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by “delivering quality teaching” which would enable “students from all backgrounds to realise their academic potential and to obtain degrees of a continuing international standard”. It would undertake “quality” research “to national and international standards”, and provide “development services which meet its clients’ needs” (ibid.).

This discourse of ‘Quality with Equity’ provided a superb mask for the exercise of power (HS: 86): ‘Quality’ carried connotations of excellence, value for money, the best on offer, and assurance of high standards, while ‘Equity’ carried connotations of moral goodness, social justice, humanism and humanitarianism. The strategy thus did not appear as one the implementation of which would effectively extend disciplinary power but as one which would offer the best both academically and politically.

The strategy would entail 3 major operational changes:

1. Curriculum reform relevant to the African context, producing the competencies society requires.

This would include offering foundation courses and core curriculum options, a key ED activity.

2. The creation of a learning environment conducive to academic success, through developing a supportive culture in departments and residences.

This implied the establishment of the material conditions/coercions which would achieve more effective subjection of both teachers and learners; again, a key terrain of ED engagement.

3. The integration of development activities into the mainstream so that teaching and research programmes would benefit from the work of hitherto ‘stand-alone’ centres and units (University of Natal 1992c: 45-46).

This third change would be the process of colonizing and utilizing the disciplinary mechanisms established in the ‘development activities’ of those centres and units, while simultaneously subjecting them to the discipline of being ‘mainstreamed’, which inevitably entailed closer scrutiny and control over their activities. Eleven strategic objectives were set to attain the goals, and the document also identified 8 necessary changes irrespective of the strategy adopted.

In September 1992 the ‘Proposed structure of the Student Services Division, UNP’ document supported implementation of the Phase I proposal for a unified division under a ‘virtually

autonomous' Dean of Students, to whom would report the Directors of Student Affairs, Student Counselling, and the Head: Sports Administration. This would bring together under one umbrella the sections responsible for administration of academic matters (Student Affairs) and 'non-academic' aspects of students' university experience, including personal care and competitive and recreational sport - sections concerned, in sum, with 'the development of bodies'. The Dean of Students would indirectly, through his managerial responsibility for the various sectors of Student Services, be the students' pastoral Father.

The Student Counselling Centre, which had enjoyed direct access to the campus principal, unsuccessfully resisted their accountability being transferred from the highest level of management in academia to a lower level of management in the administrative/services sector, arguing that this was inappropriate to the professional nature of their work. Evidently they perceived the likelihood of their influence diminishing if they were placed at a greater remove from the perceived centre of power, which resided in academia or at least the administration of academia, not in the administration of services.

The administrative rationalisation of these bodies into one division constituted a 'congealment' of power, a process of localised entrenchment (embodied in a high level management post) in which the "phenomena, the techniques and the procedures of power...which enter(ed) into play at the most basic levels" (such as through counselling, control of students' financial circumstances, etc.) were "... invested and annexed by more global phenomena" (the rationalisation of administration of students' lives) "and the subtle fashion in which more general powers or economic interests" (those informing the Vice Chancellor's Review) were "able to engage with these technologies" - technologies relatively autonomous of power but also acting as its micro agents, its "infinitesimal elements" (DPS: 235).

In October 1992 a Senex sub-committee disseminated a report entitled 'Proposal for a New Degree Structure'. The 'American Model' proposal which had originated from a Physics ED staff member and on which ED had sought faculty comments six months previously, had filtered up

through the system to be co-opted by a higher body for filtering down again. If adopted, a new degree structure would contribute to effecting change at the level at which academic subjects were constructed. More flexible combinations of disciplines in more manageable modular bits would enable students to tailor their degrees to their personal choice; study for the degree would consequently produce finer differentiations in the individualization of graduates.

Some of the Review Committee's recommendations were not accepted, eg. the Research Committee was to remain a central one reporting to Senate. Furthermore, the number of executive posts was again to be increased by the addition of a Deputy Vice Chancellor (Research), with a brief that included 'development'. As was the case with the entrenchment of Senate's control over academic matters, governance over a key activity, i.e. knowledge production, was to remain located with a central seat of power, and indeed administrative power over this activity was being concentrated into a specific function at the centre. At this stage the number of executive-level management positions created had doubled from 3 to 6 in less than two years. A joint executive of Senate and Council, the University Planning and Resources Committee, was set up as the highest financial decision-making body, and Campus Executive Committees as the highest campus decision-making bodies. The ED Centre's Board was constituted a sub-committee of the UNP Campus Executive Committee, evidently to strengthen its influence.

On the academic front, some disciplines perceived government funding policies favouring the sciences as threats to their existence. The 'Duminy document' produced by a former Dean of the Humanities put forward 'The Case for the Humanities', arguing the importance of equipping students to deal with ethical questions concerning civil life. Looked at in Foucaultian terms, this was a case of identifying the function of the human sciences as the disciplining of students for the construction of their 'souls' (DP: 29). Indeed, ethics was coming to the fore as a field of study, and by 1998 a generous grant had been obtained from industry for the establishment of a Centre for Ethics Studies at UNP.

4. Biopower

4.1 Taking charge of time

“Discipline...arranges a positive economy; it poses the principle of a theoretically ever-growing use of time: exhaustion rather than use; it is a question of extracting from time, ever more available moments and, from each moment, ever more useful forces” (DP: 154)

“Power is articulated directly onto time; it assures its control and guarantees its use” (DP: 160).

Increasing governance was not only about increasing the number of executive posts or restructuring systems or institutions; it was also about power over the body, over the minutiae of daily academic activity and institutional life. In April 1993 the UNP Timetable Committee proposed doing away with a formally timetabled common lunch period for 1994. This was motivated as necessary to cope with the shortage of large lecture venues and the demand for increased course options; the added bonus of alleviating pressure on Residence dining halls, was also touted. Commerce first-year students would have a lunch break during period 6, their Arts/Social Science counterparts during period 7, and senior students one or the other. This meant that lunchtime meetings of student societies and governing structures, and gatherings of staff or students for social, academic, or political purposes would become fragmented, divided activities. This had considerable ramifications for students’ capacity to organise. By March 1994 the SRC President’s report to a Student Services Board meeting reflected the effects of the change. Proposing a common lunch hour on Wednesdays he argued that its lack was viewed by some students as hindering “the process of democratic participation ... crucial in the build up to the general elections” and as “an attempt to sabotage student mobilisation. However unfounded, such a perception is potentially dangerous and needs to be taken seriously...” (University of Natal 1994a).

