

**INDIAN TEACHERS AND AFRICAN PUPILS IN A DESEGREGATING
SCHOOL IN DURBAN: A CASE OF TURNING THE OTHER INTO THE
SAME?**

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my **dearest** son, **Adiel**.

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own work. It has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

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Durban, day of, 1994.

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the processes through which Indian teachers constitute themselves in relation to the African pupil. The research was undertaken in an historically Indian state secondary school in Durban. The school's pupil population was dominantly Indian though 10 % of the pupil body was African. This report shows that teachers' perceptions about the African pupil are based upon perceived differences and result in subtle practices of exclusion. The teachers in this study are able to legitimate their positions through different processes and discursive practices. Their own positions become dominant while the discourse that African pupils present becomes marginalised. Teachers are able to position a modernist western discourse as the appropriate form of thinking. In this manner the African pupil is constructed as the Other because she or he is different from the sameness that inheres in schools that were until recently, racially exclusive. Having constructed the African pupil as the Other teachers attempt to subsume the otherness in the name of progress. Teachers attempt to create sameness and they react positively when they see more of the Same in the Other.

This study shows that African pupils are not consciously treated unfairly by teachers in their classroom interaction. Teachers declared their open rejection of Apartheid education and welcomed the process of desegregation as part of the dismantling of a racially exclusive education system. The research report shows, however, that the construction of the African pupil as the Other works to suppress them. The African pupil is expected to conform to the ethos of traditionally Indian schools and to the little changed expectations of Indian teachers. The practices and the processes that teachers engage in reveal the paradoxical nature of the teaching process.

A postmodern analysis informs the research project. This form of thinking offers a useful explanation of dominating tendencies and the contradictions as they occurred in the school undergoing desegregation. Case study research was employed over a period of nine months. I am a teacher in the school under study and was thus, able to gain easy access to data. However, the fact that I was a known observer and a permanent member of the teaching staff meant that teachers were apprehensive about recording sensitive details of the interviews.

Chapter One

Introduction

This study sets out to explore teacher perceptions towards African pupils in the emerging context of desegregated schooling in post-Apartheid South Africa. African pupils have, since 1985, been enrolling in schools administered by the ex (Indian) House of Delegates. These schools had been segregated due to statutory racial discrimination. The dominant ethos of such schools was and remains "Indianness", an historically constructed, separate Indian identity. It is within these parameters and the ethos of Indianness that the African pupil is constructed by the teacher as the Other.

The school under study is situated inland and to the west of the city centre in Sydenham which is relatively close to the historically Coloured area of Sydenham. The school was first opened in 1968 to cater specifically for Indian pupils in the Clare Estate, Asherville and Sydenham areas. The racial composition of the pupil body is largely Indian constituting 88,88 % of the pupil body. African pupils are enrolled in the school according to the conditions determined by the ex House of Delegates (see Chapter 2.3.). The present African population totals 97 or 10,04 % of the pupil body. There are 10 Coloured pupils comprising 1,04 % of the pupil body. The enrolment of Coloured pupils at the school revealed that they are not subject to the same conditions regarding admission. Their admission to the school is automatic: it does not necessitate the strict conditions of admission centring on proficiency in English. The school is serviced by the feeder schools in these areas. The pupil body is drawn largely from local Indian middle class: teachers,

managers, receptionists, policemen, shop keepers or clerks. Most pupils live in homes that are owned by their parents or grandparents. Extended family systems are not uncommon features of this community which prides itself on a commitment to schooling and education. The Indian pupils belong to one of three religious groups, Hindu, Christian or Islam.

African pupils come largely from the outlying areas of Kwa-Mashu, Clermont and Umlazi and travel daily by taxi or bus to the school. African pupils are usually late at school as indicated by the school's detention book. This is due to the large distances that separate the school from their homes. During periods of political disturbances or strike action by transport companies very few African pupils come to school. Absenteeism became acute during and up to the period of the elections; during March and April 1994. Recently, informal settlements have developed in Clare Estate and a few pupils from these settlements have enrolled at the school. In addition there are a few pupils in the school whose parents are employed as domestic labourers in the surrounding area. These pupils live on the premises of their parent's employers. In some instances the employers who are mainly Indian send their children to the same school. The African pupils belong mainly to the lower income groups. Some African pupils cannot afford to purchase proper uniform or the cost of outings organised by different subject departments.

From interviews regarding admissions to school it was acknowledged that the school administration adhered strictly to the conditions regarding admission of African pupils, one of which is some understanding of English. These conditions effectively exclude many African pupils that seek places in the school. This is reflected by the fact that the entire African pupil population constituted just 10 % of the pupil body.

The staff of the school under study is composed of 50 Indian teachers, including the principal. There are 23 females and 17 male teachers who hold level one posts. Level one teachers are those teachers that do not hold promotion posts like the post of head of department or principal. There are 7 heads of departments of whom 2 are female. The remaining three posts of principal, senior deputy principal and deputy principal are held by males. Teachers at the school were middle class. All owned their own homes in the "better" areas of Reservoir Hills, Parlock or other areas that had previously been zoned white, like Westville, Overport and the Berea.

Teachers at the school belong to SADTU (South African Democratic Teachers Union) and a strong ethos of "resistance" characterises the political opinion and work-place orientation. SADTU was formed in October 1990 and was aligned to COSATU (Congress of South African Trade Unions). Indian teachers had belonged to the TASA (Teachers Association of South Africa) which had all Indian teachers as its members but with the formation of SADTU, TASA was dissolved in 1992 and formed part of SADTU's membership. SADTU was an important achievement in that it was able to break down the historically constructed racial barriers that divided the teaching fraternity.

On many occasions teachers were critical of the ex House of Delegates, its officials and affiliated institutions. Vociferous representations were made through the regional executive membership of SADTU some of whom are members of the staff of the school under study. Teachers did not allow inspectors from the department to supervise their teaching. On more than one occasion inspectors were informed by SADTU site stewards that teachers did not wish to be supervised. Teachers refused to allow their record books or pupil's written

efforts to be inspected. Teachers also demonstrated their agitation and noted this with the principal when the school was visited by the former Minister of Education in the House of Delegates, Dr. Kisten Rajoo. Recently the teachers vehemently rejected the suggestion that the Mayor of Durban Mike Lipschitz act as a guest speaker for assembly. Teachers argued the Mayor had represented the Apartheid era and his position as mayor was ambiguous.

Teachers at this school were part of the chalk-down that SADTU employed in its dispute regarding salaries in August and September 1993. The teachers at the school were also part of an illegal strike in September 1993. Teachers were not quelled in their actions despite the threat of salary deductions and threats that acts of misconduct could be instituted against them. Teachers are acutely aware of gender bias with regard to conditions of service and promotions. Female teachers support actively SADTU's call to redress gender inequalities. Female teachers reject for example that married teachers are denied housing allowances and reject the disparities in pension allowances for female teachers in general. With regard to promotion female teachers believe that they have been side-lined. They believe that those female teachers that are most senior are promotable. However with regard to seniority all teachers (both male and female) deplore the fact that many senior teachers have been refused promotion as a result of their active objections to the ex House of Delegates and are victimised. These arguments show, amongst other things, that teachers value and respect age as a criteria for promotion.

It is not an uncommon sight to see teachers waving placards on the main road in the area to mark occasions like Sharpeville and Soweto Day. Teachers at the school were also part of a demonstration group outside Malgate building in August 1993 and the march through

the city center in support of teachers exploited by the Kwa-Zulu Department of Education. Teachers openly declare their unequivocal rejection of racism. This thinking is premised upon "non-racialism" in which the importance of race or difference is denied. The obliteration of difference actually serves to homogenise rather than to recognise the multiplicity of meanings.

Historically, the relationship between African and Indians has been contradictory. Africans and Indians were equally subjected to race domination. However tensions exist between Africans and Indians as seen in the 1949 Durban Riots and the 1985 Inanda Riots in which Indians were the targets of racial hostilities. Many people lost their businesses and their homes in the Inanda area. The Gandhi Settlement was destroyed and exodus of Indians from this area occurred. The vacated areas were occupied by Africans, many of whom, were escaping faction fighting in the township areas. The areas occupied by Africans after the 1985 Inanda Riots became known as Bhambayi which borders on the Indian area of Phoenix. This incident together with the memories of the 1949 Riot helps to show at least, how Africans are regarded at times as a threat and a danger. Indians were and remain usually employers in their relations with the Africans. Unlike Africans, Indians obtained political representation (despite large Indian resentment) in the tricameral system. It is against this historical background that I want to explore the process of change in the context of desegregating schools.

The process of desegregation began in Indian schools in 1985, in part the result of the lack of legitimacy that racially exclusive schools had. The Clase Models of 1990 (see chapter 2.2 and 2.3) extended and sanctioned the process in white House of Assembly schools

although private schools were engaged in this process prior to the official Clase sanction.

In the post 1990 period agreement has emerged in the area of education policy that desegregation is vital. The debate is not whether to segregate but on how to desegregate. There is a belief current in South Africa that the process of desegregation will result in the successful integration of schools and provide equality of opportunity, if not equality itself. Although the process of desegregation has been under way for the past four years little change has occurred in the composition of the pupil population. The Clase Model with its maximum of 49% "non-white" pupils has been viewed as an assimilationist model, described by Carrim and Mkwazi (1992) as a form of "new racism". The Carrim and Mkwazi (1992) argument shows that "open" schools do not reduce inequalities, rather they are exacerbated by racial inequalities. A weakness in the argument of Carrim and Mkwazi (1992) is that they reduce all arguments to race and are constrained within a language of possibility: desegregation holds the promise of an attainable reality. Against this model are other models of integration which stress the need for an anti-racist and systemic approach to the process of integration so that all pupils get at least equality of opportunity.

The process of desegregation may never be conclusive in the sense of being finally knowable as it occurs in schools and will be occurring in the future. However the process that has already been underway presents us with a relational understanding, not a conclusion which is never possible. In the attempt to understand desegregating schools the point is not to reveal the hidden or to find that which cannot be described but rather a focus upon the already-said (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983). Rather than focusing on what desegregation

should be I want to focus on how the process in the school under study has unfolded and, at the same time, resist interpretations of this process.

The process through which desegregation occurs presently is influenced by a number of modernist values. The most salient is the belief in the need to break down the Apartheid pathology which created bounded identities. This is held to be a noble goal by which society at large will benefit. It is my purpose to explore what this means in the context of desegregating schools, especially at the present conjuncture when reconceptualising and reconstructing education are seen as political and social imperatives.

This study critically engages with the assumption that desegregation of schools will result in redressing the imbalances of the past and provide equality. A different analytical framework, Reproduction theory, would see desegregation in functional terms: as perpetuating a class-based system while publicly claiming to be definitively transformative. Reproduction theory, however has several shortcomings. It is instrumental and reductionist. This report attempts to move away from such failings by employing a methodology and conceptual apparatus that avoid these pitfalls. Ironically, however the conclusions are depressingly similar to those of Reproduction theory.

This report attempts to show that desegregation unintentionally reproduces the relations of domination and subordination. This is effected in classroom interaction where the African pupil is constituted as the Other in relation to Indian teachers and is not treated as an equal. The construction of the African pupil as the Other works to suppress and dominate. Domination and suppression calls into question the expected promises of equality of

opportunity. While desegregation has heralded the notion of togetherness and cohesiveness, this report demonstrates through the case of the Other more about the incoherence of togetherness.

Desegregated schooling is a new experience in most state schools and therefore literature available on desegregated schooling is limited. Studies that are available (Ashley, 1971; Christie, 1990;) are based largely upon private schooling and a critical emancipatory ideology which focuses on race and class hegemony in their understanding of "open" (desegregating) schools. This report on the other hand, looks at the processes and practices by which Indian teacher subjectivity is constituted in relation to the African pupil, how this influences teacher attitudes towards African pupils and the implications for teachers at this present conjuncture. This study does not marginalise the discourse of race and class but the focus of the research is specifically upon the construction of the Other. The effect of race and class cannot be taken for granted and are discursively constituted. These categories are implicated in the constitution of the Other. The otherness of the Other is derived in part from the representation of the ideal subject, though mythical but very powerful: western, modern, white and middle class (Deacon, 1993). However this research report does not reduce the exigencies of schooling to the dynamics of race and class. The notion of the Other, rather than race and class has become not simply a useful, but an essential, philosophical tool to engage in re-thinking our roles as teachers in post-Apartheid or postcolonial South Africa.

