UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

INSTITUTIONAL ACCOUNTABILITY

A phenomenon examined through
a case study located within
University of the Western Cape
1987-1989

A dissertation
presented in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of
M. PHIL. IN ADULT EDUCATION

by

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ABSTRACT

The dissertation sets out the perspectives and terms of the study as a frame for an empirically-based inquiry into the phenomenon of institutional accountability. The inquiry is conducted through a naturalistic case study located within the University of the Western Cape (UWC) between November 1987 and July 1989. The case study is understood to be an indeterminate product of contextual and historical circumstances. The contexts of the case are presented through chronological description of the environment of educational practice within UWC and through focusing on the viewpoints of seventeen university office holders. The contexts of analysis are presented as five positions on institutional accountability held as valid for 1987-1988, and as a field of discourse located within the Western Cape for the period 1986-1989.

The aims of the study are firstly, to resolve in authentic case study practice the problems of scientific justification and of providing access to the social, cognitive and cultural processes of the Inquiry. Secondly, the aims are directed towards generating ideas and hypotheses, through examining the meanings of the phenomena under study, which could be used and examined by educators in relation to their own circumstances and contexts. There is no presentation of findings or recommendations. The study achieves its aims through explicit presentation of assumptions, propositions and arguments contextualized within the body of the dissertation.
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CHAPTER ONE

THE RESEARCH STUDY

CONCEPTUALIZATION, PROCESS AND PRACTICE

1. THE NATURE OF THE STUDY AND THE FORM OF THE INQUIRY

This dissertation is an attempt to study a social phenomenon in the context of the chronic crisis of South African education. The phenomenon is identified as 'Institutional accountability'. The term is problematic on two counts. First, it links two complex concepts, 'institution' and 'accountability', in a term which does not immediately explain itself. Secondly, the phenomenon which requires explanation and explication is itself complex. It manifests itself in university-based debates about research as "that accountability thing", "a hornet's nest" and also a riddle.(1) More generally, it is a response, in the context of educational crisis, to external calls and internal imperatives which propel universities to re-examine their educational, social and political roles in South African society.

The first problem of the study is thus to explain the nature of the phenomenon within its particular social context. It does so in the form of a case study located within a limited, historical stakeholder context at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). The second

problem of the case study is to convey to the reader the nature of the phenomenon in the singular instance of the case. The problem is grasped through "The Imagination of the Case and the Invention of the Study"(2) I shall briefly elaborate on the key features of a form which I suggest is particularly suited to situations where the phenomenon (or focus of study) is difficult to 'see' and describe. This applies to the 'institutional accountabilities' of educators at UWC which are necessarily part of a still-unfolding process.(3) Thus in this dissertation the case, similarly, remains indeterminate. It is a classic of 'unfinished business'. Both the framework and the study of the 'business' has to be justified.

1.1 The nature and form of the case

I draw on the thinking of Stephen Kemmis to describe the conceptual framework of this dissertation.(4) In general terms the justification for the case lies in its naturalistic and

(2) The descriptive phrase is borrowed from Stephen Kemmis; see his chapter "The Imagination of the case and the invention of the study" in Helen Simons ed., Towards a Science of the Singular, (University of East Anglia, Centre for Applied Research in Education, Occasional publication No. 10, 1980), pp.93-142.

(3) I use the term institutional accountability to refer primarily to the practice of accountability by persons who hold academic and/or administrative office in an educational institution. In this case, the University of the Western Cape. I'm also interested in pursuing the question of asking whether institutions can be held accountable to another party or other parties. Implicit in the former meaning is a second question: What purposes are served by the institutionalization of informal accountabilities through formalized processes? Does this signify collective responsibility or accountability?

emancipatory intent. It is naturalistic in three senses. First, it searches for the phenomenon of 'Institutional Accountability' in the social 'working' worlds of seventeen educators who hold office at the University of the Western Cape. Second, it attempts to articulate that world by describing what the educators say as well as the contexts in which they practice. Third, the object of the study is (what I call) 'a buzz about accountability in institutions': it is the 'given' aspect of the phenomenon under study.

The emancipatory intent of the study lies in the hope that the insights reached through it may illuminate its problems by having the capacity 'to work reflexively' to change some aspects of the debate about institutional accountability at UWC, perhaps more widely. In this sense it is undeniably a political and strategic document. This aspect of the study presents acute problems in what in South Africa is a sensitized area of research. The dilemmas this presents will be examined in 4.2 below.

The problem of self-initiated 'emancipatory' research — moves points to a central assumption of this study. Aspirations such as these are inherently problematic in a highly politicized research environment. In South Africa it can hardly be other than that. As a corollary to this proposition, the second assumption is that if the case study cannot demonstrate its own authority, it must fail in the tasks it sets itself. It cannot
claim authority by appealing to external logical or theoretical forms.(5) Justification lies in the case itself.

This study will attempt to justify itself internally by making 'The imagination of the case and the invention of the study' accessible to the reader as it unfolds. It will provide access in two spheres: In the first sphere I will attempt to describe what I see in the case by 'saying it' as clearly as I can in the language of my writing and the schema of the diagrams. Thus, through perception-communication, to contribute to some understanding of a historical situation represented by UWC educators/actors in interview contexts and elaborated in supplementary documentary data sources. This communication process requires 'rich' descriptions in order to create in the readers' minds the "conditions for imagining what cannot be stated propositionally".(6) Insofar as where such portrayals succeed they may offer 'surrogate experience' of the case. This is a necessary and lengthy task.

In the second sphere of accessibility lies the pre-condition for such success: the authenticity of the communication. This is not easy work for researchers inclined to hide behind the

(5) Helen Simons makes this point in an editor's introduction to Kemmis, ibid, above, pp.93-95. She argues, like Kemmis, that justification derives from the nature of the phenomena studied in their social context. They both stress that demands for justification should not result in scientism: 'when one school of scientists claims to hold the keys to truth'; see Kemmis p.97.

comfortable conventions of academic style. Outside of that lies the risk of personal and political exposure. This study will aim at authenticity on two fronts: In one it will allow its internal contradictions, its rough and raw edges to show through. On the other front it will realise this aim by presenting for examination (by UWC and UCT) an unfinished product: The dissertation does not 'sew up' the topic in a set of conclusive findings. Rather it invites continued exploration of a difficult theme. The study does however intend to offer one point of access for understanding the meanings and implications of the institutional accountability debate and for future actions based on these understandings. The purpose of the 'access point' must be emphasized as follows: While I'm bound, in a sense, by authenticity criteria, there will be no recommended course of action even though I will venture to speculate. Any decisions which flow from the study can only be taken by accountable actors in the UWC environment. I'm painfully aware of the possible consequences of social research in South Africa. In the words of Kemmis:

Life in the study is not sealed off from life "outside". What is at risk is people, not just truth.(7)

(7) Ibid., p.131.
1.2 Outline of the dissertation

The conceptual structure of the study is reflected in the following outline of the dissertation. The background to the study and its founding presuppositions are described in Section 2 (Chapter One) below. Section 3 presents the theoretical and methodological frameworks which support the design and invention of the study: I describe the processes of actor selection and interviews with UWC educator/actors in Section 4. I continue by reviewing the experience of interviewing and the related problems of interpretation. The negotiation of the interpretation with actors is outlined, and I conclude by signalling empirical closure in the interpretation of supplementary data. The chapter essentially describes the course of the empirical research project.

Chapter Two presents the outcome of the research project as a case in chronological phases, the centre of which is a static phase of five positions allocated to the educators by the researcher, which are accepted as valid at the time of presentation.

Chapter Three is the analytical core of the study and presents a critique of discourses in key texts. It is argued that postscripts to the Positions reveal shifts which can be explained by dynamic quality of the discourses examined.
The organic flow of the study finds expression in Chapter Four: the tone of the dissertation changes as the researcher presents a narrative illustration of perceived differences between institutions and organizations. While the chapter is serious in intent it can also be read as a playful language game which draws on a form of customary knowledge. The dissertation reaches formal closure in Chapter Five by presenting two diagrammatic maps for further exploration of themes found in the case which are not examined in the dissertation.

2. 'THE IMAGINATION OF THE CASE'

Background

In making my personal research interest explicit, I identify the principal influences arising from my social and research activities which have a bearing on this study, in order to reveal the sources of influence lying outside of the study itself.

I became aware of recurrent usage of the term 'accountability' and calls for accountability in two spheres of interest - academic research and organizational politics.(8)

(8) My research interests were pursued during periods as registered student and part-time tutor at the Department of Adult Education, UCT, while my extra-parliamentary political interest has grown through a 17 year membership of the Black Sash. This drew me into the networking patterns linking many Western Cape based political pressure groups and service/community organizations. The rapid development of this 'networking culture' in the 1980s offers many opportunities for informal participant observation.
In the first sphere I've noted that the criteria of accountability features as one issue in terms of which educational policy matters are evaluated. It has also featured in debates about the role of intellectuals in reshaping university practice and in making educational/strategic interventions within mass-based or community organizations. It has been used as an argument for placing appropriate limitations to the autonomy of Social Scientists in their research activities.