The students were in fact correct in their perception that this small further tightening of the already “closely linked grid of disciplinary coercions” (DPS: 240) to which they were subjected, undermined their capacity for collective activities. The biggest problem was that it made the task

of finding common free time, something previously taken for granted because automatically available, a major time- and energy-consuming activity in itself; secondly, it exacerbated the existing compartmentalisation of students along academic lines; and thirdly, a smaller proportion of the student body could be targeted at any one time. On the other hand, the 'tightening' of the grid, aimed at assuring the "cohesion of [the] ... social body" (DPS: 240) was also a loosening up of individualising possibilities on the academic front, justified by student demand for increased subject choices and new permutations which would become available if flexible lunch times were adopted. The committee argued that if the proposals were not acceptable, "subject choices will remain limited ... [and] will probably have to be reduced... to alleviate the lecture venue crisis. In particular, the options for senior students to take one or two senior courses while repeating several first year courses will have to be severely restricted" (University of Natal 1993a Annexure C). Implicit in the last sentence was the benefit of the proposal (or the adverse consequences of its rejection) for 'disadvantaged' students, those most likely to fit the sketched academic profile of failing several first year courses. For them, the advantage would be not so much increased course options, as being able to reduce the potential length of time it would take to obtain the degree.

An overall effect of this timetabling move in conjunction with a more flexible degree structure, was to render students politically more 'governable' as docile bodies, and the institution as a whole more academically productive, under the guise of increasing students' range of options and reducing time taken to graduate. Requests for the reinstatement of a common lunch period became an annual feature thereafter. They emanated from both the students and those departments in Student Services like the Counselling Centre whose reach over students had also been curtailed by the change. One period per week was reinstated after the new faculty structures and programmes had come into place in 1999 but proved insufficient; invariably lecturers, bent on extracting maximum productivity from time and their students, would use it for academic purposes. The plans for 2000 proposed even more far-reaching conformity to allow for greater individuation: a university-wide timetable that would enable students to pursue courses on either campus by means of video conferencing.

Other technological measures of control which contributed to this effect included the BANNER Student and Financial Aid System to replace the existing Student Information Management System, to serve the basic student information needs of the University - i.e. the information needed for governing of students, identifying their status with regard to registration, payment of fees, place in residence, academic standing, etc. - and 'Smartcards', staff and student identity cards

which could be issued only once and revalidated at the beginning of each academic year... and which could be versatile - a multipurpose card for identity, after-hours access to buildings, parking and computer labs, studios, libraries, meal bookings, payment of university fees, and possibly even for information on courses taken and results obtained (University of Natal 1993b).

Thus, both students' identity and their capacity for action, whether of the most basic physical kind or of a sophisticated intellectual nature, was governed by an extraordinarily economical use of power through a small piece of hard plastic, in the use of which they had to become extremely disciplined. Without it, a student was rendered inactive and a non-person in any terms significant for the university and her own progress towards academic subjecthood.

Academic subjecthood was not easily attainable, as already seen from the statistics of students excluded or 'lost' to the system; but the university was beneficent. In March 1993 a Senate Readmissions Appeals Committee report was sent by Senate Executive to the ED Board for the latter to address the fact that

students from DET schools with matriculation results seemingly too good to be included in special programmes, were being admitted into regular first-year courses, with many then failing so badly that exclusion followed; their appeal statements invariably mentioned the heavy workload and the vastly different study approach from that at school, added to which were environmental difficulties, usually of finance, accommodation and violence. This comment, if valid, suggests that new strategies are required, of which the new degree proposals are one. Another might be an early assessment of student achievement in their courses, with a view to assigning them to special programmes. (University of Natal 1993c).

ED was thus being assigned the humane task of developing the techniques required for the categorisation of certain students as special cases. They were students some of whose characteristics - their particular educational backgrounds, for instance - distinguished them as being 'disadvantaged' but who appeared by virtue of other features (reasonably good matriculation results) to have transcended their 'disadvantage' - only to demonstrate that they were, after all, delinquent and, like other disadvantaged students, required not only normalisation but early categorisation to enhance their prospects of normalisation.

4.2 'The least body of the condemned man..' (DP: 29)

The Senate Readmissions Appeals Committee was in fact the old Exclusions Appeal committee in more humanitarian guise. 'Delinquent' students who had been excluded under one or the other Faculty rule, whose progress towards academic normalisation had been too slow, had an automatic right to appeal against their exclusion. This was exercised by completing a form which provided space for a written confession on the reasons for their poor performance. Detailed transcripts of their entire academic career (including class mark records from the ED database when this was operational) were provided by Academic Affairs. Students were urged to seek the Student Counselling Centre's assistance in completing their appeal form, and to provide supporting evidence of claims of personal problems eg. chronic or untimely illness (a doctor's certificate), financial hardship (letter of retrenchment, proof of pension), a death in the family (death certificate). A committee chaired by the campus Principal with senior academics from various faculties, the Director of Student Counselling, the Head: Student Development, and members of the Students' Representative Council representing the students concerned, would then consider all appeals. Information disclosed in these meetings was stressed to be strictly confidential. Students' lives, as revealed in their confessions supplemented by information from previous counselling sessions (attendance at which invariably counted in their favour), were scientifically interpreted in a humanitarian spirit by the Counsellor, and meticulously scrutinised for possible evidence pointing to their potential for 'success' were they to be given another chance, either in their chosen or a different field of study. Such evidence had to bear on the factors which had apparently contributed to their failure. Thus, a student whose poverty

undermined her performance would have to provide some evidence that this could be eased sufficiently to make success a reasonable prospect. He who blamed previous educational disadvantage had to reveal individual effort to overcome this, eg. having attended ED tutorials, and show signs of improved results. The grounds for the original decision of the Faculty committee, chaired by the Dean, to exclude the student were also carefully scrutinised to determine whether the committee had applied their minds adequately to this special case.