The present conjuncture that South Africa finds itself in can be loosely defined as post-Apartheid, emerging from white domination. Mbembe (1992) describes this moment as that

of a postcolony. Mbembe (1992) sees the notion of a postcolony as a "specific identity of a given historical trajectory: that of societies recently emerging from the experience of colonization" (1992: 2). South Africa can be considered as a postcolony because since the April 1994 elections dominant white colonial rule has been replaced by a government of national unity. I want to extend this meaning by borrowing the ideas of Spivak (1990). There are inherent tensions in the construction of the postcolony. The notion of postcolony suggests to go beyond the limits of colonial thought while postcolony suggests its grounding in that way of thinking (Spivak, 1990).

In the extended meaning of the postcolony South Africa has premised itself irrevocably on the ideal of democracy and equality (see chapter 2). This can be seen for example in the realm of education, in the increasing number of Black pupils in general that have places in schools that were once racially exclusive but whose admission policies were determined by the 1990 Cluse Models (see chapter 2.3). Research (Metcalfé, 1991) has shown that the flow of black pupils to white "open" schools has been slow. The number of Black pupils form a very small percentage in most of these schools. Ultimately, the creation of a single ministry of education in January 1995 could make the Cluse Models and its limitations on Black enrolment illegitimate. It is the contention of the new Ministry of Education that desegregating schools will bring about a new democratic schooling order and contribute towards nation building: a project based upon modernity. Modernist projects are contradictory: an increasing commitment to equality actually reveals more about uneven and unequal forms of education. The panacea of policy discourse of the new government is premised in terms of redress and a commitment to democratic ideals. Access is prioritised and tends to obscure crucial questions of the fragile relations between teacher and pupil.

The unified sign of democracy actually serves to conceal the real inequalities that inhere at the micro level: the relations of inequalities that become evident in the changing face of school. Here I suggest that we are within and of the moment that we criticise. Criticism of democratic ideals does not imply their abandonment. Rather the pledge towards the creation of a new order in South Africa must be explored and exposed for what it creates and legitimates: the combined paradox of increasing democratic mechanisms and simultaneously increasing its refusal. While many modernist scholars (Burgess, 1986; Carrington, 1983) have grasped the inherent dangers present in education, they have failed to acknowledge the relational positioning of discourse, the mechanism through which domination works (self-policing and disciplinary power) and the relation to the self.

There are contradictions that the postcolonial order embraces, one of which is the relations between the privileged taken-for-granted position of the teacher and the marginalised African pupil. This is the ambiguity of the postcolonial order. In the attempt to go beyond the limits of colonialism we are very much within its ambit. Our contexts are paradoxical: there are constant tensions between and within the tendencies of de-colonisation and re-colonisation. Spivak (1990) explains this contradiction as the persistent critique which inhabits that which it critiques.

The question "Can the subaltern speak?" (Spivak,1988,1) underlies the problem of constructing subalternities and hence the privileged status of the teacher cum intellectual is reinforced. The subaltern refers to those categories of people that are marginalised in this instance the African pupil as the Other. Race and class, for example are indicators of marginality. Teachers, themselves may be marginalised in different contexts in relation to

others. Spivak sees the concept subaltern as those people who are "cut off from mobility within both foreign and domestic dominant structures" (Spivak,1990: 1). The marginal status of subalterns invests those with privilege to construct them as the objects of study and to investigate and control them. Relations of power-knowledge have established the subaltern as a possible object. Historical and material forces have constituted the Other (the object) and excluded it. These forces have invested the Other as an available and potential target for education. In postcolonial South Africa key concepts like transparency and inclusion dictate the changing processes. The combined contradiction lies in the processes that include but exclude simultaneously and exercise hierarchies and powerlessness. The African pupil is included but excluded by the very discourse whose intention it is to redress inequalities. The teachers' privileged position in terms of power and knowledge is concealed.

Postcolonialism, like postmodernism becomes an essential tool that invests the role of the intellectual (teacher) and at the same time subverts the position of privilege. It becomes an exercise of not turning the Other into the Same. It is a recognition of the possibility that the benevolent tendencies of teachers can be potentially dangerous. The African pupil is constructed historically as the marginal. The research report shows that all the teachers in the study welcomed the changes made to schools. However the African pupil is invested as the Other, to be developed to the "standards" with which the teacher is acquainted. Many teachers see their role in terms of upliftment and to attempt to introduce a "better" (western) education. This has the effect of investing the African pupil as deficient, the subaltern, and so reinforces on the one hand that state of "lack" and simultaneously legitimates the privileged position of the teacher. Postcolonialism challenges those

relations of power disguised in the name of "bridging the gap," "upliftment" and "catching up". The investment of the Other can be seen as a useful mechanism to criticise it and to displace the oppressive meanings with which the Other is coded. Postcolonial forms of thinking are enabling as a tool to "(ab)-use" (Spivak, 1990: 3) teachers' perceptions of the African pupil as the Other, as the subaltern and object of enquiry. This neologism "(ab)-use" becomes a strategic tool to undermine the assumptions of modernity. It becomes a shocking device, a solecism which exposes the so-called progressive tendencies that are apparent in desegregation and its obedience to the project of modernity.

This critique of modernity resonates with the ideas of Docherty (1993) about the Other. Docherty (1993) argues that through the discourse of the Other we can become more informed about the fabric of our traditions to which we belong. Docherty (1993) claims:

It is in our genuine encounters with what is other or alien (even in ourselves) that we can further our own self-understanding (1993: 66,67)

The concept of the Other as it occurs in desegregated schools became an interesting form of examination. By examining the way in which Indian teachers constructed and encountered the Other an understanding of teacher perceptions could be articulated which explicated the ambiguities and inconsistencies within which the changing processes were encountered. The understanding of the Other questions the logic of the Same. Levinas, quoted in Docherty (1993) argues that the entire tradition of western philosophy functions within the Same-Other dualism in which the Other is appropriated, absorbed and swallowed up by the Same. It is the intention of the research report to show how teachers in their relations with African pupils in the school under study subscribe to that logic of the Same. Through the notion of the Other this study attempts to expose the Same, to reveal its

imperialistic tendencies to dominate and suppress.

This study acknowledges the agency of pupils. The process that occurs in schools is not simply Indian teachers acting upon African pupils to absorb them into the dominant structures. However the focus of the study is specific: how teachers constitute the African pupils as the Other which serves the tradition of the Same.

The report shows that the vision of a post-Apartheid South as free and equal is premature and unwarranted. This report argues that perceptions and attitudes of teachers inadvertently reproduce exclusionary discourses and quite ironically teachers generate the values of the old order. Expectations that desegregating schools would result in drastic change are premature. Desegregation does not always have the necessary desired effects. This research report will assist teachers to re-think their roles and come to a greater self-understanding of what this means for their practice.

The report is situated within postmodern forms of thinking, as this offers a useful way of looking at and re-thinking the progressive aim evident in education and desegregation. The coursework studies in which I engaged, that is, Social Theory, has come to influence my understanding of the different processes within which I find myself. Within reproduction and Resistance theories I found that power and knowledge were useful only in relation to the macro sphere and it did not provide a means of self-criticism. Hence this form of thinking leaves intact and unshaken the teacher's position of privilege, which I found inconsistent during the course of this study. The use of the concepts of power and knowledge within the parameters of Resistance and Reproduction theories serves to limit and to lose the ambiguities and the multiplicity of power-knowledge: power is seen as

oppressive and tends to distort knowledge. Subjects who have power are seen as exercising a top-down hierarchy. In re-examination of these discourses in relation to myself (which is not a focus of this study), I have come to share the scepticism of Reproduction and Resistance theories. I have come to regard postmodernism in a different light. I do not reject modernist discourse and offer a solution in its place. Rather postmodern ideas has been helpful to make me continue to think about our contexts which are modernist. In the subsequent pages I propose to shed light on this phenomenon. Foucault, Spivak and Derrida are some of the authors that come to bear upon this understanding. This postmodern understanding ruptures and fractures all forms of universalism and reason that constitute our society. It is objected, for example that modernist discourses flatten particularities and shorten the gaps between differences, impose the idea of a unified subjectivity and perpetuate the rationality that teachers are the legitimate purveyors of knowledge. A vast amount of international and limited local research embracing Reproduction and Resistance Theories has been done on racial stereotyping in schools. Researchers working in this area (Troyna, 1987; Freer, 1992; Morrell, 1991; Metcalfe, 1991; Christie 1993) have shown that the ways in which differences (racial, gender or other) are handled and power relations upheld has the effect of perpetuating exclusionary attitudes. However, research has ignored teacher's role in constituting the African pupil. This is an important aspect because teachers are powerful agents in the construction of difference (see chapter 5). By utilising a postmodern critique the gaps and silences in the logic of the Same and the Other may be foregrounded. This will highlight the binary dichotomy in the "us-them" logic. It will be contended that African pupils in traditional Indian schools are constructed as the subordinate Other within a tradition that de-emphasises differences. The study critically engages with the logic of the Other and the

Same and the role of teachers in this process. The dominant discourse locates the teacher as the disseminator of legitimate knowledge with the power to represent the Other which helps perpetuate hegemonic cultural values.

The focus of the study will be teachers. Teachers (like pupils) are agents centrally involved, although not the authors of the process of desegregation and it is clear that their relationships with pupils and their own views about the process of desegregation and the pupils they teach will effect the course of desegregation. As agents, teachers and pupils differ: teachers are managing the process from positions of authority; pupils are dealing with the process from positions of hierarchical weakness. This study acknowledges that in the process of desegregation difference is also constituted through peers, here the majority being Indian peers. However this study accentuates the importance of teachers in the actualisation of difference. Teachers are important and powerful authorities in the construction of difference: their power derives in part from their education and their status, class, gender and their age amongst other differentiations. The focus upon teachers was enabling as it revealed the inconsistencies of their relations with African pupils and the power relations that construct difference. The study is only a moment within the many complexities that desegregating schools embrace. In this study the assumption that formally left-wing "progressive" teachers (members of SADTU) will be able or willing to advance a linear modernist project is critically examined. The assumption is based upon the radical actions of teachers in the school under study and their political statements on issues of racial liberation. The assumption is also based upon what teachers say of themselves and their general observations of African pupils in the schooling context.

The study attempts to articulate the view that deeply held historically formed ideas about

the Other inform the teaching practice and pupil-relatedness of these teachers and undermine the very project they are formally committed to. It will be shown that teachers interpellate African pupils as the Other. Teachers' articulation of their practices in terms of "our" (sameness) and "their's" (otherness) widens the gaps and perpetuates the bipolar dichotomies of the Other and Same. In this Same-Other dualism, exclusionary tendencies are foregrounded. The Other is articulated as the lesser and the inferior term or as the marginal entity. The construction of the African pupil as "lacking" facilitates teacher attempts to proffer the preferred cultural ethos which marginalises the Other.

Chapter Two looks at the policies regarding desegregation. The chapter traces major policies regarding school desegregation from the Class Models of 1990, to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (ANC,1994b) and the recent White Paper On Education and Training (September,1994) This chapter shows that the efforts to change education to a more democratic and equitable system is problematic. I argue that a postmodern understanding of the assumptions that underlie desegregation force us to confront the inequalities and contradictions in the process of desegregation to challenge the structure of opposites and expose the tendency towards domination.

Chapter Three looks at the constitution of subjects through the triple mechanism of knowledge, power and the self. Subjectivity is partly constituted through the discursive practices which shape teachers' perceptions of the African pupil as the Other. I argue that a postmodern understanding of the subject reveals the mechanisms of different subject positions and that meaning is multiple.

Chapter Four explains the methodology that was utilised for the research report. It qualifies the case study technique and refers to the advantages of qualitative study. The methods and procedures (observations: participant and non-participant and interviews) by which data was collated is discussed. A process of reflexivity is engaged in to gauge the problems and limitations of the study.