In the second sphere I've noted frequent informal use of the term in relation to correct democratic procedures within organizations, particularly those of mandated action and reporting and consulting processes. On the even more informal level of social interaction amongst committed political actors, I've been struck by the use of the term accountability as a self explanatory standard of 'good' behaviour conferring moral authority on the actor, and as self imposed discipline on autonomous individual agency in compliance with perceived collectivist norms.

These broad observations led to reflections that the term was open to very loose usage which masked inherent complexities in the contexts

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(9) The issue was debated in a session headed 'Towards a research agenda' at a regional seminar, "Social research in a changing South Africa", of the Association of South African Sociologists, University of Cape Town, 10 April 1987.
in which it was used, and that some clarification of these complexities could be achieved by a simultaneous elaboration of the word accountable by explicating 'to whom, for what, in what way'.

What sharpened my research interest, taking it beyond the level of topical curiosity, was a matter of personal conjecture. Had I become conditioned to certain unconscious understandings of meaning of accountability by my South African experience and localised interest?

The question arose in the course of a few readings in curriculum theory by North American and English authors. I became aware of an apparent disjuncture and discontinuity between what I assumed accountability to mean and the meanings I inferred through my exposure to the foreign literature. It appeared likely that the meanings carried within the term shift as the socio-political context in which it is used changes.

In North America the 'accountability movement' of the seventies was fuelled by public clamour for accountability in education. The term was associated with systems of enforced contractual obligation with a strong emphasis on central planning in the allocation of resources, precise objectives, specified procedures and the measurement of outcomes. While in England there appears to be some continuity

(10) S.P. Hencley draws parallels between the accountability movement and the "friendly, Techno-urban fascism" encompassed in the centralized management of socio-economic, political, cultural and technological aspects of society; see his chapter "Deterrents to Accountability" in T.E. Giles Educational Accountability, ed. (Calgary: John D. McAra Ltd., 1972), pp.37-52.
of meaning in a softer notion of contractual accountability, the emphasis there appears to shift from accountability systems based on results to systems based on principles. In these loose systems the dominant meanings carried within the term turn on interpretations of 'answerability' (in moral accountability) and 'responsibility' (in professional accountability). (11)

Other interesting meanings are conferred on the term in the 'English' preference for trust translated into formal accounting devices which ensure predictability and consistency and in the complexity of the structures of accountability. (12)

2.1 Assumptions

My personal research interest thus rests on the following assumptions:

2.1.1 that it may be misleading to transpose public understandings accountability in educational contexts from one country to another;


2.1.2 that there may be a considerable variation within academic and popular understandings of accountability in South Africa;

2.1.3 that some of the meanings and implications of the concept and its use in the context of South African educational realities could be uncovered and developed in a small scale structured study.

Since these assumptions range across many fields, it was clear the research focus of the study itself would need to be narrowed down considerably and be sharply defined.

2.2 Presuppositions and rationale

The presuppositions which influenced the direction and narrowed focus of the study are that:

2.2.1 The South African educational system is deeply stressed by the acute and chronic crises affecting one part of the system - 'black' education - a result of a historical legacy whereby the interests of whites are served by the denial and suppression of the interests of blacks. This educational crisis reverberates throughout the whole system and is a cause of severe distortion, even in those parts of the system not directly affected by the crisis.
2.2.2 South African universities are under pressure to rationalize their policies and actions in the face of competing claims on limited resources.

2.2.3 A number of these universities accept the principle that traditional structures of accountability lack legitimacy and require reconstruction. They are already responding to external constituencies who back their claims on university resources with greater or lesser degrees of power and resources. (13)

2.2.4 These universities are sites within which the meanings and structural implications of institutional accountability are being reconstructed through both manifest and submerged processes.

2.2.5 The University of the Western Cape (UWC) is a site where these processes are thrown into sharp relief by its recent

(13) Jon Fie argues that the concept of accountability will be put onto the agendas of universities and discusses limits to financial and academic autonomy in Jon Fie, "The politics of excellence: university education in the South African context", Social Dynamics 12 (June 1986): 26-40; The opinions of external community constituencies about the University of the Witwatersrand were sought in a survey which has a bearing on university accountability issues; see University of the Witwatersrand, "Perceptions of Wits", Johannesburg, 1986.
history and its active role in reconstituting its own identity.\(^{(14)}\)

2.2.6 These processes must necessarily be widespread and complex. One possible route of research access might be through a small group of university office holders who, either formally or informally, participate in university structures.

2.2.7 The principal participants in these institutional processes and structures appear to fall into four broad categories of people who might be construed as being stakeholders in the university: Professional stakeholders - staff in academic or administrative roles (or in combinations of these roles); Worker stakeholders - staff in maintenance or service roles; Client stakeholders - students, parents, other commissioning agents; External stakeholders - groups and/or persons representative of professional bodies, the State and political constituencies. At the term's broadest construal - South African society as a whole.

\(^{(14)}\) The university's symbolic role and events on campus during the 1984-1986 period of political turmoil have given it a high media profile. Its revised objectives were spelt out in a statement accepted by the UWC council 22 October 1982: in University of the Western Cape, [publicity sheet] (Bellville, UWC Printing Department, undated); The role of the university is elaborated in the inaugural address of the Vice Chancellor and Rector, G.J. Gerwel, delivered on 5 June 1987 in University of the Western Cape, [printed leaflet] (Bellville, UWC Printing Department, undated); Aspects of this role will be discussed in Chapter Two of this study.
In the context of the above presuppositions, the rationale that propels the design of the study is that some perspectives of the professional staff within this context would yield data through which practices and processes of institutional accountability could be studied. A specific instance, or case, would be a suitable point of entry which would itself generate further data, explanations and theoretical perspectives.

While the framework of the study precludes a set of research findings in the form of generalizations applicable to similar institutions, it does support an aim to generate some ideas and speculative hypotheses which educators could explore and examine in relation to their own experience or circumstances in other educational or institutional settings.

3. THE INVENTION OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The search for the phenomenon of institutional accountability was in the early stages of conceptualizing the 're-search' backed by a half-learnt, half-'inherited' framework of ideas. The broad aspiration was critical based on an assumption that to be interpretive was helpful but not sufficiently emancipatory. The relationship between this framework and the organic development of the empirical structure of the case was often a source of worry. The worry surfaced in a phase of studious immersion prior to writing up the dissertation as a realization that I had unconsciously drawn on several theoretical
resources and that the early research was structured without consistent reference to a Major Theorist, or School of Social Theory. The problem lay in the tacit background rather than the multiplicity of theoretical sources. Gouldner provides a useful justification for such flexibility:

Theorists... follow and use many more and different rules (procedural and constitutive) than those they can articulate as 'their' theory. Theory is only a limited set of rules of analysis used. There remain other, inarticulate rules of consequence: the theoretical silence, the theoretical other: the tacit background.

Theory then, is articulate analysis, is analysis that knows and can say what it is doing.(15)

The theoretical and intellectual resources which help to steer course are described below.

3.1 Theoretical framework of the study

The study draws on a body of critical social theory which I see as having many authors and containing a multiplicity of theories which have all developed historically. As several of these theories, and the tenets within them, continue to be contested and re-interpreted by different writers, a researcher would find it difficult to work within a critical framework as though guided by an accurate and comprehensive map. Instead, I

understand the framework to sustain a critical impulse which propels social and political theorizing.

I'm persuaded to use some of the central features of critical theory as analytical tools. This has been a conscious process. However, other features may already have been used less consciously, and can probably be discerned in the way the prepositions outlined above, have been framed. An analysis of some of these prepositions could also uncover theoretical influences which draw on oppositional doctrines or discourses. 'Critical' research would bring these to light. (In a longer study I would attempt to do this, beginning by examining the terms I have used fairly innocently and juxtaposing them against those loaded with deeper theoretical meanings and implications. However, that is not the primary focus of this study).