In many cases multiple 'environmental' factors, often involving trauma and hardship (and sometimes interpreted through traditional beliefs, e.g. as being caused by witchcraft), were cited, taxing the committee to arrive at a judgement balancing compassion with pragmatism, scientific realism with tolerance, and the student's best interests (as construed by the committee) with the institution's need to uphold academic standards. Cases were referred back for additional information, clarifications sought, further investigations mandated; and decisions overturned, modified, or endorsed. 'Readmitted' students had a range of conditions (individually modulated penalties) imposed on them, usually including monitoring (surveillance) by the Dean or ED Co-ordinator. Even for those not readmitted the committee sought alternative remedies (penalties or curative measures): counseling on appropriate career directions or alternative study possibilities; counseling for abusive relationship or family problems; study by distance education for later readmission; and so forth. And these remedies were being proposed apropos of the "least body of the condemned man" (DP: 29), who would no longer be a student of the university, but whom the university did not wish to waste.

The techniques and procedures of this 'appeals' process were akin to those of the examination; only, the (usually 'disadvantaged') student under such minute scrutiny was not present in person, but a 'virtual subject' conjured up *in absentia* through evidence and the imaginations of the committee. The endless circles of discussion, advocacy, and argument created subjection not only of the student but of the (usually absent) Dean and his committee, as well as the admissions committee themselves, who were being constructed as experts in judging the peculiar difficulties of those academic subjects most resistant to the university's normalising procedures.

lecturers; produced conference papers, and technical forms for staff to complete; and generally, at the behest of the executive, pushed and pulled the academic resources of the institution to considerable productivity in (somewhat negotiated) compliance with government demands. In June 1998, following on the government's proposal for a national quality assurance system, the Quality Promotion Unit was established, with a university-wide brief. The evaluator and curriculum posts were transferred to it, their incumbents being appointed as Quality Promotion Unit manager and curriculum development specialist, respectively. The latter's work was to assist in the development of 'a comprehensive quality assurance system'; to assist academic staff with programme development and quality assurance aspects of registration on the NQF; liaise with external bodies i.e. the South African Qualifications Authority, the Education and Training Quality Assurers, and the National Standards Bodies; and disseminate information within the institution (University of Natal 1998d). These functions were to be carried out through the running of informal workshops and formal academic programmes; consultancy services; producing materials such as handbooks and guidelines for staff; running forums for the sharing of good practice; and serving on the relevant committees (ibid.) Through these measures the 'training college' begun with the Masters in Tertiary Education course, was to be institutionalized by the Quality Promotion Unit; but in its dispensation, curriculum development had become integral to a larger overall strategy (HS: 99), and was entirely defined by and subsumed to the technical requirements of Quality Assurance and the National Qualifications Framework. Additional posts were created and filled by TTT/ Regional Access Programme and University of Zululand AD staff. Despite the much-proclaimed financial stringencies of the day and the retrenchments which had taken place, all the posts (including the Manager's) were defined as academic establishment posts, their costs born by the university. The university's 'police force' had to be permanent, and adequate to the task of establishing detailed knowledge of the assets, faculties, and talents, of the university's staff members and ensuring that those means served the institution's 'public welfare' (HS: 25).

The question of posts was not easily separable from that of incumbents. The evaluation and curriculum posts and appointees transposed relatively easily to the new structure, but not all ED

posts could be dealt with in this way. Either the focus which individual staff had given their posts and their particular areas of expertise did not fit with what was being proposed in the new dispensation; or they were in ideological disagreement about 'Quality' (and the particular way it was being addressed) as the new direction for ED; or they were caught up in infighting about power issues. In terms of labour legislation they could not, however, easily be dismissed, retrenched, 'retooled' or obliged to accept changed conditions of employment - and the staff concerned armed themselves with legal advice to this effect. And yet, with the object of rationalisation being money saving, it would also not be easy to justify retrenching lecturing staff from the disciplines while leaving ED posts untouched. There thus followed a protracted battle over what should happen to the ED posts, and to the staff themselves. A proposal by the Deputy Vice Chancellor: Academic (who had previously been the UNP Vice Principal responsible for ED) to disestablish UND's central Education Development structures (the Division of Tertiary Education and the Education Development Unit) and the Tertiary Education Studies Unit was defeated in Senate as a result of vigorous lobbying by ED staff whose positions were unresolved. Their counter-proposal, that a sub-committee be established to examine staff development needs and propose a structure and resources to address these, was approved.

The priority areas identified by the sub-committee for academic staff development were: induction/ orientation programmes and mentoring for new staff during their probationary process; support for staff whose teaching earned low ratings in the quality assurance process; workshops on initiating research projects on teaching; offering of formal qualifications in Higher Education Studies; and the establishment of a university-wide resource centre on Higher Education. The central ED structures including the Tertiary Education Studies Unit (which had in any event by then *de facto* ceased to exist) were to be disestablished and a Centre for Higher Education Development (lobbied for by UND's ED staff) set up in the UNP School of Education; the current staff of the two UND central ED structures would be eligible to apply for posts in the Centre. A standing committee would help co-ordinate the Centre's activities with those of the Quality Promotion Unit and the new Centre for Information Technology in Higher Education; 'a common framework' for quality issues and staff development was deemed essential. Almost every

one of the Centre’s proposed activities reflected the upwards transposition of disciplinary measures first employed under the ED regime in relation to ‘disadvantaged students’, to staff. Some targeted ‘formerly disadvantaged academics’, a new subject category: others, all staff.