Chapter Five is an analysis of the data collated. It is framed within the construction of binary oppositions which sets up a relation between the Other and the Same. This relation is hierarchical; the tendency of the Same to dominate over the Other and to obliterate the specificity of the Other is a form of "violence". An analysis is made of the way the teacher upholds his or her own values as the preferred thinking. The chapter shows that teachers are caught up in classroom power relations and are active agents in domination and "violence". Teachers were not found to be openly or consciously racist. Some teachers even place African pupils favourably: those pupils who are able to demonstrate proficiently in English and the dominant beliefs and values of the school are favoured. This attitude is shaped by the belief in progress and emancipation which teachers say that Apartheid education denied. Hence teachers' subject positions are constructed in terms of the Other as object. Teachers react more favourably, though, when African pupils espouse values and attitudes that are closer to the values of the Same. Teachers are comfortable with African pupils who display familiar tendencies. Certain African pupils are seen to conform when they belong to the same religion, their accents are familiar, they come from Indian feeder schools and therefore they have a better command of the English language than those African schools that were not exposed to English medium schools. African pupils are also closer to the values of the Same when they talk less in their mother tongue, Zulu; their tone

and volume of speech are acceptable to the teachers and they use western reasoning in explaining certain contexts. These pupils are even favoured over Indian pupils. Those African pupils that do not satisfy sameness are then constructed as marginal or the case of turning the Other into the Same, even when this is contrary to teachers' intentions. The research report focuses on the African pupil as an object, to be moulded in obedience to the faith of modernity. It may be validly pointed out that all pupils are constructed in this manner, but the focus of the research report is explicit: the racial construction of Indian teachers and African pupils, central elements in the Same-Other binary.

Chapter Six is a conclusion of this study. This chapter concludes that it is impossible to make final generalisations for all schools undergoing desegregation. However this chapter explains that teachers need to be alerted to the dangers of their practices and need to reflect on their implications in constructing and marginalising the Other.

CHAPTER TWO

RE-THINKING POLICIES ON SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: NO FINAL SOLUTIONS

2.1. Modern Assumptions of Desegregation

The transformation of South Africa from Apartheid to a more equitable system is under way, even if, unevenly and unpredictably. Central to this process is the democratisation of education.

Policy makers are reconceptualising education for reconstruction, development and democratisation in South Africa and there is a clear belief in the emancipatory assumptions of modernity. Emancipation arose from the history of racial oppression. The majority of the population was suppressed through an educational, political and social system that was designed to emphasize racial difference and to generate inequalities. With the removal of race legislation it is expected that desegregation will remove inequalities and contribute to a more just and equal society. This logic is based upon modernist thinking. A modernist assumption:

evinces a strong belief in the power of reason to produce and disseminate useful knowledge capable of informing practice, presupposes discrete, identifiable and self-conscious subjects, and conceives of history as progressive such that it is both desirable and possible to transform the world to suit human ends and to attain freedom and unity through self-awareness and control over one's own activities. (Deacon, 1993: 1)

The efforts presently undertaken to desegregate schools are premised upon modernist values. It is believed that society will be transformed and inequalities addressed through the quest for a more democratic and representative form of education. These ideas are adumbrated in the various policy initiatives to desegregate schools. The Clase Model of 1990, the Reconstruction and Development Programme and the White Paper on Education were conceived within the tradition of modernity (see chapter 2.3. and 2.4.). Whilst these three policies are distinct, they all are premised upon the belief in modernity's capacity to transform and improve society. This is perhaps why reconstruction and development are seen as crucial to transform South Africa.

In such a conception of transformation, the core assumptions about desegregating schools, subscribe to this logic of progress and inadvertently contribute to dominating effects and (re)produce inequalities. Framed within the totalising project of modernisation, desegregating schools is problematic.

The seduction of modernist values, actually perpetuates exclusions and demonstrates the dangers in the present form of school desegregation. This report engages in the struggle within modernity to explore and exploit the tensions, the exclusions and contradictions that inhere in its discourse.

This study struggles against the modernist notion that desegregating schools is a path to progress and that equality is a realisable goal. Desegregating schools at this present conjuncture holds particular progressive visions which seem very noble: addressing the imbalances of the past and the hope for a better future. Onward and upward movement is

the projected effect of equality and is the promise that modernity holds. However that Utopian promise is displaced by postmodern theories that alerts us to the fact that "nothing goes" without exploiting its meanings. Rather, postmodernism shows that the guarantees of a promised Utopia are in fact unwarranted.

2.2. Background to desegregated schools in South Africa

The terms "African" and "Indian" were useful in the course of this study as the term "black" homogenises the differences and tends to create a context of sameness in the sphere of Indian schools. The assumptions of sameness disrupts the possibility of difference within and among subjects. Further, the word "black" solidifies and reinforces a black-white dichotomy. This bipolar logic has the effect of suppressing the inherent differences, obscures the dynamics in schools and fails to problematise the situation current in traditionally Indian schools. The term "black" fails to provide a context and the significance of early desegregation where Indian and African pupils come together. This suggests a consideration of interaction across difference which is a consideration of this research report.

The "open" school policy (allowing racial mixing in schools) was part of a policy initiated by private and church schools in the mid 1970's and predated the official Clase sanctions of 1990. However as early as 1985 African pupils were enrolling in Indian schools administered by the ex House of Delegates which saw these schools gradually altering their composition as more African pupils were admitted into "Indian" schools.

In the following section, I want to consider "open" school policy as envisaged by the Clase Models of 1990

2.3. The Clase Models of 1990

On the 10 September 1990 the Minister of Education announced that white schools were open to all races. The announcement gave white parents a chance to vote for one of three models. In a Model A school the state school had to close and be re-opened as a private school. In a Model B school, the school remained as a state school and blacks were allowed entrance subject to certain admission criteria. In Model C, schools became semi-private and blacks were allowed according to certain admission criteria. In addition white schools could also remain as they were thereby maintaining the exclusive racial composition of their schools. At the end of 1991 Model D was introduced. This model allowed for traditionally white schools to increase the number of black pupils beyond the 49 % criteria. This was a result of firstly, insufficient pupil enrolment under Model B to make it financially viable. Secondly in terms of the conditions laid down Model B schools were not allowed to enrol more black pupils, that is, blacks had to constitute only 49% of the total school population. Model D schools constituted mainly black pupils but functioning within the specific white departments of education.

The significance of these models to the school under study was that with official and national clearance all schools could admit African pupils and African enrolment was boosted. The ex House of Delegates was able to admit African pupils on similar conditions laid down by the Clase Models. Indian schools had accepted small numbers of African

pupils since 1985 but numbers were increased after the introduction of the Clase Models.

African pupils were enrolled in Indian schools on the basis of the following conditions: that the character of the school must not be prejudiced; second, that accommodation and other facilities must be available after provision for Indian pupils has been made; third, that the medium of instruction is one or two of the official languages; fourth, that the pupil shall reside within reasonable living distance; fifth, that the courses that are followed are acceptable to the parents; sixth, that the pupil shall be easily assimilated into the relevant class (taking into account physical stature and educational level); seventh, that the pupil is not to be more than two years older than the class average; eighth; that no additional staff is required and finally that expenditure must be met from the annual school allocation (Bot, 1991: 16).

Carrim and Mkwanazi (1992) criticise the Clase Models of 1990 due to exclusionary forms of open schools coupled with cultural assertions of identity. They argue that the Models ensured that a majority of black pupils were kept out of white schools. Their argument is based further upon the possibility of desegregation: schools can become desegregated through the establishment of democratic forms and the removal of racial barriers.

I argue that this critique of "open" schools is partly misplaced. Mkwanazi and Carrim (1992) believe implicitly that democracy will provide the final answer to the problems that inhere in desegregated schooling. We are at this present moment within democracy and the process of desegregation under way at schools suggests that exclusions and domination order the terrain of teaching. The discourse of desegregation as postulated by Carrim and

Mkwanazi (1992) cannot be regarded as the final moment in struggle against apartheid education. The struggle entails a constant critique of the context within which we find ourselves. Altering the composition of staff will not address the problem of the Other as reversal of othering may take place. The Indian pupil can become the Other as racial composition of the staff alters. The problem with Carrim and Mkwanazi (1992) is that they ground their work in race and believe that a final truth is realisable once the issue of race is resolved. Their strategy inadvertently invests power in the word race which simultaneously reinforces and undermines the efficacy of racist discourse. The problem with reducing arguments about education to race is that while we undermine the category race we also invest it: a continuous process of inclusion and exclusion (Derrida,1986).

2.4. The Reconstruction and Development Programme

The Reconstruction and Development Programme and the more recent draft of the White Paper on Education and Training (September, 1994) reveals the strong bias towards universal reason and progress which actually conceals the real inequalities between teachers and taught (see chapter 5). The White Paper on Education attempts to redress the imbalances of the past and is based upon the aims of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

These aims are embedded within a modernist conception of education : achievement, progress, development and universal values. This is evident in the claim that :

the realisation of democracy, liberty, equality and justice are necessary conditions for the full pursuit and enjoyment of lifelong

learning and it should be a goal of education and training policy to enable a democratic, free, equal, and just society to take root and prosper in our land. (White Paper on Education and Training, 1994: 12)

The goal of education is towards lifelong education which encompasses the "development of human potential, the realisation of democracy, the reconciliation of liberty, equality and justice" (Deacon and Parker, 1994: 4). Explicit is the creation of a new order framed within a democratic and free South Africa. The Reconstruction and Development Programme claims:

A new national human resources development strategy must be based on the principles of democracy, non-racism, equity and redress to avoid the pitfalls of the past. (ANC, 1994 :60)

The main aim of the programme is to empower people through an appropriate education. Education is considered the vehicle to eliminate the legacy of Apartheid and contribute to the full realisation of "human resources and potential" (White Paper on Education and Training, 1994 : 59).

Both the Reconstruction and Development Programme and the White Paper on Education reflect largely the demands to modernity, rather than an awareness of modernity's inherent dangers: the demand for equality, for example is a projected promise and yet it is an unrealisable goal.

2.5. Critique

The Class Models and the core assumptions of the Reconstruction and Development Programme are based upon a vision of society in which teachers and pupils are regarded

as unified subjects engaging in a rational search for democracy and truth within the limits of a reality that can be discovered. This is foundational thinking: that there exists one root to knowledge and truth determines what is acceptable. The entire spectrum of Reconstruction and Development is aimed at eliminating political, economic and social hierarchies and asserting the need for change so that education becomes a representation of the world based upon universal concerns for liberty, equality and fraternity. Ultimately, it provides a vision in which society can be transformed and in which truth is made possible. Education is deemed a major site to attempt the societal change.

The school under study shows that the material impact of change that desegregating schools envisages, is limited. While research for example by Carrim and Mkwanazi (1992) and Carrim and Sayed (1992) points to external conditions such as race and class to explain marginality of African pupils it is possible to explain marginality within the discourse of desegregation itself. The proclaimed allegiance of desegregation to empowerment and freedom as envisaged by the Reconstruction and Development Programme reveals the inconsistencies of these discourses. The fixity and finality of the relationships of policy discourse to the ideal of equality and emancipation is limiting. A final truth or a final emancipation is the hope in the vision of desegregated schools. For Foucault this is just what "truth cannot be" (Rajchman, 1985: 93). Rather than being paralysed by the inherent limitations of modernity my intention is to constantly question the "truth" of one's entire being which may reveal inconsistencies and a power-knowledge connection. Foucault says that:

Thought is freedom in relation to what one does, the notion by which one detaches oneself from it, establishes it as an object and reflects on it as a problem. (Rabinow, 1984: 388)

This would allow a subject freedom to reconsider and reproblematised the nature of desegregation as it occurs in schools. It is an acknowledgement that the production of knowledge takes place at the very private and personal level, for example, between and within teacher-pupil interaction and therefore cannot simply be explained as an effect of race; modern or old-fashioned. These arguments on race are based upon the view that racial ideology can be demystified and a true democracy attained. It implies that subjects can work towards freedom, in this sense gaining an insight into racist ideology so that impediments can be overcome. This is transcendental thinking; a linear argument: a long march towards overcoming the racial divide, to rise above the present limitations. This is the modernist promise of social reconstruction. A postmodern understanding of the current attempts to desegregate education opens up the space for the question of the Other that have been obscured under dominant teleological projects.

2.6. A Postmodern Turn

A postmodern interpretive option is of particular importance to the process of desegregation because it concerns itself with identity and multiple difference which is an important consideration in the task of re-thinking the contemporary discourse on desegregation. This option may offer an explanation of the experiences that teachers have and an understanding of what motivates them to act on the world. It offers a theory of subjectivity that moves beyond binary dichotomies. Subjectivity refers to the "conscious and the unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual" (Weedon, 1987: 32). Here the subject can attempt to understand itself and the ways of understanding its relation to the world which in terms of postmodern thought is not unified but is contradictory and always changes (Foucault,

1982; Weedon, 1987; Gore, 1993). The subject is constituted and re-constituted in discourses.