The critical impulse also sits in tension to some of the 'critical' and procedural principles for putting critical theory into practice. (I did not regard the UWC educators I was to interview as akin to people with deficient self-understandings, and as such requiring an 'expert' educator to overcome their

(16) The key features referred to are as follows: that 'facts' can be seen as socially constituted and as serving the interests of certain groups; that facts are not value free and that subjectivity and political commitment are sometimes unavoidable aspects of a critical stance; that the underlying conditions of social situations should be revealed in order to achieve emancipation from instrumental rationality; that theory is embedded in practice; that the surface appearances of society (or social practices) conceal powerful currents or structures; these and other features less useful to this study are described in Rex Gibson, Critical theory and education, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1986), pp.2-19.
'resistance' by ideology-critique). The focus on problems and 'sufferings' of dissatisfied social actors (as conceptualized by Fay) is, therefore, one point of tension. (17) The second area of tension lies in the manner in which this study either conforms, or fails to conform, to the usual 'critical' criteria for ascertaining validity or truth: it is open to question whether the theoretical explanations in this study will be acceptable to the 'subjects of the study' or whether they might be effectively applied by bringing the subjects 'to full self consciousness of the contradictions implicit in their material existence'. (18) This would entail a process of active dissemination of the study and a missionary engagement which does not fall within the aims of the study. As researcher I do not aim to convert. Instead, the critical nature of this research is based on a belief in emancipatory notions which drive the processes under study and a practical interest in the outcomes of these

(17) Fay relates critical theory to practice in Brian Fay, Social Theory and Political Practice, (London: Allen and Unwin, 1975), pp.92-110. The educative role of this research project is recessive, as the dimension of 'constant critical interchange' described by Fay is not maintained. I would also downplay the expert role which would cast the subjects of study as subordinates - a characterization I am unable to support.

(18) The phrase is Bernstein's. He sees the purpose of critical theory as penetrating the ideological mystifications and forms of false consciousness which distort the meaning of social conditions. This again foregrounds an assertive educational and expert role: see Richard T. Bernstein, The Restructuring of social and political theory, (London: Methuen, 1976), p.182.
processes.(19) This interest extends into the problems, fate and quality of the UWC curriculum. If the exact theoretical/intellectual parameters of the study are obscured by the tensions and implicit oppositions referred to above, they also remain undemarcated because the case study framework is not specific to any one theoretical position. It is hoped that new theoretical insights will be generated through studying the case and as the successive stages of the study unfold. Bernstein argues for not making exclusive choices of theoretical approach.

In the final analysis we are not confronted with exclusive choices: either empirical theory or interpretive theory or critical theory. Rather, there is an internal dialectic in the restructuring of social and political theory: when we work through any of these moments, we discover how others are implicated. An adequate social and political theory must be empirical, interpretive, and critical.(20)

Empirical and interpretive approaches are integrated into the research project and the beginning of a critical approach is signalled. A minor study required to conform to prescriptive rules of length can only sustain the most modest aims when the phenomenon under study is lodged in a context with ramifications so extensive and politically sensitive as to be thoroughly daunting.

(19) One such notion is that education is never free of political context.

(20) Bernstein, The Restructuring of social and political theory, p.235.
The aims of the study can be restated as follows:

(i) To examine the meanings ascribed to practices of accountability revealed in the context of the case

(ii) To generate ideas and speculative hypotheses in context which accountable educators could use and/or examine in relation to their own experience or circumstances

3.2 Design of the study

Several processes of design will be described below. They have to do with method, selection of informants and interview procedures. The study is 'invented' by setting down boundaries to frame a case lodged in a larger educational context at the University of the Western Cape. The fact that a researcher herself sets these boundaries, selects primary data sources, gathers data through qualitative interviewing techniques and interprets and analyses the data, raises very real problems of possible distortion and bias.

While the critical stance implies that a researcher is never free of the context of the research, too easy a dismissal of the problem might devalue the research project as a whole. Several strategic research moves were made to counter these possibilities. An effort was made to identify the researcher, to locate her within the case, and to reveal her personal interest in the study. Procedures for gathering data were systematic and will be open to examination below. Similarly, the problems and procedures of data analysis will be explained. Finally the
interpretation of interview data and its negotiation with the respondents will be described.

These moves go some way towards providing the reader with a vantage point for examination and critique. The fact that responsibility for subsequent interpretive explanations and judgements is accepted by the researcher alone requires that additional vantage points be made available to the reader. These are provided by descriptions of the research process, diagrams which may help to clarify the text and considerable substantiation of statements and arguments in the text by way of content footnotes. Thus the study will attempt to show clearly what the researcher does and why she does it.

3.2.1 Setting Boundaries around the Case: Gaining formal support for the case study

Access to audiences at UWC was requested through formal correspondence with the Rector, Prof. G.J. Gerwel. This was generously granted. (Appendix A) Further personal negotiations were conducted with the Dean of the Faculty of Education at that time, Prof. Owen van der Berg, in order to reach mutually acceptable understandings about procedures for conducting the research project. On the basis of these understandings a letter of introduction from the Rector supporting open access was used to initiate
preliminary conversations with administrative staff and subsequent approaches to prospective informants. (Appendix B) The route of entry into the UWC context is shown in Figure 1 below.
3.2.2 The time frame of the case

The case was constituted within a time frame of approximately 18 months. Three phases of data collection were all but completed within 1 year - November 1987 to November 1988. (See Figure 2 Chapter Two)

Eighteen interviews were conducted in November 1987. Data reflecting changes in the institutional context was collected throughout 1987 and 1988.

The researcher's interpretations of interview data was checked with respondents, both in relation to the interpretive content and the accuracy of reportage. (See Appendix E) Supplementary data was sought in the form of the possible impact of the changing institutional context on the respondents' viewpoints. This process took place in October-November 1988 with two exceptions. Two respondents were absent at that time and the process was completed on their return from overseas travel and sabbatical leave respectively - in March and July 1989 respectively. The empirical phase of the case closed in July 1989.

3.2.3 The process of familiarization: Background

This process consisted of an exploration of secondary sources: printed materials issued by the University of the
Western Cape, UWC press releases, manuscripts and typescripts with restricted circulation within the University, and news clippings from local and national news media.

At the same time informal techniques of participant observation were used during campus events open to interested members of the public. Background data was gathered at events such as campus meetings and seminars, the first formally constituted University Assembly and a UWC sponsored conference on Peoples Education.(21)

The purpose of the process was to gather background data on the fringes of the stakeholder context.

3.3.3 The selection of informants

The selection of educators was guided by several assumptions - some already set out in the presuppositions of this study. The remaining assumptions are as follows: Informants would be selected from the body of Academic and Administrative staff on the grounds that the processes under study worked through all faculties in the University and the Administration and that these bodies constituted a pool of likely educators/actors. The choices from within the pool was made on the basis of two criteria: Firstly,

(21) The data informs Chapter Two Section I: The immediate context.
the choices were determined on the grounds of office held: For instance, it was assumed that the office of Dean of Faculty would provide a vantage point from which perspectives reflecting on academic and administrative processes might be sought. Seven Deans, each representing a University faculty, were interviewed. In addition, two senior University Administration office holders were interviewed. Secondly, criteria for the remaining choices were implicit in the grounds of the following rationale: That educators outside of high administrative office were also actors who engaged more actively than some others in institutional processes where notions relating to institutional accountability were being re-negotiated. These actors would be motivated by conviction to articulate perspectives and arguments which contributed to the reconstruction of practices of accountability so as to achieve increased legitimacy within the university. Selection of these actors was guided by personal knowledge of them or their work, or by following up on leads to other actors not known to me. These connections were established in informal conversations on campus. Selections were made so as to gain access to a wide range of viewpoints.

In the case of some actors, the roles of 'key actor as Dean' or 'key actor by conviction' overlapped.
The intention was to work with qualitative procedures and 'survey type' quantitative approaches were thus not considered. Therefore, the group of informants is clearly not construed as being representative of (or a cross section of) staff on the UWC campus.

One educator drawn from outside of the pool of Academic/Administrative Staff was selected on different grounds: the past Rector, Prof. Richard van der Ross was interviewed to gain supplementary historical data.

4. INTERVIEWS WITH U.W.C. EDUCATORS

The interview process

Interview requests were made by a short explanatory letter and concluded by telephone conversations. (Appendix C) Eighteen interviews were conducted in November and December 1987. (Appendix D)

An interview guide approach to qualitative interviewing was used to provide a structure for data collection. (22)

(22) This approach revolves around specifying the topics and issues to be covered in advance, in outline form. The interviewer decides on the sequence of the questions during the course of the interview; there may be slight variations in the wording of the questions. This makes data collection somewhat systematic while allowing for some open-ended conversation. See Michael Quinn Patton, 'Qualitative Interviewing', in Qualitative Evaluation Methods, (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1982) pp.200-206.
The interviews were of approximately 30 to 45 minutes duration. They were conducted in an open-ended conversational style around an interview guide which allowed for the exploration of 5 basic issues. Questions were fairly consistently worded so as to facilitate an open discussion of the following issues:

4.1 The issue of personal accountability was explored within an institutional framework, either in terms of institutional office held or self-defined working roles.

4.1.1 An attempt was made to identify audiences (Accountable to ...)

4.1.2 Similarly, questions were phrased so as to discover areas of responsibility (Accountable for ...)

4.1.3 Meanings attributed to the term were sought directly or through encouraging anecdotal digressions.

4.1.4 Lastly, an attempt was made to identify practices of accountability resulting from applications of the concept in an institutional setting.

In most cases the institutional setting was identified as the University of the Western Cape. In some cases understandings were elaborated in terms of a more abstracted concept of 'a university'. All interviews were conducted under conditions of
tacit or explicit acknowledgement of political and educational crisis in South Africa.