2.2 From Education Development to Student Services: contestations around Student Development

The need for students to be disciplined was no longer a necessary pretext or vehicle for staff to be disciplined: the latter could now simply be targeted directly. But, although Student Development had served its purpose in academia, it could still be useful elsewhere: in Student Services, now being affirmed, under scrutiny of the Review, as a “core business” of the university. To serve this core business the two Deans’ posts were retained, but one reconstituted as the Dean: Student Development. In similar vein to the ‘mainstreaming’ of ED, Student Development was promoted as an approach that should infuse the work of all departments within the Division: not only the Counselling Centre, but also the Campus Health Centres, Sports Unions, Student Housing Office and even Financial Aid had to render their services in such a way as to contribute to the holistic development of students. To promote this the Dean: Student Development launched a 10-session certificate course in Student Service management for Student Service Providers. The same upward transposition of disciplinary measures from students to staff which had occurred in ED, was happening in Student Services, but since the course was not initially conceived within the formal accreditation requirements of the university nor scheduled into the formal timetable, thus failing to implement the techniques of disciplinary power, its initial effects were limited.

An overall Task Team and specialised working groups had been set up by the Review to ‘right-size’ and ‘re-engineer’ the Student Services Division to effect the required 20% cut in costs. The Student Services Boards were in 1998 reduced to one Board, meeting alternately between the two Centres under the Deputy Vice Chancellor: Students and Transformation. According to state requirements it had to deal with substantive policy and procedure issues, and could (theoretically, at any event) inform funding allocations in Student Services, something which had previously been done administratively. Problems in meeting the government’s requirement of equal student

and staff representation arose immediately: campus equality was privileged over staff-student equality, creating a structure top-heavy with staff. Inevitably, student participation in the Board did not flourish.

The location of the Head: Student Development post became a matter of contestation. A proposal to relocate it under the pro-DVC Student Governance was rejected by students, wary of an increasing bureaucratic hierarchy of control over them and preferring to have direct access to 'the top'. The extent to which the discourse of student development had established its strategic usefulness, however, became manifest in its co-option by the Student Counseling Centre, which now claimed that all the Centre's work was essentially about 'student development'. Student Development would give students a "new outlook on life" through attending workshops and support groups on everything from the most personal and difficult-to-confess aspects of self (such as "feelings of attraction for people of the same sex") through self-discipline and self-shaping (time management, study skills, self-awareness, career development) to group-based identity issues (foreign students' group, women's leadership training) (SCC leaflet). This highlighted conceptual and ideological differences in the various understandings of student development - the Centre's psychological paradigm vs ED's broader education-based, critical interdisciplinary approach - which blocked agreement on locating the Student Development post in the Counselling Centre. A 'professional' requirement that all the latter's staff except administrators be qualified counseling psychologists: issues of levels, type, and permanence of post, conditions of service, the personalities involved, and so forth, were all additional complicating factors.

The issue was settled strategically by reconceptualising the post to serve all the campuses, and to be located in an Office of Student Leadership Development under the Dean of Student Development. The appointee, who remained in the post, resisted its reclassification from academic to non-academic. The issue was a disciplinary one in two competing respects: the nature of the work itself - was it academic or non-academic?, and the problem of consistency in categorising staff for rationalistic administrative purposes (Student Services posts were all categorised 'non-academic'.) There were also financial stakes: non-academic posts cost less as

they did not carry a sabbatical leave entitlement. And, although a decision on the retention and location of the post had been made, the power politics remained unresolved, and there was pressure for clarification and definition of the concept and domain of 'student leadership development' - what it was, for whom, how it could be delivered, etc.- which gave impetus to the emergence of a new sub-discourse of ED, viz. student leadership development.

The work of this new office was not confined to students in elected leadership positions only - all students' potential for leadership was to be developed, and in terms of the university's strategic initiatives the office, with its one full time academic and one part-time administrative post, was required to deliver services to all the campuses. By the year 2000 intercampus, interdisciplinary co-curricular courses in Leadership Development were being mounted, with the collaboration of certain academic disciplines and most of the Student Services departments. Disciplinary power was now being exercised in the production of new kinds of subjects, viz. 'student leaders' and 'future leaders'. Students themselves took to their subjection by this new discourse with enthusiasm, although many members of the Student Councils showed considerable resistance. The Internship and Mentor Programmes were later reclaimed by the Student Leadership Development Office. 'Preparing for University', after 10 years of existence, merged with the Orientation Committee, offering a single Orientation Programme for all students. Along with its accompanying training programme for Orientation mentors, it also found its home in Student Leadership Development.

In considering the history of these various developments in ED, analysing "the singularity of events" (Foucault 1984a: 76), their logic, which may retrospectively appear imminently reasonable, is in fact seen to have about it something of what Foucault observed about the history of reason itself: the events have derived largely from chance; from "the passion of scholars, their reciprocal hatred, their fanatical and unending discussions, and their spirit of competition - the personal conflicts that slowly forged" the emerging new discourses of ED, which began to serve as new "weapons of reason" (Foucault 1984a: 78) in the life of the university. The "exteriority of accidents" is seen - at least in part - to be "what lies at the root" (Foucault 1984a: 82) of the

coming into existence of disadvantaged students, curriculum specialists, student development specialists, quality managers, new educational practices, and so forth. Although at a more micro or localised level than the larger scale 'Emergences' Foucault was speaking of, the emergence of these specialists and their discourses and practices was produced through what Foucault termed a particular stage of forces struggling against each other or embroiled in an extended battle against adverse conditions (Foucault 1984a: 83-84). The 'species' of ED engaged in intensive struggle for academic credibility; in the process of finally becoming established, individual differences emerged; there was a struggle "of egoisms turned against each other, each bursting forth in a splintering of forces and a general striving for the sun and for the light" (Foucault 1984a: 84). The new discourses of Quality Promotion, staff development, student development and student leadership development, were the new egoisms each seeking its place in the sun, and each in turn bound either to give rise over time to yet further splintering of forces, or to disappear quietly.