The school under study shows that the logic of the Same dominates: the ethos of "Indianness" is privileged by negating that which is different and therefore Other. This opposition is the nature of modern society: binary oppositions privilege one term over the other: a case of man versus woman or black versus white or the Same versus the Other. This logic serves to perpetuate inequalities because in obedience to modernist assumptions the two terms like Same-Other are not equal and independent. One term is viewed positively in relation to the other which is deemed its negative: the Same functions as the authorising framework to determine the truth or falsity of discourse. Modernity holds this bipolarity tightly in place. Postmodernity displaces this frame and alerts us to our contradictions. It exposes the hierarchical and unequal thinking of bipolarity. Derrida's (1976) ideas can be delineated in order to expose and invert the hierarchies in the Same-Other dualism. Derrida (1976) challenges the instantiation of "logocentric" thought. Logocentrism involves the desire for a central essence. It is concerned with deconstructing the vision of a central essence and thus exposing the hierarchies evident in the logic of the Same-Other. Deconstruction refers to a practice of reversing accepted hierarchies and turn the accepted assumptions against itself. Thus the accepted hierarchy of Same-Other can be inverted easily as they are upheld. Following Derrida the Same-Other dualism is not hierarchical, rather they need to be understood relationally. Meaning is never fixed and is constantly shifting in different contexts. The idea that the Same is superior is consequently misplaced. This method undermines a clear logic of the difference between the Same and the Other. Since the Same can only be understood in un-like terms (its Other), the identity

of the Same depends upon the difference. The identity of the Same inheres implicitly in the construction of the Other. The Other is related implicitly to the Same as a representation of what the Same is not and therefore of what the Same is. The Same denies its Other but to legitimate its own position it is compelled to identify the Other to what is perceived as lower value. In this way the logocentrism of the Same will lose its force because of the absence of any fixed meaning. Deconstruction opens up discourse of the Other that has been appropriated by logocentric thought.

The notion of the Other rather than being relegated to the "unknowable" and strange, is presented as inextricably entangled within the discourse of the Same which involves interdependent and relational understanding. A postmodern option does not suggest a new order or transcending binary oppositions but a critique of our present contexts. "We are in and of the moment that we are attempting to analyse, in and of the structures we employ to analyse it" (Connor,1989: 5). What is understood about the practices and the Same-Other dichotomy in desegregating schools may never be "clear": it is never completely knowable but involves paradoxical relations. For example, the promise of hope that the removal of racial barriers and democratic forms of governance will bring are not forthcoming now or in the distant future. The paradox of modernity and its belief in progress is that the more progress fails the more it becomes necessary.

In the subsequent chapter I want to explore power, knowledge and the self as the areas that constitute thought and how these triple dimensions may influence the perceptions and attitudes of Indian teachers in their classroom interaction with African pupils.

CHAPTER THREE

Subjects and the Power-Knowledge Connection

3.1. The constitution of the subject

The previous chapters have established that modernist theoretical assumptions underlie policy prescriptions in the changing educational context in South Africa. In this chapter I want to develop a postmodern understanding of the processes through which teachers constitute themselves around truth and negate the Other.

In the classroom context material elements like age, status, education and race construct the teacher in relation to the African pupils. Modernist discourse invests teachers with power to position and represent those that are available for development; here the African pupils. In the school under study the teacher perceives the African pupil as different and the target for change. The African pupil is targeted as teachers perceive them as not up to "standard". The African pupils come from deprived communities while Indian pupils are largely from middle class families. The African pupil is invested as "lacking" or an inflection of the norm (Same). Teachers are able to do this by positioning themselves as those who "know."

Authority is premised either on the intellectual's alleged access to science objective truth, or common ideological interests.
(Deacon, 1993: 7)

The teacher then has the power to speak for or represent the pupil who is invested as lacking and so upholds his or her authority. Once the African pupil is targeted as lacking,

the teacher can "develop" that pupil to maintain standards, "bridge the gap", or make Same that which is different. The power to represent the Other reinforces teacher's construction of who they are (subjects) in relation to the African pupil (objects).

Modernity assumes that the teacher as the subject is fully rational. The teacher as the subject is the vehicle of its discourse. The subject embraces the values of what is truth, accepts knowledge based upon truth and sees power as negative: those who possess power repress those who do not possess it. The subject is assumed to be a unified entity in which the sum total of all the parts of the subject is equal to the subject. The subject is accorded status hierarchically in relation to the ideal, though mythical, Subject which is usually a western ideal of white, middle class and male (Deacon,1993). The teacher (though not white) is closer to the ideal than the African pupil. The teacher who hold middle class western values becomes the norm through which the African pupil is judged. This has the effect of maintaining the privileged position of the mythical subject and negating other subjects that have not inscribed that myth.

There are several problems with the notion of a teacher as a rational, unified subject some of which I want to address. Firstly the subject is not unified but fragmentary and capable of assuming multiple subject positions. A unified notion of the subject serves the interests of modernity and is necessary for the efficacy of power-knowledge. Postmodernity reveals that the unified notion of the subject undermines the efficacy of power-knowledge. Power is not exercised by one agent over another but is part of one action over another (Foucault, 1980). The way we think is involved with the discourses of power which structures knowledge. The subject is constructed through discourse. Foucault argued that discourses

emerge from specified economic, social and political processes. Meanings are formed in discourses but constantly change as they are used in different contexts. Meanings are formed through exclusion and inclusion. Meanings are never static. They are always struggled over as they are constituted in discourse. What are accepted as valid and true statements are the functions of a discourse but they are never liberating or oppressive. The truth about anything is always contingent upon power and is socially and historically specific. At this present post-Apartheid moment beliefs are now premised upon democracy and the removal of the racial divide. Therefore truth is historically specific. Subjects are constructed by discourse in terms of what is regarded as the truth. There are many subject positions that the subject may take up. The subject positions refer to the ways of being an individual. The subjects positions are constituted discursively and always change because there are various discourses that offer different meanings. Discursive constitution refers to the multiplicity of meanings that are available to organise the social world. Within any discursive field an individual has a range of subject positions. Discourses then make positions for subjects to take up in relation to others. Subjects are able to choose their subject positions but the consideration of making "correct" choices is precisely the point at which subjects are normalised and disciplined. Despite the claim that there are multiple subject positions, discourse functions in a way that sanctions "right" choices. Teachers and pupils are placed in relation to each other through the meaning that a particular discourse makes available. Many discourses co-exist and therefore many meanings are available. Teachers in this study take on particular subject positions that tend to silence difference whilst favouring those who reflect similar subject positions.

Following Foucault, teachers bring to a particular situation their history as subjects and this

history shapes their understanding of the African pupil as the object. Mudimbe (1988) explains that western discourse has always tended to transform and re-arrange non-western categories into western constructs. Modernity thrives on this construction, constructing beings as the objects of its study. Some beings are objectified in relation to other beings. Teachers have power to position and represent the pupil, in this case the African pupil, as the object, as a target in order to "know" or master their reality. This is facilitated by a perception that the Other is undeveloped. Subjects thus constitute themselves in relation to others. Pupils are disciplined to see the teacher as an authority. The values and meanings that teachers hold attach to their practices and provides the power to position herself or himself in relation to the African pupil. The subject, like the teacher becomes a vehicle through which the dominant discourse is articulated. This does not imply a pessimistic notion of the subject who cannot act because of its construction by discourse. There are multiple discourses and as one recedes others are made available through power or lack of power. This research report poses a critique to the subjects act to dominate on the basis of hierarchies and in this way exposes how subjects are implicated in discourse. Foucault's (1977) understanding of the power-knowledge connection successfully problematises the role and the implications of subjects in discourse.

3.2. The power-knowledge connection

As discussed earlier (see 3.1.) power is assumed by modernity to distort reality. However, Foucault's analysis of power and knowledge reverses its meaning from domination to power as neither repressive nor liberating. Foucault (1986) argues that there is no central point of power and no weak spot. It is not possessed but it is practised and is therefore

circulatory. Power is relational and therefore exists in relation to other forces. Power passes through every force. Power-knowledge are interconnected. Knowledge cannot be formed without a "system of communications, records, accumulation and displacement" (Foucault, 1980:131) which is also an effect of power. In a similar strand "no power can be exercised without the extraction, appropriation, distribution or retention of knowledge." (Foucault,1980:131) Pupils and teachers exercise power but power relations are constructed in ways that specify who is authorised to speak which shapes the construction of the "self". Thus the problem is: whose truth is passed on as the legitimate form of knowledge?

Legitimate knowledge can be explained through disciplinary power. According to Foucault (1977) disciplinary power is a particular feature of modern society. Disciplinary power is invisible but it imposes a visibility that is compulsory. Foucault (1977) argued that:

In discipline it is the subjects who have to be seen. Their visibility assures the hold of power over them. (1977: 187)

Disciplinary power maintains a disciplined body. During classroom observations the notions of disciplinary power became apparent. All pupils eyes meet the gaze of the teacher. They are under surveillance from the teacher but also their peers. The African pupil, like the other pupils, raise their hands before attempting to speak and they appear to be paying attention to the teacher as he or she is giving instructions. No sooner than this is over the African pupils engage in Zulu with their partners who are usually African as well in trying to discover what the instructions were. If this does not succeed they confer with other Indian pupils. On hearing Zulu being spoken teachers remind African pupils that the correct language to be used is English. Teachers always qualify that this is "for your own good." Teachers are disciplined and discipline pupils by advancing the "correct"

language. The reliance on the universal correctness of language functions clearly to discipline and to normalise.

The teacher whose position is the subject who "knows", knows which voice to affirm (the voice of English) and which to silence (the voice of the Other). The discourse of the African pupil is made visible in relation to the dominant mode in the classroom and is disciplined by the invisibility of dominant discourse. The teacher's gaze upon the African pupil makes visible difference which the teacher tries to control through surveillance. The African pupil is considered as the "case" to be targeted for inquiry. This notion of disciplinary power can be illustrated by Foucault's use of the Panopticon.

3.3. The Panopticon

Disciplinary power is vividly elaborated by the use of Jeremy Bentham's (1748-1832) architectural model as a perfectly efficient means for surveillance. Bentham was part of the Enlightenment period and believed that people will do what increases their happiness. Bentham designed the Panopticon as a model for the surveillance of prison inmates. The Panopticon is an architectural structure:

wherein individual cells located around the periphery of the building surround a central tower. The backlighting, created by inner and outer windows, enables observation of each cell from the central tower, while, at the same time, ensuring that the inmates cannot see if they are being observed.(Gore, 1993: 53)

The result of this observation is that the inmates become aware of a permanent visibility and power is exercised automatically. Foucault (1979) uses this model to capture the nature

of modern disciplinary society and criticises it. Here internalisation of disciplinary power takes place. Subjection to constant observation or visibility makes the subject take responsibility for power. The subject becomes the "principle of his own subjection" (Foucault, 1977: 203). This is the process of self-policing. The Panopticon can be used effectively to describe the modes of surveillance that operate in desegregating schools.

Despite the changing political context in South Africa and the explicit aim of policies regarding education and its commitment to democracy, differences in the classroom are filed down; the Other is negated. The Panopticon may be employed as a mechanism of explaining the surveillance of the Other. The Other is under constant surveillance by the dominant discourse that operates in the school. Particular differences of the Other are scrutinised and disciplined. The surveillance strategies are part of the process of the way in which difference is levelled out. The uniqueness of this deployment of power is the absence of authority. Power does not emanate from the physical presence of an authority figure. This invisibility of power derives from the power-knowledge connection. The pronounced visibility can be achieved through institutions like the school which increase the utility of the body. Foucault (1979) explains that the mechanisms of power explore the body, break it down and rearrange it. Power then defines how beings were constituted as "docile bodies" (Foucault, 1979: 138). The realisation of the panoptic visibility is made possible through power-knowledge which breaks down the body in time, space and movements. In classrooms pupils are accorded particular desks that they cannot leave and are arranged in a particular order: girls next to boys or Indian pupils next to African pupils. Their space is segmented in the classroom. This forms part of the coercive and regimented link to discipline. Pupils are disciplined in time and are rigidly controlled. The sound of

the siren signal time categories and segments time into various activities for the day. Here the image of the Panopticon returns: the realisation of visibility from the tower results in the inmates taking the job of policing. Internalisation of disciplinary institutions takes place. The school is not a prison and yet integrates power in its practices. It resembles the prison. This forms a basis to determine what is permitted and what is forbidden. What is permitted is based upon the values of truth. Truth is linked to power which reinforces and sustains it. The school is made to function as true and the professional status of the teachers, as the vehicle of discourse, is a mechanism to extend what counts as true. The school embodies the power relations between the teacher and the African pupil. At the school under study teachers were particularly concerned that African pupils in general failed tests and examinations and it was difficult to assess their oral marks for the examination. The African pupil is made to stand before a dominant western forms of knowledge and is assessed by it. Those pupils who are able to hinge on the knowledge systems that teachers demand are able to pass at least whilst others are marginalised. Teachers judge the African pupil in terms of their values and their truth based upon the assumptions of western discourse. An interesting example emerged during an English literature lesson. An African pupil could not understand why a character Fletcher (a cattle rancher) in the in the prescribed novel Shane by Jack Schaeffer, required more land. The teacher used the analogy of a family whose numbers had increased and asked the pupil how it would affect the home. The pupil replied that the parents had to make sure that contraceptives were used. The teacher's reaction was negative and he replied that the correct solution was a larger home and therefore in relation to the book, more land. Although the pupil's answer was not wrong and was influenced by his own real problems concerning large families, the teacher was able to position his version as the correct one. The teacher was able to apply

his meaning based upon his forms of knowledge.