4.2 Interview data and analysis

Introduction

Seventeen interviews were recorded on a tape recorder and one by notes taken during the interview. Full transcripts were made of the interviews on tape. It is possible to present a methodological account of the process and method of data analysis. The rationale would be set out as follows: the researcher entered a democratic research mode in order to allow the actors who were interviewed to evaluate a confidential interpretation of the interview data. The outcome of the process would be a negotiated interpretation for public consumption validated by its acceptance (possibly after changes suggested by the actor/respondents had been made) by the actors interviewed. The interpretation would thus be strengthened as a result of its broad acceptance, although perhaps also slightly weakened by the
screening and accommodating efforts of the researcher. (23) The above account would be a nearly accurate report of the actual procedures of analysis explored. It would be more accurate to say the screening was minimal. However, such an account, while perfectly true, misses the inherent problematic of the data analysis and interview dilemmas of the case. I shall outline some aspects of the dilemmas so as to support the dissertation's 'authenticity' aim.

4.2.1 An experiential account

My stance in adopting qualitative interviewing techniques was two-fold. I expected the persons I was to interview to have rich offerings to present to those prepared to listen. Positivism was a rejected frame and my interviews would not allocate to the interviewees the function of being narrow objectified interview-data sources. I intended to interpret, critically but sympathetically, the worlds they opened up to me. These idealistic intents were in

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(23) Both characteristics (of strengths and weaknesses) are dealt with by Rob Walker who argues that the negotiation of a case study worker's interpretations involves shifts of power from the researcher to the practitioner, and that the weakness of the democratic mode is its 'inherent inertia and conservatism'; see his chapter in W.B. Dockerell and David Hamilton, (eds) Rethinking educational research, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), pp.30-71; Helen Simons provides an account of the development of this mode through the refinement of research practices since the mid-1970s, using Barry MacDonald's evaluation studies as an example; she argues that the model's attractiveness lies in its 'educative logic rather than its politics of opposition'; see Helen Simons, Getting to know schools in a democracy: The Politics and Process of Evaluation, (Lewes: The Falmer Press, 1987), p.53. She looks closely at 'The Political Implications of Evaluation Theory' in Chapter 2, pp.44-55.
retrospect unrealizable. The two quotations below do however capture the original aspirations:

...Go forward and question. Ask and listen. The world is just beginning to open up to you. Each person you question can take you into a new part of the world. For the person who is willing to ask and listen the world will always be new. The skilled questioner and attentive listener knows how to enter into another's experience. (24)

Interviewing is rather like marriage: everybody knows what it is, an awful lot of people do it, and yet behind each closed door there is a world of secrets. (25)

It was only after I reflexively grasped the 'world of secrets' that I could put a name to the interface between researcher and researched - the political and ethical problematic of contemporary research in South Africa. I was quite prepared to move carefully in a sensitive area, (the world of UWC will be described in Chapter Two, Sections 1 and 3), I was fascinated by the rich texture of the data, but I was unprepared for the numb paralysis which delayed the process of data analyses. For what was at risk was indeed people. (1.1, footnote 7) The experience of interviewing 14 people whom I had not met prior to the interview situations was profoundly unsettling to a carefully maintained equilibrium. I found myself admiring


commitments, warming to personalities, respecting troubled confusion and anger, but I was as unable to make full sense of the tensions as I was unwilling to apportion 'blame'. In such situations 'democratic' methodologies were not only desirable, they signalled the rescue of the project.

My present understanding of the dilemma in respect of the particular case is as follows: As hosted guest, generously allowed what amounted to the freedom of the University of the Western Cape, I did not have the contractual legitimacy to firm up, harden or bargain for the public presentation of interview data not contained in the first interpretive document. I was constrained by the etiquette of 'guest' in a busy 'home' where actors had already provided access to their experience, considered my homework and responded to new questions. Their workload was considerable. New negotiations might have been possible from the base of a commissioned project where the democratic mode might have supported aims of "holding delegated [educator] power to informed collective account". (26) Instead, the reality was that I was granted access for a research project autonomously initiated to achieve the dual purposes of illumination and certification. The empirical project is

(26) The phrase is from Barry MacDonald, "Barriers to democratic evaluation", paper delivered at the University of Illinois, 1980, quoted in Simons, ed. Schools in a democracy, p.46; It supports his understanding of the democratic stance which propelled a five year long argument, between researchers and sponsors of a Computer Assisted Learning Project, for the equalization of power relationships in which the project was embedded.
thus conservative (with what I suggest is good reason) while it works in a democratic mode. It moves out of this mode in the 'harder' phase of analysis when it begins to work with public texts in Chapter Three. Below I set out the methodological account of analysing the interview data.

4.2.2 A methodological account

In analysing the interview data the aim was to reduce a collection of nuanced individual accounts of personal experience and perspective to a lesser number of basic positions. These were suggested by a clustering of perspectives so that those holding broad similar viewpoints were allocated to a 'position'. (These will be more fully described in Chapter Two, Section 2). Relevant data was abstracted and related to categories suggested by the topic guideline used in the interviews. This process highlighted the perceptions and perspectives of the informants relating to issues of accountability and allowed for the disappearance of other anecdotal material and incidental topics. By focusing on similarities of interviewee viewpoints and themes the interviews were regrouped into clusters separated from each other by significant differences of approach to the accountability issues examined through the question guideline. One position was developed from each cluster of interviews.
While this procedure was both difficult to organise and politically problematic it was used in order to achieve two purposes:

4.2.2.1 To define and reduce the area of investigation by selecting those issues and perspectives which might be used to illuminate the processes under study.

4.2.2.2 To devise an interpretation in the form of positions framed in the language of the researcher with quotations in the language of the Respondents. (Interpretation I, Figure 2 below)

4.3 Negotiating interpretation I

The analysis of the interviews was set out in a 16-page confidential document which was made available to all interviewees with an accompanying letter. (Appendix E: the letter). Two specific requests were made: comment was sought on the use of the interview data and on the possible impact of recent events on viewpoints expressed in the previous interviews. These comments would be treated as a source of supplementary data.

The requests were framed in the form of two questions:
4.3.1 Could you please consider whether the way I have used data from your interview on p.(x), raises any problems for you. While all quotes are purposefully used with author throughout the document, your name does appear as one of the interviewees in the footnotes on p.(y). While this document is confidential, the final version will form part of my dissertation and will, of necessity, be more open to scrutiny.

4.3.2 Please consider whether recent events at UWC, from the campus crisis to the "Building a People's University" Conference, have had any impact on the views you expressed in the interview last year. Would you want to express yourself any differently now on issues related to institutional accountability?

Responses to Interpretation I were received over the phone in eleven instances, in prearranged personal meetings in five instances, and by one written communication. In a few cases changes to the texts outlining the five positions were made in order that intended meanings should be more accurately stated.

All respondents accepted the interpretation of the position with which they were identified. This identification remains confidential for two reasons:
4.3.3 In some situations the identification of persons who adhere to particular positions would introduce the difficult political and personal dimensions outlined above, with potentially complicating repercussions for some Respondents.

4.3.4 The underlying rationale of the five positions is that, while most have several authors, in a sense, they stand free of author, and may well attract other adherents amongst other UWC staff. The intention is to present them as abstracted sets of messages.

The educator/actors will thus be 'anomimized' as Respondents A-R. The positions are presented in Chapter Two below.

4.4 Supplementary data : Interpretation II

Supplementary interview data

Responses to a question enquiring about possible changes of viewpoint (4.3.2 above) provide the final source of interview data, mainly in the form of updated commentary on accepted positions. The data was only lightly interpreted and appears as a postscript to each position. They are written up in the style of edited reportage rather than as analyses, and appear in Chapter Two after a description of some 'intervening events'.
# CHAPTER TWO

## THE CASE IN A CHRONOLOGICAL CONTEXT

**CONTEXTS AND POSITIONS 1987-1989**

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CHAPTER TWO

THE CASE IN A CHRONOLOGICAL CONTEXT

CONTEXTS AND POSITIONS 1987-1989

1. INTRODUCTION TO THE IMMEDIATE CONTEXT

Conceptualizing patterns of movement in the case

The case can be conceptualized as a set of conversations with eighteen educators which take place against the background of an immediate context (late 1987). The conversations are interpreted during the following year (1988): Interpretation I yields five Positions and is contained within an explanatory document sent to the educators for review. At a point just prior to empirical closure the respondents reflect back on the document - Interpretation I, and on the impact of intervening events on their original 'positions' now seen against a context which has shifted. These reflections are interpreted and presented as postscripts to the original positions - Interpretation II. Figure 2 below illustrates movement in the case in the form of a diagram: The time frame is shown on the left of the diagram. (See overleaf)
1.1 The case located at the University of the Western Cape

The case is located in an institutional context of pressured and self-generated change. The pace of change is driven and accelerated by social and political forces acting on the institution from both outside and within.
The recent history of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) is shaped by a clear change of course. In 1982 a new university philosophy was spelt out after a stocktaking exercise which resulted in an enunciation of UWC objectives and commitments.(1) The University rejected the politico-ideological grounds on which it was established and interpreted future academic opportunities and challenges as arising from the 'co-existence of First and Third World lifestyles' in South African society. It committed itself to bridging and outreach programmes, the development of academic resources having 'a bearing on the Third World' and the use of the University's appointments policy to achieve its objectives.