In July 1998 the first summit of Vice Chancellors and senior managers of the Eastern Seaboard Association of Tertiary Institutions had made a commitment to a "single, co-ordinated, learner-centred system of HE in the region". Two possible model options were identified for the system: a "single federal institution" or a "single unitary institution". The institutional subject had to be prepared for a further transformation. By July 1999 the new Minister of Education issued a 'Statement of government intention' which included the following:

As our policy documents make clear, it is vital that the mission and location of HE institutions be re-examined with reference to both the strategic plan for the sector, and the educational needs of local communities and the nation at large in the 21st century. This complex and difficult exercise is likely to result in mergers between some institutions, and decisions to change the missions of others. It is well known that institutions find it very difficult to come to such decisions on their own. Provided the investigation has been thorough and consultation has been undertaken fully and in good faith, I will not hesitate to take the necessary action with all deliberate speed.

One consequence of such mergers and rationalisations was likely to be further job losses in the HE sector. But, for the meantime, the cloth had already been cut at Natal University.

Conclusion

“ Traditional history is given to a contemplation of distances and heights: the noblest periods, the highest forms, the most abstract ideas, the purest individualities. It accomplishes this by getting as near as possible, placing itself at the foot of mountain peaks, at the risk of adopting the famous perspective of frogs. Effective history, on the other hand, shortens its vision to those things nearest to it ...” (Foucault 1984: 89).

In the foregoing pages I have recorded and analysed the processes of Education Development and institutional change which occurred in the University of Natal, mainly on its Pietermaritzburg campus, during the decades of the 1980s and 1990s. In the latter of these two decades South Africa underwent a turbulent political transition from an apartheid to a democratic state but continued to face enormous political, social, and economic problems, ‘transformation’ challenges which university graduates are expected to play a leading role in addressing.

The analytical framework I have used to reflect on the university’s change processes is that provided by the oeuvre of Michel Foucault: the analytical tools, genealogy, archaeology, and ethics with their central concepts of power, knowledge, and the subject: the data for analysis, the social and discursive practices of the above-mentioned change processes, including also everyday institutional practices. This approach, applied also to elements of the earlier history of the university in South Africa, reveals both a singular continuity in the university’s normalizing power practices, and the ‘penal’ nature of techniques such as the examination which are integral to the subject-producing function of these practices.

In doing such a study of the field within which I myself worked for over ten years, viz. Education Development, I have been enabled to reflect on the events of the times, on my own practices, and on the ways in which I have been caught up in (and ‘penalised,’ and ‘produced.’ by) the practices of the institution, from a different perspective than that which previously informed my thinking and practices, viz. critical social theory; and have myself been changed in certain ways, in my self-understanding, my view of the world, and my practices. In that sense I am a product of those

same discourses.

The institution I have been analysing, the university, is an apparatus for producing and transmitting 'truth', or knowledge, in the form of scientific discourse. This knowledge is applied by (among others) another 'product' of the university, its graduates, to solve social problems. By virtue of the force of the rules it follows, the truth-producing function has the power to constitute and reconstitute human subjects and their institutions, and the ways those subjects understand themselves and their institutions. My analysis has uncovered and problematised the 'regime' or 'general politics' of truth which the university produced, not about 'the world out there', but about itself as an institutional subject, and about its 'academic subjects', the staff and students who laboured, and continue to labour, within it according to the types of discourse which the university itself accepted and made function as true during the era under study. I have, at least in some measure, produced a critical ontology of the university.

My analysis has shown that, from an initially marginal position, the mechanisms, techniques, and procedures of Education Development were increasingly accorded value in establishing truth about the institution, and its practitioners increasingly gained the status of those who were "charged with saying what counts as true" (Foucault 1980d: 131). I have also demonstrated that the 'truths' of the institutional change process, and particularly those of Education Development, were "subject to constant economic and political incitement" (Foucault 1980d: 131-132). There was a continual economic and political pressure to generate truth or knowledge as to how the teaching/learning function of the institution could be made more productive with less effort, that is, with a more economical, or rational, use of power over those engaged in this function. I have shown that both ED and the institutional change processes were the issue of ongoing political debates and social confrontations, or "'ideological' struggles" (Foucault 1980d: 131) involving staff, students, executive, and others beyond the university, including organised workers and government.

The entry into the institution of increasing numbers of 'non-traditional' students, that is, black

students from different educational backgrounds than their white peers, was one of the incitements for this production of 'truth'. Others were financial constraints, national political and international higher education developments, and the forces of globalizing material, social, and political economies, themselves inciting and incited by, among others, the development and spread of information technology: the techniques of which were also co-opted by, and caught up in the contestations of, the university's change processes.

Initially, the practices of Education Development held little sway in the institution. However, as its practitioners increasingly adopted the mechanisms and procedures which were already accorded value in establishing truth in the university, viz. the techniques of research, and applied these to the objects of teachers, learners, teaching/learning practices, and themselves and their own practices in this field, they generated more extensive discourse which increasingly brought into play the exercise of disciplinary power and began to gain the force of 'truth'. The more these mechanisms and procedures were formalised, e.g. in the construction of accredited courses, the greater force they gained.

The discourse of Education Development which was thus incited to establish itself through a continual struggle against denials, refusals, and resistances, was 'new' insofar as its objects (staff, students, and their practices) had previously been taken for granted rather than being subjected through close scrutiny to become objects of knowledge. The 'new' subjects produced by the discourse were 'disadvantaged students' (and various sub-categories); specialists in tertiary education, eg. 'Physics education specialist' (as opposed to merely 'Physics lecturer'); and 'Education Development practitioners'. The aim of their subjection was for their practices to be increasingly governed toward greater academic productivity. Students who were 'undisciplined' in terms of the knowledge-making behaviours required of them by the university, were reshaped in their practices to comply with university requirements. Staff who were 'undisciplined' in terms of the behaviours necessary to undertake this business of reshaping students' academic practices, were reshaped in their practices of imposing practices, by fellow staff: who, regarded in their turn as 'undisciplined' in the primary academic practices of the disciplines, had to become disciplined

in the new field of the imposition of academic practices.