The constitution of the teacher as subject takes place through the power-knowledge connection. Power and knowledge imply each other: power expresses itself in and through knowledge and knowledge expresses itself in and through power. The subject does not cease to exist once it is constituted by power but it is never fully constituted. It is constantly subjected and produced. This suggests for postmodernity that there can never be a unified subject but the subject is always unstable and fragmentary. This is an important implication that teachers need not simply accept the definitions of truth but as other meanings within power emerge these can be contested and their implications in power explored.

The acceptance of knowledge structures is achieved through a regimen of truth. Foucault (1980) explains that every society has its own regime of truth which allows one to distinguish what is true from what is false. It also determines the status of those whose responsibility it is to say what is true. Discourses about education can be regarded as a regimen of truth (Foucault,1980). Teachers are accorded intellectual status based upon scientific reason and hence are able to position the African pupil as its object. Panoptic power determines legitimate knowledge. The "universal" language has become the means to determine the truth of knowledge. Western knowledge has a high truth value and is therefore appropriated. It is in this context that teachers' participation in regimes of truth, specifically the case of the Other, needs to be made more explicit.

3.4. The Other

The dominant tendency in western metaphysics has been to privilege unity and harmony and in this process multiplicity and difference were suppressed. This tendency to suppress the Other reveals implicitly the "violent" reduction of the Other to the Same. The Same is privileged in terms of negating the value of the Other: this is the violence (not physical) which is discreet but none the less powerful. It violates beings that are constituted as Other and creates sameness by destroying difference. Modernity is dependent upon exclusion in order to legitimate itself. It produces the "scandal of the Other in order to keep itself going" (Docherty, 1993:14). Modernity is premised upon bipolar logic. The Same-Other dichotomy manufactures our understanding of society which empowers the Same as the norm. The world is seen in terms of good and bad, us and them. The many differences between and within the two dichotomies are collapsed and simplified. A stereotype emerges. By this strategy, the Other becomes defined as everything that the Same is not.

The ontology of western thinking can be described as the suppression of all otherness into the Same. The school under study reveals that teachers as subjects constituted themselves as the Same in relation to the African pupil as an object and the Other. The Same becomes the norm by which the Other is judged. The task of the Same is to deny otherness and create sameness through various discursive practices. These practices are entangled in relations of power that dominate the Other. These situations of domination are situations of violence, an epistemological violence in reducing the Other to the Same.

A crucial feature of the research report is the idea of the Other and the Same. By investing in the Other the logic of the Same is called into question. This reports attempts to show that the African pupil is constructed as the Other by teachers who are bearers of a modern colonial legacy and this shapes their understanding of the African pupil and of themselves. I have acknowledged (see chapter 1) that pupils in general are constituted in this fashion but the focus of my study is specifically on African pupils. It is contended in this study that despite the dismantling of apartheid structures, new discourses have emerged that extend domination. The problem is that they are becoming sedimented, as if there is no need to re-think their practices as a result of their democratic assumptions. In this context the Other falls under a regimented gaze.

The attempt of disciplinary society is to domesticate otherness since our thoughts are based upon knowledge that undermines the Other. When confronted with the Other teachers are able to privilege their own status as they are able to shape and give subordinate meaning to the Other. In this politically changing context postmodernisms problematises and offers the space to question the implications of teaching practices on the construction of the Other. Postmodern literature suggests a need to recognise divergence of subject positions, the power-knowledge connection and the mechanisms that constitute identities. Postmodern thinking is useful to displace the logic of bipolarity which holds a tight rein and maintains hierarchies. The foundational obsession with turning the Other into the Same is displaced. This project is involved with the interconnections between the Same and the Other and the predilection of seeing the world in terms of oppositions. In deconstructing binary oppositions the Other "whom I cannot evade, comprehend, or kill and before whom I am called to justice, to justify myself" (Critchley, 1993: 5) is called into question. In this

regard the role of teachers in the process if desegregation became crucial. Their identity or subjectivities are of key importance in order to grasp the sense that they make of the desegregating processes and of themselves. This understanding determines how teachers "fix" their understanding or meanings in the context of their classrooms. This fixing is based upon stereotypes of the Other and what is perceived as the truth.

It is hoped that desegregated schooling will redress the imbalances of the past and provide equality. Postmodern/postcolonial literature however focuses on the potential dangers that lie hidden under the guise of progress. Postmodern theory is useful to articulate the process by which domination and exclusion in relation to the African pupil orders the terrain of teaching in a desegregating school.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1. Aim of the study

This study explores the processes and practices through which teachers constitute themselves in relation to the African pupil as the negative Other. It will critically engage with the modern assumptions that desegregation encompasses the idea of universal good, progress and the elimination of inequalities and attempt to show that teachers foster modernist conceptions of education and hence are inextricably entangled with domination and, ironically, inequalities and exacerbate the very conditions they try to work against. This study explores the possibilities of the notion of the Other and how teachers become implicated in that which they try to "uplift." The study shows that the regimented gaze is a particular feature of modern institutions like the school and through mechanisms of self-policing and the construction of docile bodies inequalities are exacerbated.

4.2. Background

This report argues that despite the noble aims of desegregation, its practice does not reduce or address the inequalities inherent in Apartheid education. Instead I will show that the entire process of desegregation is governed by modernist intentions and that teachers who have struggled so vociferously against unequal education engage, even unintentionally, in domination. It is not that teachers are on a deliberate path to turn African pupils into the

Same but in postcolonial South Africa the dominant discourse is modernist and it is this thinking which shapes their attitudes to desegregation. However while researchers have grounded their thinking in race, class and resistance theories (Carrington, 1984; Morrell, 1991; Carrim and Sayed, 1992) this study explores the possibility of subject construction in discourse which positions the Other in a particular frame: a frame that projects the binary opposition of Same-Other. As a result, despite treating African pupils favourably, the African pupil is constructed by the teacher into an identity of subordination, or as the silent Other and its otherness falls under the scrutiny of dominant discourse.

4.3. Type of Study

Case study research is the method used in gaining information for the research report. A case study can be described as a method of probe into a group or phenomena in order to discover the perceptions and interpretations of a situation over a prescribed period of time. The case study is often described as:

one form of social enquiry. It is an attempt to understand the social processes and meanings implicit in some undertaking in a restricted context.(Millar,1983:115)

Given the interest and purpose of the research report, it was clear that the case study approach was best suited to retrieve the particularities and to reconstruct the meanings that became evident as the process of desegregation unfolded. This type of research is fluid because novel and unanticipated findings can be made. Quantitative study could not have provided this sort of data. During the course of this study I was able to observe and note teachers perceptions about the changing school context. I found that the egalitarian claims

that teachers' presented were contradicted in their classroom interaction with the African pupils. While teachers welcomed the changes that desegregation brought about they constructed the African pupil in a particular frame that was premised upon certain stereotypes. One teacher noted the following during the annual school sports held in September 1994.

Teacher I can't believe that he is so hopeless. You know they are very good athletes.

While the same teacher echoed the view that all pupils were equal, I was able to capture the inconsistencies during general observations. I utilised observation methods (participant and non-participant) and interviews to reconstruct the definitions of the various social interactions. Participant observation refers to the manner through which the researcher seeks access to gain insider's knowledge about such a social interaction. As I was a member of the staff of the school under study, I was able to engage in various discussions with members of staff without the threat of being an outside participant. Teachers were comfortable in my presence. Interviews were more fluid as I was familiar with the pupils that teachers spoke of. One teacher explained:

Teacher You know who I am talking about: the one that we taught last year.

This method of inclusion was enabling for me as teachers were able to give crucial evidence that about African pupils.

4.4. School Sample

I teach at a school in Sydenham and chose to use it as a case study. Particular advantages of a familiar schooling context shaped my decision to conduct research in the place of my employment rather than a school that was unfamiliar to me. Firstly, since I was a member of the staff I had no problems in gaining entree into the different contexts. Further, I was able to engage in general discussion with teachers as opportunities arose. I was not constrained by strict appointments that I would have had to adhere to in an unfamiliar environment. I was also part of staff meetings and particular subject meetings and observed different teacher perceptions in relations with African pupils. I was also part of the various school activities, like special assemblies for musical festivals or sport highlights, the annual school sports, the swimming gala. These activities provided me with greater insight and validated many of my findings which might not have been possible in an unfamiliar environment.

Historically Indians comprise the majority of the population of the school as discussed in more detail in chapter 1. The majority of the African pupils are found in the junior secondary phase. Consequently, teachers targeted were determined by their contact time with junior secondary pupils. 10 teachers were selected including the acting deputy principal. The biased gender composition of teachers in the school is reflected in the teacher sample. The gender composition of the school reflects the fact that the teaching profession is dominated by females. In the school under study there are 23 female level one teachers compared 17 male level one teachers. The posts of principal, senior deputy principal and deputy principal are held by males. The bias towards female teachers is

reflective of the nature of the teaching staff. The teachers that formed part of this study were selected on the basis of their contact time with African pupils. This constituted mainly teachers who taught in the junior secondary phase as the number of African pupils are greater in this phase. There is only one African pupil in standard 10. The language teachers were targeted as their contact time was greatest. Of the 10 teachers only two were male. This is due to the language staff including only 3 male teachers, one being the head of department.

Teachers in the study explained that the changing context of the school was a "positive aspect". All the teachers in the study had several years of teaching experience the least being eight years. Some teachers have been in the school since its inception in 1968. The teachers are loyal members of SADTU (see Chapter 1) and reject even the slightest insinuation of racism.

4.5. Fieldwork

The field work of this study took the form of classroom observations, general school observations (known and unknown), participant observation, confidential and individual interviews. The unknown form of observation was problematic as discussed in 4.5.3. This form of observation was discreet and not known to the participants.

Early in the first term of the school year a brief statement about the research report was presented to the staff. The purpose was two-fold: firstly to forewarn teachers of their role in the research project and to convince members of staff that the research would not affect anyone adversely. The fieldwork was conducted over a period of three school terms.

Eighteen lessons were observed. Each session lasted thirty-five minutes. Notes were taken of every session and these together with field notes of interviews and general observations made up my research data.

4.5.1. Non-participant observation

As a known observer in the classrooms, I was able to observe without disrupting classroom activities and possibly without affecting them much. This formed part of the non-participant observation where I remained outside the domain of the classroom interaction being observed. I chose to gather data and record it by making field notes after noting that tape recordings of the classroom lessons did not capture teacher nuances, their non-verbal activities and the general dynamics of classroom interaction which were vital to the nature of the study. The uninstitutionalised form of non-participant observation afforded me the opportunity to develop my own format and procedures for drawing up the field notes without difficulty.

