more widely'.[114] Thus, taking into account the prevalence of this attitude on campus, it is not evident that increasing pass rates translated into improving student comprehension and 'the development of critical minds' at UWC.[115]

UWC's administration was quick to point out that its degree and diploma programs met the approval of external examiners from other universities. However, since South Africa's post-secondary system only required that universities submit failing efforts of their students for outside evaluation, a random assessment of the quality of educational outputs of their students whom attained a passing grade did not occur. While

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[113] Ibid., p. 25.

[114] Ibid.

[115] Durand, 1990.

acknowledging that a discussion of academic "standards" at UWC must be carefully scrutinized and contextualized in light of South Africa's history of racism, the variations and discrepancies in the assessment procedures associated with the introduction of continuous evaluation cannot be overstated.

The information supplied by informants in eight different departments, Public Administration, Law, Psychology, Human Ecology, History, Botany, Social Work, and Occupational Therapy, 'showed a great disparity surrounding the number and format of evaluation events and their relative weighting'.[116] Not only did 'the number of tests per course vary between none and nine', but also the format ranged from problems, short questions, matching question, essays or multiple choice'.[117] In addition to the confusion expressed by staff about 'whether each piece of work should be graded, the use of group work was also noted as a problem when determining the allocation of marks. This last concern was summed up nicely by the following comment: 'all the students get 80% but they are not all worth 80%'.[118]

The use of what was known at UWC as "coupling" also represented another inconsistency in the process of allocating grades. Coupling involved 'adding the marks of two different semester courses together'.[119] In essence, the use of coupling meant that '

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[116] Bundlender, 1994, p. 8.

[117] Ibid. Bundlender's study also indicates that non-test evaluation events in tutorials and lecturers varied even further, as the eight departments declared using 'essays, assignments, report writing, worksheets, paragraphs, test yourself, role plays, case studies, practical tasks and group work' (p. 8).

[118] Ibid., p. 10.

[119] Ibid.

a student can effectively fail one semester course but, by getting a sufficiently high mark the following semester, obtain an overall pass'.[120] The report notes that `coupling was said to occur in Sociology, Anthropology and most of the Arts departments, as well as Mathematics, Education and Human Ecology'.[121] For some faculty and staff, coupling was seen as an extension of continuous evaluation as it allowed for `greater flexibility for students and an increased chance of passing'.[122] However, for others, `coupling should be phased out because they felt that it lowered standards unacceptably'.[123]

Inconsistencies surrounding the use of multiple choice tests remained a source of contention at UWC as `different lecturers within the same discipline would adopt differing approaches'.[124] For example, Mathematics `did not use multiple choice tests at all in the special bridging first year course'.[125] Yet, `in the service course for Business and Economics and Pharmacy, 50% of the testing is by multiple choice questions'. [126] The report concludes that although the potential existed to use multiple choice tests to identify weak areas' in student comprehension and in turn, alter academic programs accordingly, `this analysis and linking was rarely done'.[127]

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[120] Ibid.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Ibid., p. 11.

[123] Ibid.

[124] Ibid., p. 19.

[125] Ibid.

[126] Ibid., p. 20.

[127] Ibid.

Faculty Discontent and Resistance to the Change in Educational Codes

The variations and discrepancies underscoring the advent of continuous evaluation at UWC can be accounted for by the kinds of institutional "problems of order" that Bernstein claims tend to accompany the transition from a collection to an integrated code. Of particular import is Bernstein's observation that unlike a collection code, where 'evaluation consists of the fit between a narrow range of specific competencies and states of knowledge',[128] an integrated code engenders multiple evaluative criteria 'which are likely less explicit and measurable'.[129]

The changes in pedagogy, curriculum and assessment procedures at UWC blurred the boundary of authority between the teacher and the taught, as tutorials provided greater opportunities for assessments based on rewarding student engagement -- in the form of short quizzes, in-class participation, etc., -- within a less formalized learning environment supervised by student tutors. In doing so, however, difficulties arose with respect to determining 'what is to be assessed and the form of assessment; without clear criteria of evaluation, neither teacher nor taught, have any means to consider the significance of what is learned, nor any means to judge the pedagogy'.[130]

According to Bernstein, the transition from a collection to an integrated knowledge code requires that the major participants within an educational institution work collectively according to some egalitarian principle or ideology. If however,

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[128] Bernstein, 1971, p. 224.

[129] Ibid., p. 223.

[130] Ibid., pp. 223-224.

students, faculty and staff do not share a closed, and explicit ideology, the burden of new academic demands, as well as the uncertainties accompanying a change in educational orientation, can foster resentment and divisiveness. UWC's transformation certainly evoked what Bernstein identified as 'deep-felt resistances to a change in educational codes'.[131] These deep-felt resistances are often conveyed in the form of 'gossip, intrigue and conspiracy theories and if left unchecked within an institution, can threaten the whole organization'.[132]

In the case of the University of the Western Cape, the emergence of deep felt resistances to the university's transformation cannot be separated from the hierarchical structure of South Africa's post secondary system. For example, UWC's academic content was heavily skewed towards the humanities, in part because of the direct link established by racial legislation to state employment opportunities for Coloureds in the civil service sector -- particularly in the area of public school teaching.[133] This legacy of apartheid meant that even by 1992, the Arts remained the largest faculty at UWC, enrolling 44% of all students attending the university.[134] Moreover, approximately 53% (2,170) of the total number of African-speaking students at UWC were enrolled in the Arts.[135] Within the Faculty of Arts, the burden of having to cope with students from

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[131] Ibid., p. 221.

[132] Ibid., pp. 219-222.

[133] Refer to the Interim Research Report on The Enhancement of Graduate Programmes and Research Capacity at Historically Black Universities, The University of the Western Cape, Education Policy Unit, 1996, Section 3, p. 6.

[134] Ibid., p. 5.

[135] Ibid., p. 8.

severely "disadvantaged" backgrounds and limited academic proficiency in English was felt most by the junior, and predominantly mixed-race, staff.

While UWC represented the primary institution for Coloured graduates seeking academic employment at the post-secondary level in the country, apartheid legislation had resulted in a racially skewed promotion system with the university. As a consequence, more the half (51.6%) of the junior lecturer positions in the Faculty of Arts were Coloured in 1992 (refer to Figure 7).[136] In total, junior lecturers comprised 59% (81) of the academic staff (138) in the Faculty of Arts.[137] Although whites constituted a substantial proportion of the Faculty's junior staff (42%) as well, they also represented 57% of the full professors in the Arts, in comparison to African-speaking and Coloured senior faculty who only constituted 28.6% and 14.3% respectively. Indeed, across the entire university, whites comprised approximately 2/3rds (64%) of the full professors, while Coloured and African-speaking faculty represented 22% and 12% of these positions (refer to Figure 8).

Given both the preponderance for junior lecturers in Arts to be Coloured, and the tendency for the majority of African-speaking students to be placed in large departments located in this faculty, it is not surprising that complaints by UWC's faculty and staff surrounding the advent of continuous evaluation and the Academic Development program were often punctuated by accusations of racism. In particular, AD center

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[136] Appendix: Academic Staff Data, Table 12: Profile of Academic Staff, Interim Research Report, 1996, p. 3.

[137] Ibid., Profile of Academic Staff, Table 7, p. 11.

practitioners were viewed by some "black" faculty 'as the new colonizers of the university – missionaries, often white liberals, with answers to everything'.[138] Conversely, AD staff complained that certain departments with large numbers of Coloured faculty and staff were insensitive to African-speaking students.[139]

The Bundlender report furnishes an indication of the kinds of deep-felt resistance to the change the educational codes that were often conveyed in the form of 'gossip, intrigue and conspiracy theories'.[140] Interviewees 'spoke of the perception that were (and are) expected to implement things that are "dumped" on them from "up there" without support or guidance'.[141] Similarly, other criticisms reported by Bundlender revolved around the view that reforms at UWC 'were classic examples of authoritarian imposition from outside'.[142]

UWC faculty and staff often expressed frustration with the new tasks brought on by continuous evaluation which 'were not included in anyone's job description'.[143] These tasks ranged from administrative duties such as 'allocating students into tutorials and the continual recording and calculating of marks [grades], to more important pedagogical

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[138] Bundlender, 1994, p. 6.

[139] In an interview with one AD officer, who asked to speak off the record because 'as a white person, it was difficult to raise such problems at UWC', the racist attitudes of some Coloured staff in a large department in the Arts was noted as one of the obstacles facing African-speaking students. The use of Afrikaans in the classroom, for example, was criticized by African-speaking students and AD research, as racist hangover of apartheid and a continuation of Coloured favoritism at UWC.

[140] Bernstein, 1971, pp. 219-222.

[141] Bundlender, 1994, p. 5.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Ibid., p. 26.

Figure 7: Percentage of Junior Lecturers in UWC's Faculty of Arts by Race in 1992

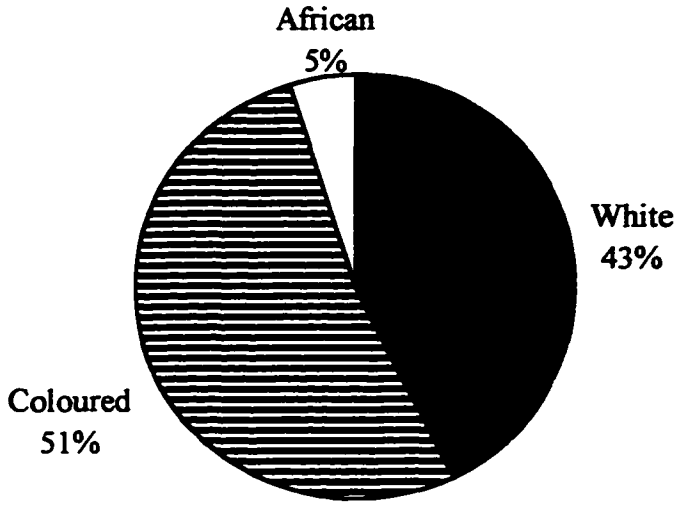
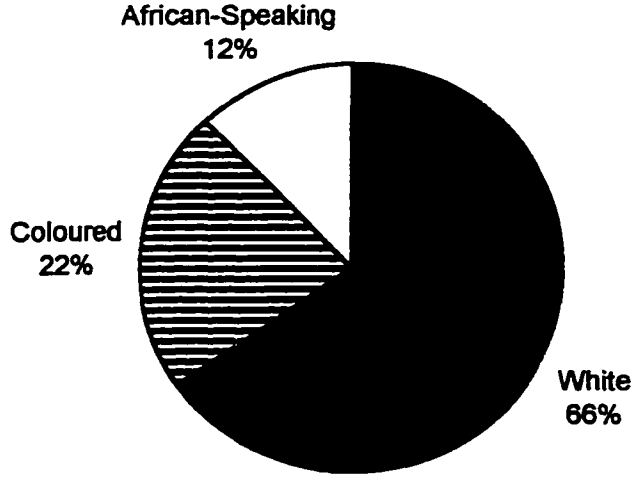


Figure 8: Percentage of Full Professors at UWC by Race in 1992



Source: Appendix: Academic Staff Data, Tables 9 and 12: Profile of Academic Staff, Interim Research Report, The Enhancement of Graduate Programmes and Research Capacity at Historically Black Universities, The University of the Western Cape, Education Policy Unit, 1996.

endeavors like training tutors and conducting tutorials. Older teaching staff in particular complained that the evaluation, curriculum and pedagogic changes at UWC failed to fully take into account that they had been struggling in adverse circumstances with meager resources for years'.[144]

The AD center and program were especially targeted for criticism. Although the Academic Development Research Project's survey of the learning and language difficulties at UWC garnered cooperation and feedback from faculty and staff, the Bundlender (1994) report indicates that 'resentment was said to be especially strong in the larger departments, where it was felt that the AD center and the administration did not appreciate the practical difficulties and the specifics of their disciplines'.[145] Dissatisfaction centered around: the predominantly white racial composition of the AD center; the lack of AD support for large departments; the monopolization of research and funding opportunities surrounding academic development endeavors; and the perception that the administration and its compensatory program were not fully aware of the demands and realities of teaching an increasingly diverse and "disadvantaged" student body.

It was also observed that 'the AD staff were seen as too oriented to research and too prolific in their use of jawbreakers [jargon], which put off staff from other disciplines'.[146] Another concern noted involving AD research was that 'smaller, rather

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[144] Ibid., pp. 26-29.

[145] Ibid., p. 6.

[146] Ibid.

than larger classes, tended to be targeted in research endeavors'.[147] AD practitioners, on the other hand, complained that 'since the FADCs lacked the status of other faculty structures at UWC, AD initiatives and actual changes in teaching and learning practices had an uneven effect across different departments'.[148] To complicate matters further, the AD Center didn't possess the authority to enforce changes or reprimand those departments perceived as negligent or resistant to progressive alterations in curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation procedures.

With the assigning of one, and in some cases two, academic development officers to each faculty, it was felt that 'departments associated responsibility for all aspects of AD work with their respective AD officer'.[149] The fact that most AD officers were assigned to faculties rather than individual departments, resulted in unfair expectations being placed on AD officers which 'not only limited their effectiveness, but also did little to raise the AD center's status in the eyes of mainstream academics at UWC'.[150]

Since AD officers were forced to take full responsibility for tutor training programs in departments such as Psychology, Chemistry, Economics, Math, and Botany, the AD center felt that the status of academic development as a legitimate area of expertise and specialization was diminished. This might explain why the AD center never engaged in writing joint proposals with the Work Study Program to develop a

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[147] Ibid.

[148] 1994 Report to the Independent Development Trust, p. 2.

[149] Bundlender, 1994, p. 6.

[150] Ibid.

comprehensive tutorial training program at UWC. Given the essential role played by student-run tutorials across the university, and the fact the Academic Development and the Work Study Programs were both funded by the Independent Trust Fund, it seemed only natural that the AD center would have spearheaded efforts to garner financial support for the establishment of a tutor training center. Instead, AD staff tended to collaborate in research projects with members of small departments like Botany, Anthropology (before it was merged with Sociology) and Occupational Therapy.[151]

In addition to the center's desire for Academic Development to be taken seriously as a legitimate university discourse, the limitations placed on how funding could be used by external/international donor agencies inhibited the development of collaborative ventures with large departments and programs swamped by the demands of growing numbers of "disadvantaged" students at UWC. Because the Independent Trust Fund stipulated that external donor money could not be used to hire new faculty, AD projects were often scaled down in size and scope and characterized by short-term research objectives.[152] Such an arrangement did little to guarantee that individual departments would engage in time consuming curriculum, pedagogical and evaluation reforms. Moreover, a growing sense of injustice was felt by those faculty and staff confronted

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[151] For examples, refer to "Collaboration for Change: Curriculum Development in the Botany Department at UWC" (Mackenzie, Keats and Boughey, 1993); "Innovation in Teaching-and-learning in the Department of Anthropology" (Cousins and Boughey, 1993); "Personal Voice and Academic Knowledge: The Story of Writing to Learn in Occupational Therapy Continues...", (Coetzee and Boughey, 1994).

[152] For example, after developing a number of comprehensive AD innovations in the Anthropology, including a tutorial training program (Cousins & Boughey, 1993), the department merged with Sociology in 1994. Since Anthropology had a relatively small number of students, most of the AD developments they initiated could not be duplicated in the sociology, which prior to the merge was one of the largest departments in UWC.

with overcrowded classes and meager resources, and whose chances for advancement had been diminished by a dearth of publications and research opportunities.

UWC's transformation was in part an attempt to break the stigma surrounding historically "black" universities in South Africa, as primarily "teaching" facilities rather than productive institutions of research and scholarship. Yet, as the university actively sought and attained external donor funding to enhance their research capacity, UWC faculty and staff, overwhelmed with large classes and an increasingly diverse and disadvantaged student population, felt excluded from this agenda. Moreover, their sense of exclusion hearkened back to the apartheid system's divide and rule approaches in which "black" post-secondary institutions and "black" faculty were devalued and denied the opportunity to engage in large scale research efforts.[153] However, in this instance, the process of devaluation of some UWC faculty was internalized within the institution itself, as waves of new students with varied academic and language needs, flooded into their classrooms precisely at a time when research and publishing opportunities were generated by the AD program and its center.

The belief held by many "black" faculty and staff that favoritism, blocked opportunity and enshrined racism continued to be a significant factor at UWC, thus overshadowed declarations of non-racialism made by the university's administration. Moreover, conspiratorial notions surrounding the AD center controlling the lion's share

[153] The SAPSE formula used by the apartheid government to subsidize South African universities was driven by graduate research output. In other words, the more research conducted by a post-secondary institution, the greater the financial support given passed along through state subsidies. In light of the fact that UWC, like other historically "black" universities were primarily designed by the apartheid government to serve as racialized teaching facilities, their share of state subsidies was severely limited by a lack of research production.

of funding and research opportunities on campus were further enhanced by its decision to re-conceptualize its "infusion" model. In a report to the Independent Trust Fund in 1994, it was recognized that because 'AD operates in an uneven institutional climate, ranging from hostile to supportive, the academic development program is increasingly moving in the direction of a small permanent core of Center staff, complemented by externally funded projects, a Masters degree program, and a movement towards greater specialization and professionalization'.[154]

This recent development likely exacerbated frustrations felt especially by staff in large departments, who were forced -- without compensation -- to make a 'trade-off between research and publication, on the one hand, and teaching on the other'.[155] The proliferation of academic development research and publications, often directly funded, as well as disseminated by the AD center, deepened feelings of abandonment by faculty and staff located in large departments, many of whom were Coloured with junior rankings within the university.

One measure of a university is its capacity to educate its students according to the mandate set forth by the institution. The kinds of educational innovations accompanying the establishment of UWC's Academic Development Program were designed to initiate

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[154] 1994 Report to the Independent Development Trust, pp. 2-4. While the change in orientation was understandable given the uncertainty surrounding long-term financial support for academic development at UWC, the closing off of the ranks -- so to speak -- at the AD center could be interpreted as an attempt to save Academic Development as a discipline from possible extinction in the face the imminent withdrawal of financial support from external donors, particularly the Independent Trust Fund. The fact that the AD center has moved quickly to use the remaining surplus --slightly under 1.6 million Rand as of 95/4/1 -- from the AD endowment fund to fill core posts by hiring permanent staff, has contributed the perception that the AD center was adopting a "survival first" perspective at UWC. Refer to the Minutes of the AD Sub-SAK Meeting, 4/8/95.

[155] Bundlender, 1994, p. 27.

sustainable or "second-order" institutional change that 'aimed to bring together curriculum development, student learning, staff and organizational development, in an integrated process at the departmental and faculty level' (Walker and Badsha, 1993, p. 11). As this chapter demonstrates, however, UWC fell far short of these ambitious objectives.

Making such a claim should not be construed as an attempt to absolve the apartheid state for its racist intentions and actions. On the contrary, if UWC's "story" had been written as a Shakespearean play, the villain in the piece would undoubtedly be the apartheid state. That the government punished UWC economically for implementing open admissions is without dispute. While UWC masterfully survived the National Party regime's destabilizing and strong arm tactics, its bold efforts to build a people's university were restricted by the divisive legacy of apartheid and the structural limitations of state funding.

As discussed in Chapter 3, competition over scarce resources between different racial-ethnic groupings generated resentment amongst students that paralyzed their capacity to act collectively. UWC's faculty and staff were similarly impacted upon by a lack of adequate funding and institutional support. Confronted with increasing numbers of "disadvantaged" students, overcrowded classes, interruptions brought on by boycotts, and a lack of research and publishing opportunities, considerable resentment and frustration were directed at UWC's administration and its Academic Development Program. Unable to forge an ideological consensus amongst students, staff and faculty, compensatory reforms at UWC were more successful at managing the ongoing fiscal

crisis, than enhancing the quality of teaching, assessment, feedback, and curriculum development on campus.

The racial-ideological fragmentation amongst faculty and staff was also a major factor at UWC, as the brunt of the increased teaching load was fell on mostly junior, "black" faculty and staff within the Arts and Social Sciences. The introduction of continuous evaluation and the Academic Development Program therefore exacerbated the racial divisions within the university based on an apartheid hierarchy of privileges. exclusionary hiring procedures, and job advancement opportunities that adversely affected "black" faculty and staff at UWC.

But while the UWC's compensatory reforms were tempered by both an insurmountable shortage of funding and racial discord amongst its faculty, staff and students, the university nevertheless made important and innovative excursions into areas of pedagogical and language development. With English emerging as the primary medium of instruction, it became painfully clear that there was no quick fix available to redress the inequities in the apartheid educational system at the university level. Undaunted by this reality, AD language specialists at UWC focused on addressing the damaging effects of segregation on "black" students' consciousness and language development which had inhibited the acquisition of critical and analytical skills.