Much as there was resistance to this exercise of disciplinary power, the 'new' subjects were rendered more politically compliant than previously they had been: their resistance was the medium for the exercise of disciplinary power. This occurred insofar as students' energies were governed by the entire educational apparatus of the institution, and particularly the 'holistic' ('total education') approach of Education Development interacting with disciplinary power operating through other structures like Student Services and the timetable, towards academic productivity rather than political challenge; and the energies of lecturing staff were directed into obtaining new qualifications and constrained to account for their academic practices and the outcomes thereof, entailing a relinquishing of a measure of the autonomy or 'undisciplined practice' they had previously enjoyed. Education Development staff, even more than the lecturers, were subjected through their interaction with other players and forces to a continual accounting for the effects of their practices, and were coerced into self-constitution as more highly qualified practitioners, theoretically and practically.

My account has demonstrated that ED produced its effects of 'new' academic subjects through developing and employing increasingly sophisticated techniques and tactics of power-knowledge for the supervision of norms in student and staff academic practices. These included techniques of the confession in selection procedures (e.g. Teach Test Teach) and investigations into teaching/learning practices; biopower in the structuring of people's time and targeting of their practices of self-management (the 'holistic' approach of Preparing for University and the Science Foundation Programme as examples); the creation of delinquency ('disadvantaged students', 'exclusions', 'lifelong learners') and the use of various penalties (further qualifications, continuous assessment, additional tutorials, supplementary examinations, foundation courses and many more); and normalisation through scientificity (the employment of scientific theory and research in designing, implementing and investigating and explaining teaching/learning processes).

These tactics and techniques, presented as 'empowering', effectively introduced a tightening of

controls over people's behaviours and ways of being. They were not new per se, although the participatory, experiential and reflective 'humanistic' mode of targeting 'the whole person' introduced by ED from the terrain of non-formal education (including 'People's Education' in the political liberation struggle) was uncharacteristic of and called into question the regime of truth governing the academy's existing academic practices, and as such was resisted. This mode, these tactics and techniques, represented a shift towards greater individualization of subjects through power-knowledge. Overall, ED practices constituted an intensification, deepening, and refinement of the exercise of disciplinary power over both learners and teachers at the teaching-learning interface. This produced a proliferation of discourse, which in turn further increased the techniques of control, thereby individualizing subjects further.

I have further demonstrated that through this capacity for the mutually-generative production of discourse and normative shaping of subjects and their practices, ED as an apparatus linked with the mechanisms of the Vice Chancellor's Review and various administrative processes to produce a more general mechanism of institutional control. This overall mechanism worked to construct the university partly as a transformed institution according to the political rhetoric of the time, but also as a panoptical institution: one geared to greater efficiency, productivity and 'international competitiveness' through an increased degree of government, or management, of its staff and students. To this end it employed among other mechanisms the discourse of 'Quality' which directly co-opted the techniques of ED. The staff who moved from ED to the Quality Promotion Unit, were vehicles for this ongoing transmission of disciplinary power.

In these terms, then, the study demonstrates that ED's contribution to change was as a mechanism for the exercise of specific tactics and techniques of power which operated at the micro level of individual subjects. First to be enmeshed in this 'micro-physics of power' were ED staff and 'disadvantaged' students, then lecturing staff. Through this network of power relations ED conditioned - sometimes facilitated and sometimes constrained, but on balance facilitated - the deployment at macro level of institutional change processes. At the same time the macro level strategies affected the operations of ED, sometimes promoting, sometimes hampering them, but

always exerting on them pressure for change. There was thus a 'double conditioning' in the interaction between the exercise of disciplinary power at the micro-level, and broader strategies of power at the macro or institutional level, each being affected by the other. The curriculum in the broadest sense of the term, the vehicle for the transmission of knowledge and the production of subjects, became the chief nexus of this interplay of power.

In all this I have demonstrated the parallels between the history of prison reforms analysed by Foucault, and the university reform process. The rules of power relations as identified by Foucault have been revealed through both ED and the institutional change process. That is, power was not a static property but operated through numerous matrices of transformation in the institution. It operated in its own specificity and not in terms only of (government or university) legislation and structures. It worked not through sovereign edicts of the executive but 'from the bottom up', through the smallest mechanisms, like timetables, journals, and other confessional practices. It was a non-subjective yet intentional form of power, operating on and through people: people, their subjectivities and behaviours, were the product-effect of the action of this power, rather than power being the product of people's agency. As such, power had positive, or productive, rather than negative or repressive effects.

The tactics of disciplinary power identified in the educational reform process are manifold. There was a multiplication of ED discourses, around staff, student, curriculum, and institutional development; these further proliferated into heterogeneous discourses on Open Learning, quality assurance, and student leadership development. Tactics of observation and supervision, correction and prescription of the behaviours of staff and students, and classification and categorisation of their identities, including the identification of 'exceptions and perversities', were all deployed. Control was effected through ever deeper lines of penetration of these tactics into the institution. There were incitements to discourse through denials and refusals on the part of lecturers, students, ED staff, management, and processes like the Vice Chancellor's Review. People's behaviour became both an object of analysis and a target of intervention for modification.

As Education Development extended this spiral of power-knowledge productivity, it entered into an increasingly symbiotic relationship with the mechanisms of the broader institutional change process, until its truths were incorporated, albeit unevenly, into the truths of the everyday practices of the university's regime of truth.

My analysis, then, has explained ED, not in the ideological terms according to which it presented itself, i.e. as a progressive force for a 'humanising' transformation of the university to a more democratic, non-racial, equitable institution, although it may have had such effects; but in material terms, according to its practices. I have demonstrated that it functioned as a tightening of controls over people's behaviours and ways of being, through the use of power practices, particularly those of a confessional nature. But ED as a specific mechanism has now disappeared. In its place are new mechanisms, new structures, many of which continue to employ the discourses of ED.