4.5.2. Interviews and tape recording

Interview sessions were held after the teacher's lessons were observed. Interviews were essential as an independent check for information gathered during observation. Interviews were unstructured and therefore much data was elicited through recursive questioning. Recursive questioning refers to the extent to which what has already been said, is used to define the next question. This approach is preferable to inflexible questioning techniques because each respondent is treated as inherently different rather than a rigid questioning

technique. It was planned that these interview sessions be taped. However as the initial interview proceeded some teachers expressed a measure of apprehension and it became apparent that the tape recorder was a hindrance to the nature of the respondent's answers. This attitude was partly the result of the sensitivity of area under discussion and due to the risk of breaching confidentiality. As I was a member of staff and colleague teachers were apprehensive that I would have a permanent recorded data of their utterances and information about them that I may use against them. With simultaneous note taking participants became less apprehensive and this eliminated largely the level of bias that the tape recorder presented. While this became a little disruptive, I was able to monitor the reaction of the participants and noted where this data gathering device had affected their activities in some way, if at all. Another disadvantage of a tape recorder is that the researcher may become too lax because everything is recorded and may fail to pay sufficient attention to what is being said. With careful note taking I was able to transcend the handicaps of tape recording.

4.5.3. The unknown observer

Part of my raw data came from covert research. While teachers were aware of the open observations in the classrooms, they were unaware that observations made at subject committee meetings and at general staff meetings were being recorded. Further, general discussions during the intervals were observed and noted. It became an ethical issue that information was gathered without being sanctioned.

According to Bogdan and Taylor (1984) :

In matters of ethics, then, researchers must counterbalance their multiple responsibilities to their multiple responsibilities to their profession, the pursuit of knowledge, the society, their informants, and, ultimately, themselves. (p. 29)

The research undertaken in this manner was necessary and ethically justifiable. The urge to undertake covert research came in part from the realisation that there was a rich source of data that could be elicited from the general talk in the staffroom and staff and subject meetings. I was apprehensive that the data could be distorted if I had informed participants of the observation and hence reduce the validity of the research. Covert research also provided a means of triangulation to cross check what participants had informed me during interviews. Bogdan and Taylor (1984) claim in agreement with Roth (1962) that :

the distinction between overt and covert research is an oversimplification. That is, all research is to some extent secret in the sense that researchers never tell their informants everything. (1984: 29)

It became apparent that a rich source of information could be yielded as an unknown observer which would not have been possible through direct observation. In such circumstances it became impossible to take down notes simultaneously. I had to rely on memory. This did introduce an element of bias since remembering events in terms of what happened involves a margin of bias. This possibility of bias was reduced since field notes were written soon after observation.

4.6. Data analysis

In order to analyse the data the content analysis method was used. Content analysis refers to a manner of summarising and comparing existing records. Content analysis of the raw data involved certain categories to be selected that were of relevance to the research. I colour coded teachers reactions to African pupils: blue referred to the use of grammatico-political categories of us(we)-them logic, yellow referred to the case of religious difference, red denoted the way in which African pupils were patronised and objectified. The categories emerged during the course of the study.

The analysis of the data gathered is described in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The analysis of the data collected shows that the African pupil is constituted by Indian teachers through the discursive mode of binary oppositions. These bipolarities provide the possibility for teachers to create the primacy of the Same over the Other. This mode of oppositional discourse is the condition upon which African pupils are de-legitimated. Teachers in this study align themselves with dominant discourse and close off the discourse of the Other. Hence teachers are involved in domination, even if it is done so inadvertently and subject the African pupil to the ethos of sameness.

5.1. Teachers

The interaction between African pupils and Indian teachers is a new experience to both the pupils and the teachers. One teacher has taught for twenty two years and claims that the new classroom is a challenge:

Teacher My only relation with them has been with my domestic worker and the Sneller worker at school.

Many teachers expressed similar sentiments: they explain that their entire life has been shaped by "Indianness". All teachers in the study went to traditionally "Indian" schools, were educated at "Indian" tertiary institutions like the University of Durban-Westville and Springfield College of Education and taught at "Indian" schools. Their relations with

Africans have been restricted to the realm domesticity and poverty.

In the following analysis I emphasize the power relations which operate through the specific relation of teacher and African pupil. To borrow from Elizabeth Ellsworth, quoted in Gore (1993) who explains the experiences of women of colour, I want to extend this meaning to the construction of the Other:

They/we have been included, without making a difference,... have been listened to, without being heard,... have been present without being seen. (1993: 9)

In the following analysis I want to explore these contradictions and ambiguities that characterise the school under study and hope to offer at least, the potential for understanding teacher perceptions in the current trend of desegregating schools by looking at their " tactics and strategies of power" (Foucault, 1980: 77). My concern in this chapter is to show how teachers inadvertently proffer a culture of sameness by closing off the otherness of the Other.

5.2. Race

The category race determined the historical construction of the school. All teachers in the school under study are Indian while 88,88 % of the school population constitutes Indian pupils. The teachers are vocal in their outright abhorrence and rejection of racist ideology and they welcomed the institutional changes that were altering the face of the school. Teachers claimed:

Teacher I am no racist. In fact I feel more sorry for them than some of our kind.

Teacher Don't get me wrong. I do not treat pupils differently.

Teacher The new South Africa has no place for racists. It is wonderful knowing that we are not under the House of Delegates.

It is in the context of past injustices that teachers find links with the Other and hint at their own oppression. Teachers do not feel isolated in this context because political and social oppression are very relevant to the teachers own experiences as outlined in chapter 1. Teachers explain that all the problems that they are faced with in the classroom are grounded upon the past evils of apartheid education. They claim that the African pupil has been disadvantaged by a system that was oppressive. Teachers explain that apartheid destroyed the "culture of learning" and robbed them of books and schools. No teacher under study recorded their own prejudices.

The problems that teachers did perceive were related to the learning context which meant that many African pupils were failing or had failed. This, according to teachers, was the result of the injustices of the past. Teachers failed to reflect on the implications of their roles in the construction and perpetuation of domination. Teachers demonstrated their lack of reflexivity in failing to see how they were implicated in the practices of exclusion.

All the teachers revealed a sentiment echoed by one teacher:

Teacher I treat all pupils like normal. They are all the same to me.

Following Foucault these racial attitudes have been styled in the name of being "politically correct". The correct direction at this political and historical conjuncture is reconstruction, development and reconciliation. At this particular point in our history we are subjected to this thinking and our moral choices are shaped by it. No teacher admitted to being engaged in exclusionary practices as this was not "politically correct". By disciplining the self teachers reject racism. The goal of this kind of self-disciplining is to be a particular type of teacher who meets the demands of this present conjuncture, that is, a subject committed to espousing the views of democracy and equality for all. Teachers are disciplined by the universalising notion of morality: the correct choice is a universal democratic belief in equality, justice and liberty for all (though never realised and ungraspable)

Teachers position themselves in a superior framework in relation to the abject condition of some African pupils. One teacher noted:

Teacher We have been privileged you know. Our pupils do not know the sufferings that they have had.

The teacher places "we" or Indians in a position of superiority in relation to the African pupil whilst at the same time investing the abject conditions of African pupils.

Another teacher claimed:

Teacher You have to understand that they have no lights and water or a good meal when they get home. Our pupils have everything found for them.

The teachers noted the difficult circumstances of African pupils and yet failed to focus on Indian pupils who may have had similar experiences in other Indian areas that are traditionally working class, like Phoenix. The teacher positions the African pupil as the subaltern which is influenced by the teacher's own middle class background. Teachers operate at the level of inclusion and exclusion. Teachers attempt to understand and include the African pupil in terms of their conditions of poverty yet they exclude by positioning the African pupil as the subaltern as its peculiar feature. The construction of the African pupil as the subaltern provides teacher with a target to "uplift". Teachers noted that their attitude to African pupils were shaped specifically at improving their lives. "For your own good" thinking prevailed in their relation to African pupils.

Teachers in their classrooms respond more to African pupils than Indian pupils: teachers react more to African pupils and encourage them to answer. Despite the problems that teachers associated with African pupils' "passivity" they made concerted efforts to encourage the African pupil to speak and pupils were rewarded if they spoke. This became apparent during the following examples:

Teacher Very well done, Gugu.

Teacher Come on Sakhile you know that you can do it. I will assist with some words.

Teacher I am so proud of you.

Teachers actively encourage African pupils to participate in lessons notwithstanding the language barrier. Teachers commented that it was through "practice" that African pupils could succeed and this was a form of practice. African pupils were not sidelined in terms of gaining the teacher's attention. In fact teachers favour the African pupils over the Indian pupils. When teachers asked questions many pupils raised their hands but on most occasions the African pupils were chosen to respond. The following is an example of this:

Teacher Don't shout out, I want to give Fortunate a chance.

From my observations it became apparent that African pupils were rewarded for their participation but Indian pupils who participated in lessons were not afforded the same encouragement: it was expected of them so they were not rewarded. Some teachers were also most sympathetic when African pupils did not do their homework but reacted differently when Indian pupils were guilty of the same offenses. During interviews teachers suggested that they had to be sympathetic to the real conditions under which African pupils operated. Teachers mentioned that they had to understand that African pupils were not highly motivated by their parents; that the pupils did not have proper learning environments at home due to lack of space and the reliance on candle light. Here the teacher places herself in a position of guilt and invests the abject condition of African pupils. However teachers do not homogenise African pupils because those pupils who are regarded as "better equipped" are reprimanded because they are expected to have done their work. The Same is "expected" to adhere to the demands of the teacher whilst those that cannot (the Other) are not expected to produce the same work. The teacher places the Other who cannot produce the demands in a marginal position and its marginality is reinforced.

African pupils are not suppressed in the interactional process in the classrooms because teachers encourage African pupils to respond. The Other is displaced as a result of the teacher's strategies and tactics.

5.3. The logic of "us" and "them"

Unpacking the raw data collated suggests that the African pupils are constituted as the Other through the discursive mechanisms of binary oppositions. These binary oppositions become the condition of possibility for teachers to create sameness and relegate otherness to a subordinate position. In all the interviews conducted the African pupil was constituted as "them" or "they" as different from "us" or "we." According to teachers interviewed:

Teacher Even our weak pupils can't compare to them. The past has been very cruel to them.

Teacher It can become frustrating when I feel that I am not reaching them.

Teacher They cannot cope with the demands that we make upon them.

Teacher They do not contextualise.

This suggests that teachers base the "our" upon inclusions against the "them" that excludes. This notion of our and them, we and they, us and them became important grammatical tools that teachers employed. From the interviews it became apparent that this talk was an oppressive talk that emphasized difference. Rather than working with difference, teachers place difference under surveillance and attempt to close it off. This is perhaps why teachers, after all, were apprehensive about being tape recorded: their unconscious

exclusionary attitudes come to the fore and they are afraid of exposing them. Teachers judged the African pupils according to their truth values. Teachers suggested that African pupils needed to have special lessons to bridge the gap so that they could conduct themselves better in classroom interaction with other peers and teachers. The "bridging the gap" argument was a concern for all teachers "Bridging the gap" was not seen as a two way process.

Teachers mentioned the following:

Teacher The school must have "catching up" courses so that they are able to adapt here.

Teacher They need a model grounding which bridging classes can provide.

Teacher We need to devise a programme in which African pupils can spend at least a year in catching up classrooms before they are allowed in normal stream.

Teachers perceived the bridging programmes as an essential exercise for African pupils. Teachers keep themselves apart from bridging the gap programmes because they believe that the link could be made through the one way process of them to us. Accordingly, us cannot make connections to them. This logic is based implicitly on creating sameness. Teachers believed that the bridging programmes would be a partial solution to the learning problems. Bridging the gap programmes suggested by teachers are premised upon the us-them logic created through the image of Same and Other.

The our-them dichotomy is perpetuated in the following example:

Teacher There is a feeling that we have to stick to our own and you know, people tend to like their own.

Teacher Our kids are very different from them.

The our was based upon inclusion which excluded and promoted the difference between the familiar our and the strange them. Our is totally excluded from the discourse of them. Teachers do not make any attempts to form part of the discourse that "them" presents. Teachers on the other hand were vehement in arguments that African pupils must be placed in bridging or "catching up" programmes. African pupils had to make contact with the dominant ethos of the school. The our and them are kept in opposition. The our forms the guidelines from which them derives. This is a form of violence but a grammatical one implicit in obliterating the spccificity of them. The our operates as a political category that appropriates and obfuscates them. The duality of them and us is created by the teachers' dominant subject positions who are able to "know" that African pupils are different from the sameness of the school.

Teachers identified African pupils as the victims of oppression. As one teacher says "we feel very sorry for them". The logic of us and them is determined by positioning the African pupil as the oppressed victims. The teachers are acutely aware of their own political injustices yet they position themselves in opposition in their relations with African pupils. While teachers were politically active and reconciled themselves with the broader political injustices they keep themselves apart from the otherness that African pupils present. Teachers are invested with privilege in opposition to the victims or the subalterns.