In 1984 the University achieved legal autonomy which made it possible to take autonomous decisions in areas such as the raising of loans and appointments of staff, without having to refer such decisions for ministerial approval.(2)

From this point onwards the University projected a rapid change of its identity. Its metamorphosis from a 'bush college' - a mute and powerless creation of Government apartheid policy - to

(1) The UWC objectives were accepted by the Council of the University of the Western Cape on 22 October 1982. They appeared at that time in an undated University Publicity Sheet (Bellville: UWC printing department) and are restated in original form in recent UWC printed materials; see G.J. Gerwel, 1987 Vice-Chancellor Report (Bellville: UWC, 1987) Inside Cover.

(2) UWC accepted autonomy on 1 April 1982 when the Government agreed to certain guarantees asked for by the University; see UWC News, [newspaper of the University of the Western Cape], (Bellville, UWC, September 1983; March 1984).
an 'Intellectual Home of the Left' - a 'site of struggle against apartheid policy and all its structural and ideological manifestations, led to the creation of a powerful symbolic role which has been actively developed by the University. The interventionist vision not only drives the processes of transformation within the institution, but projects the institution itself as a force for transforming South African society.(3)

The case is 'invented' at a time when the University's institutional role was in the process of being publicly elaborated, principally by the newly installed Rector and Vice Chancellor, Professor Jakes Gerwel, but also by a growing public profile constructed by the South African media, drawing on public statements and reportage on campus events and controversies. Professor Gerwel's account of the University's role-in-the-making is both highly theoretical and is occasionally expressed in powerfully evocative and romantic language. It is used as a key interpretation of the institution's role.

For the purposes of the case study, the immediate institutional context is captured from 'close up', using documentary sources internal to the University. It is focused on the elaboration of

(3) See C.J. Gerwel, Inaugural Address UWC, 5 June, 1987,) p.4 where this idea is articulated as "we could as an educational institution either be oppositional to the historical movement of our society or be a facilitating agent for it...."
the University's philosophy in terms of a one interventionist vision of what UWC could become, and might represent to the 'outside world'. The vision manifests itself in a 'political project' which informs and sustains an 'academic project'. Both require protection through mobilising different communities.

The Political Project

The project is articulated in theoretical terms and is premised on two propositions: (i) that the 'Left' is one 'ideological complex' in South African society which is not privileged within the spectrum of South African universities. (4) (ii) that the 'Left' refers to people and institutions working for a shared goal of the fundamental transformation of South African society. The task is conceptualized as:

... a more fundamental transformation of the old settler-colonial dominated order which is the present South Africa. The major thrust is towards a non-racial and majoritarian democracy, reflecting itself not in the mere form of multi-racial political arrangements but more fundamentally in the social reorganization of power and privilege. Organizationally this finds political expression now in the extra-parliamentary democratic movements. (5)

The aim of the project is to constitute the University as an intellectual 'Home of the Left':

(5) G.J. Gerwel, Inaugural address, p.3.
This university is therefore historically placed, in fact faces the historical imperative, to respond to the democratic Left, to be an intellectual home for the Left. We are an open but predominantly Black university drawing our students from all the statutorily defined Black groupings. It is through our students and the community from which they come that we are presented with the ideological formation with which we interact...

There is therefore an internal imperative for this university to develop a critical alignment with the democratic movement as the dominant ideological orientation describing our operative context. The integration of academic and intellectual life with and the development of it out of the reality of people's social experience and world is essential both for the order of our functioning and, more importantly, for the vitality and quality of our intellectual environment. I remain convinced that without that perceived and experienced nexus with a real and shared-in social world, a university is emasculated and intellectually anaemic.(6)

1.3 The Academic Project

While the academic project is understood to be rooted in the political project, it is not overwhelmed by it. It maintains a certain independence through the University's stated commitment to free discourse and enquiry, educational renewal in the method and content of teaching practice, and emancipatory and reconstructive academic practices.

What I am then suggesting is that we could in fact be broadening the scope and horizons of Truth and of Science at the same time through our academic practice and scholarship empowering the suppressed social constituencies which we serve. What we are or can be involved in here is not a disregard for Truth and

(6) Ibid.
Science but rather a social reconstruction of science. (6)

1.4 The Defence of twin projects

These twin projects are precariously positioned and threatened by a politically turbulent society and a crisis ridden educational system - weakest at the exact point of need: the academic project begins its work with the stunted intellectual resources of system's products.

One institutional task is to create the conditions needed for the protection and survival of the interlinked projects. Central to this task is the mobilization of various communities as bases of support. They are:

1.4.1 The community of the University of the Western Cape:

This 'community' depends on the acceptance of this construct of its identity by diverse constituencies such as workers, students and academics. The mobilizing calls are expressed through the notions of 'belief in this university' and 'now is the time for this university to act as a community'. (7):

(7) This notion of community was powerfully stated in the first University Assembly [and in response to Government measures to cut university subsidies]; see Bulletin, [UWC Campus Bulletin], (Bellville, UWC, 21 October 1987 and 2 November 1987).
1.4.2 The community of parents:

In address to parents the Rector called on parents to support the university's task of opening up 'the unknown and hazardous trail to the future' by saying 'I would like to invite you, the parent community, to take our hand in yours and to walk with us into the night.' (8);

1.4.3 The service community:

The University's involvement with its service community was developed through research institutes, academic departments and community projects. More informally this was done by making University facilities available to community organizations, church groups, professional sports and culture bodies;

1.4.4 The community of South African universities:

This community is brought into being through joint action on issues of common concern, principally as affecting the four English Language universities;

1.4.5 International relationships:

A web of international relationships have been initiated with foreign institutions sharing the University's ideals. They provide academic and financial support.

1.5 Sources of pressure and support

Pressure:

The sources of pressure on the University were varied. The Government was one such source of pressure. It reacted in displeasure at the University's oppositional stance and issued threats of closure. (9) It also imposed stringent conditions for the granting of their State subsidy. (10) (These were later overturned in a joint court action brought by UWC and UCT). It is likely that such pressures will continue to be felt, given the state of declining national financial resources and the likelihood of protracted political contest.

Other sources of pressure were a result of inadequate material resources available to the University. These pressures were experienced in the area of student residential accommodation, University facilities and pressure of the physical space of lecture halls and classrooms. In addition, the majority of students have no financial resources to fall back on. The fact that the University experienced the fastest growth rate on the

(9) The threat issued from Mr Carter Ebrahim, Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives.

(10) Professor Jakes Gerwel saw these conditions as constituting the most serious and direct threat to the University's autonomy, requiring the University (through its executive officers) to police the University in order to ensure payment of the subsidy; see Helen Zille's article 'Bush Blooms Despite Transformation and Tension', in Cape of Good Hope, INVO News [Annual Magazine of the Cape of Good Hope Foundation] (Pasadena, USA, No.3, Spring 1988) pp.1-7.
continent contributed to this pressure. (11) Allied to this was the substantial change in the student profile, with the composition of the student body showing shifts in areas of home language, gender and ethnic groupings. (12) This had lead to a language problem requiring a dual language base. (Another dimension of the problem was that Xhosa became the predominant second language on campus, so that many students received instruction in what was for them a second language - English).

Lastly, pressures arose from the instability of the learning environment (prolonged boycott strategies and interrupted academic programmes) and ideological fractures in the student body. (13)


(12) The changing University milieu from 1973-1987 is described in Shirley Walters and Ikey van der Rheede, "People's Education in Process: A case study of the University of the Western Cape" (paper presented at the Association of Sociologists of South Africa Conference, June 1987) (Mimeographed).

(13) These mostly remain submerged, but occasionally erupt in clashes such as when a meeting of the Black Students Society (BSS) and the Azanian Students Movement (AZASH) was disrupted by members of the South African National Students Congress (SANSCO) and the Students Representative Council. (The contested issue was the banning of consciousness groups from campus by the SRC because they did not adhere to principles of nonracialism. Interventions were made by academic staff in an effort to defuse the situation. See Bulletin (Bellville, UWC, 3 June 1987).
Support:

The most visible sign of increasing material resources was to be seen in the building programme on campus. (14) The intellectual and academic resources of the University were in the process of being enhanced by important new staff appointments and the channelling of the considerable resources flowing from international supporters. An agreement of academic co-operation with the University of Missouri provided academic support and American corporations and foundations backed various developmental programmes with financial support. (15)

The University also draws different forms of support from the various 'community' groups described above (1(c)).