My analysis has shown that, notwithstanding the disappearance of Education Development, its tactics and techniques have to some extent become embedded in the everyday teaching/learning practices of the institution, and it has brought certain shifts in the institution's 'regime of truth', primarily insofar as the 'discipline' of teaching/learning at tertiary level has become both a credible and an accreditable field of knowledge, and the 'autonomy' of lecturers is no longer something to be taken for granted; a higher level of accountability is now expected of them.

Nevertheless, despite the effects of governmentality produced through two decades of intertwined ED and institutional change processes, and the continuing promotion of those effects through other processes like 'Quality Promotion' and 'Quality Assurance', at the end of this period a degree of elusiveness persists amongst the targets of disciplinary power at both individual and institutional level, as currents of resistance irrepressibly continue to circulate through the social system. This is seen, for instance, in the margin of academic failure tolerated amongst students, now less of a focus for intensive intervention than before; in the lapsing of intensive training and supervision of tutors; in the lack of interest amongst staff for participating in the student mentor programme. And, with posts for specialist staff disciplined to address those issues and implement

those programmes having been redeployed or discontinued, the elements or vehicles through which disciplinary power at that micro-level circulated have been diffused and dispersed. There is no longer as intensive and concentrated a deployment of power-knowledge operating 'from the bottom up' in the institution at large as there was in the ED era.

On the other hand, it is the case that those ED programmes which were from the outset located most firmly in existing academic structures and adopted the 'total education' approach most assiduously, like the Science Foundation Programme, continue to function and expand; albeit without specialist selection mechanisms, consequently, their productivity of student subjects risks reduction. They tolerate a margin of failure which, half a decade ago, would not have been tolerated. Nevertheless, they feed off the 'need' generated by an ever more technologized society and global economy, for converting 'disadvantaged students' into graduates in the sciences, to the extent that a massive donation has been secured to build a centre entirely dedicated to the Science Foundation Programme.

Student Development and student leadership development, having been consigned to the margins of academia in the Student Services Division, are effectively beginning the same cycle of power-knowledge productivity anew, the former targeting the staff of the Student Services Division to subject them, through accredited professional development programmes at the post-graduate level, the more effectively to subject students in the many 'non-academic' dimensions of their lives. Motivations are afoot for Student Services staff to be afforded the same facilities for research accorded their 'academic' counterparts. The instrument of a 'parallel transcript' will be the means for the disciplining of students in their 'co-curricular' activities. Student leadership development is similarly beginning to generate discourses amongst students, but also drawing on other disciplines to generate these discourses, and moving in the direction of accrediting students' subjection to its terrain of activity.

The political themes of transformation still surface in institutional debates and decision-making structures, although more sluggishly and less frequently as normalisation of the institution for the

era of global capitalism increasingly takes hold - as the “far-reaching, but never completely stable. effects of domination” (HS: 102) assert themselves. The next stage in the ‘transformation’ of the University of Natal, as we have seen, is likely to be its ‘rationalisation’ with the University of Durban-Westville, for purposes of which, at the time of writing, a process of subjection is already underway in the form of a special task group headed by a new Acting Vice Chancellor.

The overall view of the university of the past two decades that has emerged from the analysis in this study is that of an institutional subject exercising, through a mix of resistance, subjection, and self-subjection in a continually dynamic interplay of power relations both internal and external, the freedom to govern or construct itself as a different kind of institution. How judicious the ‘mix’ has been, is no doubt contestable; but to the extent that this freedom of self-governance was exercised through democratic procedures entailing ‘minimal domination’ of staff and students (also a controversial question, particularly as regards its processes from 1997 onwards), the University of Natal was operating on a set of ethical principles of ‘correct care for the self’ which translated into relative internal social stability in a context of often extreme turbulence. That this stability has appeared to increase during the latter period should not be viewed with complacency: it may signify a decline in the effort of ethical self-construction, a succumbing to the norms of global capitalism, suggested in the superman image, which may yet reap adverse consequences.

The account I have given of the university’s change processes and the making of academic subjects through the exercise of disciplinary power gives rise to many questions ‘needing’ to be addressed in the current context of the society and ‘the role in society of the University of Natal’. From my own personal perspective (as shaped by this study) the most interesting ones fall within the elusive terrain of ethics, the shaping of subjectivities, and flow from the overall question: Does the institution’s current ‘regime of truth’ produce freedom-practising subjects, ‘ethical subjects’ in the sense in which Foucault employed the term, that is, subjects who take responsibility for governing themselves, for inventing themselves? I regard this question, particularly as it applies specifically to students, as being central to the ‘domain’ of my own work, student leadership development, the aim of which, for me, is to experiment continually with how the institution can

construct itself so as to produce such subjects.

Student leadership development is about producing ethical subjects in that it is about governmentality: about developing students' individual and collective capacity to govern themselves, individually and collectively, in the institutional context through the practices of freedom, the ethic of 'care for the self' which is simultaneously an ethic of care for others, of minimal domination of others. We have seen in the account of the 1980s and 1990s that, although students may have moved towards greater governmentality in terms of their academic practices, in the terrain of student government *per se* there were many problems, some arising from a lack of capacity for 'the practices of freedom' on the students' part, some from the ways in which the university constructed the educational environment within which students had to govern themselves. There were also problems at the level of individual students' practices of self-governance as these pertained to relations with other students from diverse backgrounds and issues of safety and security; and in the domain of sexual behaviour poor self-governance made, and will continue to make, the threat of HIV/AIDS proportionally the greater.

Given the university's Mission Statement and its commitment to serving the wider community, it is desirable that the effects of governmentality which student leadership development and the institution as a whole induce in students, should be such that students carry their capacity for the practices of freedom beyond the boundaries of the institution and university life into their homes, their communities, their future places of work, and civic society - what in ED parlance would be referred to as 'transfer' - so that they contribute through their leadership (of self and of others) to the transformation of the broader society.

At the crux of the question of whether the university produces, or how it can produce, ethical subjects lies the question of how it as an institution defines and creates its own internal 'practices of freedom'; or at least - and this question is a factor of how the institution governs itself and how it governs its subjects - how it can create the conditions within which such practices on the part of students and staff can flourish.