Following the Friereian method and the educational concepts articulated in the university's mission statement, AD practitioners sought to improve the critical and analytical skills of UWC students by promoting what became known on campus as "academic literacy". Proponents of academic literacy stressed the enhancement of

opportunities for students to engage in the practice of writing. To this end, a foundation course in English language development was created in 1992 in an effort to confront the educational disadvantages of an increasingly diverse student body at UWC. Outlining the basic tenets of academic literacy at UWC, as well as examining the language difficulties experienced by UWC students, will be the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter Five

The Making of a Pedagogy of the Oppressed: Defining the "Language Problem" and the Promotion of Academic Literacy on Campus

The University of the Western Cape and its Academic Development Program operated according to a number of principled assumptions concerning their students cumulative disadvantages. The most important of these was that the academic and language problems experienced by students were directly the result of the oppression imposed upon "blacks" by apartheid education. Within the educational system, the apartheid state's control over 'the level of communication and the direction of thought' had systemically fragmented and delimited the boundaries of knowledge according to different racial and language classifications. (Kallaway, 1986). One of the first task of the Academic Development (AD) program was therefore to identify the learning and language problems experienced by UWC students.

The university concluded that South Africa's policies of segregation placed boundaries on the consciousness and language development of "blacks". These boundaries limited opportunities for "black" students to appropriate forms of knowledge derived outside their segregated experiences on two essential levels. Years of apartheid schooling and segregation had restricted communicative exchanges between students from varied racial-ethnic backgrounds and inhibited what social scientists and linguists have identified as key to reaching a mutual consensus: the objectification of individual experience through dialogue with a "differentiated" other (Bahktin, 1981, 1986; Bernstein, 1971, 1996; Habermas, 1984, 1987). Secondly, access to abstract modes of

understanding (such critical, conceptual reasoning skills embodied in complex mathematics, advanced essay writing and other problem-solving techniques), were denied "black" students on the basis of apartheid education's reliance on racial classifications and rote learning methods.

This chapter begins with an examination of the university's 1991 Language Policy Discussion Document, as well as surveys conducted under the auspices of UWC's Academic Development Research Project . The various recommendations made by the AD steering committee in charge of producing the university's Language Policy Discussion Document will be discussed. These recommendations framed UWC's conceptualization of both the "language problem" on campus and the learning processes of their students, and were based on existing research conducted in the UK and Australia surrounding the acquisition of "academic literacy" skills.

Academic literacy represented the core organizing concept for the establishment of English for Educational Development or ENG 105. Due to its unique status as the only credit-bearing, foundation course in academic literacy in the country, critical attention will be focused on examining the content of English for Educational Development. Beginning with a description of key aspects underlying ENG 105, much of this chapter will be dedicated to providing a working definition of academic literacy, as well as exploring the learning, pedagogical and language strategies developed in the foundation course. For example, one of the defining features of the academic literacy course revolved around its strategy of building students' confidence by emphasizing their own cultural knowledge and personal experiences in an academic context. As a consequence

of ENG 105's personalized appeal, a collection of autobiographical course materials and exercises, students' written submissions, and participant-observation data involving weekly lecturers collected over a 5 month period, will be thoroughly reviewed. Also, a brief discussion surrounding ENG 105's evaluation procedures and the essential role played by tutors when assessing students' written work and oral participation will be presented.

An Overview of UWC's Language Policy Document:

According to surveys conducted in 1989 and 1990, UWC staff overwhelming reported language problems as the most serious obstacle facing their students.[156] The lecturers' perception of student academic performance highlighted a host of concerns beginning with an inability to critically analyze texts, defined as reading with understanding, sifting, extracting and interpreting text, as well as distinguishing main from supporting information and differentiating principles from examples. Also cited by faculty and staff were the following problems pertaining to students' writing in English: their work displayed a lack of relevant information, clarity and logic; students had great difficulty expressing what they intended to convey; there was a reliance on excessive quotations and plagiarism as well as a poor grasp of writing conventions such as referencing and bibliographies.

Concerns over students' approaches to learning were also frequently mentioned at UWC. Comments focused on students' lack of confidence in their own ideas; their reluctance to participate in group discussions; their unwillingness to work independently;

[156] Academic Development at UWC: A Selected Information and Resource Package, 1994.

and students' requests for handouts and lecture notes covering verbatim the work related to the content of future exams. Concomitantly, lecturers noted students' propensity to uncritically copy word-for-word anything written on the board or displayed on overheads.[157]

Following the results of the Academic Development Research Project surveys, an AD steering Committee produced a Language Policy Discussion Document which was disseminated across the campus in 1991. Among the goals of the document was to make policy recommendations for the usage of English and/or Afrikaans as the primary media of instruction, and to clarify what constituted the "language problem" experienced by UWC students on campus. In a section entitled "Language Problems: What are they? Whose are they?", concepts concerning language usage were introduced in an effort to make a distinction between everyday or general "communicative competence" versus academic "aural, oral, reading and written language proficiency". "General communicative competence" referred to the extent to which students, particularly those who spoke English as a second language, displayed an ability to speak and listen in ordinary conversation about everyday events.

The concept of "general non-academic written proficiency" also connotes the capacity `to perform simple writings tasks that do not necessarily require abstraction and complexity', such as writing a letter in English to a friend. The above term stood in contrast to: "academic aural language proficiency", defined as the ability `to understand

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[157] Ibid.

and follow what is being said in either small group discussions such as tutorials or in large lecture hall settings'; "academic oral language proficiency", referring to the capacity `to speak with clarity about academic matters and be understood by others, whether in a discussion or during a presentation'; and "academic reading proficiency", defining the ability to not merely read academic texts but `to process the knowledge presented in such a way as to be used in academic tasks and contexts'; and finally, "academic written language proficiency" which refers to one's capacity to write with clarity in formal academic assignments that demand complexity and abstract thought.

Another important distinction that was drawn out in UWC's language policy document concerned the difference between identifying "surface" and "deep" errors in students' written work. "Surface" errors occur when incorrect spelling, punctuation and grammatical syntax do not interfere with the reader's capacity to understand what is being conveyed. Whereas "deep" errors are more serious in nature and can take one of two forms, the first being when a student's written work displays a breakdown of meaning in every sentence, which was categorized by the AD steering Committee as an example of "deep errors of usage". The second type of written mistakes involve a relational breakdown of meaning between sentences, paragraphs or sections of a piece of writing and was classified by the authors of the document as "rhetorical errors". In other words, a breakdown in the flow of an argument or the organization of several ideas within an essay.

One of the most interesting recommendations involved the need for UWC's faculty to avoid making sweeping generalizations with respect to their students' apparent

lack of general non-academic oral and written proficiency. The authors of the document asserted that UWC students had indeed attained a general level of non-academic communicative competence in English. Such a claim, however, was made without a great deal of evidence, hence the AD steering committee proposed immediate research to develop an applicable English Proficiency Test to be administered to all incoming students the following year. Nevertheless, the policy document also 'endorsed the usage of English as the formal academic language at UWC, with an accommodating and supportive learning environment provided in Afrikaans, Xhosa as well as other languages spoken on campus' (Language Policy Document, 1991).

Another recommendation claimed that excessive focus by UWC staff and faculty on surface errors of usage in written assignments and essays, would only serve to increase anxiety amongst students and therefore deter them from freely engaging in the construction of meaning in English. While it was acknowledged that grammatical accuracy had its value, it was strongly suggested that initially correcting such errors should take a back seat to concentrating on promoting and enhancing students' capacity to communicate effectively within academic contexts and assignments in English. Furthermore, it was argued that little would be gained by placing students into elementary-level courses that emphasized formal grammar. Instead, it was suggested that the primary focus should be placed on encouraging and nurturing modes of critical and creative thinking through the writing process itself.

Conceptualizing the Learning Process at UWC:

The AD steering committee's recommendations drew on existing research on how students learn (Wilkins, 1976; Brumfit, 1984; and Nisbet and Scucksmith, 1986). In particular, AD practitioners at UWC focused on the distinction between rote learning and meaningful learning. One of the main concerns for UWC lecturers was how to overcome the tendency for "black" students educated in apartheid public schools to memorize facts and pieces of information without developing a deeper understanding of what is being learnt. In contrast to rote approaches, meaningful learning, in an academic context, refers to 'the construction of personal reality via the process of knowledge acquisition, concept formation and skills development as students engage with the theory and practice of individual disciplines'[158].

The terms "passive" and "active" learning were incorporated by the AD practitioners to distinguish between the manner in which students approach the learning process. A passive approach connotes students covering the material and being overly concerned with how much is being learnt and finding the "right" answers, as well as a tendency to assimilate unaltered pieces of knowledge by learning verbatim (Marton and Saljo, 1976; Jacques 1984; Vickers, 1986; and Entwistle, 1988). An active approach to learning focuses attention on the central point, the whole picture, what lies beyond the argument, and critically questions the logic of the presentation and the conclusion (Ibid.).

Identifying students' own conceptions of learning was also a central element of academic development at UWC. Borrowing from summaries of how students learn

(Marton et al., 1984), the AD program noted 6 qualitatively different conceptions of the learning process:

1) increasing one's knowledge
2) memorizing and reproducing
3) applying facts and procedures
4) understanding
5) seeing something in a different way
6) changing as a person

As result of the data collected by the Academic Development Research Project, it was concluded that UWC students tended to display a surface or "reproductive" level of comprehension encapsulated by the first three conceptions of learning (1-3) outlined above.

Considering the nature of apartheid public schools, where "black" students experienced heavy doses of rote learning in an effort to foster social control and conformity to South Africa's racial ideology, it is not surprising that such a conclusion was reached by UWC staff and faculty. In attempting to cope with the legacy of apartheid education, the AD program focused attention on developing the final three conceptions of learning (4-6): deepening understanding, allowing for learning to take the form of seeing things in a different way, and transforming students on a personal level.

The transformative nature of the learning process adapted by the AD research program revolved around the enhancement of students' capacity to "make sense of things". In other words, learning was conceived at UWC as a process in which meaning is constructed through the linking of new information to an existing framework of

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[158] Ibid., p. 22. For a discussion of the distinction between rote and meaning learning refer to the work of

knowledge (Linder, 1991). Moreover, the AD program viewed learning as an active process requiring students to engage within an academic environment. Engagement at UWC was defined as students interacting on a number of levels ranging from the most traditional form of engagement, that being students interacting with the formal sources of input (the lecturer, the tutor, the text), to interaction between fellow students (small group formats) and finally, interaction amongst themselves (generating a dialogue about learning from within). This last type of engagement underlying an interactive process of knowledge construction has also been identified as those 'activities that require a metacognitive approach to learning where students are cognizant of their own mental processes and understand and manage their learning environment' (Nisbet and Shucksmith, 1986).

In order to enhance students' independence and metacognitive capacities, AD specialists asserted that the construction of meaning within an academic context needed to be facilitated through the promotion of "felicity conditions" at UWC (Boughey, 1990). Felicity conditions refer to cognitive and affective factors that need to be in the possession of the learner so that academic tasks, such as reading a text or writing an assignment or essay, can be accomplished. In the case of reading an academic text, for example, factors such as motivation, a positive self-concept as a reader, students' prior knowledge and current level of language proficiency constituted a list of felicity conditions. With regards to writing, factors such as having a certain purpose when completing an essay or assignment, and possessing a clear conception of both the

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Ausubel et al, 1978.

intended audience and their expectations, were highlighted by AD practitioners as essential ingredients of the learning process. The provision of conditions required for students to engage in the transformative process of learning were important aspects of English language acquisition and pedagogy at UWC.

Academic Literacy Skills and the Introduction of English for Educational Development:

The concept of "academic literacy" was to become one of the buzz words surrounding UWC's AD program. Borrowing the term from research conducted in the UK and Australia (Taylor et al, 1988), the AD program at UWC sought to promote academic literacy through the development of students' 'understanding of the values and conventions or the "culture" of the university' (Boughey, 1994). Acquiring such a culture, refers to the students ability 'to begin to master the alphabet of linguistic and cognitive behavior, where the letter A, for example, as well as standing for excellence at the end of an essay, also stands for analysis, argument, assertion, and for assumption'.[159]

Contrary to the claim that 'being literate revolves around the capacity to manipulate the nouns, verbs and adjectives of language correctly, academic literacy approaches asserted that a breakdown at the level of syntax, spelling and grammar, are often due to a lack of understanding of the deeper rules and conventions of university culture' (Boughey, 1993, pp. 20-21). Consequently, academic literacy advocates at UWC stressed the development of a suitable curriculum and pedagogy capable of making the rules and conventions at university overt for students. The process by which students become aware of the rules and conventions of the university was labeled "acculturation"

[159] Ballard and Clanchy, 1988, p.11.

within academic literacy research (Ballard and Clanchy, 1988). Traditionally, one of the most important vehicles for promoting acculturation to the university is the writing process itself. Writing assignments, essays, theses and dissertations serve as the basis by which students are directed by lecturers and tutors to adhere to the rules and conventions of an academic culture. Writing allows for such rules and conventions to be internalized through a process of revision, as faculty give feedback and suggestions towards improvement and increased clarity in their students' work.

Unfortunately under apartheid education, the act of writing was often associated punitively with being tested -- this was particularly true for African-speaking students coming out of the DET public schools. Moreover, because of the tendency to promote rote learning in apartheid public schools, UWC students had difficulty developing independent, critical thought in academic assignments, instead often relying `a rich mixture of plagiarism and misinterpretation'.[160] UWC students' tendency to plagiarize when writing academic assignments and essays was a prime example of their lack of acculturation to the rules and conventions of the university.

Departments such as sociology/anthropology also reported that when completing written assignments their students often answered questions in point form despite being instructed to write short essays, indicating that there was lack of awareness of what constituted the "correct" way to complete certain academic tasks.[161] In addition, when surveyed by the sociology department, African-speaking students in particular expressed

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[160] Interview with Charlton Koen (Fall 1994), the coordinator of the sociology tutorial program at UWC.

[161] Ibid.

a great anxiety and uncertainty concerning their written performance and their command over the English language.[162] Nonetheless, while African-speaking students at UWC seemed especially anxious about writing essays and assignments, their Coloured counterparts were not much better off with respect to their employment of English within academic contexts.[163]

Although the AD program highlighted writing as an essential factor contributing to the acquisition of academic literacy skills, language specialists at UWC took great pains to emphasize that the act of writing in English should no longer be viewed by faculty and students alike as a form of testing. AD practitioners argued that viewing students' written work as products to be evaluated on the basis of correctness of spelling, syntax and grammar ultimately dampened students' desire to write. Remedial approaches, where large quantities of knowledge about language were to be absorbed through memorization of rules governing grammar and syntax, were therefore rejected. Instead, language researchers at UWC maintained that nurturing and rewarding the practice of writing should occur within regular academic departments. This approach would provide a vehicle for students to become inducted into specific disciplines, allowing them to come to terms with 'how to know, how to justify, and how to structure their knowledge' (Boughey, 1993, pp. 20-21).

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[162] Ibid.

[163] The fact that approximately 70% of all incoming students at UWC, regardless of their racial-ethnic background, were identified by the coordinator of ENG 105 as lacking the language skills needed to successfully cope with their academic studies, illustrates that Coloured students were not immune from the racial effects of apartheid education (On Campus, 1994).

The promotion of academic literacy skills served as a vehicle by which students would internalize the specialized methods of inquiry within individual disciplines by engaging in processes of writing. Such an approach required that language development be built into entire disciplines and curricula at UWC. In terms of what an integrated model of language development across the curriculum would look like, UWC had already in place a course designed by language specialists which laid down a foundation for promoting general academic literacy in English. Indeed, one of the center-pieces of the language policy document involved a description of what was soon to become the only foundation course in academic literacy at UWC: English For Educational Development or ENG 105.

In creating ENG 105, AD language specialist, Terry Volbrecht, focused on addressing the damaged relationship between language, consciousness and the organization of knowledge experienced by black students. Since 'language creates conceptual order by imposing differentiation and structure on experience',[164] Volbrecht identified ENG 105's main challenge as finding a way to move beyond the constraints and distortions of the past which hindered black students from critically appropriating forms of knowledge outside their immediate experiences.

Following the work of Luria (Luria, 1981), it was asserted that if 'theoretical reasoning was made accessible to UWC students through the initial use of concrete means, then the transfer to external abstract reasoning would be possible'.[165] ENG 105

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[164] Volbrecht, 1993a, p. 22.

[165] Ibid.

therefore designed a curriculum which moved from the 'use of concrete, particular experience to a wider universal analysis in the hope of facilitating the transition from perspective to conceptual thought'.[166]

By first building on 'existing student knowledge and experience and then gradually guiding students towards generalizing events, defining issues, and understanding and applying concepts',[167] ENG 105 envisaged their students would 'theorize their experiences and knowledge as a basis to developing their ability to deal with linguistic objects in a linguistically created reality'.[168] In other words, by keying on personal experience as a source of knowledge, ENG 105 sought to furnish the necessary foundation which would eventually guide their students towards more decontextualized kinds of thought processes and higher levels abstraction.

ENG 105 attempted to transcend the racial boundaries imposed upon "black" students' consciousness and language development by incorporating a "dialogical" approach to transmitting academic literacy skills. It employed a pedagogical format in which students were encouraged to "voice" their own experiences through oral and written interactions with lecturers, tutors and fellow students, as well as express their perspectives or points of view in relation to carefully selected texts.

The term "voice", according to Michael Bakhtin, the father of dialogism, is representative of 'an individual's "speaking consciousness" which exists in relation to the

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[166] Ibid.

[167] Ibid.

[168] Ibid.

voices, the values and ideas of others' (Bakhtin, 1981, 1986). For Bakhtin, dialogue, like existence itself, is based on difference. Although all social exchanges begin with a declaration of self, Bakhtin contends that dialogue cannot occur without the benefit of an "other". Hence, language is a shared event in which meaning is derived from difference in the form of an exchange of two or more voices or points of views, values, etc.

Apartheid education had limited the opportunities for black students, as the authorial "voices" of their everyday lives, to interact with poeple outside their segregated environments – whether in the form of exchanges between different racial-ethnic groups, or via discourses and texts deemed unnecessary for their consumption by the apartheid state. This lack of interaction inhibited "black" students from recognizing that their ideas, perspectives or points of views comprised necessary elements of what Jurgen Habermas calls "communicative action". For Habermas, language provides a rational vehicle for mutual understanding between different communities, cultures and racial-ethnic groupings, since inherent in dialogue is the desire and potential to be understood by others regardless of one's differences or background. [169]

While attention involving South Africa has recently focused on the issue of acknowledging and affirming the many different national-ethnic languages in the country, within UWC, the debates and discussions concerning language and medium of instruction have not been confined to whether English, Xhosa or Afrikaans should be prioritized at the university. Equally important within the context of promoting academic literacy on

[169] Habermas, 1984, 1987.

campus, is the need to increase both faculty and students' awareness of the role played by what Bakhtin identified as "social languages".

Bakhtin argues that languages are not simply indicative of linguistic dialects stratified according to national boundaries or ethnic identities, but also include the particular forms of communication or discourses belonging to social and professional groups within official domains such as institutions and bureaucracies. The use of social languages or disciplines at a university connote the bureaucratic rules and norms, the administrative codes, genres, discourses, texts, pedagogies, and assessment procedures which demarcate different lines of authority and power within the institution. Consequently, situations are structured in a university's curricula, pedagogies and evaluation procedures whereby the authoritative voices of the texts, the lecturers, the faculty and administrators, are privileged over everyday student expression.

ENG 105's appeal to personal experience was designed to allow for the development and interaction of students' own "voices" alongside what Bakhtin defined as secondary genres (Bakhtin, 1986). According to Bakhtin, all language is based on 'the social interaction between individuals speaking and exchanging primary and secondary genres' (Bakhtin, 1981). Secondary genres refer to the texts, discourses and perspectives comprising the academic context within the university. Whereas secondary genres at a university are institutionally rooted in judicial, scientific and philosophical discourses, primary genres are a product of everyday life, derived from familiar, informal and relatively flexible utterances underlying social activity. Moreover, while they incorporate

elements of primary genres, secondary genres are distinguished by the level of rigidity and hierarchy that characterize their usage within institutions such as universities.

Using Bakhtin's theory of dialogism to examine the learning and language difficulties at UWC indicates that "black" students' lack confidence to express their own "voices" in partnership with required university texts. During apartheid, popular "black" linguistic forms (dialects, argots, patois, etc.) were marginalized, and speakers were socialized to defer to the authoritative, "official" language(s) or secondary genres comprising a racially engineered curricula. Moreover, the usage of rote learning methods in schools inhibited "black" students from orientating their "voices" to the authority of texts. Thus, a lack of opportunities for "black" students to develop confidence in their "voices" meant that they did not view their opinions, perspectives, values, etc., as worthy of engagement with the authoritative "voices" of university texts. This resulted in a propensity to plagiarize official or authoritative texts at UWC.