SUMMARY

The above description of the Institutional Context indicates the immediate historical background against which the set of conversations, referred to in the introduction, took place. These conversations were interpreted

(14) Buildings being erected during 1987 were student residences, an Arts and Social Science block, three lecture theatres and lecture/seminar rooms, a major science building, a major library building and extensions to the Administration building: Bulletin (Bellville, UWC, 21 September 1987).

(15) The Ford, Carnegie and Kellogg Foundations fund academic and research projects. The Open Society Scholarship Fund provides bursaries and the Cape of Good Hope Foundation in the USA sponsors student and staff exchanges; see G.J. Gerwel, 1987 Vice-Chancellor Report. (UWC, Bellville, 1987)
(Interpretation I) and this interpretation appears below in the form of five 'positions'.

2. **FIVE 'POSITIONS' CATEGORIES: INTERPRETATION I**

The rationales and the analytical processes of research which provisioned the positioning of Educator perspectives were described in 'Interviews with UWC educators', (1.4.2. above). In a pragmatic move the idea followed was that a perceived clustering of perspectives would constitute, at its core, a position: An explicit and appropriate place in which a set of viewpoints belong. The considerable simplifications entailed in a 'grouping' move is supported by a second presupposition; that viewpoints are also organically driven to form (cluster) in certain ways. In an intuitive research mode I was responding to signals which will be examined in Chapter Three. Here, the end result is five positions which reveal explicit allegiances to central concerns realized in terms of service: owned duties willingly discharged.

Each position is identified with a phrase which serves as a unifying idea drawing a cluster of perspectives together. So, for example, the cluster of perspectives in Position I are interpreted as representing a foremost service goal: 'servicing the professions'. This distinguishes them from those in Position II which represent the goal of 'servicing the Community'. Position III similarly is labelled in shorthand: 'servicing the University'. The clusters of perspectives constituting position IV are interpreted as representing
a primary academic 'goal': 'Academic Standards'. Position V is identified with the phrase 'Problematising accountability' on the basis of its representation of a key idea contained in a single perspective which is not reflected in other perspectives.

2.1 Position I: "Servicing the professions"

The key idea which draws constituent perspectives together to form this position is the necessity of maintaining the support of related professional bodies outside the University. This clearly makes an impact on teaching practices and attitudes inside the University.

Staff see themselves as accountable to multiple audiences, primarily through a dual accountability to the University and external Boards or Departments which monitor or govern the practice of professions. In effect staff act as accredited university agents for teaching students and initiating them into their chosen professions. The influence and credibility of faculties is understood to be measured by certification and performance according to professional standards determined both inside and outside of university structures. Staff also regard themselves as accountable to colleagues and student and community audiences.

The tasks for which the staff are prepared to render an account are:
- for giving due emphasis and importance to all aspects of teaching
- for efficient management of Faculty affairs
- for giving students 'tools' to evaluate courses
- for informal strategies of academic support necessitated by the University policy of 'open access'
- for the application of the philosophy of the University in the practices of teaching and faculty administration

Staff adhering to this position support stated University policy and its inherent political project. They see themselves as accountable to the Rector for the application of this philosophy in all faculty affairs. They conceive of the 'community' primarily as users of professional services, or at least as being indirectly affected by the quality of Faculty products.

It is felt that the effects of the national political crisis has been to place limits on the attempts of teachers to be professionally accountable to students. The crisis allows students to misinterpret the intentions of teachers. This necessitates a counter strategy of trust building and a substitution of informal processes of accountability in order to overcome student resistance to co-option into formal processes or representation on Faculty bodies.

The developing ethos of the University, 'the pull to the left', creates a context for new debates which put strain on existing
notions of producing professionals (what kind of professionals perform nationalized or privatized service?). It is felt that while the debate problematizes the formal curriculum in most cases this should not affect the quality of course content - "Whether you're a Marxist or a free marketeer, everyone needs managers". (16)

Staff believe that their experience on the campus both equips them, and confers the responsibility, to 'educate' external professional bodies about the likely impact of socio-political change on professional training. A precondition for this externally directed educational process is performance in terms of traditional criteria - "They'll only listen to us if we produce the goods". (17)

2.2 Position II: "Servicing the Community"

Intense political and humanistic commitment to the community projects the community as a focus point of accountability. While the community may be referred to in symbolic terms as 'the oppressed', 'the disenfranchised', 'black', adherents to this position also perceive it as a tangible reality in the form of neighbouring constituencies, chosen by the university to serve

(17) Ibid.
as a field for the practical training and academic apprenticeship of students. In some cases this applies to other communities further afield.

Adherents to this position would support many of the 'Position I' perspectives on teaching and professional training. Similarly, constituent viewpoints on personal accountability range across several audiences, 'to myself', 'colleagues', 'the students', 'the University', 'the community'. They regard themselves as accountable for developing the practical and academic expertise of students. Their task, however, is conceptualized in terms of very much broadened and extended notion of service - that of Solidarity with the Community.

Their perspectives are influenced by an apparent rethinking of value systems in certain disciplines and paradigm shifts framing these disciplines. (18) Accountability is thus understood as operating within specific conceptual frameworks.

(18) Interview data used for Position II draws on teacher perspectives in the disciplines of Social Work, Psychology and Theology. Paradigm shifts are referred to again in Chapter Three - A professional discourse: A.
which influence the way political actors (and professionals engaged in community work) think and act. (19)

These new frameworks have influenced the historical shift in the direction of accountability from white to black constituencies. The viewpoints of adherents have shifted as a result of intellectual 'conversion' and of personal re-identification. A leading role in these transformations is ascribed to organizations outside the U.W.C. campus.

"The idea is to walk alongside and if people are moving too slowly, just take a step ahead and they will follow maybe. If they do not, then you just walk behind them with a little push — maybe a little cajoling, a little support. Maybe a little bit of foolishness to give them the chance to criticize you — so you can criticize them again. [That is how] you can create an atmosphere of walking together, and that is 'accountability' the way we use it."

quote from an interview held with Respondent G, UWC, Bellville, 10 November 1987.

(20) Interview with Respondent G, UWC, Bellville, 10 November 1987.
of University policy by their participation in University think tanks ('dink skrum').

While notions of responsibility and answerability are implicit in the term 'accountability' other meanings are conferred on the term as used in the constituent viewpoints to this position. Notable in these viewpoints on accountability are the affective states which act as spurs to intellectual and political work.

Because of the inequities he sees [around him], feeling is the power behind a person. The reality is that we will sit with garbage and go through a lot of trauma time and time again, because we put it all into a framework [of a future political ideal] and your accountability lies within that framework.(21)

There was an emphasis on specific criteria for consultation and collaborative work in the community. Such criteria would make the exercise of professional service dependent on gaining the prior approval of people being supplied with expertise. The other criteria prescribes non-directive professional attitudes:

Accountability must never have something of the flavour of paternalism ... we are not deciding for others in the paternalistic sense, but we are wrestling with them, trying to get the answers ... It is not our realm to give answers to society, but to be initiators in a process of coming to an answer.(22)

(21) Ibid.

(22) Interview with Respondent H, UWC, Bellville, 8 December 1987.
It is believed that the disruption of students' fieldwork commitments in neighbouring communities by the Campus boycotts reflected badly on students and departments and laid them open to community censure. Staff feel that the students were placed in difficult positions by their practical commitments to the community. This was highlighted during academic boycotts when competing commitments to the community and the student body were a source of great tension in the students' allegiances to the University's political and educational projects.

The strongest tension to be found in this position arises from contrary pull of academic and political imperatives. On the one hand staff subscribe fully to disciplinary standards and the academic project of the University, ('keeping an open forum', 'having the full interplay of everyone's mind'), while of the other hand they also subscribed to the political project of transformation through action. "We must not weaken ourselves by just debating and not acting ... you must be directed to achieve something in society."(23)

The experience of damage wrought by boycott tactics and the subsequent demoralization of some students made it necessary to find ways to maintain the precarious balance between the University's political and academic project. The tension is captured by the following metaphor.

(23) Ibid.
You have a difficulty because you have to carry two things which cannot meet. It's like carrying water [in the one hand] and fire [in the other]. You have the danger of one extinguishing the other. But we accept it. That's part of our dilemma and part of our problem—how to find a way out of that ...(24)

2.3 Position III: "Servicing the University"

The focus that gives coherence to this position is the stated mission to actualize the transformation of the University through strategic and deliberative action. Consultative processes and the democratization of University structures and functions are central concerns.

This position is constructed from the largest cluster of perspectives in the case. They are characterized by the finely nuanced and subtly emphasized expressions of institutional accountability, each highlighting different aspects of personal accountability in the institutional context.