Foucault's work on ethics suggests some general directions here, and the account of the previous two decades has touched on pertinent areas which could be investigated in greater depth. To examine more closely to what extent the institution is engaging in the 'ethic of care for the self as a practice of freedom' one could focus specifically on the issue of how, by what practices, in its internal and external engagements, in the discourses it generates, the university makes explicit and analyses its own history, enquiring what has made it what it is; and to what extent it actively engages its staff and students in such processes. One could look for evidence of a critical stance to its own historical limits and to the subjections currently apparently being imposed on it; for signs that it is actively resisting these, pushing them outwards to create new possibilities - actively constructing a 'critical ontology of the self', engaging in a creative experimental approach to transforming itself.

Taking account of the country's history of racialised unequal power relations and the way these shaped individual subjectivities, one could investigate how, if at all, the institution's social and discursive practices, both curricular and co-curricular, challenge both black and white staff and students to reshape their subjectivities towards equality and away from inferiority and superiority; away from authoritarianism and towards minimal domination, and respect and care for self and others. One could seek evidence as to whether curricula and institutional forums and decision-making bodies identify and critically analyse the new relationships of power that have emerged after the political revolution, and how to control these, or whether conformity to these is simply taken as a necessity. In this regard, the institution's response to the new orthodoxies which the current government is pursuing in higher education, could bear close scrutiny: is the university in danger of becoming merely politically compliant? In addition, is its regime of truth such as to merely produce politically docile, academically productive subjects or does it demand of staff and students that they engage in the business of defining and developing the 'practical forms of liberty' needed in our society? Does it require students to take responsibility for social transformation in the everyday affairs of the institution (safety and security, the teaching-learning process, student political activity, etc.) themselves; or do its practices encourage the abdication of responsibility to others, especially 'government' (of the student body, or the university, or the country)?

These are large questions, and in identifying topics for further research one should take account of the need to start with localised centres of power-knowledge. There are (at least) three particular aspects in the task of producing ethical subjects which interest me and which, I suggest, warrant immediate further investigation. The first relates to the very subject which Foucault chose to focus on in his study of the production of discourse, viz. sexuality. In Chapter Four I outlined, albeit briefly, the crisis of HIV/AIDS which threatens the future survival of the society and therefore also of the university. How can the university produce subjects who govern themselves ethically in their most intimate interpersonal relationships such that they care for themselves - and others - first and foremost at the level of basic survival, while still nevertheless pushing outward the boundaries of historically-imposed cultural and other limits on sexual self-discovery and self-invention? The evidence, to date, suggests that the discourses that have been generated around HIV/AIDS in the university and the society are not producing the self-disciplined, self-caring subjects they aim to produce; instead, resistance is high, and behaviour patterns remain of a high-risk nature. This question goes to the heart of individualization and power relations, especially in the terrain of gender.

The second area pertains also to relations of power at both interpersonal and structural levels, in the terrain of race relations, which may be construed broadly under the catch phrase 'diversity' to include not only relations between 'black' and 'white' students but also students of diverse ethnicities, nationalities, religious persuasions, language and cultural backgrounds, and so forth. The history of the country and of education, as we have seen, has promoted separation, isolation, ideologies of superiority/inferiority, domination/subordination, conflict, and the construction of differing subjectivities amongst people of differing backgrounds. Placing students together on campuses, in residences and in lecture rooms does not automatically transform their 'habits of soul' in relation to themselves and others. Yet the university needs to produce graduates whose subjectivities are transformed such that they will contribute to the healing of our fractured society and the reinvention of the 'South African' subject, who is also simultaneously an 'African' and a 'global' subject. How can this task be tackled?

The third area has to do with the challenge of constructing students as subjects who exercise freedom in the very process of their own construction as academic subjects, that is, subjects who engage with the institution regarding how it governs them, particularly in terms of choice regarding what may be learnt, by what means, with whom and from whom, through what language medium, where, how, and why; how learning is to be recognised, what should be recognised as learning, and so forth; in other words, subjects who question the university's 'regime of truth' regarding what constitutes 'an academic subject'. Investigating how this complex challenge may be pursued would in itself be a complex challenge.

With regard to how these questions may be grappled with, the obvious 'localised centres' for data collection for such studies would be the curriculum, perhaps localising further to specific disciplines and courses; the operations of Student Services and the terrain of co-curricular activities, including the mechanisms for involving students in decision-making. This study has suggested that the greatest effects are produced through the exercise of disciplinary power, and that disciplinary power circulates most vigorously at the teaching/learning interface, and wherever individual subjects are taken as objects of knowledge. The social and discursive practices operating in the terrain of the proposed areas for study, viz. sex and gender relations, race relations, and student participation in curriculum formation and institutional governance; and the effects of these practices, should therefore be closely scrutinised, not with a view to merely increasing control over students' political energies, but with a view to promoting students' engagement in the 'practices of freedom'.

In concluding, it must be acknowledged that many who were players in the events recounted in this study may take issue with my analysis of the 'archive' of the University of Natal's history during the 1980s and 1990s. They may question why this event was referred to and not that one; why specific documents or discrete items of data were included and not others; and so forth. They may, indeed, dispute the validity of Foucault's analytic or consider my application of it to fall woefully short. To such responses I would only reiterate that what I have attempted to do is to adopt what, for me, has been a creative, experimental approach (Foucault 1984b: 50) to the

difficult task of contemporary historical analysis; that in doing so I have perhaps at times fallen into adopting “the famous perspective of frogs”, as Foucault so colourfully characterised the approach of ‘Traditional history’; but that, throughout, my endeavours have been to “shorten [my] vision to those things nearest” to me in an attempt to render an ‘effective history’ as ‘truthfully’ as the measure of my disciplinary subjection to date enables me to do: and that it is not only desirable but also, on account of the ‘will to knowledge’, inevitable that others should raise challenges to what I have rendered.

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