Inherent in this notion of privilege is superiority and control. By investing the African pupil as the subaltern, that state of subalternity is reinforced so too is the dichotomous relation of us-them. In the following discussion I want to focus more deeply into the construction of African pupils as the objects of scrutiny.

5.4. Objectification

Teachers objectify the African pupil and reinforce their own subject position. Teachers are able to position and represent the African pupil as the object of their enquiry.

The following example which constructs the African pupil as the "lack" is a case of objectification. Teachers see their roles in desegregating schools as part of a political commitment to non-racialism. Teachers actively support this project which is shaped by the belief that non-racialism will provide emancipation. According to teachers emancipation is contingent on developing and uplifting African pupils. Teachers believe in an assumed upliftment that contributes to an apparent reality. All the teachers in the study were bearers of this sentiment. African pupils were constructed as the "lack". Some teachers said:

We feel very sorry for them.

Teachers believed that the condition of "lack" could be addressed through the process of desegregating schools. Teachers claimed that the process of desegregation as it occurs in the school was a step forward despite the problems that emerged for them in their

classroom contexts.

One teacher commented:

Desegregating schools is a positive aspect as far as educational advancement is concerned.

Another teacher commented:

They will have better chances in our schools.

Many teachers expressed concern for the type of education that the majority of the African pupils were exposed to in their junior years. They believed that they would be able to provide a better system of education and so invested themselves as the "better" teachers (subjects) and placed the African pupil as the "victim" and the Other. During English subject meetings the problems that teachers experienced in their classroom practices were discussed. All teachers objectified the difficulties in language teaching and specific cases were expanded upon. Teachers gave voice to the African pupil during these meetings. They were able to represent the African pupil according to their (the teachers') problems in the classroom, not the pupil's. Teachers commented in this meeting:

Teacher How do we assess their marks when most of them have not done their work?

The teachers in this meeting were able to speak of the problems that they encountered with African pupils only in terms of assessment and examination requirements. Teachers represented the African pupil on the basis their (teachers') needs. This method of speaking for the African pupil is a condition of violence and exacerbates Foucault's idea of the

"indignity of speaking for others". It seems clear that teachers felt that they could represent the problems of African pupils and offer solutions. By representing the African pupils teachers believed that they at least redressing the problem which they perceived as a very noble deed. During the meeting the chairperson commented:

I am happy that the teachers in our department are addressing relevant issues and we will make it known to the office that something must be done to help us.

By focusing on African pupils as the problem, teachers actually invested African pupils as the objects. Despite the "good" intentions that teachers perceived from these meetings they actually reproduced and extended the gaps between teachers and the objects of their enquiry. Teachers failed to reflect on their own roles as teachers and ignored important questions like: who is speaking and asserting the otherness of the African pupil. To speak in the name of or to speak for "deprived" African pupils works to appropriate and silence African pupils (Spivak, 1990). Greenstein (1993) quotes Bell Hooks on this exclusionary tactic:

No need to hear your voice when I can talk about you better than you can speak about yourself. (1993: 11)

This view is further exacerbated by teachers' concerns that take form of: what can I do for them ? This patronising view are the concerns for very real and material conditions which affect African pupils. The patronising perceptions are linked to teachers' perceptions to the state of unevenness and undevelopment of the African pupil. These conditions are that many African pupils in the school cannot afford proper school uniforms and proper meals. Teachers place themselves in positions of guilt in relation to the African pupil. This has

the effect of positioning themselves as superior in relation to the pupils whose condition is invested as abject.

The following example reveals how the otherness of the Other is closed off. An African pupil presented a book to a teacher to be marked with both hands. The teacher was perturbed and explained to the pupil that he ought not to repeat that gesture. During the interview the teacher stated that the form of gesture was unacceptable. The teacher felt guilty that she was perceived to be superior. The teacher acknowledged that she was aware that it was a form of respect for elders. Yet the teacher suggested that she could not accept that gesture as it meant reinforcing the privileged status of Indians in relation to the African pupil. Other teachers confessed that they found this practice humiliating and discouraged it as they were perceived by African pupil to be superior. Teachers vehemently rejected this practice. This rejection stems from their explicit rejection of Apartheid. The rejection of Apartheid is conflated with the rejection of tribalism and its perceived cultural manifestations. Teachers believe that they are working against inferiority but inadvertently suppress that which is unknowable by privileging their values as the "truth." In this instance the African pupil is targeted and objectified as different and suppressed.

Another example of the exclusionary tendencies of teachers was recorded during general observation of the playing fields during break. African pupils meet at a particular point in school during break. A teacher was observed reprimanding some African pupils because their voice volume was not in keeping with what the teacher considered acceptable. This actually distances teachers from the process that they are engaged in. The otherness of the Other is denied and the African pupil is subjected to the demands of the Same. The

teachers in the study were more comfortable with those African pupil who displayed the tendencies of sameness. These pupils, with whom the teachers were more comfortable with, were those that came from the "Indian" feeder schools. They had greater exposure to "Indian" schooling. These pupils "knew" how to fit in. Teacher comments on this issue were:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| Teacher | Those that have been integrated from the earlier years are more confident. |
| Teacher | Those that come to school at the midstream level are not equipped. |
| Teacher | They are really considered as one if they came from our primary schools. |
| Teacher | Coloured pupils are able to cope very well. I think that they have similar work exposures. |

Teachers preferred a classroom in which differences were levelled out. The more of the Same, that is the greater the child was able to inculcate the values of the Same, the greater the chances were that the pupil was perceived more positively. These African pupils (though few in number) had similar work experiences as the Indian pupil. They were more articulate and "knew" the correct volume of speech. They were conceived of as more of the Same and less of the Other and their behaviour was reinforced and rewarded. In interviews teachers always made a case in point of these pupils. Teachers spoke favourably of them and they were considered as "equal if not better" than other Indian pupils. In meetings and through observations of general staffroom talk, I was able to gauge their delight with pupils constructed as Other and yet able to transform that divide into the Same. These pupils who possessed more of the Same than the Other were complimented for

producing better or at times the highest results in tests. Some teachers expressed pleasure that some of the African pupils were more articulate than some Indian pupils. One teacher was overheard saying:

Teacher If you had your back turned you would never know who is speaking.

Teachers proffer and prefer sameness but in the very process they deny otherness. Teachers marginalise the Other and re-enact the "silencing" mechanisms that is at the very core of modernity.

The case of otherness is most apparent in the school choir. While African pupils constitute only 10 % of the school population, the school choir contains 70 % African pupils. There are no African pupils on the school's Pupil Representative Council. There seems to be a perceived assumption that African pupils have inherent musical prowess. This is a deliberate attempt to give "voice" to the African pupil in the name of representation and imagined progress. The very structure that sings in the name of inclusion and school representativeness exposes the source of its "voice". The African pupil is objectified by the very process that includes and reveals that, stereotypes about otherness (the musicality of African pupils) dictate who is included in the choir and who is excluded. The school choir performs on many occasions for the school assembly and the musicality of African pupils is reinforced. The following comments were noted:

Teacher They have powerful voices.

Teacher The music teacher has really done a good job with the choir.

Teachers never question the fact that while African pupils represent a small percentage of the school population they are over represented in the school choir. There is a taken for granted assumption that African pupils have "powerful voices".

A similar case of otherness was revealed during the school's annual Sports Day. Here the musculature of male African pupils was raised as an example of otherness and objectified. Teachers expected male African pupils to excel on the athletic field.

A teacher commented:

Teacher They are very good athletes.

I was a place judge for this sporting event and I was able to capture many perceptions from other teachers regarding African pupils. Teachers expressed amazement when male African pupils did not excel according to their expectations. While teachers were concerned that African pupils were failing their subjects, they were able to invest African pupils with superior musculature and inferior thinking skills. This was also clear for female African pupils during the course of a home economics lesson. The class had just completed a baking session and the were involved in cleaning up the school kitchen. The teacher commented:

I am very happy with these black girls. They are strong. They may not do well in their theory but I will give them better marks for the practical sessions.

During the interview session the teacher noted that the African pupils always cleaned the kitchen better than the Indian pupils. The teacher remarked that as a result they deserved better practical marks. Practical marks in home economics is a continuous assessment of pupil's work and a portion of the marks are required for the final examinations.

The case of uplifting African pupils, rather than a step in an imagined development has been to produce a gap that questions teachers role perceptions. What has been projected as marginal only serves to perpetuate the differences and to reinforce the privileged status of the teacher. There is a clear danger of overlooking teacher involvement in the very conditions they believe they are trying to ameliorate. Teachers cannot claim immunity from domination on the basis of their "good intentions" because it serves to deny the complicity of teachers in the very process they are trying to subvert.

5.5. Language

The focus upon the importance of English as a means of communication was a shared consideration of all teachers. All teachers suggested that one of their greatest difficulties in their classroom is the language barrier. Some of the comments were:

Teacher If you ask a question, you have to ask it in Zulu. I ask Precious to ask the question in Zulu.

Teacher They have a very poor command of the English language.

Teacher Their spelling and dictation marks are very poor. I think that they do

not understand how we pronounce our words. They need to develop more polished accents. Maybe through practice they will speak better.

Teacher English is not their mother tongue. They cannot cope.

Teacher English, maths and science is the key to their future.

Teacher Indian pupils understand their teachers. Indian pupils are able to produce the demands that teachers make upon them. Some of them (African pupils) are not climatized to these demands at a short notice.

During classroom observation it became apparent that many African pupils were subdued and teachers made concerted efforts to encourage participation (see Chapter 5.3.). All teachers spoke of the reluctance of many African pupils to engage in discussion and therefore they (the teachers) had to constantly motivate these pupils. One teacher spoke of African pupils being "passive." The teacher commented further:

They are very quiet. They take no part in the lesson. I think maybe it is the language barrier but not my Precious.

African pupils hold particular beliefs in relation to teachers: asking questions may indicate that the teacher was failing to convey information. There also exists the possibility that the age difference between teacher and pupil contributed to the "passive" nature of African pupils and the African cultural belief that demonstrative behaviour was a sign of disrespect for elders. This may explain partially the so called passivity in classrooms but there is undoubtedly an acute problem of language communication. This was evident in pupils reverting to Zulu after teacher talk and during lunch breaks (see chapter 3.2.).

English is spoken by the elite and urban blacks but it is rarely a first language (R. Greenstein, 1993). African pupils are chastised when "caught" speaking Zulu. This became clear during general school observations. I have witnessed teachers on ground duty during the breaks scolding African pupils who speak in Zulu. In my observations I found that a certain area of the school has become a meeting place for many of the African pupils irrespective of their age groups. It is here that African pupils spend most of their lunch breaks conversing in Zulu.

Teachers pointed out that African pupils were "clannish"

A teacher pointed out:

They have a tendency to stick to their own kind.

Some teachers attempted to address the language problem by re-arranging classroom desks so that African and Indian pupils sit next to each other and are compelled to speak in English; a measure to keep the Other in check which is premised upon the acquisition of language skills. This arrangement actually reinforces the regimented gaze of teachers as the African pupils come more directly under the surveillance of peers as well.

A few African pupils come from Indian feeder schools and teachers comment positively about them:

Teacher If they are integrated from class one they are the same as Indian pupils. You can't tell any difference. Their comprehension is good. In midstream they are not equipped for the standards.

Teacher In the intermediate period they are too slow learners, other pupils get

bored in the classroom.

Teacher Look at Danny and Christopher, they are such a pleasure to have in my class.

Language can be seen as a means of incorporation and exclusion. Those pupils like Precious, Danny and Christopher are perceived favourably since they have appropriated the language of the Same. Teachers are very proud of these pupil's achievements. These pupils have appropriated a language and with it its culture and values so that they will be more like the sameness that prevails in the school. While ten other languages have been accorded the same official status, English is invested with privilege. English is the medium of education in the school and most teachers do not speak Zulu. Teachers actively engage in suppressing the official status of Zulu. One teacher noted:

Teacher Its fine if they speak it at home, but it does no good to speak it here.

The English language functions as an important device to sustain the construction of the Other as a negative value. Those pupils who are proficient are constructed positively while those Others operate as a marker for teachers elaborating the need to become part of the English global village and so form part of the globalising West.