As a consequence of apartheid education, "black" students are less likely than whites to see themselves as competent speakers capable of freely integrating their "voices" alongside the authority of the texts. Nor are they likely to comprehend that extent to which their own primary genres or experiences, constitute essential building blocks comprising the secondary genres of a university curricula. ENG 105's interactive format is therefore designed to help develop the confidence of black students to "voice" and orient their own social experiences with others, as well as encourage them to articulate their experiences alongside carefully selected secondary genres. In the process of sharing their views, opinions, and thoughts, be it in relation to texts, lecturers, tutors

and/or fellow students, ENG 105 students are invited to engage in transforming the asymmetrical power relations embedded in language usage in South Africa as a result of the distortions of racial differences in the past. This transformation is conceived by AD specialists and language specialists at UWC as both a political and cognitive process.

On a political level, ENG 105 provides an dialogical environment where all "voices" can be heard without fear of evoking the privileged authority of the texts, teacher and curricula over the experiences of "black" students. Instead, ENG 105 encourages dialogue and contestation over meaning between "black" students and the 'voices of cultural authority' represented by conventional academic discourses and texts (Mahala, 1991). In doing so, the opportunity is afforded black students to make their life-world a part of academic discourse[170] while radically challenging university culture to become more democratic, inclusive and accepting of the language differences that characterize "black" experiences in South Africa.

A dialogic approach to language development, while contesting the prioritization of academic knowledge over the primary genres or everyday experience, also promotes a cognitive awareness on the part of "black" students of the need to work within the university's hierarchy of authority and power. This cognitive transformation occurs when students start to orient their "voices" according to the secondary genres comprising university culture in such a way as to shape and give substance to all the "voices" and genres that constitute the academic context. In the process of doing so, students become conscious of how primary and secondary genres are related to one another, and the extent

[170] Mahala, 1991.

to which successfully dealing with the authority of the social languages or disciplines at university is a matter of recognizing when to select and incorporate certain values, genres, voices, discourses, etc., that are appropriate to specific academic tasks and contexts.

Initially, the ENG 105 operated under the title of "English Special" and was designed for small group settings so as to ensure interactive and intensive practices that build self-confidence. However, as the demand for such a course increased, the course designers of English Special were forced to reevaluate the applicability of a small group format. As a result, ENG 105 was redesigned to accommodate large numbers of students in a lecture hall format, supplemented by weekly tutorials that divided the student body into smaller groups. The 1995 version of ENG 105, for instance, was comprised of 6 large classes with 150 students each. There were three full time lecturers responsible for 2 classes each and approximately 3 assigned tutors per class. In order to maintain the interactive and intensive language format used in English Special, ENG 105 employed an "open learning" paradigm in which lectures would be complemented by a variety of self-access materials and facilities, in addition to the utilization of peer group learning approaches and intensive tutoring.

ENG 105's Appeal to Personalized Knowledge:

Research in the area of writing acquisition indicated that the process of acquiring reading and writing skills in English was recursive in nature (Emig, 1977; Carell, 1983). Hence, when engaging in the practice of writing, students experience periods of improvement only to be followed by instances of retrogression in comprehension. In order to avoid frustration setting in and the loss of interest, ENG 105's initial exercises

were designed to allow students to participate in finding their own voices through the execution of specific tasks ranging from writing letters to a classmate, retelling childhood memories, preparing journal entries, to responding to an issue or topic raised during lecturers or tutorials. Furthermore, the technique of free writing was also used: a topic was given to students during a lecture or tutorial and then students were asked to immediately write whatever came to mind and continue to do so (usually for 5 to 15 minutes) without worrying about organization, spelling, and grammar.

The reading materials used throughout the course featured carefully-chosen autobiographical texts that explored contemporary themes which resonated with the personal experiences of the majority of students attending ENG 105. For example, excerpts from the works of South African writers such as Beauty Mahlaba, formerly a member of the National Health and Allied Workers' Union, and Geoffrey Moloi, recounted tales of childhood memories and hardships under apartheid. These stories were used to validate the experiences of ENG 105 students, thereby enhancing their confidence when expressing themselves in English. The foundation course also employed the autobiographical writings of past ENG 105 students to illustrate to the class that a central aspect of the process of writing was publication for an audience. Excerpts from another work, Mayombe, written by a guerrilla fighter in Angola who later became the country's Deputy Minister of Education, recounted the experiences of freedom fighters in the struggle for independence and analyzed the different ideological positions and conflicts that emerge within a guerrilla base.

ENG 105 should not be construed, however, as a course in student self expression only. Rather, English for Educational Development utilized personal experience as a way to initiate students into the process of writing. The process of writing is conceptualized as a multifaceted vehicle that triggers the transition from students' personal experiences to more rigorous tasks demanding greater command over listening, speaking and critical thinking skills in English. These goals are accomplished in a number of ways. Firstly, personal-experience writing, such as free writing exercises and diary entries, builds confidence in the students' own voices in English, and reduces the fear and anxiety historically associated with the act of writing as a result of apartheid education. Secondly, promoting processes of writing by employing peer-group formats through the exchanging of letters and drafts of essays, creates dialogue between students which can lead to the acquisition of important self-directed study skills such as commenting, revision and editing one's own work in English. Finally, ENG 105's usage of autobiographical texts that explore contemporary themes such as gender oppression, national liberation and educational transformation, are highly relevant to the cultural and political experiences of their students. The selection of such texts not only serve as an empowering link to bridge the resources students bring with them to UWC and the academic content of the university's curriculum, but also helps develop a critical awareness of relations of power and language in a changing society.

The Content of English For Educational Development:

To better illustrate the learning strategies and goals underlying the academic literacy approaches at UWC, this section will highlight the manner in which the first two

modules of the course (lasting approximately 14 weeks in total) combined an emphasis on students' personal experiences with a more structured effort to promote academic literacy skills. The first module of ENG 105, lasting approximately 7 weeks, concentrated on situating student knowledge within an academic context. In week one, each student was required to obtain a course reader and a workbook. The workbook contained pre-made worksheets, assignments, and "how to" handouts such as "how to speak in tutorial", "how to assess and comment on writing" and "how to take notes in lectures".

In the second week of ENG 105, the lecture focused on how to 'create a community of learners' by introducing conferencing skills and group dynamics through the reading of a text out loud entitled, "What's in a Name?" . This text featured a number of people's names and broke down each person's family histories, gender, religion and home language. One example of "What's in a Name" introduced 'Emanuel Sokhaya Mabasa who revealed that he is from Soweto and is a member of the Zulu kingdom. Moreover, his last name Mabasa, means one who likes fire while Emanuel is his Christian name and means 'God is with us'. After reading this text, the students were eventually asked to organize themselves into small groups and tell each other about their names and their family histories, etc. The concept of free writing was introduced during the lecture followed by a tutorial in where students wrote for 5 to 10 minutes on what they expected out of ENG 105. Each student's output was collected at the end of tutorial, but not until the tutors had students share their offerings with a partner or the entire group.

In the 5 weeks which followed, students' written efforts were collected and feedback was given from tutors and lecturers usually one week after each submission. Moreover, all written work would eventually comprise students' portfolios to be handed in at the end of the first semester. The feedback given in the course took the form of a collective and collaborative process requiring both oral and written peer commentary between students. In week three, for example, students were asked to write a letter to someone in class about how it feels to attend UWC and the difficulties and experiences they have encountered at university -- including how they feel about the tasks given to them by ENG 105 tutors and lecturers. Students then exchanged and read each others letters in pairs and engaged in a dialogue about the content and also asked questions to clarify intention and meaning. Students were then asked to go back and revise the letter by adding further details and explanations raised during their exchanges. In tutorials, discussions about students' experiences and difficulties at UWC were initiated which would eventually be reported back to all of the ENG 105 students in next week's class. Finally, students had the option of developing their letters to each other into an essay which they would submit at the end of the second module.

Exercises such as students exchanging letters underscore an important facet of ENG 105: developing speaking and listening skills in both forum and extensive group discussions. Speaking is viewed by UWC language specialists as a "meaning-making practice" which provides an essential vehicle for students to reinforce and support each other when engaging with less familiar academic and literary tasks. Promoting listening skills in English through exercises designed to hear other students reading their work out

loud nurtures both appreciation and critical response skills that underlie language acquisition. Students' views are therefore reinforced and challenged through peer commentary or what researchers of second language acquisition have labeled "comprehensible input" (Krashen, 1982). Moreover, speaking and listening tasks involved in the reading of a letter out loud provide essential clues to the construction of meaning, much in the same way that the tone or tenor of a song gives an indication of mood, feeling, emphasis and intention. This dialogical approach to language acquisition not only helps develop the kinds of critical analytical skills required to write an academic essay or deconstruct a particular text, but also serves as an introduction to a lifelong exploration of meaning in English since the basis for analysis is an everyday practice such as letter writing.

Another integral aspect of ENG 105 was to encourage reflection and critical thinking by illustrating the commonality of experience between the students. For example, a follow up exercise to the letters exchanged between classmates required students to write a response to the original letter given to them by their partner. In the second letter students were asked to highlight similarities in their experiences at UWC. In an exchange between two female classmates revolving around the question of whether men speak more than women in class, a student wrote:

> I don't think that women speaks more in class. They speak lesser than them. They speak less because if you can through the number of women in each class there's a lot of them. If you don't look through the ratio of women and men you might thought they are the one who speak a lot and more than men. I think men speak more because they are few and they have the guts to stand in front of the class and speaks themselves out but women don't really have the guts to do so they fear that the class might laugh at they and I think they need couselling about that so as to over

> come their fear. I am advising to call on all you female class mate to talk about it. (unedited)

ENG 105 students were also asked to list their good and bad educational experiences and the extent to which apartheid education has influenced them. One such example provided by a former ENG 105 student begins with "when I remember Tlokoza High School":

> I remember the hard ship we were going through. The hardship I expirienced there is still an indelable picture in my mind. If life were something rewindable I would never return to the wooden hell.
>
> The school I was studing at was situated at Kwazhele in Cape Town. It was something build on rusty, porous corrugated irons. It was typical of a primitive shade in the informal settlement. The desks were not enough for the students to such an extant those who stayed in the vicinity of schools would bring their chairs from their homes. The shortage of books was a daily pain and the political violence was our daily bread. It was strange to hear hues and cries of violance while we were busy studing in our "shacks".
>
> On the rainy day we would not attend school because the classes were raining inside. Or sometimes we would have to leave school before time. I remember some windy day when we writing June examinations. We could not concentrate on what we were doing as the loose shits of corrugated iron were tattering miking monotonous noise. When the political violance was taking place we would not dare go to school. Even the teachers understood the situation.
>
> The government was aware of the situation of our school, but it did not show any positive reaction. I remember also a day when we as students dicedid to go lay our complaint for the shortage of books at the D.E.T. The response was an inexplicable one. We got teargassed sent by the dogs by police.
>
> I am anyway grateful to my teachers because they had tolarated through that turmoil to gave us some education. Now I am at tatiery level through them (unedited)

By allowing students to reflect on their personal histories in individual and group settings, a collective atmosphere was fostered that validated students' lived experiences

and nurtured confidence in the validity of the kinds of knowledge they bring with them to university. Moreover, encouraging students to write about their lives reduced the cultural stigma associated with the employment of "non-standard" English. Such an approach indicated that while the use of "standard" English may be required in a university setting, students' own modes of communication were not inferior or unappreciated. Equally important in light of South Africa's oppressive history, is the fact that allowing students to voice their own experiences, concerns and aspirations, empowered them to challenge racism directly through engaging in the process of speaking, reading, listening and writing about issues that impact upon their everyday lives.

Exercises in individual and group settings which reflect on personal experiences, prime ENG 105 students for the lecture on "writing-as-a process" in which the concept of "cognitive mind mapping" was introduced. In this lecture, the constituent elements of the writing process were broken down pictorially in the following manner: 1) essay title analysis or how formal content is dictated by the prescribed academic task; 2) generating ideas through brainstorming; 3) finding and reading relevant information; 4) planning an outline of essay; 5) making a first draft and receiving "global" feedback with an emphasis on reader-based coherence and clarity; 6) initiating a second draft of an essay and receiving "local" feedback, emphasizing textual coherence; 7) making the final draft which includes self-editing for grammar and spelling errors; and 8) assessing the final product. In addition, the order in which academic writing occurs was also made explicit. For example, in the first three aspects of the writing process, prewriting, drafting and editing, the lecture covered the need for discussion, note-making, brainstorming,

formulating ideas and opinions, gathering information and data, mind-mapping, arranging notes and paragraphs, finding areas in which there were gaps in presentation and identifying strengths and weaknesses in the text. The second group of writing elements -- revising, proof-reading and publishing -- identified skills such as adding, deleting, substitution, and improvement in meaning-making, checking for surface errors and finally putting all of the above together in the form of a final draft for submission.

In order to continue with ENG 105's emphasis on personalized knowledge and its usage of students' experiences as a linking mechanism to the acquisition of language and academic skills in English, the tutorial accompanying the lecture on "the writing process" focused on the theme of childhood memories. Although during the first four weeks of ENG 105 students were required to attend self-study periods in which they learnt how to use the library and its facilities, the focus on childhood experiences freed students from having to chose and locate relevant readings. Students' first attempt at comprehending the constituent elements of the writing process was thus made more accessible: the task encouraged them to write creatively so as to develop a sense of authorship over their work, as well as reduce the anxiety surrounding the completion of a written product.

In tutorials, autobiographical methods of recounting childhood memories were introduced by tutors by directing students to cluster recollections in the form of senses such as sound, touch, taste, and smell of past events that evoked emotions and feelings to write about. Following the group discussion, students free wrote for 10-15 minutes on their childhood memories which could serve as their first drafts of an essay to be submitted at the end of the first semester. Students were then asked to bring the first

draft to the following lecture, which concentrated on commenting in English on a written text.

In the commenting and editing sessions covering weeks 5 and 6, an exemplary essay written by a past ENG 105 student entitled, "Avenge", was used in order to maintain a continuity between the students' first drafts on childhood memories and the task of editing and critically analyzing a text or essay. The poignant story, written in the first person and unedited for spelling and grammatical errors, resonates with familiarity for many of the African speaking students in ENG 105 who reside in township areas. The story begins:

> It is a sad memory and a memory that will never leave my mind. My best friend was murdered and I was forced to Avenge.
>
> Mother has send us to the shop. The day before Sandile who was my Friend has quarelled with Dennis over Dolly who was Sandile's girlfriend. We met Dennis while we were still on our way and we simple walk past him without encountering problems. We arrive at the shop and bought what we have been told to buy. I was busy paying for the grocery when Sandile left the shop. I hear him screaming and I rush to the scene to see what was wrong with him. When I got there I find that he was fighting with Dennis and he has been stabbed. I was not carrying a weapon so I have to use my hands for fighting. I send blows into Dennis's face and the knife sleep of his hand. I manage to grab it and he run away I gave him a chase but he manage to escape. Sandile was lying down on the pool of blood.
>
> I remember kneeling down and I notice a change in my Friend eyes. I call his name to see iF he can hear me but he only say "AvangeFor me best Friend and he closed his eyes. By that time there was a mob surrounding us. I think it was the shop owner who had called the Ambulance. I was fiFteen by that time and I was so upset. They put my Friend inside and after they left I rush home to report the incident. Mother comfort me and she said that I must not worry my friend will be saved. Sandile's mother came early in the morning to report that they have receive a call from the hospital that my fried was pastaway. I lock myself in my room and weep. Late that day New broke out that Dennis has been arrested. Rummours with their notorious Fact to trace their origin spread out saying I was responsible for my Friend death. People also gossip that

to show that if I was a true Friend I must revenge. To kill a person who has killed your Friend was taken as a custom in our society.

Arrangements for the funeral were made and on the day of the funeral I was given a chance to give a brief description of my Friend. My voice box was as if was put in a deep Freeze and I can not talk so I was leFt speechless. Pain, sorrow and anger was embracing me. I was crying and not believing that I will never see Sandile again. I look at he's girl friend and she was weeping and that was the moment when my friend last words rang and I decided that I will Avange.

The day of the hearing for the case came and I was the witness. I was young and I was not comfortable when I saw that Dennis's parants has hired a lawyer. I told the court what happened and It was the honest trueth. The lawyer Impose questions and they were tricky. I end of contradicting my self. I was so angry and feeling like bursting In to tears. Dennis was sentence in to a six month. I left the court trembling, I swear to myself that when he is set Free I will do something.

After six months he came back boosting of being a hero in murdering my Friend, also claiming that I was the next victim. On hearing this I fail to wait and go out hunting him. He was a alcoholist so I know were to get him. I met him one night and I manage to gun him down and I ran away beFore I was noticed. I was the Firs suspect but I win because the was no evidence.

I have learn From these incidant that I am capable of hurting. I've realise that if the is no evidance you can win. I will always hate this memory and wish it can leave my mind. (unedited)

After reading the story out loud, the lecturer began by asking some general questions about how the students felt about the piece, what parts they liked best or disliked, and whether the story gave a good understanding of the experience described by the author. Later on, the lecturer reread the piece out loud and began to break down individual sentences and paragraphs, focusing on, among other things, surface errors such as improper tense, spelling and other grammatical inconsistencies by prompting individual students in class to make corrections and clarifications verbally. The lecturer also inquired whether the students would recommend this story to others, which the class overwhelming responded to in the affirmative.

ENG 105's also introduced students to computer tutorials where lessons using WordPerfect were given. Self-directed computer tutorials allowed students to type out their first drafts and familiarize themselves with word processing. These tutorials, along with the four week study period on how to access information in the library at the beginning of the course's first module, were all part of the self-directed skills focus of ENG 105. Interestingly, ENG 105 did not conceive the development of self-directed study skills as simply a matter of providing tutorials in computers and library facilities. An equally important component of ENG 105 designed to promote study skills in English concerned how to speak in an academic context, which included among other things, how to ask appropriate questions when requiring information to perform academic tasks and how to verbally substantiate your opinion or assertion.

Different social roles and identities were used to make explicit the manner in which students are required to adapt their social identities to the culture of the university. In one role-playing exercise in the final tutorial of module one, students acted out the following:

> Role A: You are a lecturer. You have a lot of marking to do, as well as work you need to prepare, and you feel tired and irritable. A student comes to see you during the consultation time. S/he speaks very softly and incoherently, and you are fairly impatient at first, especially as the student is unhappy about certain aspects of your work, which you feel you do extremely well.
>
> Role B: You are a student. You have summoned up the courage to go and see a certain lecturer. You are having difficulty following his/her lectures because s/he
> - speaks very rapidly
> - gives no background notes
> - doesn't leave enough time for questions at the end of the lecture.

> Try to put these points across as politely as possible, and also explain which aspects of the subject really confuse you. Use expressions like: `I'm really sorry to have to raise this, but...'; `It would really help me if ...'; `Would it be possible for you to...'; `I enjoyed last week's talk on...However, I couldn't understand...'; `perhaps it would be better if...'; `I'm afraid I can't really understand...'.

In another exercise students reviewed a handout in which constituent elements of a person's identity were broken down pictorially. The handout displayed a picture of `Themba', `who is a Zulu, a member of a student's organization, a young woman, a daughter, a sister, a South African, a Sowetan,' etc. The students were then required to list, in the form of a pre-made diagram, `their many identities' and give examples of conflicting demands placed on themselves and others with respect to their different social roles.

What made the ENG 105 approach unique was the way in which the exploration of power, language and social identity were used as a backdrop for the transition from developing students confidence (through writing and reading about their experiences in module one to focusing on the acquisition of academic skills beginning in module two). Building on the themes of social identities, power and language use in South Africa. tutorials kicked off the second module by covering handouts titled "Naming Groups as Dominant or Subordinate" and "Unequal Rights For Using Language". In the first piece. "Naming Groups as Dominant or Subordinate", the expressions, "top dogs" and "underdogs", were used to connote respective groups in society that were either dominant or subordinate.

Exercise questions ranged from, 'Given that we all have different identities, in which of your identities do you feel like a top dog and in which do you feel like an underdog'?; 'In your school how do students and teachers become top dogs'?; 'How do the tops dogs you know treat the underdogs?': to 'How do the top dogs you know talk to underdogs'? Similarly, in "Unequal Rights For Using Language", a diagram was presented featuring questions located in boxes. These questions consisted of the following inquiries: 'Who gives order or instructions?'; 'Who speaks? Who speaks the most?'; 'Who interrupts?'; 'Who speaks hesitantly?'; 'Who chooses the topic to speak about?'; 'Who calls who by their first names? Who does not?'; 'Who voices are listened to and believed?'; 'Who decides who speaks?'; and 'Who speaks in his or her mother tongue?'.

Asking students to give examples of their experiences as well as speculate about 'how their different social identities affect their language rights', challenged the notion that aspects of students' social identities conflicting with "traditional" university culture in South Africa, such as home language and racial-ethnic composition, should be viewed as deficient. While trying to acculturate students to comprehend the rules and conventions of the university, ENG 105 took great pains to avoid an uncritical acceptance of either the authority relations underlying students' educational experience or the use of English as the primary medium of instruction at UWC. Students were encouraged to not only maintain their own social identities but to challenge and transform the existing culture of the university, even when adapting a second or third language to express themselves in an academic context. An examination of relations of power underlying both language use

in South Africa and the hierarchy of authority at university were therefore carefully integrated into the curriculum of ENG 105, before exposing students in the second module to more rigorous academic tasks in English such as essay writing, note-taking in lectures, and developing critical reading skills.