The position is constructed from two approaches towards the same goal. They are determined by the nature of office held in the University or by the dominant aspects of roles chosen by staff to actualize the 'new' university. Approaches are labelled according to their distinctive features: 2.3.1 the "informal sensitive" approach; 2.3.2: the "intra-professional" approach;

(24) Ibid.
2.3.1 The "informal sensitive" approach:

This approach is shaped by location - at the administrative interface - and directed by the need to maintain an equilibrium between forces which enhance or threaten the future of the university.

Personal accountability is seen both in terms of hierarchical position within the administrative chain of command and informally through open access and sensitivity to the interests of outside constituencies, in particular, those who share the vision of a 'future non-apartheid South Africa'. The re-negotiated identity of the University and its conscious 'critical alignment' with extra-parliamentary democratic movements has created a heightened awareness in administrative staff of effects and implications of various courses of university action on the 'black community'. Decision-making is guided by these considerations.

There is a clear understanding that U.W.C. operates in a context of crisis and that risk-taking is an inherent element of administrative decision-making:

Since 1984-5 we have realized that our whole existence is at stake ... make no bones about it, U.W.C. is under threat. It is within these circumstances that one defines one's own role ...
In the context of our alignment ..., the way we hope to develop in the future involves a big risk, we know that. Perhaps that [in itself] is a kind of accountability. If we were more accountable to the powers that be and the more privileged parts of South Africa it would have been of course much easier. But then we wouldn't have been U.W.C. ... - we would have been a bush college." (25)

Against the background of the over-arching political project, the academic project is strongly defended by adherents to this position. The less dramatic content of the academic project does not give it a highly visible profile but there is a clear expression of formal accountability for academic standards, course content, nature of research and 'outreach programmes'. At bottom, there is an accountability to the State for 'annual successes' linked to the financial subsidy.

The notion of equilibrium extends into the arena of student affairs:

What is important is that some form of equilibrium must exist between the demands of students and the requirements of the broader public. Students are beginning to realize that if the pace of transformative events is forced too quickly, it will not influence the thinking of the broader public [positively]. It will be counter-productive. (26)


(26) Interview with respondent M, UWC, Bellville, 18 November 1987.
The option of returning to the old accountability system where the student body was directly accountable to the Rector, is rejected as unviable.

In the old order of accountability when we had conflicting parties they were always trying to break the system ... and you don't get anywhere. (27)

Instead proponents of this position argue for the creation of informal compromise mechanisms (e.g. the 'Forum') where communication and negotiation are propelled by a political vision of democratic organization and a hard sense of pragmatism. The creation of such 'Forums' with 'grass-roots' representation is also seen as reversing 'top-down' accountability and foreshadowing patterns of accountability likely to take shape in a future 'post-apartheid' South Africa.

2.3.2 The "intra-professional approach" (28)

This position is characterized by the consistency with which its adherents conceptualize their accountabilities

(27) Interview with respondent M, UWC, Bellville, 18 November 1987.

(28) This descriptive term is borrowed from John Elliot who uses it where there is a tendency for teachers to cite peers and subordinates as significant audiences. It is grounded in 'open management' where teachers feel they have a collective responsibility for articulating and implementing policies. The rationale being that those affected by an organization's policies should be provided with opportunity for shaping them; see John Elliot et al. School Accountability (London, Grant McIntyre Limited, 1981), pp.5-6.
for a range of academic and administrative tasks in order to realize the University's transformative purposes.

The broad impulse is towards strengthening collective responsibility for the implementation of policies through democratized structures and consultative processes. There is a consistent expression of accountability to 'colleagues' or 'other staff', 'in a relationship of equals', and 'as members of the team'. Thus the 'intra-professional' label for transformation by teamwork.

The two poles to this position are determined by foremost commitments of staff to centres of authority which legitimate the criteria by which university practices are shaped. In (3.2.1.) the emphasis falls more on the rhetoric and purposes of the University. In (3.2.2) it falls more decisively on the rhetoric and purposes of the struggle'. The distinction is a fine one, given that 'University' rhetoric builds on that of 'the struggle'.

2.3.2.1 The university determines:

In a sense we are accountable to the rhetoric of the University - in other words the University's declared policy as rhetoric rather than reality. We've taken that seriously and worked with it.(29)

In the set of perspectives constituting this pole there are clear indications of the decisive impact made by the agents of the University's appointments policy. It was historically significant in changing the identity of the University from the 1970s onward and has current significance in the way it engenders transformatory responsibilities amongst those who read these kinds of tasks into their appointments. (30)

I think I would be personally accountable in that my appointment, as I understood it, was a major attempt to shift the faculty... Let's call it an accountability of expectations. (31)

There are both formal and informal aspects of intra-professional accountability. These are manifested in formal University bodies and academic committees, as well as informal processes arising from the attempts to contextualize and adapt 'traditional' academic teaching criteria. Staff also see themselves as individually or collectively responsible for 'changing the nature of the discourse at meetings'. New discourses also shape ideal teaching and research styles. The present struggle is to close the gap between ideal and reality in the context of limited University resources. In effect, effective

(30) The historical significance of the University's appointments policy emerged in anecdotal recollections made the past Rector, Dr. Richard van der Ross, in an interview, Belhar, Bellville, 18 November 1987.

institutional accountability depends on the development of an infrastructure strong enough to support the transformatory project.

Another distinctive feature of this approach has relevance here. This is the emphatic emphasis on the importance of a reciprocal notion of institutional accountability between the University Administration and academic staff holding office in various departments or centres:

(a) ... We're obviously under huge political pressure, but at the same time [we must] assert ourselves and make the University claim us as theirs - after all they decided we should live so that] they must then also defend us from outside pressures ...

(b) also believe the University has to be held accountable for the faculty ... we've become increasingly concerned about the inability we have to get resources from the University ... In a very real sense we are saying to the University -'You expect us to deliver, but you don't give us the tools' - That's the inverse if you like, of the accountability thing.(32)

Lastly, linkages in this approach hinge on the common concern to develop structures and channels through which various multiple internal and external accountabilities can be realized. In effect, a fine bureaucracy consonant with the 'democratic university ethos. This involves the review of institutional rules in terms of usefulness,

(32) (a) Interview with Respondent B, Newlands, Cape Town, 3 December 1987.
(b) Interview with Respondent F, UWC, 26 November 1987.
rationality and making institutional procedures easier for students - 'more user friendly'.

It is also argued that while a University in stages of transition must rely on ad hoc committees dealing with various monitoring and policy development tasks which bypass University structures and account directly to the Rector, they must eventually be encouraged to become part of University structures and so accountable to the Institution through permanent processes.

2.3.2.2 The progressive movement/struggle determines:

Pole .2 is differentiated from pole .1 by a tighter definition of purposes in terms of the values and norms of the progressive movement. While academic practice is shaped by the need to transform the University UWC is seen as accountable to an external constituency movement:

We are accountable to those people out there who are fighting the same cause as we are ... more broadly to the oppressed people. Whatever we do must be justified as furthering the struggle to liberate those oppressed people.(33)

The notion of shared purpose is decisive in determining who legitimately participates in the chain of giving, receiving, accounts, and being called to account.

(33) Interview with Respondent Q, UWC, Bellville, 9 November 1987.
2.4 Position IV: "Academic Standards"

This position is characterized by the uncompromising commitments of staff to the University's academic project and the precise terms and conditions by which the position's adherents either subscribe to, or reject its political project. Institutional accountability is understood to operate best in a clearly defined system in which parties internal to the University render and receive accounts. The principle of democratization of structures is accepted with the proviso that it works through elected representation and the proper exercise of delegated authority. Primacy is given to the notion of maintaining academic standards and the University's assertion of its full autonomy.

Notions of individually autonomous action underlie many of the meanings ascribed to the term accountability.

In the sense in which I use (it) it means being responsible to someone. Accountability also requires content, direction and self discipline. I feel I have a high degree of accountability measured in those terms... I set my own standards, I feel I am a committed academic ... and I believe I'm a natural teacher.(35)

The two poles to this position are identified by: 2.4.1 qualified agreement over ends; and, 2.4.2 disagreement over ends.

2.4.1. Qualified agreement over ends:

The University has to appear to be sensitive and take note of the community's needs and feelings in all respects ... But I'm not very keen to be accountable to amorphous groupings outside of the University with one foot inside. ... they shouldn't have authority. The University has to be autonomous and ultimately take responsibility for itself. No-one else is going to bail the University out if it were to do a bad job in teaching and research. We have to be accountable in the first place to ourselves, and very strongly so.(36)

The terms by which the University's political project is accepted are by maintaining the interdependence of the notion of liberation and that of academic standards:

They are intertwined. Our responsibility is to do what we are appointed for: to train students so they can fulfill [their chosen] roles in society. By being accountable to students, through them one is accountable to society. One doesn't have a choice between academic standards and liberation.(37)

2.4.2 Disagreement over ends:

I think the University is accountable to its students and their parents in the first place. ... We should be committed to providing a quality education. ... I am committed to my profession - to my professional standards, to my colleagues and I turn out students that carry my standards ... The University has become highly


(37) Interview with Respondent D, UWC, Bellville, 19 November 1987; wording of quote appears as amended in a second interview with same respondent, UWC, Bellville, 1 November 1988.
politicized and is committed right now to a non-racial democratic system in South Africa - whatever that means. Personally, I think that's a pie in the sky ...(38)

Adherents to this pole distance themselves from the prevailing political project either by their expressions of extreme discomfort or by their guarded avoidance of the topic.