5.6. Religion

Religion was an important category that was used by teachers to ascertain otherness. It was noted in the introduction that the school, like most ex House of Delegates schools comprises of three dominant religious groups. Teachers like the majority of the pupils adhere to their religious customs. On many occasions teachers come to school attired in

their traditional garb whilst others conform daily to traditional dress. Traditional dress takes the form of a sari or a punjabi (a long dress with long pants) with scarves over the head. Pupils are also allowed to wear scarves and pants. The school timetable on Fridays is designed specifically to cater for Muslim pupils who attend mosque. An extended lunch break is part of the school's timetable every Friday to allow for Muslim pupils to leave school to go to the nearby mosque. On certain religious occasions, Hindu pupils and teachers wear red strings around their hands. The significance of this red string is the protection it offers to those who wear it. During the occasion of Raksha Bandan, Hindu males wear decorative strings on their hands which is usually tied by their sisters.

During observations it became apparent that teachers use the discursive practice of oppositions in religious terms where the Same or the Us is established in relation to them, Other.

The binary opposition of Same-Other became apparent during dress checks. Dress checks are held regularly and pupils who do not conform are referred to heads of department. Some teachers asked African pupils to remove the "isiphandla" as this was not part of their uniform. The "isiphandla" is of religious significance to African pupils. It is worn on the hand like the red string that some teachers and pupils use. Unlike the red string the "isiphandla" is made of goat skin and is worn after a goat is sacrificed. The goat is sacrificed to thank ancestral spirits. Like the red string it denotes protection to the wearer and is only removed as it wears off or as it tightens. Teachers were prepared to accept religious rituals that were known to them but subjugated the strange and different to the unknown. The logic of sameness promoted the difference between the familiar and the

strange. Teachers could find no connections with the African frame.

Another example of the teacher's gaze upon the Other was apparent in the evaluation of letters of absence. Some African pupils' absentee notes are criticised by teachers. According to a note received from the parent the pupil's absenteeism was due to a case of "muti" that apparently caused the child's illness. Muti is a herbal indigenous medicine used to heal or harm. It was clear that the parent believed that her child was harmed. The teacher's reaction to the explanation is negative. The teacher commented:

Teacher This is not a proper excuse.

It is a strange explanation for teachers who are familiar to western truths. The teacher simplifies the whole issue of "muti" to the binary opposition of African medicine versus western reason because this is what is uppermost in the teacher's agenda. During the interview session the teacher acknowledged that she could not reconcile superstition with her own western orientated forms of thinking.

Teachers have appropriated western forms of knowledge and this is what counts as knowledge, as the truth. In this context the idea of difference is constructed by values and beliefs in relation to which teachers understand themselves as different from the Other. Their superstitions are strange to the teacher and therefore become unknowable. The teacher engages in suppression of the discourse that African pupils present by constituting her values as the acceptable one. Marglin (1990) explains the rejection of traditional

knowledge:

A system of knowledge that makes no distinction between naturalistic forms of explanation and religious forms of explanations is deemed irrational and inferior. (1990: 102)

In contrast other African pupils who offer the "normal" excuse of flu are spared the gaze of teachers. A commonality binds the Same in terms of what it rejects. This is a case of bipolarity: rationality versus irrationality, which structure teachers' thoughts. Here teachers explicitly uphold thoughts that are particular to a modern western enterprise. Irrationality is that which is not rational. The ultimate principle is the definition of rationality as the absolute absence of irrationality. Teachers see here the possibility of the creation of a single identity based upon sameness through the distorted lenses of oppositions. By rejecting what the teachers believe is irrational their own rationality is reinforced. The teachers, as subjects, are reduced to confirming their own subjectivities rather than engaging with the otherness (alterity) and so they legitimate their own subject position.

Teachers judge the African pupils in terms of how close or how far they are from the values of the Same. There are many African pupils in which teachers find sameness in terms of religion. These pupils are regarded favourably. Some African pupils belong to the Muslim faith and go to mosque every Friday. Some African pupils are staunch Christians and are viewed favourably by teachers of the same denomination. Two such examples of pupils are Danny and Christopher. The teacher commented about them:

They are more confident. They come from an educated environment. I think that they are equal if not better than the Indian pupils.

These two pupils are in the same class and are very articulate. One pupil is Christian and the other is Muslim. They are always keen to answer and ask the teachers many questions. They do not display the "passivity" that teachers mentioned about African pupils in general. Danny and Christopher are harnessed into the logic of the Same. Teachers consider them in a different light than other African pupils. They subscribe to the dominant logic and find favour with teachers. It is interesting to note that in this context the Indian pupil might well become the Other: not Christian or not Muslim and therefore the Other. In this context the Ideal subject for teachers becomes that subject that represents the same religious beliefs and privileges that subject.

5.6. Conclusion

In the school under study the discourse that operates functions within two worlds: us versus them. Teachers in the study revealed their explicit rejection of the apartheid doctrine and yet function within exclusionary discourses. In their various practices teachers privilege the discourse of the Same and deny the validity of the Other. African pupils are not treated unfavourably. Rather the very personal dynamics between the African pupil and the teacher suggest that teachers are bearers of modern western values. The African pupil is not simply the Other, but those that show tendencies of the Same are constructed favourably. Teachers do not overtly displace African pupils. In fact they are treated better than the Indian pupils. Teachers do not find links with the discourse of the Other except when justifying their own racial oppression based upon moral recognition. Teachers are able to maintain and perpetuate the distance between the world of them and the world of us. According to Trinh T Minh Ha (1989) the Other can "be like us....don't be us... never infecting us but only yourself" (1989: 52). Teachers proffer the thinking that world of us, the world of the Same is a proper and correct world and promote likeness which marginalises the discourse of them. This is the violence that teachers engage in their relations with the African pupils.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1. Overview of the Study

This research report focused specifically upon Indian teachers and African pupils in a desegregating school in Durban. The report engages critically with modernist assumptions concerning social change and equality. It argues that "progress" as in desegregating schools conceals inequality and promotes difference as a form of disadvantage. At this historical conjuncture, the aims of reconstructing and developing education are contradictory. These projects are not resisting modernity but rather they articulate demands to equality, freedom and justice which are entangled with the very aims of modernity. These concepts are ungraspable but a critique of these concepts exposes the uneven development in relation to desegregating schools. I do not reject the efforts to desegregate schools. Rather, my point has been to highlight the dangers that stem from the modernist assumptions of desegregating schools.

This study focuses specifically on the role of the teacher in the construction of domination and exclusion and argues that despite the "noble" intentions of teachers, they function within the logic of the Same and the Other. By subscribing to the logic of the Same teachers leave intact the discursive relations that construct meaning and the articulation of the African pupil as the Other.

This report shows that the construction of the African pupil as the Other reinforces their subordination. Paradoxically, African pupils are not side-lined by teachers in the process of classroom interaction. In fact this report shows that African pupils are treated preferentially in the classroom. The teachers speak favourably about the broad implications of desegregating schools and reject with abhorrence any suggestion of racially exclusive attitudes. Teachers even give preferential treatment to African pupils in their classrooms and encourage and reward responses. Yet they are subjected in and through the dominant logic that teachers proffer (see Chapter 5.2. and 5.3.). African pupils were even favoured over the Indian pupils. The teachers in this study invested the African pupil as the disadvantaged and hence the potential target for change and development. Despite the teacher's preferential treatment of African pupils in their classroom dynamics and their explicit claims in this regard, the discourses that African pupils presented were suppressed. The teachers are not concerned in developing the otherness but rather subject otherness to the scrutiny of the Same and discipline it. Teachers marginalise the discourse of difference and close it off. Teachers see development of African pupils in terms of inculcating the values of the Same. In allegiance to this logic teachers construct the African pupil as an object and the Other. Those pupils that are able to express and articulate the meanings of the dominant discourse are constructed as less than Other and these are largely pupils that have been exposed to the Indian feeder schools and who adhere to the dominant religions of the school. Other African pupils are subjected to a greater discipline and their gestures and behaviours that do not represent the Same are acted upon: a case of turning the Other into the Same.

This study focuses on the micro-processes that constitute relations of dominance and exclusion. The study provides a lens through which to examine the personal interaction between teacher and pupil. In this study a postmodern approach "engulfed in the history of the Same and its contradictions" (Mudimbe,1988: 43) was used to explain the contradictions and inconsistencies which constitute the subject. Postmodernisms defy the use of binary oppositions that work in the context of the school under study: the Other and the Same, African and Indian, teacher and pupil.

A postmodern understanding of the desegregating processes reveals how teachers marginalised the discourse of the African pupil and proffered the dominant logic. The teacher closes off the otherness of the Other and is actively involved in suppression. Postmodernism is able to capture momentarily that nature of ambiguity. Teachers believe that they do not suppress African pupils: they are united in their attempts to transform inequalities. However, that vision of transformation is premised upon the universal values of the Same. Teachers attempt to "transform" or turn the Other (although never possible) into the Same encouraging them to take up meanings from discourse of the Same that functions as the authorising ground. Teachers show obedience to this logic of the Same and function to close off the multiplicity of meanings that otherness reveals. In this way teachers marginalise the Other. The Other is disciplined in and its behaviour is under constant surveillance governed by the discourse of the Same.

The dangers for teachers demonstrated is that they participate in the very practices that they seek to resist: contradictions that may lead to pessimism that there is no way out of disciplinary power. There are always relations of power: the problem is what is produced

through and by that relation. As teachers we need to become sensitive to the dangers of our work: the effects of domination and normalising tendencies and the ruse of authority. What is happening in schools is dangerous but perhaps less so if teachers can understand their complicity in the process they believe that they are trying to subvert. There are no final solutions but an understanding of our complicity alerts us to the dangers of "having to know it all." In other words teachers need to attend to what Foucault (1983) calls the relationship to the self. Teachers in the study foregrounded and invested the Other rather than focusing on what they could do for themselves. In this context teachers can identify the practices that they engage in which constitute exclusions. Teachers can also reflect on the ways that they discipline the African pupil and how they discipline themselves. Teachers must not only call into question their attitudes but to reflect on their appropriation of truth. This shakes the habitual ways of binary thinking of Same versus Other. This is not to be confused with an Utopian exercise of revealing a hidden agenda: that there is a final moment in which we are truly liberated as teachers. It requires a recognition of the already-said (Foucault, 1983). This creates the possibility of rupturing the order of the Same. The exclusionary practices engaged in can be interrupted if teachers can reflect on the way they act and hence the possibility of acting differently. This involves an understanding of who we are as particular teachers in the context of desegregating schools in order to refuse who we are and to understand the implications of our roles as teachers. As more discourses open up teachers have the possibility of examining their roles within the power-knowledge connection. This is a gap that teachers can squeeze into in order to increase the awareness that the Other is marginalised and that this logic can be struggled over: a permanent struggle between the Same and the Other. The more we are aware of ourselves the greater the space to squeeze into.

6.2. Implications of the Study

This study is small and was restricted to one school in the process of desegregating. It is not therefore within the context of this research report to claim conclusions for the entire process of desegregation. However it does point to the construction and the marginalisation of the Other and focuses attention on the gaps and silences that constitute the Other and inequality. This requires that teachers recognise who has been excluded and how.

The emerging trend of desegregating schools in South Africa requires attention to the practices that constitute the Other. This research report is located in the specific context of traditionally Indian schools in which the African pupil is perceived as the Other. More research is needed to determine the construction of the Other in traditionally white schools where African, Indian and Coloured pupils contribute to classroom dynamics. How is the Same-Other dualism constructed in this context and who is excluded and on what basis ?

As the racial composition of schools changes schooling contexts, it seems likely that in the future the racial composition on teaching staff will alter. Who will become the Other? How will teachers in this context use or abuse their authority to determine the mechanisms of opposites. There is a possibility that without questioning the discourses within which we operate, reversal of values may well take place and the Other of today can become the Same of tomorrow both espousing even if inadvertently exclusionary tendencies.

The task for all teachers is to be reflexive and critical of themselves and their discourses. A different role for the teacher is suggested, not a privileged position to determine

the rights and wrongs of discourses but a struggle with what determines rights and wrongs. This may avoid processes and practices of constructing the Other that sustain arrogant assumptions of the teacher as the subject with the power to position and represent the Other. Teachers need to re-work rather than reject the differences that they are faced with in the context of the emerging trend of desegregating schools. Teachers need to ask what are they doing in the changing contexts of their classrooms. But the concern is not simply with what is done in desegregated classrooms but what are the practices that are engaged in. We need to ask what we are as particular types of teachers, how we have come to be this way and the dangers of this way. Without paying attention to what we are today we may overlook how we are disciplined and reproduce familiar attitudes.

It is not enough for subjects to be included without making a difference.

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