In keeping with the personal orientation of the first module as well as the themes of power and language, the introductory lecture for module two employed an exemplar "argument" essay by a UWC student titled "Students Have A Right To Be Taught In Their Own Language". After the instructor read the piece out loud, students were asked to respond to the essay in terms of what they thought of its content. The lecturer encouraged the students to speak with tutors if they were unsure of the what was being asked of them, and then proceeded to break the class into small groups where students could discuss the essay amongst themselves while the lecturer and tutors monitored and participated in individual and group discussions. After 10 minutes, the lecturer prompted individual students to make comments out loud to the class concerning their reaction to the argument essay. Before the session was over students were instructed to write a response to be brought to next week's class on one of the following topics: students right to learn in their own language; issues arising from students' letter exchanges; or an aspect that really interests them in one of their other subjects at UWC. Student responses would in turn serve as the first drafts of their "academic essays" to be handed in at the end of the seventh and final week of the second module.

An essay checklist was also handed out at the beginning of class. The contents of the checklist indicated the basic structure of an essay featuring the obligatory breakdown

of headings such as topic, introduction, main body and conclusion. In addition, the checklist also highlighted *presentation*, 'defined as giving enough information so that the reader can make sense of the topic' regardless of his/her knowledge base; the importance of supporting the argument by dealing with opposing views and giving examples of why assertions made in the course of the discussion were reasonable ones; and producing a clean piece of writing with respect to grammar, punctuation and spelling. The lecturer then asked students to work in pairs and evaluate the handout essay on 'students having a right to learn in their own language' by using the points displayed on the checklist while tutors walked amongst students and monitored the exchanges for about 5 minutes or so. Next, the lecturer broke down the argument essay by giving a corresponding grade for each point outlined in the checklist, thereby making it clear to the students which elements of the piece required more elaboration, better or cleaner presentation, a firmer support of the basic assertions, etc.

A number of handouts were made available indicating to students how to organize and present their ideas in an essay form. For example, one such handout provided suggestions with respect to fulfilling three steps to essay writing. The first step included being fully aware of what was being asked of the student by noting the following: how many marks the essay was worth, so as to determine how much time needed to be spent on the task; the page length and date of the essay, which gave an indication of the how much depth or substance was required for the academic task; what the topic meant; what the tasks required, for instance, the handout listed and defined different essay types such as "comparison and contrast", "cause and effect", "definition", "discussion", and

"describe". The second step involved locating and completing the readings suggested by the lecturer and making notes on the main points and ideas conveyed in the materials. The last step concerned the preparation of an outline by 'grouping together ideas and facts that are related and then presenting them in a way which showed the relationships between main points clearly through the organization and classification of relevant information'.

In another handout, an example was given of what an essay outline should look like, beginning with an introductory statement of the topic and what was going to be discussed, argued, etc. and the method that would be used in the presentation. This was followed by the development of a main section which highlighted presentation, analysis, argument, and discussion and broke down the content into a series of key ideas accompanied with examples and supporting details. Finally, the handout covered what a conclusion should consist of, by illustrating the manner in which the students must relate their final remarks to the introduction, summarize the main points discussed in the essay and show how the concluding statements have been supported by the presentation.

Throughout the first five weeks of the skills section of ENG 105, tutorials concentrated on peer and tutor commenting and editing of the student drafts of the "academic essay" assignment, as well as introducing a host of listening, note taking and reading self-study academic skills. For instance, in the second week of tutorials, students were instructed on how to take appropriate notes in lecturers as well as how to listen for what were identified in the handouts as "clues" or "connecting signals" provided during lectures. Stressing that it was not possible to write down everything in a lecture, ENG

105 handouts focused on strategies for providing a structure of information to be build on when students have an opportunity to write more detailed notes later. For example, a list of abbreviations was provided, as well as suggestions involving the use of arrows highlighting, underlining, or circling, to show how one point in the lecture leads to another or to emphasize important facts, etc. In terms of introducing ways of classifying or noting information, students were directed towards numbering points in order of importance, using tables, block diagrams and flowcharts for recording processes and relationships between issues.

As far as providing clues and an awareness of connecting signals were concerned, ENG 105 focused on how various phrases and words connoted the ordering of issues being discussed or the introduction of important points made by the lecturer. Phrases involving 'firstly, secondly, then, the next, the following and finally' were raised in the course worksheets and discussed in tutorials, as well as the use of repetition as a technique employed by the lecturer to reiterate important points. Numerical references were also noted as essential ways to comprehend the complexity of issues, such as 'there are two reasons, or causes, results, consequences, etc.'. Introductory or rhetorical questions were also covered so that the students became aware of when the lecturer was asking a question that he/she would provide an answer to during the course of the discussion. Clues were outlined, such as directing students to the development of an idea or argument during a lecture by listening for phrases such as 'in addition', 'furthermore', 'moreover'. Similarly, the ENG 105 worksheets highlighted words such as 'but', 'however', 'although', 'nevertheless', 'in spite of', and 'yet', to indicate concessions

made during the course of establishing an idea or argument in class. Concomitantly, students were shown the ways in which results and summaries in lectures were constructed through the usage of words such as 'therefore', 'consequently' 'if', 'since', and phrases like 'in conclusion', 'as I have said/shown/explained', 'in brief', and 'as we have seen'.

In week four of ENG 105's second module, academic reading skills were examined in tutorials. Using extracts from a speech made by a Nelson Mandela under the rubric of "Education: The New Struggle for a Free South Africa", students were introduced to a 5-stage program of academic reading: 1) how to read quickly so as to establish whether the text was relevant to a particular assignment topic or class discussion; 2) establishing the aim of the text; 3) identifying the organization of a text by illustrating how a piece of writing is broken down into an introduction, discussion, and conclusion; 4) understanding the underlying meaning of the text; and 5) assessment of the text by deciding whether the writer had substantiated his/her arguments.

In stage one involving fast reading, the concept of "prediction" was covered. Prediction referred to the capacity to 'think over what you already know about the topic before beginning to read by writing down ideas or questions that might be relevant to the subject discussed in the reading'. Another aspect of stage one in academic reading involved the practice of "skimming". Skimming referred to the capacity of the reader to understand the overall meaning or gist of the a text by surveying the piece to find key words or sentences. For example, students were instructed to look for headings, captions, photographs, or other illustrations, and if the exhibited none of these features, it was

suggested that by concentrating on the first line of each paragraph students would likely get a sense of the main thrust of a piece of writing. Having been informed, for example, that Mandela's speech was about 'the need to transform universities in order to make them representative of the entire South African population, ENG 105 students were then directed to the last element of stage one of academic reading: scanning. Scanning was defined as locating specific information in the text which coincided with the reader's conception of the main arguments or ideas being conveyed by the author.

Stage two of academic reading focused on identifying what the aim of the text was in order to comprehend the piece in its totality. For example, the question was raised whether Mandela's speech aimed to convince the reader, state the author's position or inform the audience. Students were asked 'Why did Comrade Mandela give this speech and what was the occasion?'; or 'What, in their opinion, was his reason for choosing the topic?'; and 'Who would have attended the speech?'. Underneath each question was an underlined answer. For instance, the answer to the second question, 'What was Mandela's reason for choosing the topic of education?', was 'in order to introduce publicly the debate around universities and transformation'. By answering all of the above questions, students were directed to the ultimate question: 'What was the aim of this text?', which according to the handout was: 'to introduce debates around tertiary education and transformation, and to state that racist and sexist attitudes were unacceptable'.

Stage three of ENG 105's academic reading session concentrated on the organization of the text by furnishing a schematic representation of Mandela's speech by

breaking down which paragraphs constituted the introduction, the discussion and the conclusion. Each section contained a series of numbered points so as to highlight the substantive content of Mandela's speech. For instance, in the section dealing with the discussion component of the text, the four most important points were illustrated. beginning with how Mandela proposed 'to achieve educational transformation. then identifying the obstacles or constraints inhibiting the transformation process. next. discussing what role the South African universities should play, and finally, asserting whom the universities should serve'.

Stage four consisted of exploring how students can understand the meaning of a text by comprehending the content of Mandela's speech. In order to accomplish the task of understanding meaning, students were encouraged to answer a series of questions concerning the underlying content of the Mandela piece. One question involved 'identifying the ways in which sexism and racism were to be eliminated according to the author'? Other questions revolved around students being asked to recount 'the ideals of a university and whom the institution should serve in the new South Africa'? The worksheet on 'understanding the meaning of a text' provided space for students to answer the questions outlined in stage four.

In final stage, students were directed towards providing a brief three-line assessment of the text. At the top of the stage five worksheet students were provided a definition of assessing a text which included the following descriptions: whether the piece had accommodated other views or standpoints other than the ones expressed; whether students' experiences and opinions were similar to that of the author; whether the

students agreed with the writer of the piece; and whether the arguments presented in the text had been substantiated. After completing their assessments, students were left with two questions to answer under the heading of `a final thought': `Do you think that in arguing for anti-sexism in universities Comrade Mandela should have concluded with the statement about the use of "science and poetry for the good of all mankind"? Can you suggest another word which he could have used?'

Another exercise introduced in the academic reading section of ENG 105 involved students making summaries from texts. In a handout students are informed that `the point of a summary is to sort out information which is relevant to an academic purpose such as writing an essay or studying for an exam'. Students were also encouraged to use their own words rather than those of the author. Once again, students were introduced to a number of stages used to break down the manner in which making summaries can be written.

The first stage looked at the way a text was organized into paragraphs and sections. Students were initially asked to examine the title of the text and discern its meaning. Next, students were directed towards identifying which paragraphs were representative of the introduction, the main discussion and the conclusion, respectively. In stage two, students were asked to work out the aim or function of the text by highlighting the main sentence in each paragraph and then concluding what the author had in mind when writing the piece. Here, students had to decide whether the text was designed to `explain something, to describe a process, to argue a point, or to provide information about a particular topic'. In the final stage, students were shown how to

combine the first two aspects of summarizing. For example, the sentence 'Marx argued that only the working class has the power to bring about revolutionary change' was broken down in the following manner: 'the topic is revolutionary change and the aim of Marx was to argue that only the working class can bring about change'. After identifying the topic and the aim of the text, students were then urged to summarize the main points of the piece by providing supporting details that ultimately led to the conclusion of the text.

In the concluding lecture of the second module, dedicated to academic reading skills, students were instructed to read an extract from the novel, Mayombe. The section of novel covered in class dealt with the issue of education within the context of revolutionary change in Angola. The worksheet for Mayombe highlighted three levels in which education was discussed in the novel. In the first instance, education was presented at the level of the individual represented by the views of a character named "Struggle". The second aspect of education was situated at the level of the general, defined in terms of 'the specific needs of Angola and its peoples' struggle for liberation'. Finally, education was also conceived at the level of the abstract, which in the context of the novel was synonymous with revolutionary theory espoused by a character named "New World".

Students were asked to distinguish between points made from the perspective of an individual, compared to more general or abstract positions. For example, one of the sentences from the novel listed in the worksheet was 'Anyone who does not study is an ass...'. In this instance, students were shown that the subject of the sentence was

'anyone' and therefore did not refer to a specific individual. As a consequence of the usage of *anyone*, students were informed that this reference to education should be classified at the level of the general. Similarly, the sentence, 'The principle aim of a genuine revolution is to make everyone study', was combined a general classification (referring to 'everyone') with an abstract or theoretical assertion surrounding what constituted 'the aim of a genuine revolution'.

The Mayombe exercise helped initiate students into the essential process of classifying information found in a given text. While the revolutionary content resonated with the personal and political histories of ENG 105 students, many of whom have participated in boycotts and protests against apartheid, the exercise itself forced students to distinguish between information that was derived from personal opinion versus knowledge that was less context-specific in nature. In other words, by illustrating the manner in which statements could be interpreted on a number of levels, ENG 105 students were guided to more abstract or theoretical ways of thinking based on considered assertions and careful argumentation. The shift from personalized forms of knowledge to more general and/or abstract levels of meaning construction demonstrated in the Mayombe exercise, can be viewed as an important vehicle leading to the transition from 'finding students' voices' in the first two modules to a more research-based orientation offered in the second half of ENG 105. Indeed, in modules three and four, students were required to complete a detailed research assignment either individually or with a partner, as well as prepare for a series of seminar debates and presentations culminating in the completion of an "argument" essay.

To summarize, ENG 105 consisted of the following key elements: the promotion of student writing with a narrative emphasis featuring diary entries, free writing tasks and peer commentary; the development of reflective listening skills in an effort to reveal strategies of knowledge acquisition like note-taking in lectures; the nurturing of academic speaking skills such as debating and publication (reading one's work out loud in both large class formats and extensive group discussions); and reading and analyzing academic texts which resonate with the cultural and political experiences of students, which furnished opportunities to confidently engage in the construction and contestation of meaning.

The first two modules of ENG 105 utilized autobiographical writing, reading and speaking exercises in an attempt construct a cultural bridge between students' personal experiences and specific kinds of academic skills required within an university setting. Emphasis was also placed on first developing students' fluency in speaking, reading, and writing in English rather than on correctness in sentence structure and grammar. ENG 105's approach was based on an international body of research which asserted that the acquisition of academic skills in English hinged on maintaining a high level of student engagement in the practice of writing. Once engaged in the process of writing in English, less context-specific forms of knowledge were incrementally introduced, which in turn lead to more rigorous academic exercises. These exercises ranged from note taking; summarizing main ideas and identifying relevant information; making short presentations in an academic setting; paraphrasing and using headings; following both

oral and written arguments; skimming and scanning texts; editing written work for spelling and grammar; to writing, drafting and revising an academic essay.

ENG 105's Evaluation Procedures and the Role of Tutors in the Learning Process:

Students had to submit a portfolio of their work at the end of second and fourth modules. Each portfolio contained various writing assignments as well as an essay that had been commented on by peers and tutors and had gone through a series of drafts, redrafts, edits and a final rewrite before submission. The first portfolio, coinciding with work completed in the first two modules, was autobiographical in nature and consisted of journal entries and a combination of writings drawn from childhood memories, letters to friends and students' social identities. The second portfolio, corresponding with work completed in the final two modules of ENG 105, was more research-oriented and concentrated on the development of reading, critical analysis and presentation skills, as well as the writing of an "argument" essay. The portfolio format allowed for continuous evaluation throughout the course, as students were required to submit work in progress to their tutors on a weekly or biweekly basis. 30% of the course grade was derived from a final examination on reading and writing, while student portfolios constituted the remaining 70%. Tutors were primarily responsible for evaluating the portfolios which included students' written work, a mid-term examination, and was also partially based on student attendance in lectures and quality of their participation in tutorials.

Unlike most first-year introductory courses in the Arts and Social Sciences that relied heavily on tutorials, ENG 105 had developed a tutor training program in which carefully picked Masters and Honors (4th year) level students were given a series of

training sessions on how to run tutorials, as well as how to grade and evaluate students progress and output. In addition, tutors attended weekly meetings with the lecturer they worked with, to go over issues or problems that emerged in the previous lecture and tutorial, as well as prepare for the upcoming session. Like all other teaching assistants at UWC, ENG tutors were paid through the university's Work Study Program which was supported by the Independent Trust Fund. Tutors who were responsible for only one tutorial group were required to work a total of ten hours per week, whereas tutors running two tutorial groups weekly were expected to put in 20 hours. Due to the open learning approach used in ENG 105, tutors were also required to attend lecturers and guide small group activities in a large lecture hall format, as well as take attendance.

Tutors played a pivotal role in ENG 105. Not only were they responsible for the evaluation of student portfolios, attendance and tutorial participation, but tutors also served as essential contact points between the students and ENG 105 lecturers. Tutors interacted in small group formats in both tutorial and lecture settings and guided group discussions. Tutors also appointed and worked closely with the class leader of individual tutorial groups to discuss student concerns. Tutors were also required to fill out monthly academic profiles of their students. These profiles included the grades that students were receiving in other courses, as well as a progress report for each student. Other items in the tutors' profiles of students included information on hobbies and interests, organization memberships, home addresses and telephone numbers as well as a section on students' individual attitudes toward ENG 105 and their specific recommendations concerning improving the learning experience at UWC.

While the reproductive aspects of the learning process, such as 'increasing one's knowledge, and memorizing and applying facts and procedures' (Saljo, 1979; Beatty et al, 1990; Entwistle, 1991), could be initiated and covered in ENG 105 lectures and reinforced by course materials and assignments, the interactive open learning design and structure of ENG 105's lectures, assignments, course content and tutorials could not take place without tutors. Not only did they help make clear the "felicity conditions" required for students to acquire language and academic skills at university, the provision of ongoing feedback by tutors supported student engagement in the writing process as well as direct students' interactions with one another. Most important, other than the students themselves, tutors were the main interlocutors underlying ENG 105's "metacognitive" approach designed to 'make students cognizant of their own mental processes and understand and manage their learning environment' (Nisbet and Shucksmith, 1986). Since tutors responded to, oversaw, and guided written and verbal interactions of students throughout the course of the year, they were indispensable in so far as they documented student progress and guided and encouraged the process of student engagement.

Ideally, English for Educational Development would have at least been offered to all first-year students, thereby ensuring that language development and the proliferation of academic literacy skills occurred across the university. Such a massive institutional transformation at UWC, however, was not practical given scarce resources. Indeed, the most pressing concerns for those closest to the course (its creator, its coordinator, and lecturers and tutors) revolved around the logistics of serving the largest possible segment of UWC's student body within an environment of fiscal scarcity and uncertainty. ENG

105, for example, operated under the constant threat of losing its funding as external donor agencies such as the ITD Fund began withdrawing its financial support for compensatory efforts with the fall of apartheid.

Despite the chronic lack of resources impeding its campus-wide implementation. English for Educational Development remains to date the most concrete and expansive effort made by UWC to tackle student language problems head on. In addition, ENG 105 was implemented according to the ideological principles outlined by UWC's administration when initiating the university's open admissions policy: namely, 'the democratization of education through the negation of apartheid by making pedagogy relevant to the democratic struggles of the people'(Durand, 1990).

While ENG 105's accomplishments are impressive, there are nevertheless a number of unsettling aspects associated with its academic literacy format that require critical investigation. Most disturbing was the extent to which ENG 105's approach relied on 'the experiences and voices' of its students, who by no fault of their own, grew up in highly segregated communities. In synch with both the institutions endorsement of nation-liberation ideology in South Africa, and a pedagogy of the oppressed similar to the one developed by Paulo Freire, ENG 105 was designed to address these cultural and material barriers by combining its reliance on existing student knowledge and experience, with a dialogical approach to language and consciousness development.

According to the theories of language employed by ENG 105 and AD specialists at UWC (Bahktin, 1981, 1986; Mahala, 1991; Vygotsky, 1962), a dialogical format was the most appropriate way to encourage students to develop the cultural authority of their

own voices in partnership with conventional academic discourses and texts. In building on what students already knew through writing, reading and speaking tasks appealing to their own experiences, ENG 105 hoped that a portfolio of interaction would emerge between different academic contexts and the cultural resources their students brought with them to the university.

Unfortunately, the legacy of apartheid undermined ENG 105's efforts to encourage the transition from perspective to conceptual thought, as dialogue between students and the formal academic sources of a university (essays, books, lecturers, and tutors) was limited by a disturbing trend: the relative absence of Coloured students participating in English for Educational Development. Accounting for, as well examining the effects of, the lack of Coloured students attending ENG 105, will constitute the brunt of the chapter to follow.

Chapter 6

Theorizing Difference and the Racial Effects of Apartheid Socialization on Language Development: A Pedagogical and Ideological Evaluation of Academic Literacy

For a number of reasons assessing English For Educational Development is a problematic endeavor. The most important being that while ENG 105 represented a ground breaking attempt to provide a foundation course in academic literacy for first-year students, UWC did not have the resources to implement such a format across all departments, curriculums and disciplines. Nor did the university have the necessary funds to generate the kind of longitudinal data capable of providing a rigorous evaluation of the effects of academic literacy on subsequent courses taken by ENG 105 students.

The manner in which Academic Development (AD) research was conducted at the university also curtails the development of a systematic assessment of the successes and failures of ENG 105. Given both the language difficulties of UWC students, and the fact that the majority of African-speaking enrollees were placed in the Faculty of Arts, AD research was dominated by specialists located in the humanities. As a consequence, the collection of data on students' language and learning difficulties was heavily skewed towards qualitative methodologies. Although one of the mandates of the AD program at UWC was to generate statistical profiles of the student body, a chronic lack of resources and a reliance on qualitative methods therefore make it extremely difficult to document whether or not instruction in academic literacy resulted in future improvements in students' writing and reading comprehension.

To complicate matters further, some of the difficulties surrounding an assessment of ENG 105 can be traced to the kinds of "problems of order" identified by Bernstein that tend to accompany an egalitarian shift in ideology and the radical reclassification of knowledge within an educational institution. As Chapter 4 revealed, a problem in evaluating the effectiveness of compensatory reforms at UWC stemmed from the manner in which the curriculum, pedagogy and assessment procedures took on a more public format, reflecting the 'inner feelings, values and thoughts of the students' (Bernstein, 1971, pp. 223-224). The difficulties in determining whether the ENG 105 format was successful at UWC are therefore also inextricably tied to the nature of the course itself.

ENG 105's emphasis on 'the personal and the use of concrete, particular experiences' (Volbrecht, 1993a) presents a host of problems when attempting to assess the impact that the course had on the learning experiences of UWC students. For example, discussions with students revealed that they were overwhelmingly supportive of the ENG 105 format and felt positive about their learning experiences.[171] Yet, such a response is hardly surprising when taking into account the negligence of apartheid education. For most "black" students, ENG 105 was the first – and perhaps only – course in their academic careers that acknowledged their unique cultures, their histories of political struggle against apartheid, and aspects of their everyday life. In addition, the extremely positive student feedback, in conjunction with a recognition of the critical

[171] Similarly, in an essay question I designed and administered to approximately 100 first-year sociology students in 1995 involving how they felt about the use of tutorials, all the respondents reported that they found such support mechanisms helpful to their studies. Among the most common observation made by students was that they received the kind of personal attention in tutorials that was relatively absent in apartheid public schools. Refer to Appendix.

importance of providing English language development at UWC, contributed to the overall satisfaction expressed by tutors when discussing the impact of ENG 105. The affirmation students' cultures and lived experiences thus had a contagious effect of the manner in which tutors viewed the impact of ENG 105.

Because student engagement was a focal point of the academic literacy format, the question arises as to what degree ENG 105 students should be assessed on the basis of their willingness to participate in writing and reading exercises. Similarly, if language specialists were correct in assuming that writing is an up and down process in which students could experience a break through one moment only to be followed by a lull in progress, what value should be attached to traditional measurements of student outputs over a one-year period? Finally, considering the interactive, nurturing role that tutors play in both the evaluation and learning process, how reliable an indicator was a passing grade in ENG 105, given their "in-between" status as mentor/peers? Given the caveats characterizing ENG 105's format, the question remains how one goes about evaluating its impact on the learning, reading and writing processes of UWC students?

A fundamental tenet of UWC's Academic development program was based on the assertion that apartheid systematically fragmented knowledge according to racial categories. Consequently, one way to examine the effectiveness of ENG 105 is to focus on whether academic literacy's appeal to personal experience provided a gateway for both Coloured and African-speaking students to make the transition from segregated, context-specific modes of thinking, to more abstract and conceptual reasoning skills; whether academic literacy bridged the divide between UWC students by reducing the racial

barriers inhibiting their language and consciousness development. To his end, Bernstein's distinction between the use of a public versus a formal language, as well as the differences between a restricted and elaborated code, will furnish a conceptual framework for assessing ENG 105. More specifically, the focal point of analysis will revolve around the assertion that UWC's academic literacy format inadvertently reinforced, rather than challenged, the racial effects of segregation on the consciousness and language development of Coloured and African-speaking students.

This chapter will outline the limits of a non-racial ideology at UWC by concentrating on the extent to which academic literacy's pedagogy of the oppressed was capable of redressing the damaging effects of segregation and apartheid socialization. While illegitimate apartheid classifications manipulated and sustained group affiliations. segregation nevertheless generated `specialized identities that were considered to be real. authentic and integral'[172] to both Coloured and African-speaking students at UWC. Non-racialism at UWC evoked a number of what Bernstein calls, "psychic defense mechanisms",[173] as the university's opposition to apartheid classifications inadvertently represented `a threat to the integrity and coherence of the specialized identities' forged during years of segregation. In turn this negatively impacted both the design and implementation of compensatory efforts such as academic literacy .

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[172] Basil Bernstein, 1996, pp. 20-21).

[173] Ibid., p. 26.

Public versus Formal Language and the use of Restricted and Elaborated Codes in South Africa

One of the main premises of ENG 105 was that students needed to be acculturated into the "world" of the university, which could best be accomplished by allowing them to feed off their own experiences and cultural contexts as a way to begin to comprehend the rules, norms, and demands of university. In this way, students would gain confidence and comfortability with writing, reading and speaking English, as the topics of interest centered around themselves and their experiences. As their confidence and comfort level grew, students would be encouraged to develop a more structured approach to learning as ENG 105 progressed from module to module. This progression was intended to enhance awareness academic skills like essay writing, reading critically, making presentations, taking notes and drawing correct conclusions and inferences.

The goal of ENG 105 was not to reward students for uncritically memorizing grammatical rules or absorbing tons of information about writing, reading and English composition. Rather, ENG 105 concentrated on enhancing student engagement with the writing process and promoting a willingness to participate in academic literacy practices. These practices varied from free writing exercises, diary entries, group and individual presentations in tutorials, and discussions and critiques of students' own work alongside the work of others.

As UWC attempted to make the transition from a collection to an integrated knowledge code, the task of "objectively" evaluating student performance via traditional means of assessment became more difficult. In the case of ENG 105, the course was designed to reward student engagement by allowing for the accumulation of grades (in

the form of mini-assignments, dairy entries, oral and group presentations, etc.) over the course of a full academic year. While this portfolio form of evaluation tended to increase pass rates by reducing the proportion of the final grade derived from mid and end-term exams, the design of ENG 105 was not conducive to measure students' successes or failures in terms of the acquisition of specific academic skills.

Indeed, the language theories incorporated by AD specialists at UWC stipulated that there was little value in "fixing" student performance at given moment in time, since writing comprehension was conceived as a recursive or up-and-down process where improvement could be followed by a lull period and even regression. In addition, ENG 105's emphasis on providing continuous feedback, heightened the difficulties in assessment, as student tutors were primarily responsible for grading. This situation, to use Bernstein's terminology, resulted in `the blurring of the boundary' between what amounted to the university's most junior staff and their students, calling into question the extent to which tutors could separate their own status as UWC students from being the primary graders in ENG 105.

While Bernstein' s discussion of a shift in the classification of educational knowledge accounts for some of the difficulties surrounding the compensatory innovations that took place at UWC, it is his analysis of the differences between restricted versus elaborated codes, and a public versus a formal language, that is most useful for assessing the potential impact of ENG 105 on the learning experiences of "black"

students.[174] According to Bernstein, the distinctions between a public and formal language, as well as a restricted and elaborated code, are based on the existence of distinct social groups or classes and their use of different modes of communication that shape and guide the direction of abstract thinking and conceptual reasoning skills.[175]

Bernstein relies on class distinctions to determine which social groups are more likely to use restricted codes and a public language (working class) as opposed to those that employ elaborated codes and a formal language (middle class and elite). In South Africa, however, the use of different language formats and codes cannot be separated from the country's history of segregation. Thus, it is race, rather than class, that overdetermined identity formations in South Africa. Moreover, because an essential feature of a restricted code or public language is the tendency for "individuals to relate to each other essentially through the social position or status they are occupying",[176] it can be argued that as a result of hierarchical policies of segregation, Coloured and African-

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[174] It should be noted that by Bernstein's own definitions the terms public language and restricted codes are interchangeable. The same can be said of his characterization of a formal language and elaborated codes. As a consequence, I will often combine the terms public language and restricted code by using the phrase formal language/restricted code format throughout this chapter. Similarly, I will also collapse the concepts, formal language and elaborated codes, under the term formal language/elaborated code format (Bernstein, 1971).

[175] Bernstein (1971) lists in Chapter 2, ten characteristics – including a host of grammatical and syntactic qualifications ranging from simple and unfinished sentences, the repetitive use of conjunctions, the limited use of adjectives and verbs, to the use of short commands and questions – that distinguish a public language/restricted code format from that of formal/elaborated code matrix. However, for the purposes of an examination of ENG 105, I have primarily concentrated on the following conceptual distinction: a formal language "...is likely to arise in a social relationship which raises the tension in its members to select from their linguistic resources a verbal arrangement which closely fits specific referents. This situation will arise where the intent of the other person cannot be taken for granted, with the consequence that meaning will have to be expanded and raised to the level of verbal explicitness....This does not mean that these meanings are necessarily abstract, but abstraction does inhere in the possibilities" (Bernstein, 1971, p. 128).

[176] Bernstein, 1971, p. 126.

speaking peoples were more likely than their white counterparts to employ a restricted code/public language format.

Central to this assertion is Bernstein's insistence that a public language "...reinforces a strong inclusive relationship in which the individual will exhibit, through a range of activities, a powerful sense of allegiance and loyalty to the group, its forms and its aspirations..." .[177] As a consequence, a reliance on a public language and restricted code format generates a less abstract, and more context-bound or immediate mode of understanding and communication.[178] From a pedagogical perspective, the question thus arises as to whether academic literacy was capable of helping "black" students make the transition out of their public language(s) into a formal language or elaborated code; a development which is essential to the acquisition of formal academic communication and conceptual skills because they require deferring the primacy of one's own context-specific environment in order to comprehend the autonomous rules and codes of the university which have no necessary equivalent in experience.

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[177] Ibid., p. 49. Although one could contend that white South Africans also possessed a common identity and 'a powerful sense of allegiance and loyalty to the group', apartheid did not generate -- as in the case of "black" communities -- a disjuncture between the use of a formal language in schools versus the employment of a public language within white communities.

[178] While I will discuss this point in greater detail in the conclusion of the dissertation, it is imperative to note that in no way does Bernstein imply that a public language is necessarily inferior to a formal one. Rather, his major thesis is that the respective communicative formats guide the direction of thought differently, particularly with respect to the tendency for the latter mode to make meaning explicit, which in turn, contributes to the capacity to objectify one's experience and utilize abstract and conceptual reasoning approaches to learning. This does not mean, however, that users of a public language are incapable of abstract and conceptual thinking, but rather that meaning is primarily derived from experiences which emphasize a specific context or environment. As a result, formal rules, codes, and meanings (such as grammar or conceptual reasoning skills involving mathematics and analytical logic) which are not rooted in a particular lived context or set of experiences are less likely to be fully incorporated or utilized by users of a public language/restricted code format.

In contrast to a public language and restricted codes, a formal language/elaborated code also 'induces in its speakers a sensitivity to the implications of separateness and differences and points to the possibilities inherent in a complex conceptual hierarchy for the organization of experience'.[179] The differences between Coloured and African-speaking students at UWC can therefore be examined in relation to the manner in which segregation and apartheid socialization inhibited the mastering a mode of communication that did not require a common cultural context, knowledge base and/or set of experiences, values and norms, to generate shared meaning and understanding.

From a political standpoint, UWC's non-racial transformation has also given rise to a number of important ideological issues surrounding the complex relationship between historically oppressed groups in the Western Cape and elsewhere in post-apartheid South Africa. In light of the apartheid regime's divide and conquer strategies which pitted Coloured and African-speaking peoples against each other in a struggle for scarce resources and legislative recognition, the university's transformation also provides an institutional setting within civil society to gauge the extent to which a non-racial ideology was capable of reducing the cultural boundaries and historical antagonisms between Coloureds and African-speaking students.

The critical issue is whether academic literacy's emphasis on personal experience challenged or reinforced a social order hierarchically structured and heavily segregated according to racial categories. A defining feature of a public language/restricted code format is that meanings are bound to the immediate environment or context of the user.

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[179] Ibid., p. 128.

Hence, ENG 105's reliance on personal experience ran the risk of contributing to the tendency for Coloured and African-speaking students at UWC to relate to each one another 'essentially through the social position or status they were occupying'.[180] The academic literacy approach developed by UWC language specialists potentially exacerbated, rather than challenged, the tendency for a restricted code and a public language format to reinforce the social divisions of society and ensure the reproduction of power relations and inequality. Incorporating Bernstein's theory into a pedagogical examination of ENG 105 therefore extends our analysis from a narrow focus on skills acquisition to the larger ideological, and structural issues confronting Coloured and African-speaking students at UWC attempting to overcome the legacy of apartheid socialization.

Ideology and the Apartheid Principle of Classification:

As discussed in Chapter 4, the shift from the use of collection to integrated knowledge codes on campus was inextricably connected to the national liberation movement and the political struggles of the country's African-speaking majority. In particular, the institution's non-racial ideology was framed in Freirean terms, as its 1982 Mission Statement pledged to work towards 'making pedagogy relevant to the democratic struggles of the oppressed and to bridge the gap between theoretical knowledge and practical life' (Durand, 1990).

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[180] Ibid., p. 126.

In accordance with these objectives, the underlying theory of learning accompanying UWC's transformation became more group-or-self regulated, as reforms in pedagogy, curriculum and assessment procedures revolved around what Bernstein calls the "right" attitude with respect to 'the fit between the student's attributes and the current ideology'.[181] The "right" attitude for ENG 105 students was their willingness to engage in the practice of reading and writing and exercises that attempted to bridge the gap between 'theoretical knowledge and practical life'.(UWC Objectives, 1982) This objective was accomplished in two ways.

Firstly, many of the assignments keyed in on students' experiences via diary and journal entries, life histories, and tutorial presentations. The foundation course also employed the autobiographical writings of past ENG 105 students to illustrate to the class that publication for an audience could be based on personal experience. Secondly, the course materials focused on current issues surrounding the anti-apartheid struggle and national liberation ideology. Excerpts from the works of South African writers such as Beauty Mahlaba, formerly a member of the National Health and Allied Workers' Union. and Geoffrey Moloi, recounted tales of childhood memories and hardships under apartheid. Another work, Mayombe, written by a guerrilla fighter in Angola, was also used to explore diverse individual and political issues relevant to ENG 105 students. Furthermore, building on the themes of social identities, power and language use in South Africa, ENG 105 used handouts such as "Naming Groups as Dominant or Subordinate"

[181] Ibid., p. 223-224.

and "Unequal Rights For Using Language", in order to challenge apartheid notions of group identity.

There can be little doubt that ENG 105 was laden with political content reflecting the ongoing national liberation struggle in the country and UWC's acceptance of a non-racial ideology propagated within institutions of civil society by UDF/ANC activists and intellectuals. Yet, given the shameful history of apartheid, it wouldn't be difficult to furnish a salient defense for the ideological nature of academic literacy at UWC. Focusing on the politicized content of ENG, however, is not the most effective way to gauge the role that ideology played with respect to assessing the impact of academic literacy at UWC. Rather, it is necessary to situate UWC's transformation within the context of what Bernstein identifies as the underlying "principle of classification" in a given society.

According to Bernstein, the principle of classification is a product of the `dominant power relations in a society which create, legitimize and reproduce boundaries between different categories of groups, gender, class, race, as well as between different categories of discourse, agencies and institutions'.[182] His writings outline how educational institutions like universities have the capacity to "recontextualize" principles of classification in such a way as to construct new discourses based on an ideology that challenges the existing social order. UWC's version of non-racialism was therefore intended to breakdown the hierarchical social order in South Africa; an order naturalized on the basis of apparent differences between racial groups or categories of people.

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[182] Bernstein, 1996, p. 19.

For Bernstein, 'power always operates between categories in so far as it establishes relations of order' in society.[183] At the level of the individual or group, these relations of order translate into specialized identities that are considered to be real. authentic, integral and coherent, as individuals come to internalize and generate distinct patterns of socialization that are predicated on the strength of insulation between different groups or categories'.[184] Moreover, the stronger the insulation between categories of individuals and/or groups, the greater the degree of distinctness separating identities based on the principle of classification.

Bernstein maintains that the stronger the insulation between different categories of people, the more likely a change in the principle of classification will represent 'a threat to the integrity and coherence of the individual(s) or group(s)' comprising a given society.[185] He accounts for this by asserting that if a strong insulation between categories of peoples or groups are weakened or broken, identities are in danger of losing their distinctiveness. This aspect of Bernstein's theory is central to comprehending why UWC's non-racial ideology had difficulty penetrating the consciousness of Coloured and African-speaking students, whose identities had been predicated on specialized categories derived from a strong principle of classification under apartheid. Efforts to weaken the strong insulation between Coloured and African-speaking students, revealed the powerful

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[183] Ibid., pp. 19-21.

[184] Ibid.

[185] Ibid., p. 21.

influence of the legacy of segregation which inhibited both groupings from overcoming the damaging effects of apartheid socialization.

Since South Africa's history of segregation provided little opportunity for cross-cultural or group contact, a shared political opposition to apartheid was not sufficient to develop an ideological consensus between Coloured and African-speaking students on campus. Instead, UWC's non-racial transformation was perceived as a threat to the coherence and distinctness of the respective group identities of Coloured and African-speaking students, that while sustained and manipulated by policies of segregation, were nevertheless considered -- to a lesser or greater extent -- to be 'real, authentic and integral'.[186] As a result of the national-liberation ideology embraced by the university, non-racial identities were therefore superimposed on both Africans-speaking and Coloured students. In doing so, the university's positing of a non-racial principle of classification created imaginary identities that inadvertently evoked a number of defense mechanisms amongst both Coloured and African-speaking students which reinforced the apartheid racial order at UWC.

Group Defense Mechanisms and the Reinforcement of Racial Hierarchies on Campus

UWC's rewriting of its mission statement listed a number of conditions that forced the university to fulfill its role as an institution of higher learning more adequately in light of 'the possibility of new options emerging in South African society'.[187] One of the most important of these conditions noted in 'UWC's Objectives' was 'the co-

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[186] Ibid.

[187] UWC's Objectives, 1982.

existence of First and Third World lifestyles, as an underlying feature of South African society'.[188]

This concept contributed to the perception that most Coloured students on campus belonged to the 'First World' while all African-speaking students belonged to the 'Third World'. For example, the Rector of UWC noted that the hierarchical effects of segregation under apartheid had resulted in Coloureds being 'treated differently legally and socially – with variations of degrees naturally – from other groups in South Africa'. (Die Berger, 1989). Yet, the realities of Coloured peoples in South Africa were by no means homogeneous. No one familiar with the harsh living conditions of Afrikaans-speaking students from rural areas in the Eastern Cape and Platteland, or mixed-race students residing in urban areas such as Mannenberg, parts of Mitchells Plain and Hanover Park, could exactly call them 'First World lifestyles'.

Despite the complex and diverse class, language and geographic realities of mixed-race communities, differences surrounding group identity at UWC were heightened by a non-racial ideology which embraced a philosophy of democratic rule under African leadership. Implicit in this concept was the prioritization of needs based on degrees of oppression at the hands of the apartheid state. Non-racialism at UWC not only reinforced many African-speaking students' own ideological stance on national-liberation, but also legitimized a distinction between Coloured and African-speaking students primarily couched in terms of relative deprivation.

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[188] Ibid.

As non-racialism came to signify the national aspirations of the oppressed majority in South Africa, rather than an all-inclusive notion of disadvantage based on white domination, mixed-race students at UWC were unable to situate their own experiences of educational neglect within the pedagogy of oppressed adopted by the university. The fact that Coloureds were "disadvantaged" in comparison to whites in South Africa, for instance, was occluded by the university's ideological inversion of the apartheid order. There was little legitimation for Coloured students to view themselves as "disadvantaged" at UWC.

Surveys conducted by UWC's sociology department indicate that Coloured students often expressed frustration over the manner in which non-racialism did not amount to equality of opportunity at UWC. Coloured insistence that 'the perception of ethnicity as a qualifying determinant of resource allocation' (Koen and Roux, 1992b), as well as educational opportunity, was articulated by the following comment: 'everybody believes they are entitled to get the best. Few work hard to get what they want. They (Africans) think the colour of their skin should make things happen for them'.[189]

Not surprisingly, given the ambiguous history of mixed-race peoples in South Africa, Coloured students tended to view non-racialism as an escape from a racialized identity altogether; a possibility stemming from the university's repudiation of race as an illegitimate criteria constituting a future national identity. This view, however, was inconsistent with the non-racial discourse of liberation adopted by UWC since the endorsement of an unconditional meritocracy on campus contradicted demands by

[189] Koen and Roux, 1992, p. 3.

Africans-speaking students based on the prioritization of social justice and the redressing of South Africa's oppressed majority.[190]

The realization that the university did not have sufficient to provide affordable on-campus housing and tuition fees for all students heightened suspicions amongst African-speaking students that the institution remained an extension of apartheid state policy. Confronted with economic hardships and academic demands, African-speaking students accused UWC's administration of favoring Coloureds by awarding them better grades, course selections and financial support.[191] While these accusations were for the most part unsubstantiated, this type of response can be viewed as a defense mechanism, a reaction by African-speaking students to Coloureds' ideological rejection of non-racialism at UWC as representative of the prioritization of needs based on degrees of oppression.

Koen and Roux found that UWC students 'invoked a "victim status" to deny or justify privilege'.[192] Mixed-race students tended to reject the invocation of victims status as a legitimate criterion for the allocation of educational opportunities on campus. But such a perspective ran the risk of negating African-speaking students' history of severe oppression; a history punctuated by an apartheid educational system which debased their cultural practices, demeaned their languages, and devalued their educational experience by situating African-speaking students at the bottom of the funding ladder. Furthermore, the tendency for African-speaking students to focus on the relative privileges of Coloured

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[190] Ibid., p. 4.

[191] Ibid.

[192] Ibid.

students offset the erosion of confidence the former grouping experienced as they struggled to overcome a history of educational neglect and severe deprivation. In emphasizing Coloured privilege, African-speaking students were not simply expressing their frustration over the quality of educational opportunity afforded them at UWC, but were thus also compensating for the lack of preparation they received at DET schools, which made it difficult to compete on equal footing with Coloured students.

Another example of this kind of defense mechanisms involved the university's decision to adopt English as the formal academic language in an effort to support non-Afrikaans speaking students on campus. As noted earlier, the racial composition of UWC's student body continued to change throughout 1990s. With the last major growth spurt, occurring between 1993 (12,554) and 1995 (14,650), 50% of the total student population identified themselves as African-speaking.[193] The university's decision to endorse 'the usage of English as the formal academic language' (Language Policy Document, 1991) in 1991-92 was in part a recognition by the administration that the swelling ranks of African-speaking students attending UWC were unfamiliar with the Afrikaans language. In addition, the decision to endorse English as the formal medium of instruction was also highly political in nature. It was not possible to embrace a language that was a symbol of white hegemony in South Africa, despite the fact that Afrikaans was spoken by a large section of the Coloured student population at UWC.

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[193] Interim Research Report, The Enhancement of Graduate Programmes and Research Capacity at Historically Black Universities: University of the Western Cape, Education Policy Unit, he University of the Western Cape, 1996. Refer to Figure 3.

Ironically, African-speaking students did not view the switch to English as an affirmation of their right to learn at UWC. Instead, they often claimed that the switch to English purposely maintained advantages for their Coloured counterparts, since mixed-race students tended to reside in urban areas where English was more prevalent.[194] While the percentage of Afrikaans-speaking students attending UWC was in decline from 1991 onwards (dropping by nearly 2000 between 1991 and 1993), university figures on the language distribution at UWC in 1992 indicate that the number of African language speakers (4308) was only slightly larger than those students who spoke Afrikaans (4220) as their home language (UWC Statistics, 1960-1993).

UWC's Language Policy stressed the need to focus on English by stipulating that Afrikaans-speaking students were more familiar and accepting of English than African language students were of Afrikaans. Yet, the results of the university's first English For Academic Purposes Proficiency Test administered to all first year entrants demonstrate that both groupings were under-prepared for instruction in English. The scores in writing and reading proficiency for academic purposes in 1992, for example, illustrate that for those students about to embark on an Arts Degree, the overall averages for African-speaking students was 35% and for Coloured students was 46% (both failing results).[195] In

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[194] In response to a essay question administered to 40 students enrolled in the 1994-95 Introductory course in Sociology (see Appendix), the issue of language rights on campus was cited by African-speaking students as a source of continued discrimination. A third year Xhosa speaking student observed that for many African-speaking students, English was their third language: "All courses in the University are taught in English. Meaning that the Blacks who have difficulties with English do not have the opportunity to cope with the lectures as English is their third language" (unedited). Conversely, a 21 year old Afrikaans speaking woman wrote that she felt apprehension when she spoke her mother tongue on campus: "In class, for example, you are not allowed to speak in Afrikaans otherwise people complain, but there is no problem when Africans speak in their mother tongues" (translated into English).

[195] Leibowitz, 1994, p. 117.

addition, Coloured students constituted 57% (3230) of the 1992 enrollments in the Faculty of Arts, in comparison to African-speaking students, who constituted 39% (2170), thereby illustrating the need for the establishment of a foundation course in English capable of promoting language development for both Coloured and African-speaking students at UWC.

What is especially striking, given the results in the proficiency test across racial lines was that the majority of first-year Coloured students opted out of taking the ENG 105 foundation course. From its inception, enrollment in ENG 105 courses was overwhelmingly dominated by African-speaking students. Coloured students' failure to confront their language and learning difficulties was in part an extension of the administration's acceptance of the ANC's non-racial policy; a policy which ideologically linked redressing students' educational needs at UWC with the severest forms of repression experienced by African-speaking communities under apartheid. Without a sufficiently inclusive notion of disadvantage, one which was capable acknowledging their history of oppression while also challenging Coloured attitudes of superiority nurtured and manipulated by apartheid state policy, mixed-race students deprived themselves of the opportunity to receive much needed academic and language support at UWC.

Equally significant, their decision to opt out of academic literacy courses on campus had a domino effect on African-speaking students attending ENG 105, as the absence of Coloured participation countered the design and implementation of the personalized approach underscoring English for Educational Development. In particular, ENG 105's appeal to the experiences of a mostly African-speaking students encouraged

'individuals to relate to each other essentially through the social position or status they occupied' (Bernstein, 1971, p. 126), since the absence of Coloured students reinforced the segregated nature of language and consciousness development under apartheid.

Assessing the Impact of Academic Literacy on the Language and Consciousness Development of UWC Students

UWC's Academic Development program was designed in opposition to existing remedial models of education in South Africa because the majority of its students – both Coloured and African-speaking -- required some form of compensatory support. The university's fiscal limitations, however, made such a program more an ideal than a reality. Even in the case of ENG 105 and its large-class format, resource constraints made it impossible for the foundation course to satisfy all the student demand for its services. Given the scarcity of slots available, the fact that African-speaking students dominated attendance for the ENG 105 courses was therefore understandable, especially when taking into consideration the severe educational neglect they experienced at apartheid schools. Yet, from a pedagogical and an ideological perspective, the absence of Coloured students in English for Educational Development courses undermined both the mandate of academic literacy and the practice of non-racialism at UWC.

The national-liberation motifs and themes surrounding language, identity and power characterizing ENG 105's personalized format, struck a common chord with most African-speaking students and encouraged them to view their experiences and struggles collectively. Unfortunately, an unintended consequence affecting pedagogy and compensatory reform at UWC involved the extent to which Coloured students failed to view their histories as indicative of an overall need to redress their educational

disadvantages. This unforeseen development calls into question whether enhancing access at UWC was capable of avoiding a condition that Harold Wolpe identified as central to ensuring the possibility for mass struggle within the state apparatus: the ' isolation of individual subjects from one another and the individualization of conflicts' (Wolpe, 1988, p.57). Recall that Wolpe stipulated that state schools and legislative assemblies furnish the best possibilities for radical change within institutions of civil society because 'they are premised on and depend upon, access of individual subjects or representatives brought into direct relationship with each other'.[196]

The absence of Coloured students in ENG 105 provides a clear indication that despite UWC's radical transformation and the introduction of compensatory reforms such as academic literacy, patterns of segregation were maintained on campus.[197] The university's attempt to turn the apartheid hierarchy on its head, was severely limited by the administration's acceptance of a non-racial ideology that neither reduced, nor fully addressed the historical antagonisms, misunderstandings, and prejudices that existed between Coloured and African-speaking students on campus. Furthermore, the inability of the university to confront this legacy of segregation not only impacted upon the design and implementation of compensatory reforms at UWC, but also generated a number of unintended consequences that contributed to the overall failure of ENG 105 to

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[196] Wolpe, 1988, p. 158.

[197] During the year I spent at the University of the Western Cape, one of the most striking aspects of social life on campus was the extent to which students interacted with "their own kind". Many of the written responses to the essay question I designed and administered to roughly 100 first-year students in the sociology made mention of this tendency when discussing their views on the racial tensions at UWC.

satisfactorily challenge the racial effects of apartheid socialization on the language development of both Coloured and African-speaking students.

A prime example of an unintended consequence stemming from the university's non-racial philosophy is provided by the introductory lecture for the second module of ENG 105. An "argument" essay written by a Coloured student at UWC, entitled "Students Have A Right To Be Taught In Their Own Language" was employed for the purpose of furnishing ENG 105 students with a concrete example of what constitutes an academic paper featuring an underlying premise or position. By first presenting alternative points of view, and then articulating and defending his own opinion or perspective, the author constructed an argument that English should serve as the medium of instruction at UWC. The essay went as follows:

> We will soon be living in a democratic South Africa and in spite of the fact that our fundamental rights have not yet been entrenched, we as students at UWC, have the right to be taught in the language of our choice. The reason for this is that UWC is a people's university and every student has the right to free choice.
>
> Today on campus there are many students who use African language as well as Afrikaans and English. Thus if everyone should be instructed in the language of his or her choice we would create a new apartheid system here at UWC. There would be benefits, course, if this could be done, like uplifting the standard of students' academic work. The reason for this would be a better understanding between lecturer and students as well as between fellow students. So the interaction would be better because students would be more outspoken because they would be able to express themselves more easily.
>
> On the other hand, we would distance people instead of unite them. People would start to isolate themselves from others on campus because they will feel different cultures means different values. So the problem which will arise is socialisation, and as we know, communication is a good thing and understanding the best thing in the world. I can imagine what the situation on campus would be like. Afrikaans speaking students would choose or shall I rather say prefer to accompany other Afrikaans speakers – instead of English speaking students – because they'll feel

> more comfortable in Afrikaans students' presence. They'll distance themselves because they are able to express themselves easily and more precisely in Afrikaans. That is why I am saying that we are going to create a new apartheid system here on campus.
>
> People of all ages and cultures are confronted with one and the same question: how to transcend one's own individual life and find togetherness and become one big family. There must be a degree of consensus among students and that is the degree of agreement with common beliefs and values. Thus a community spirit will deepen at UWC when fellow students, involved in common enterprises, are able to communicate with others of like mind within a context of shared understanding, mutual expectations and accepted norms.
>
> We want a new South Africa, don't we? So we have to commit ourselves to work changes in our lives. Often we find that people fight each other, like Inkatha and the ANC, because they usually regard themselves as a single people with some common interest, a people different from outsiders. I don't want this to happen at UWC, thus I would suggest making English the medium of instruction on campus.

After 10 minutes, the lecturer prompted individual students to make comments out loud to the class concerning their reaction to the piece. The comment session began with a male African-speaking student arguing that the author had a vested interest in promoting English since it was evident by his last name that he was from an English speaking family. A Coloured female -- one of the handful of mixed-race students in a class of 150 -- spoke up and argued that English was the only language capable of linking diverse cultural and language groups together. She also augmented this assertion by stating that UWC did not have the resources to hire new faculty capable of teaching in all 11 official languages of the new South Africa.

In response, another male African-speaking student, reiterated the first point made in the comment session by further personalizing the issue of language use when observing that the Coloured female was already fluent in English and therefore would obviously see no problem in supporting a uni-lingual format at UWC. Judging by the

amount of heads that were nodding in approval and the large number of students murmuring "yes" in agreement with the last speaker, the majority of students seemed to share this view. The lecturer finally cut of the debate after about 10 minutes without offering a summation of the discussion or a final word on the controversy.

The general reaction of ENG 105's mostly African-speaking student body shares a number of characteristics with a public language/restricted code format. In particular, Bernstein argues that with a public language there is a tendency for "...a statement of fact [to be] used [as] both a reason and a conclusion; more accurately, the reason is confounded with the conclusion to produce a categoric statement".[198] In the case of the essay employed in ENG 105, the opinions expressed in the piece, as well as the rationale provided to support the main premise, were confounded with a statement of fact: the Coloured author of the paper was English-speaking. Hence, the stated intentions of both the author and the Coloured female student who commented in class -- involving the assertion that English could serve as the linking language capable of promoting a "context of shared understanding, mutual expectations, and accepted norms" amongst people of diverse cultures in South Africa -- were conflated by the two male African-speaking students with the maintenance of existing privileges and authority relations in South Africa.

According to Bernstein, "...in a public language, where this confounding feature frequently occurs, the authority or legitimacy for the [categoric] statement will reside in

[198] Bernstein, 1971, p. 45.

the form of the social relationship which is non-verbally present...".[199] Moreover, "[t]he frequency of, and the dependency upon, the categoric statement in a public language reinforces the personal at the expense of the logical, limits the behaviour and learning, and conditions the types of reactions and sensitivity towards authority".[200] The categoric statement articulated by the two African-speaking males in class concerning the reason why English was being touted as the best medium of instruction at UWC, was thus representative of a challenge to the perceived authority or legitimacy of the Coloured author and the mixed-race female, whom came to symbolize in the eyes of the majority of ENG 105 students, the unequal language rights characterizing the hierarchical social relations in South Africa.

The "argument" made in the essay was perceived as a threat to the experiences of the majority of African-speaking students attending ENG 105. In other words, endorsing English as the medium of instruction at UWC was tantamount to African-speaking students isolating themselves from affirming a collective identity as the most oppressed grouping in the country. The fact that English, as opposed to a number of possible African languages, was proposed as the primary medium of instruction at UWC, triggered a defensive response by the majority of students in ENG 105.

By associating the unequal nature of language rights in South Africa with the Coloured author of the essay and the mixed-race female that spoke out in favor of English in class, African-speaking students attending ENG 105 exhibited a central characteristic

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[199] Ibid.

[200] Ibid., p. 46.

underlying the use of a public language: "a strong inclusive relationship...[and]...a powerful sense of allegiance and loyalty to the group, its forms and its aspirations, at the cost of exclusion and perhaps conflict with other social groups which possess a different linguistic form which symbolizes their social arrangements".[201]

Unlike the use of a formal language and elaborated codes, a public language/restricted code format "...will arise where the form of the social relation is based upon closely shared identifications, upon an extensive range of shared expectations, upon arrange of common assumptions. Thus a [public language/restricted code format] emerges where the culture or sub-culture raises the 'we' above the 'I'".[202] A reliance on a public language/restricted code format by the majority of ENG 105 students not only reinforced group solidarity but also inhibited the elaboration of individual experience as differentiated and unique; an important characteristic underpinning the transition from context-specific kinds of knowledge to abstract and conceptual thinking processes that do not require a shared reference point or environment to promote mutual understanding. The tendency for a public language/restricted code format to reproduce the social structure of society therefore inhibited the majority ENG 105 students from recognizing that the intention of the Coloured author could not be taken for granted simply on the basis of his particular status membership.

Before discussing further the effects of segregation and apartheid socialization on the language and consciousness development, one crucial qualification involving race is

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[201] Ibid., p. 49.

[202] Ibid., p. 146.

in order. One could argue that because of both a closeness -- in terms of geographic proximity – to white communities residing in the Western Cape, and their history of miscegenation in South Africa, Coloureds attending UWC were more likely than African-speaking students to employ a formal language/elaborate code format. However, such an assertion is unconvincing, given the results of UWC's proficiency test in 1992, which indicate that the legacy of segregation and inferior schooling contributed to the tendency for mixed-race students to have similar difficulties in English writing and reading comprehension as their African-speaking counterparts.[203] Hence, any attempt to view language development in a dichotomous fashion whereby Coloured students were seen as having already mastered a formal language/elaborated code format, while African-speaking students remained the primary users of a public language and restricted codes, would be misguided and erroneous.

What is of primary importance with respect to language development at UWC is the extent to which South Africa's social structure "...generate[d] distinct linguistic forms or codes...[which]...essentially transmit the culture and so constrain behavior".[204] Viewing the differences between the two social groupings from such a structural perspective allows for a recognition that while apartheid produced different linguistic forms and/or variations within a public language/restricted code matrix, segregated

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[203] In an interview (August 1995) with the coordinator of ENG 105, Charlyn Dyers, it was noted that in her experience there was little difference between the kinds of difficulties in reading and writing comprehension demonstrated by African-speaking and Coloured students.

[204] Bernstein, 1971, p. 122.

Coloured and African-speaking communities were nevertheless bound by the following reality under apartheid:

> [t]he system has deeply marked the distribution of knowledge within society. It has given differential access to the sense that the world is permeable. It has sealed off communities from each other and has ranked these communities on a scale of invidious worth...Historically, and now, only a tiny percentage of the population has been socialized into knowledge at the level of the meta-languages of control and innovation, whereas the mass of the population has been socialized into knowledge at the level of context-tied operations....Where orders of meaning are particularistic,...much of the meaning is embedded in the context and may be restricted to those who share a similar contextual history.[205]

Since a defining feature of a public language/restricted code format is that meanings are more context-bound, one way to transcend this limitation is to engage members of 'communities sealed off from each other' in processes of exchanging ideas, opinions, experiences and perspectives within an accessible and democratic learning environment. Unfortunately, without substantial numbers of mixed-race students attending ENG 105, contestation over meaning based on different contextual histories – albeit tied to the respective local relationships and the segregated social structures of Coloured and African-speaking communities – could not develop in such a way as to promote dialogue and debate leading to cross-cultural understanding.

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[205] Ibid., p. 176. I would like to make it clear that Bernstein did not write this passage with South Africa in mind. Nonetheless, given his structural analysis of language and his focus on distinct classes or social groups 'sealed off from each other', his remarks are well-suited for the purpose of discerning the racial effects of apartheid socialization and segregation.

Ensuring that Coloured and African-speaking students were equally represented in ENG 105 classes would have likely fostered complaints of group favoritism on campus, as well as instigating accusations that UWC was practicing the kind of racial engineering synonymous with apartheid. Nevertheless, such an approach was essential given the fact that patterns of segregation continued to flourish at UWC, which resulted in the perpetuation of the historical misunderstandings, antagonism, and suspicions surrounding group favoritism between members of Coloured and African-speaking communities. Failing to conceptualize and nurture an environment in which Coloured students were equally represented,[206] ENG 105's format was unable to sufficiently encourage the development of an essential condition underlying the transition from a public to a formal language-usage: the capacity to "induce in its [students] a sensitivity to the implications of separateness and differences [which] points to the possibilities inherent in a complex conceptual hierarchy for the organization of experience".[207]

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[206] By equal representation I am suggesting that attendance should have been split right down the middle with respect to Coloured and African-speaking students in ENG 105 classes. There are a number of reasons for making such a claim; the most important is that the capacity to generate a mode of communication which specifically fits, what Bernstein calls a differentiated "other", would have been encouraged by the substantial presence of both African-speaking and Coloured students. The tendency for the users of a public language to see others in terms of their particular status membership would have been countered by the elaboration of unique views and differing opinions expressed by individuals within and between distinct groups attending ENG 105. In this way, the process of homogenization whereby both Coloured and African-speaking students tended to view each other as indicative of their social position or status within a racial hierarchy -- rather than a cultural composite of unique individuals -- would have been challenged during both peer-commenting sessions and the structured group discussions that took place within both the lecture setting and the tutorials.

[207] Bernstein, 1973, p. 128.

Segregation, Pedagogy and the Freirean Dilemma at UWC

Contrary to the use of a formal language/elaborated code format, a reliance on a public mode of communication tends to "...constrain the contextual use of language",[208] as a "...concern with the immediate prevents the development of a reflective experience".[209] Moreover, the tendency for a public language/restricted code format to "...create social [group] solidarity at the cost of the...elaboration of individual experience..."[210] reduces the potential for change, since "...other forms of language-use (e.g. formal language) will not be directly comprehensible but [rather] will be mediated through the public language".[211] As a consequence, Bernstein asserts that because the objectification of experience is less likely to occur when employing a public language, it is more difficult to promote the abstract and conceptual processes when primarily relying on this mode of communication.

The continuation of segregated patterns of social interaction at UWC, and the tendency for a context-specific, public modes of communication to deter effective translation into a formal language, raises a critical issue surrounding ENG 105's pedagogy of the oppressed: without sufficient representation of Coloured students in attendance, was it possible for the academic literacy format to guide UWC students towards the `use of concrete, particular experience as a way lead to a wider analysis in the

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[208] Ibid., p. 176.

[209] Ibid., p. 48.

[210] Ibid., p. 147.

[211] Ibid., p. 48.

hope of facilitating the transition from perspective to conceptual thought'?[212] Or did an emphasis on the personal experiences of its students inhibit the development of abstract and conceptual processes associated with a formal language/elaborated code format?

Of particular import to this line of inquiry is the Freirean model of pedagogy adopted by UWC. Essential insight into what I have called the potential Freirean dilemma, involving the extent to which ENG 105 succeeded in appealing to UWC's students' segregated experiences of struggle and oppression at the expense of failing to 'bridge the critical gap between practical and theoretical knowledge' in South Africa (UWC's Objectives, 1982), is furnished by an essay entitled "Avenge".

The exemplar essay, written by a past student, was used in a commenting and editing session. As Chapter 5 outlined, the story was a sad tale about a young man residing in a township who was compelled to avenge his friend's murder. It was written in the past tense and unedited for spelling and grammatical errors.

After reading "Avenge" out loud, the lecturer prompted students to look for grammatical and spelling mistakes by rereading key sentences. The essay generated controversy and debate surrounding the difference between the use of a past versus a present tense. In particular, the sentence "To kill a person who has killed your Friend was taken as a custom in our society", caused considerable confusion amongst a number of African-speaking students whom felt that the phrase "was taken as a custom in our society" should have read, "is taken as a custom" (Emphasis added).

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[212] Volbrecht, 1993a.

In response, the lecturer explained that because the story was written in the past tense, it was not correct to use the present tense, since the narrator was discussing an event that had already taken place. A number of students insisted, however, that because avenging a friend's murder remained an active custom in many of their cultures that the narrator had made a factual error. The session ended with the lecturer reiterating the importance of logically maintaining the same tense throughout a written piece. Yet, this explanation did little to quell the level of confusion generated by a story that resonated with the experiences of many of ENG 105 students.

This brief exchange highlights an inherent problem identified by Bernstein concerning the use of a public language: "communication goes forward against a backcloth of closely shared identifications and effective empathy which removes the need to elaborate verbal meanings and logical continuity in the organization of speech".[213] Bernstein refers to this tendency as a form of "sympathetic circularity". Simply stated, circularity refers to the repetition of a thought which is often provoked by "...an experience which threatens or consolidates the social principles of the group's arrangement".[214] The results of such a form of circularity is that it "...discourages further analysis of the event and processes which provoked it and so discourages the search for reasons other than those which can be formulated in a public language".[215] Bernstein concludes that this characteristic of a public language enhances the solidarity of the social

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[213] Bernstein, 1971, p. 147.

[214] Ibid., p. 46.

[215] Ibid.

relationship characterizing group membership at the cost of being able to 'go beyond what is given'.[216]

In the case of the correct use of the past tense, ENG 105 students had difficulty separating the cultural content of the story from the specific use of language within an academic context. A reliance on a public language/restricted code format therefore inhibited the simultaneous processing of the story as both an example indicative of many students' experiences, and a formal mode of communication featuring relatively autonomous grammatical rules guiding sentence structure, presentation and written composition.

ENG 105's emphasis on 'the personal and concrete' inadvertently reinforced a context-specific language-usage amongst students who were representatives of particular groups or cultures that shared a common identification with the experience discussed in the story. In doing so, some African-speaking students inhered to the authority of their experiences rather than in the reasoned principles accompanying the use of the proper tense. The critical issue stemming from the exemplar essay thus concerns the Freirean dilemma or potential catch 22 mechanism embedded in ENG 105's usage of 'the personal and concrete'. Given the high level of segregation characterizing the life-histories of the course's mostly African-speaking student body, the story "Avenge" affirmed students' struggles and authorial voices at the expense of comprehension of the abstract rules and codes governing the use of a formal language.

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[216] Ibid.

The main point of the "Avenge" example is not to argue that ENG 105's decision to employ a pedagogy of the oppressed format at UWC was destined to reproduce group solidarity without enhancing the ability to use a formal/elaborated code format. Nor am I asserting that a public language is inherently inferior to a formal language format with respect to promoting some aspects of abstract and conceptual thinking processes. On the contrary, I am suggesting that the tension between the social and cultural authority of ENG 105 students, and the context-independent principles guiding the use of a formal, academic language, could have been at least partially defused by the exchange of different public languages and experiences between African-speaking and Coloured students.

Since a defining feature of public language-usage is a tendency to inhibit the development of a "sensitivity to the implications of separateness and differences...",[217] then one way in which ENG 105 could have overcome this limitation was to create a dialogical format based on the exchange of different segregated experiences and context-specific world-views, guiding their students toward "...a complex conceptual hierarchy for the organization of experience".[218] ENG 105's syllabus did indeed include diverse content, such as the use of a short story about a famous Coloured township, entitled "District Six", by the late author Richard Rive. However, the absence of Coloured students in ENG 105 classes severely hampered the use of autobiographical stories to effectively demonstrate the importance of objectifying experience when writing and

[217] Ibid., p. 128.

[218] Ibid.

reading for academic purposes, as well as when attempting to forge commonality by conveying meaning across segregated contexts.

The fact that Rive's piece was about a Coloured township in Cape Town that was forcefully removed by the apartheid state, indicates the extent to which the story was highly relevant to most African-speaking students attending ENG 105. Yet, without significant Coloured representation in ENG 105 classes, the autobiographical account of a day-in-the-life in a mixed-race community failed to promote an awareness of difference amongst the majority of ENG 105 students based on the elaboration of a unique experience objectified for the sake of discussion and analysis. Instead, the tendency for a public language format to maintain a "..boundary or gap between sharers and non-shares..." was strengthened rather than challenged. Hence, the `use of concrete, particular experience as a way lead to a wider analysis in the hope of facilitating the transition from perspective to conceptual thought' could not occur within a segregated learning environment such as the one provided by ENG 105.

Conclusion

Within the context of a national-liberation struggle, there is always a gap between what constitutes an ideology in theory, and what it represents in practice. This rift stems from the merging of two diametrically opposed, yet inextricably connected, elements in a society ripe for political change: the positing of an utopian future juxtaposed against the oppressive conditions of the present. Bridging such a gap requires an ideology powerful enough to penetrate the consciousness of human beings at the level of everyday life; prompting them to act collectively according to a common vision capable of transcending historical differences in class, culture, language, religion and community.

In South Africa, this vision was based on a non-racial concept of democracy, and the establishment of a rainbow nation where the archaic use of racial classifications would finally be put to rest. Yet, as Benedict Anderson reminds us, a new 'nationalism cannot be understood without aligning it with the large cultural systems of the past' (Anderson, 1983, p. 19). This prescription suggests that to understand the impact of a non-racial ideology in the "new" South Africa, we must also focus on the legacy of apartheid. Hence, an essential aspect of the dissertation involved examining the effects of apartheid socialization and its systematic policies of segregation on the University of the Western Cape's non-racial ideological and pedagogical transformation.

Examining the Past as a Means to Understand the Present

While Coloured or mixed-race people remain somewhat of a footnote in the annals of South African history, the province of the Western Cape has nevertheless generated a number of political and economic conditions that are key to understanding

the legacy of apartheid. These conditions revolve around the emergence of a distinct racial-ethnic group whose existence cannot be separated from the divide and rule tactics employed by the Dutch and English colonial powers struggling for hegemonic control over the region.

Considered neither fully European nor African, Coloureds were often used as a convenient scapegoat for whites seeking to insulate themselves from the demands of a dispossessed indigenous majority. With the National Party coming to power in 1948, the architects of apartheid ensured the continuation of divide and rule colonial strategies through the passage of legislation enforcing a hierarchical system of racial domination. As Goldin noted, apartheid legislation governing residential segregation, racial job preferences, and separate and unequal education in the Western Cape, ensured that "[t]he fortunes of Coloureds were...inversely related to the predicament of Africans" (Goldin, p. 172).

Indeed, a primary objective of apartheid was to separate different elements of the oppressed masses and impede the development of an unified "black" opposition to the white minority government. This was accomplished through the creation of a vast bureaucratic system of racial and ethnic segregation capable of permeating all facets of social life in South Africa. As Chapter 1 revealed, an important corollary of the apartheid project involved the passage of legislation governing higher education, leading to establishment of "bush" universities -- such as UWC -- designated for particular racial-ethnic groupings in South Africa.

Despite these divide and rule tactics, a ground swell of "black" opposition to apartheid was built up throughout the country from the late 1960s onward. Essential to this political development was the emergence of Black Consciousness, a student-based movement influenced by a philosophy of racial affirmation and a rejection of white, Eurocentric values and culture. While the BC movement had an immediate effect on the politicization of "black" students attending South African universities during the 1970s, its organizations and leaders were severely restricted by state repression. Furthermore, the movement's racial exclusivity was not conducive to garnering a wide base of support from all sectors of society interested in fundamental change.

In the Western Cape, mixed-race communities were not sufficiently swayed by the BC philosophy to shed their group identity in favor of a redefined notion of "blackness" intended to unify the oppressed masses against apartheid. Instead, it would take a dramatic change in ideological direction -- one based on a non-racial vision -- to convince Coloureds to embrace the national-liberation struggle spearheaded by the United Democratic Front and later by the African National Congress.

The rise of the UDF in the early 1980s was an important development in protest politics in South Africa. It combined opposition forces in the streets and public schools (war of movement tactics) with the progressive activities of members of unions, churches and other civic and professional organizations (war of position strategies). The non-racial and multi-class composition of the UDF also deepened anti-apartheid alliances; it increased both the skills available to the movement, as well as the scope of participation in areas of civil society previously inaccessible to ANC supporters.

While militant youth clashed with security forces in segregated townships, and the economy was drawn to standstill by a number state of emergencies, UDF representatives began testing the political waters of negotiation with the apartheid state. ANC aligned unions, legal and paraprofessional organizations, clergy, intellectuals, and policy-makers started to engage the apartheid government in ideological battles over the future parameters of access to state institutions. These battles took place, not in the segregated communities and townships scattered across the nation, but instead in institutional arenas controlled by the state bureaucracy such as the courts, the schools and universities.

Although these sites of ideological contestation were far from representative of the racial-ethnic, gender and class composition of the nation, they nevertheless provided a means for anti-apartheid activists to make political demands on behalf of the oppressed masses without the overt threat of physical coercion. By the mid-1980s, UDF/ANC strategists viewed the conditions as favorable to launch a mass campaign within state-run institutions, as boycotting "black" students were asked to return to their public schools and transform them from within.

Unfortunately, in the Western Cape this war of position tactic was severely hindered by apartheid policies of segregation which cordoned off Coloured and African-speaking students from each other in separate communities and public schools. In Chapter 2, the limits of a non-racial ideology were discussed in an examination of the student/youth movement. It was observed that because of a lack of social contact and cultural exchanges between segregated Coloured and African-speaking communities, the student movement remained relatively fragmented along racial-ethnic lines, as political

mobilization was bound to the respective socialization patterns and cultural practices that crystallized around policies of segregation.

The critical issue for radical theorists of the South Africa state was therefore to identify institutions within civil society where mass struggle could be waged by 'bringing individual subjects and representative from the oppressed masses into direct relationship with each other' (Wolpe, 1988, p. 58). The University of the Western Cape was a natural site for such a political project. With the rewriting of its Mission Statement in 1982, UWC had gone public with its commitment to both the national-liberation struggle and the development of Third World communities in South Africa. Moreover, the institution had engaged the apartheid state in an ideological and legal struggle over its right to control its academic and admissions policies.

UWC's open admissions policy dramatically altered the racial composition of its predominantly Coloured student body, as African-speaking students came pouring in from the surrounding areas of the Western Cape and elsewhere in the country. During this same period, UWC proudly declared itself the "intellectual home of the left" in South Africa and invited progressive scholars and policy-makers to participate in the institution's non-racial ideological and pedagogical transformation. Yet despite the university's bold political intervention, the gap between what a non-racial ideology constituted in theory, versus what it represented in practice, was never fully addressed by UWC's administration, its faculty, staff and students.

Two structural factors -- both directly linked to the illegitimate and racially motivated actions and policies of the apartheid state -- were pivotal to understanding the

limits of democratic and pedagogical reform at UWC. The first was rooted in the symbiotic economic relationship between the apartheid state and the University of the Western Cape. Although UWC disobeyed racial policies governing admissions to tertiary education, it remained highly dependent on state subsidies to function as an institution of higher learning. Not surprisingly, the apartheid state took full advantage of this situation by initiating a series of devastating subsidy cuts starting in 1987.

This structural-economic limitation was the single most influential factor hampering the provision of non-racial education at UWC. It reduced the quality of the educational opportunities afforded open admissions students at UWC. Equally important, it highlighted the precarious position that all South African institutions of civil society found themselves in when opposing apartheid policy vis-à-vis the manner in which the National Party was able to reconfigure the parameters of access to state institutions to suit its own political objectives.

The second factor involved the damaging legacy of segregation on both Coloured and African-speaking students attending UWC. By the time mixed-race and African-speaking students were brought 'into direct relationship with each other' (Wolpe, p. 58), it became painfully clear that they did not share either a common political vision for the future, or a deep-seated sense of comradeship. During the year I spent researching the University of the Western Cape, one of the most striking aspects of social life on campus was the extent to which students interacted primarily with "their own kind". This

tendency was evident at the university's main cafeteria, the library, campus residences, and within UWC students' political, cultural, and sports organizations.[219]

The combined impact of decades of segregation and the drastic cuts in state subsidies at UWC, contributed to what I have identified in Chapter 3 as the racial politics of scarce resources. With the fiscal crisis deepening, it wasn't long before the perception of group privileges became a central feature shaping UWC's learning environment. As the scarcity of resources was increasingly viewed in racial-ethnic terms, both Coloured and African-speaking students accused each other of disproportionately benefiting from open admissions. The inability of students to form a cross-racial partnership capable of articulating their diverse needs at UWC, lends credence to warnings surrounding the potential for an inclusive civil society in South Africa to remain `a site for siphoning resources, warlordism and forms of ethnic division that enhanced conflict rather than participation' (Bloch, p. 285; Alexander, 1988).

As racial friction over what constituted a fair and democratic process for determining student political action intensified on campus, UWC was not able to bridge the schism between Coloured and African-speaking students. Instead appeals to work out a non-racial unity on campus fell mostly on deaf ears, as Coloureds began withdrawing from participating in electoral student politics at UWC. Moreover the university's endorsement of a national-liberation ideology predicated on a concept of a majoritarian

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[219] It is important to note that segregated interaction was not only based on a Coloured/African-speaking divide, but also involved different sub-groups such as mixed-race students who were Muslim, or Coloureds from the northern versus those from the southern suburbs, as well as divisions between African-speaking students along ethnic lines (Sotho, Xhosa, Xulu, etc). Finally, there was a relatively small Indian student population at UWC which also tended to separate themselves socially from other racial-ethnic groups at UWC.

democracy under African leadership, inadvertently buttressed the use of undemocratic mass meetings and coercive practices (disruption squads) by a minority of students on campus.

As a result of UWC's embracing of a form of non-racialism that prioritized the needs of the most oppressed under apartheid, the university's administration was unwilling to confront the growing monopolization of student politics by a vested group of mostly African-speaking students living on campus. This Catch 22 situation contributed to the ongoing fiscal crisis at UWC, as class boycotts over outstanding student debts and increases in tuition and residence fees became an annual rite of passage. With each new boycott, concessions were made which extended the length of the academic year and further taxed the institution financially.

As Chapter 4 demonstrated, UWC's ideological transformation also triggered a number of unintended and negative consequences which affected the overall quality of the compensatory reforms developed by the university. Influenced by the revolutionary approach of Paulo Freire, the Academic Development Program was established at UWC to spearhead and coordinate university-wide reforms in pedagogy, curriculum development and assessment procedures.

In altering what Bernstein defined as the underlying classification and framing of educational knowledge, UWC sought to enhance the rights of "black" students under-prepared by negligent apartheid public schools for the traditional academic demands and rigors of a university education. This was accomplished by providing increased opportunities for assessment based on multiple criteria (known as continuous evaluation),

and through the development of pedagogical techniques and innovations in curriculum development emphasizing UWC students' own experiences and cultural backgrounds.

While increased pass rates and the expansion of tutorials helped counter the deleterious effects of the state funding formula, the advent of academic development and continuous evaluation at UWC was more successful at managing the ongoing fiscal crisis than enhancing the quality of teaching, assessment, feedback, and curriculum development on campus. Moreover, growing resentment and frustration was being expressed over the perception that the AD Center was less interested in providing support for an overwhelmed academic staff, and more concerned with legitimating itself and its research within a rapidly changing tertiary environment

Confronted with growing numbers of "disadvantaged" students, overcrowded classes, and unwieldy interruptions brought on by boycotts, the introduction of continuous evaluation and academic development exacerbated long-standing divisions amongst UWC's "black" and white faculty. With the mostly junior faculty and staff carrying the brunt of the increased teaching loads in the Faculty of Arts, perceptions surrounding the monopolization of research and funding opportunities by AD practitioners heightened accusations that the racial privileges afforded white colleagues under apartheid (in the form of promotions and access to publications) remained a fact of life at UWC.

Potential Lessons Surrounding UWC's Ideological and Pedagogical Transformation

Given the brutality and narrow-mindedness of apartheid, it is not difficult to understand how a non-racial ideology came to prominence in South Africa. Such a

perspective is, after all, the antithesis of racial discrimination. Yet, acceptance of a non-racial principle as an ideological vehicle for national-liberation did not automatically break down the racial-ethnic barriers erected by the National Party to inhibit "black" opposition against apartheid. Indeed, one of the lessons of UWC's ideological and pedagogical transformation is the realization that opposition to an unitary enemy does not guarantee a consensus amongst different members of the oppressed, even when there is a common vision or theme for a future society.

Unable to forge an ideological consensus amongst students, staff and faculty, UWC could not bridge the gap between non-racialism in theory, versus non-racialism in practice. While this discontinuity stemmed primarily from the structural limitations in state funding and the divisive legacy of apartheid, it was also related to what E. P. Thompson identified as the `crucial ambivalence of our human presence in our own history, part subjects, part objects, the voluntary agents of our involuntary determinations' (Thompson, 1978, p. 280).

In South Africa, this crucial ambivalence was the product of an unavoidable tension between the counter-hegemonic alternatives developed in opposition to apartheid, and the damaging effects of segregation and racism within the communities and schools where the respective social practices of Coloured and African-speaking students were both nurtured and reinforced. Radical theorists in support of national-liberation were well aware of these obstacles to non-racial, consciousness-raising in South Africa. This is why the university became such an important ideological site for political contestation against apartheid.

Unlike public schools or churches located in communities cordoned off from each other and serving particular racial-ethnic groupings, the university functioned as a relatively autonomous institutional setting somewhat removed from the day-to-day constraints of apartheid; a pedagogical site potentially capable of generating an "imagined community" of like-minded scholars, students, and policy-makers less restricted by the realities of segregation. The assumption was that as students, activists and intellectuals from different racial-ethnic backgrounds were brought together under one institutional roof, a non-racial pact would eventually be worked out amongst the major participants at UWC.

This same logic underscores the rewriting of UWC's mission statement as the university pledged to serve Third World communities in the Western Cape and elsewhere in the country by opening its doors to all students regardless of race, color, creed or religion. However, in making such a commitment to national-liberation in South Africa, the university by-passed an essential stage in the development of an alternative political consciousness in the Western Cape: the conversion of the macro-political and ideological tenets of non-racialism into a language of everyday life capable of striking a common chord with both Coloured and African-speaking students attending UWC.

To the credit of language specialists on campus, English for Educational Development was designed to give voice to the diverse histories of "black" students at UWC by encouraging them to share their experiences, views, opinions, and thoughts in relation to academic texts, lecturers, tutors and peers. In synch with a pedagogy of the oppressed similar to the one developed by Paulo Freire, ENG 105's academic literacy

approach engaged "black" students in dialogue in an effort to facilitate the transition from perspective to conceptual thought. It was hoped that ENG 105's interactive format would also counter apartheid education's reliance on rote learning techniques intended to inculcate "black" students to uncritically accept a hierarchical social order.

Yet, ENG 105 failed to conceptualize the complex racial dynamics in the Western Cape. Instead, English for Educational Development was most effective at ideologically affirming the national-liberation principles outlined in UWC's mission statement: namely, `the democratization of education through the negation of apartheid by making pedagogy relevant to the democratic struggles of the people' (Durand, 1990). In doing so, however, the foundation course did not adequately address the hierarchical legacy of apartheid policies on mixed-race and African-speaking communities, a legacy that one Coloured student at UWC referred to in patois Afrikaans as, "the difference between living in three meters of kuk (excrement) versus five meters of kuk".

Although most Coloureds were neither privileged in comparison to whites, nor accurately categorized as members of South Africa's first world population, the status of mixed-race communities was nevertheless based on apartheid legislation which distinguished Coloureds – legally, politically and racially -- from the country's African-speaking majority. The need to address the racial effects of these divide and rule policies on both Coloured and African-speaking students at UWC was unfortunately overshadowed by its administration's ideological alignment with the ANC's national commitment to prioritize redressing the educational disadvantages of "black" students in accordance with the different levels of oppression they experienced under apartheid.

Unable and unwilling to locate themselves within the national-liberation discourse of oppression adopted by UWC's administration, most Coloured students failed to take advantage of the only foundation course offered on campus specifically designed to compensate for the inadequate academic and language preparation they received in apartheid public schools. Equally significant, a lack of Coloured participation in English for Educational Development classes inhibited the elaboration of individual experience as differentiated and unique by reinforcing group solidarity and inadvertently strengthening the use of public language formats amongst the course's mainly African-speaking student body.

The tendency for group solidarity to maintain a boundary between sharers and non-sharers of different language codes therefore remained unchallenged by the pedagogy of the oppressed adopted by ENG 105. As a result, the objective of the course's personalized approach to help "black" students make the transition from context-specific kinds of knowledge to abstract and conceptual modes of understanding was severely limited by the university's reluctance to confront the racial effects of apartheid socialization and segregation on the language and consciousness development of both mixed-race and African-speaking students at UWC.

Since apartheid policies had penetrated the consciousness of mixed-race and African-speaking communities in such a way as to maintain patterns of segregated interaction on campus between the two groupings, developing an effective pedagogy of the oppressed at UWC required more than simply bringing "black" students from diverse disadvantaged backgrounds together at UWC. It also required furnishing pedagogical

sites whereby mixed-race and African-speaking students would be required to share their differences and critically debate the merit of each other's positions, as well their potential limitations. In this way, the tendency for ENG 105's format to reinforce group solidarity based on racial-ethnic classifications could have been potentially countered as members of communities sealed off from each other under apartheid engaged in processes of exchanging ideas, opinions, experiences and perspectives within an accessible and democratic classroom or lecture hall environment.

Ensuring that this kind of interaction between African-speaking and Coloured students at UWC took place would have encouraged the development of an essential condition underlying the transition from the use of a public to a formal, academic language: the capacity to "induce in its [students] a sensitivity to the implications of separateness and differences [which] points to the possibilities inherent in a complex conceptual hierarchy for the organization of experience" (Bernstein, 1971, p. 128).

But it would be misleading to assert that by simply placing equal numbers of Coloured and African-speaking students in the same classroom, a respect for difference and the promotion of conceptual and abstract reasoning skills would have automatically occurred. Without the existence of an appropriate pedagogical format that emphasized racial-ethnic and cultural differences amongst "black" students as a central component of the curriculum, it is likely that the same kinds of segregated patterns of interaction prevalent in UWC's library, cafeteria, and residences would have been replicated in ENG 105 classrooms.

Given both the divisive history of apartheid and the university's non-racial stance, it is also doubtful that such an approach would have garnered support from progressive administrators, faculty and staff at UWC. Nevertheless, it is precisely because the pedagogy of the oppressed developed at UWC was not accompanied by an applicable pedagogy of race that the effects of segregation on the language and consciousness development of Coloured and African-speaking students could not be sufficiently remedied.

The brunt of responsibility for the university's failure to address this problem falls firmly on the shoulders of the National Party and its racist policies. It was the apartheid regime that created a hierarchical system of higher education where students from oppressed "black" communities were forced to attend historically devalued institutions designed to perpetuate a racial order; it was the National Party who crippled UWC financially, handicapping its principled efforts to enhance access to post-secondary education for "black" South Africans; and it was the white minority government that fought to maintain racial discrimination until it was forced by the sheer might, spirit and determination of the people to put an end to apartheid. Yet, the architects of UWC's transformation are not immune from criticism.

The university was not prepared politically to confront the fundamental rift dividing Coloureds and African-speaking students attending UWC, choosing instead to pay lip service to addressing the perceptions of inherent group differences and ingrained notions of racial superiority and privilege on campus stemming from decades of apartheid. Its endorsement of the concept of a majoritarian democracy under African

leadership contributed in no small part to the university administration's decision to avoid tackling head on highly sensitive issues surrounding the racial politics of scarce resources at UWC.

In addition, the complex question of how UWC was going to redress the educational and compensatory needs and aspirations of all its students -- regardless of the different levels of educational neglect they experienced under apartheid -- was conveniently side-stepped by its administration's acceptance of a national-liberation ideology based on prioritizing the plight of the oppressed majority. As a result, UWC was far more successful at ideologically representing the masses, than furnishing a compensatory education capable of addressing its diversely "disadvantaged" student body.

But, pointing fingers at UWC administrators is of little value when comprehending how the gap between an ideology in theory versus an ideology in practice plays itself out at the micro-level of pedagogy. In order to understand this schism I shall return one final time to the example of English for Educational Development so as to demonstrate that what ultimately undermined ENG 105's personalized format was a sincere belief held by progressive administrators, faculty and staff that pedagogical reform at UWC would serve as a kind of auspicious gateway to a future educational system in which the language and culture of power under apartheid would be replaced with an egalitarian mode of learning, teaching and assessment.[220]

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[220] For an important discussion of the need to entice minority students to comprehend and acquire what has been called the "culture of power" underlying the continuation of racial discrimination, refer to Delpit, 1988, pp. 284-296. According to Delpit, 'there are five aspects of power: 1) Issues of power are enacted in

This belief was held despite the fact that institutions of civil society such as the University of the Western Cape were engaged in a protracted series of negotiations with the apartheid state to determine the future parameters of access to higher education. The negotiated merging of new and old ideologies and political traditions meant that ENG 105's emphasis on a pedagogy of the oppressed had to also take into account that the culture and language of power in a future South Africa was still largely a product of the country's white minority population. Thus, alongside its affirmation of "black" cultures and histories, ENG 105 should have emphasized that many of the same rules and codes of power under apartheid would continue to dominate university procedures and academic discourses in the "new" South Africa.

While an essential goal of academic literacy at UWC was to make the rules and norms of the university overt (Boughey, 1993), ENG 105's personalized approach often worked at cross-purposes to this objective. For example, engaging ENG 105 students by focusing on their experiences backfired during the editing session of the essay "Avenge". as comprehension of the use of the correct tense throughout a written presentation was deterred by African-speaking students' desire to assert the authenticity of their cultural values and norms in class.

One need look no further than South Africa's continued reliance on standardized testing or matriculation examinations to understand that appeals to the personal experience of "black" students do very little in the way of helping them comprehend and

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classrooms; 2) There are codes or rules for participating in power; that is, there is a "culture of power"; 3) The rules of the culture of power are reflection of the rules of those who have power; 4) If you are not already a participant in the culture of power, being told explicitly the rules of the culture of power makes acquiring power easier; 5) Those with power are frequently least aware of – or least willing to

accept the seemingly arbitrary and highly abstract rules, conventions and instructions, constituting standardized exam questions. Such questions often deal with a host of issues and topics that have nothing whatsoever to do with our experiences, and indeed may require us on occasion to follow the logic of an argument or point of view that is anathema to our specific histories and identities.

Underscoring the example of standardized testing is an awareness that there are occasions when deferring one's own experiences or submitting to the logic of a procedural format that is alien to our own cultural context, are necessary in order to successfully master formal academic tasks such as completing essay questions during examinations, or using a grammatical tense consistently when writing a paper. These tasks involve the application of rules and codes which comprise the existing culture and language of power and cannot be fully understood by appealing to personal experiences, precisely because comprehension of these rules and codes often requires temporarily suspending one's own viewpoint or perspective. In such instances, success is contingent on our willingness to defer our voices and experiences in order to demonstrate a comprehension of the rules and codes of the existing culture and language of power.

These rules or codes of power are derivative of what Bernstein identified as the mastery over the use of a formal, academic language and include: the objectification of experience as a means to conceptualize difference, so as to present a multitude of perspectives in an abstract fashion without having to chose out of loyalty to a group or culture, a singular point of view coinciding with one's immediate context or environment;

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acknowledge – its existence. Those with less power are often most aware of its existence'.

and the "proper" use of grammar and sentence structure in both oral and written academic presentations which have no necessary equivalent with respect to the cultural practices and experiences of the oppressed "black" masses and therefore may be most effectively learnt through memorization.

Questioning the ideological validity and racial biases of the rules and codes which have characterized the language and culture of power under apartheid is crucial to the democratization of higher education in South Africa. Nevertheless, whether we agree or disagree with the use of traditional modes of assessment, doesn't change the fact that they remain active components of South African higher education and therefore must be incorporated into pedagogical reforms designed to empower "disadvantaged" students.

Such a prescription is not, however, tantamount to submitting to an inevitable logic of white domination in South Africa; nor it is an attempt to advocate one form of cultural capital (white) over others ("black"). Rather, it is a sober and responsible summation of how the country's past and present, informs its future. Hence, when taking into account that negotiations between the National Party regime and representatives of the country's "black" majority were responsible for bringing an end to apartheid, it is essential to recognize that interrogating the cultural rules and language codes of power within tertiary institutions such as UWC did not result in sweeping pedagogical reforms which radically altered relations of racial domination in post-apartheid South Africa.

Recognizing the structural-racial limits of democratic reform in South Africa frees educators and policy-makers from having to adhere to pedagogical approaches, that while appealing ideologically to the oppressed masses, are not equipped to simultaneously

promote the use of an elaborated code format amongst "black" students. It also places the onus of responsibility on progressive administrators and scholars to synthesize the existing language and culture of power in South Africa within an overarching pedagogy of the oppressed. In doing so, techniques such as rote learning or the use of quantitative criteria for assessing students will not be dismissed apriori on ideological or historical grounds, without first determining the merit of such pedagogical approaches when either imparting or acquiring specific kinds of information (such as conveying grammatical and academic rules, or tracking student performance over time).

Finally, an interactive perspective such as the one outlined here demands an acknowledgment on the part of South African university administrations, intellectuals, and policy-makers that pedagogical reforms cannot afford to shy away from grappling directly with the racial effects of apartheid socialization and segregation, even when such reforms are likely to challenge the political and ideological currency of an emerging nationalism. After all, if the university cannot serve as the primary institutional site in society where the education of students is the most important priority, then the relative autonomy afforded post-secondary institutions vis-à-vis the state, is nothing more than an ideological extension of the prevailing political powers of the day, rather than an essential vehicle for promoting democratic thought and learning.

Throughout the dissertation I have attempted to expose the contradictions and schisms accompanying the positing of a non-racial ideology within the context of a racially structured and highly segregated society. I have also focused on the potential for efforts to enhance the parameters of access to state institutions in South Africa to result in

a number of unintended and negative consequences stemming from the failure of a counter-hegemonic ideology to sufficiently address these contradictions and tensions. Yet, it is important to reiterate that the kinds of issues surrounding the impact of open admissions and the evolution of academic literacy at the University of the Western Cape, are in no way unique to a South African context only.

While the University of the Western Cape's experience might at first glance appear as a extreme example of post-secondary reform which could have only occurred in a Third World setting, closer inspection reveals that the institution's transformation is emblematic of a global phenomenon. As waves of immigrants flow from developing to first world nations, and growing numbers of English as Second Language applicants seek access to post-secondary education, the racial-ethnic and language composition of student bodies comprising tertiary institutions around the world are rapidly changing.

Since the Academic Development program drew from an international body of scholarship, UWC's open admission experiment furnishes as an important case study featuring contributions from a variety of disciplines and countries concerned with developing alternative pedagogical techniques and institutional strategies to address the learning problems experienced by students under-prepared for tertiary education. Furthermore, given the persistence of both racial segregation and the inequitable distribution of funding for public education in the United States, UWC's experiences are especially relevant to American post-secondary institutions currently grappling with similar kinds of pressures, problems, and demands that accompanied efforts in South Africa to enhance access to higher education for "disadvantaged" students.

Appendix

1. UWC's Objectives (accepted by the University's Council, 22 October 1982).

It has become necessary for the University of the Western Cape to take stock of its situation, and to set itself specific objectives so that it may mre adequately fulfill its role as a university in that situation.

The following aspects of its situation have to be taken into account:

- The history of the establishment of the university;
- The university's inescapable involvement, because of its history and its location, with a catchment area which affords exceptional academic opportunities and challenges;
- The predominance through a large and very significant part of the university's traditional hinterland of a lifestyle and circumstances which may be described as Third World;
- The co-existence of First and Third World lifestyle as an insistent fact of South African society;
- The largely First World orientation of South African universities.

With these considerations in mind, UWC interprets its role as a university to include a firm commitment to the development of the Third World communities in South Africa. By this means it aims to both serve its immediate community and to keep open the possibility of new options emerging for South African society.

This commitment of the University will be reflected in:

- Programmes aimed at bridging the gap between the requirements of university studies and the resources the students bring with them;
- Teaching and learning methods and facilities and encouragement both of research and of the development of course material which has a bearing on the Third World;
- Appointments policy, insofar as an active interest in the realisation of these objectives will be a recommendation;
- Outreach programmes to the schools;
- Continuing education programmes;
- Such other programmes and activities as may from time to time be deemed necessary.

Furthermore, while the University will encourage a wide range of cultural and sporting activities on campus, it will assist students, as far as it is able, to make their extra-curricular enterprises of some value to the community. The distinctive character of the University will be shaped by it being a community of students, lecturers and researchers with a predominant concern for the development of Third World communities, particularly in the Western Cape.

The main prerequisite for the fulfillment of the university's commitment is that the admission of students and the appointment of lecturers and researchers to universities should in no way be restricted on the grounds of race, colour, religion or ethnicity.

2. Short-answer Essay Question (Race Relations at UWC)

NAME: _____

LANGUAGE (S): 1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____

SEX: _____

AGE: _____

YEAR OF STUDY AT UWC: _____

WHAT DEGREE ARE YOU SEEKING: _____

This essay question is designed to get your feedback for the purposes of collecting data on students' perceptions of UWC. Your answers will be treated with confidentiality. Please answer the question as honestly and seriously as possible since this is an opportunity for you to voice your opinions and thoughts on important issues at UWC. Feel free to write on the back of the page if you require additional space.

In UWC's 1982 Mission Statement, the university made a commitment to increasing access for all South Africans as well as rejecting the apartheid based notion of separate education for different racial/ethnic groups. Despite these changes, however, UWC remains a racially divided campus where African-speaking and Coloured students tend to socialize within their own groupings. Do you agree with the above statement. are there racial tensions and problems at UWC? Please explain why you agree or disagree by giving examples of your own experiences. Thank you for your time and input.

3. Short-answer Essay Question (Academic Development and Tutorials at UWC)

NAME: _____

LANGUAGE (S): 1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____

SEX: _____

AGE: _____

YEAR OF STUDY AT UWC: _____

WHAT DEGREE ARE YOU SEEKING: _____

This essay question is designed to get your feedback for the purposes of collecting data on students' perceptions of UWC. Your answers will be treated with confidentiality. Please answer the question as honestly and seriously as possible since this is an opportunity for you to voice your opinions and thoughts on important issues at UWC. Feel free to write on the back of the page if you require additional space.

Academic Development was introduced at UWC in 1991-92 to help all students cope with the demands of a university education. Have tutorials and academic development helped you cope better with the demands of university? If so, in what ways have you been helped? Has the university done enough to give you the kind of academic support you require? If not, then what kind of changes does the university need to make in order to address your needs? Thank you for your time and input..

4. Short-answer Essay Questionnaire Administered to Sociology Tutors at UWC

NAME: _____

YEAR AND FIELD OF STUDY: _____

LANGUAGE (S): 1) _____ 2) _____ 3) _____

AGE: _____

SEX: _____

HOW MANY TUTORIALS DO YOU TEACH PER WEEK: _____

WHAT IS THE LARGEST AND SMALLEST TUTORIAL (NUMBER OF STUDENTS) YOU TEACH :_____

ARE TEACHING TUTORIALS YOUR ONLY SOURCE OF INCOME? IF NOT COULD YOU PLEASE SPECIFY: _____

_____

Please answer the questions as honestly and seriously as possible since this is an opportunity for you to voice your opinions and thoughts on important issues concerning the quality of education at UWC. If you require additional space feel free to write on the back of the questionnaire. Thank you for your time and consideration.

1) Do you feel that you have been adequately prepared by the sociology/anthropology department to effectively function as a tutor, both in terms of your teaching and grading skills? Please specify areas in which you have or have not received adequate training.

2) Do you feel that the rate of pay is a fair indication of the amount of work that is required to be a tutor? Please indicate why you feel it is or is not fair.

3) Could you identify a list of things that you find most demanding about teaching tutorials (prioritized in order of difficulty)?

4) Does your race-ethnicity and/or gender have a differing impact on the way students respond in your tutorials? If so, please elaborate by providing examples.

5) Are there racial tensions on campus? If so, please specify what these tensions are and how they effect the running of your tutorials by providing examples.

6) How would you characterize the relationship between the tutors and the lecturers? Do you have a great deal of contact with lecturers?

7) Do you feel that you have enough time to complete your own studies, or are the demands of tutoring negatively effecting the amount of time and energy you require to successfully conduct your own studies?

8) How has tutoring changed you a senior or postgraduate student?

9) Could you identify the most pressing difficulties (academic, cultural, and material) facing you students in order of importance?

10) How do you view your roles as tutors in relation to the provision of academic development on campus? Do you see yourselves on the front lines of the AD program or is there any connection whatsoever?

11) Do you feel that academic development in general, and the AD center in particular, have provided you and your students with the type of support services required to create and sustain a satisfactory learning environment at UWC? Is academic development working at UWC?

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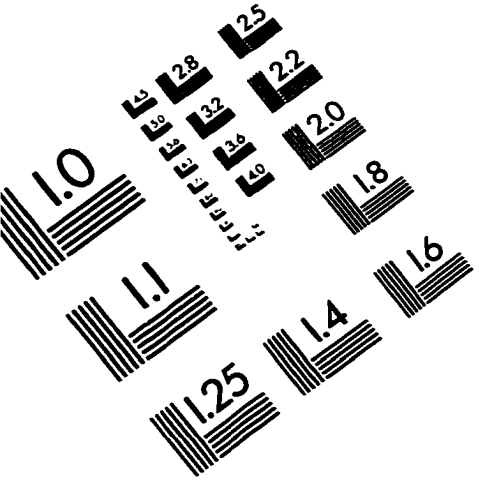
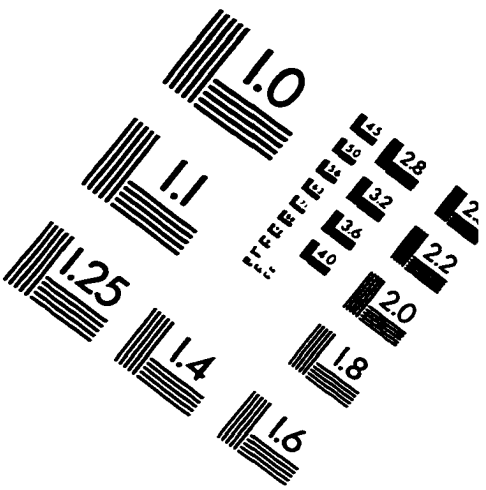
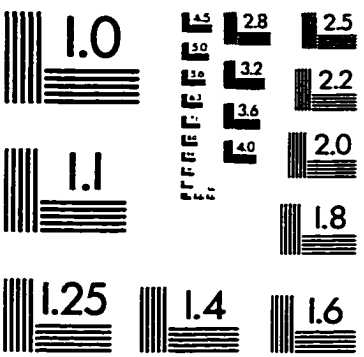
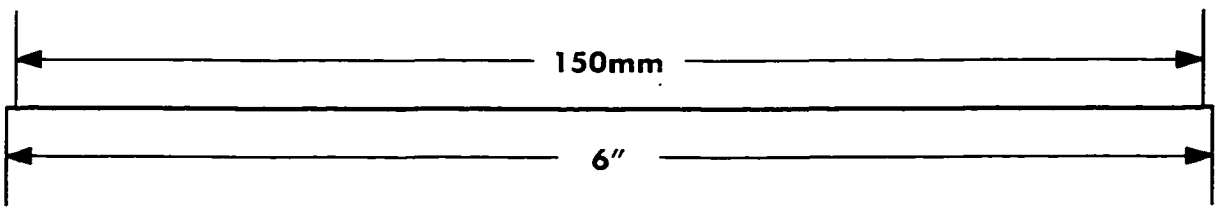
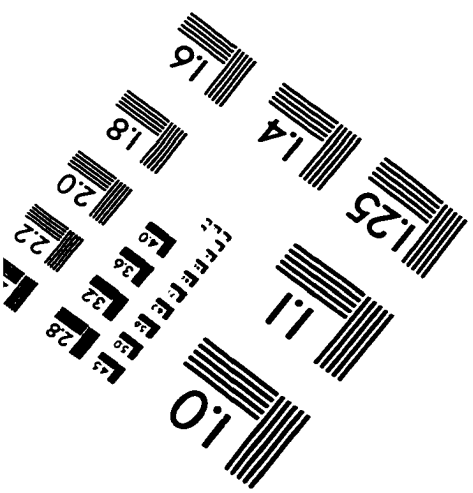
IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

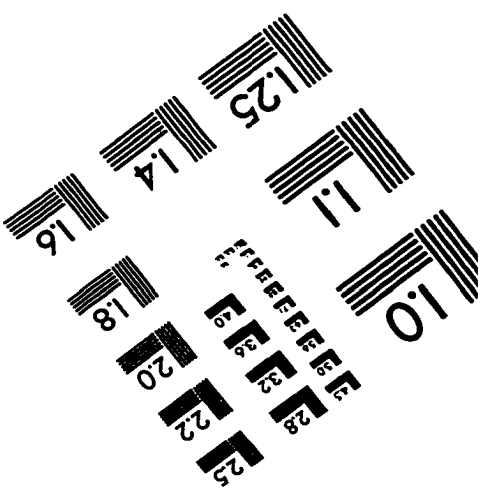












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