2.5 Position V: "Problematising Accountability"

This position revolves around the notion that the accountability debate is in itself inherently problematic. While it is seen to revolve around the issue of 'trying to get universities to reconceive their role so that they see themselves as acting in the interests of the majority of people in this country',(39) the debate runs into a number of philosophical problems about operationalizing institutional accountability.

These problems arise both out of the looseness of the term allowing it 'to be taken up by people with various kinds of political agendas and used for their own purposes' and the complexity of the arguments about the judgement of long-term public interest.


(39) Ibid.
The view is taken that:

A University is a sphere of discourse different from all that commonsense thinking that goes on outside... I think a university is not a place which simply recycles and re-inforces 'commonsense' - rather a university is a location from which "common sense" can be unpacked, and, maybe, critiqued. You limit the possibility of universities occupying that role if you start pushing certain notions of accountability. ... A University needs to have the intellectual and logical space in order to reflect critically on the things that are going on. (40)

The idea that it is possible to arrive at a set of general principles which determine how institutions should be accountable is rejected. The option is to 'ride it as it comes along'.

3. THE INTERMEDIATE CONTEXT

Introduction: Towards Empirical Closure

The above interpretation of five positions was rooted in a background described as 'The immediate context of the case'. This 'immediate' context was both developed and shifted by a series of intervening events, outlined below. Thus the 'arena' of UWC history within which (it is suggested) five particular positions on institutional accountability were found to exist (within perspectives presented by seventeen educators holding university office), was essentially dynamic. The ongoing

relationship of the researcher to this 'arena' can be presented through a metaphor which translates the roles of 'Respondents/interviewees' back to 'institutional actors' and 'researcher/interviewer' back to 'interested agent'.

An interested agent enters the UWC arena through conversations with institutional actors. She partially withdraws to do homework but keeps in touch via in-house bulletins. She has discerned five positions about how accountability is understood in the arena, informs the actors by presenting the positions in a working document and invites them to consider whether the assumed identification of actor with position is acceptable. She also asks whether recent events, from a campus crisis through to a University conference, might have shifted their thinking (see Appendix E). Their replies confirm and validate the allocated positions. New perspectives are interpreted to add postscripts to the positions. These loose interpretations are essentially updated reportage. The postscripts are not sent for review to the actors.(41)

The postscripts will follow a description of 'recent events' under the heading Intervening Events, below.

3.1 INTERVENING EVENTS

The intervening events which shift the context of the case through an intermediate phase all occurred within manifest

(41) The completed dissertation will be made available to Respondents/actors during October 1989.
processes. They had a public face. Sometimes their reverberations were captured in a low key, and reflected in campus newsletters and bulletins. They were also incorporated into discourses used across the camps, in reports and debates. At other times the events reverberate more strongly and they become a focus of discourses which had wider currency. Key events were seized upon by the public media and used to stimulate, inform and shape public opinion. Some events became fodder for searing political contest both inside and outside the institutional domain. Descriptive accounts of key intervening events follow below.

3.2.1 The campus crisis

A five month crisis in the Law Faculty built up to an impasse between law students and staff and provoked an academic boycott during the first term of 1988. While the boycott built on a long tradition of strategic boycotting on campus, (there had been three boycotts the previous year), it was regarded by some staff as the most serious crisis faced by the university in the 1980s.(42) It arose through a demand, made to the Dean of the Law Faculty on behalf of the Administrative Law (105) class, that the class lecturer be replaced with a "suitable" lecturer who would conduct classes "to the benefit of the students". A

(42) T. Anf der Heyde, "Why bother? The imperative for action" [Review article], UWCade News, September 1988, pp.7-8
report by the chairperson of the University of the Western Cape Association of Democratic Educators (UWCADE) details the event as follows:

This demand was perceived as absolute and non-negotiable. On the basis of the evidence presented, the Faculty staff unanimously decided that there were not sufficient grounds for replacing the lecturer involved. The question this raises is whether staff viewed this as a principled position or whether they would have replaced the lecturer if evidence was convincing. The grievances, faculty staff argued, related to broader more complex academic issues.

The students' insistence of [sic] the firm demand and the threat of an apparent boycott of class were perceived by the faculty of law as intransigence and a demonstration of student power.

Students on the other hand argued that a unanimous decision by the class that they could not understand the lecturer was convincing grounds for replacement. They interpreted the position of the faculty as an indication of gross insensitivity.(43)

The ensuing boycott of classes and related violence and assaults on campus evoked a heated debate throughout the university. The rector entered the debate by making a strongly worded statement around the argument that the consolidation and advance of the 'educational struggle' was not dependent on boycott strategies 'under any and all circumstances'(44) and that they posed a serious threat,


both to the institution and the processes of 'liberatory education' within it. The debate was carried forward through university structures and publications.(45)

One outcome of the crisis was the University Council's appointment of a committee of inquiry into the 'dispute' in the Faculty of Law. The terms of reference were broad and pointed to a wish to identify the structural factors underlying the crisis which had a bearing on issues such as the University's admissions policy, the language question

(45) A document "Which way forward for UWC?" dealing with several issues related to the use of boycotts was compiled by seven academics and used as a basis for formal and informal discussions; Bulletin, 18 April 1988.
and the question of authority over teaching and learning. (46)

A second outcome was that 'progressive' staff identified 'central' issues of the crisis and used them in order to make educational readings of crisis which featured in the internal campus debates on processes of institutional transformation. (47) University newsletters of this period provide much evidence of the increasingly important role played by staff in carrying such debates forward. The debates often reached beyond institutional boundaries and

(45) The members of the committee were: civil rights advocate, Ismail Mohammed SC (head the committee) former general secretary of the SACC, Dr. Beyers Naude and Professor in Literature at Roma University, Lesotho, Prof. N. S. Mabele, ...

The terms of reference of the committee were:

- To enquire into, consider, and report on the full facts relating to and the cause of the dispute which arose in the Faculty of Law and the events which ensued.

- To recommend on the appropriate response of the University to what has transpired.

- To identify and comment on the range of underlying structural factors which may be regarded as contributory and related to such situations; for example, the University's admission policy, the language question, mechanisms of conflict resolution, the question of authority over teaching and learning etc.

- To identify and comment on any other issues relevant to the matter.

The illness of Dr. Beyers Naude interrupted the deliberations of the committee and the report is outstanding.

(47) Editorial commentary in "UWCADE NEWS" presented the central issues of the crisis as 'the problem of negotiation and conflict resolution; the question of discipline [sic]; and questions relating to teaching and accountability.'; UWCADE NEWS, September 1988.
were reflected in journals such as 'Die Suid-Afrikaan' where the interpretation was made that 'progressive' staff had gradually seized the initiative from students on campus. (48)

3.1.2 Debate about universities

The process of institutional transformation on campus continued to be sustained by a range of intellectual debates in different forms. The Centre for Research in Africa (CRA), an association based at UWC, held a series of seminars titled "The political tasks of academic work today". The first debate of the series, between the Rector, Prof. Jakes Gerwel and Dr. Neville Alexander, again reverberated beyond the campus and introduced new arguments about the meaning of "The intellectual home of the left", both as applied to UWC, and universities within the larger political context in South Africa.

The Rector's position was an elaboration of the arguments in his inaugural address, (2.1 above). In relation, in particular, to the dilemma of 'societal status quo' and 'non-sectarianism':

Destabilizing of social institutions hampers the effective functioning of a social order and can be seen to be an agent of transformation. The dilemma faced by especially black academics is

distance from the real arena of class struggle is essential. In other words, there is an assumption of a relatively static situation in which various intellectual homelands vie with one another for pre-eminence and predominance.

Without going into detail, I believe that for the realization of a pedagogy of liberation, we need to accept the following assumptions:

All universities as at present constituted are intended and financed by the state to reinforce the status quo.

On this side of liberation, they cannot in fact become qua institutions instruments of liberation, however much individuals or even departments and institutes within the university can for shorter or longer periods approximate such a role.

Therefore, we have to adopt the approach that there are both possibilities and limits to what can be done in promoting an anti-Establishment, anti-capitalist project, at any university in South Africa.

... a new concept of the university must needs to be realized if we are to break out of the suffocating embrace of the intellectual political, social and cultural barbed wire which surrounds all universities in South Africa today ...

... it is our main purpose to sharpen rather than to reconcile contradictions. How to do this without getting the university closed down by the reactionary custodians of state power ought to be one of the main questions that should preoccupy students, lecturers and those in the administration who are genuinely committed to the new society we are all trying to discern in the distance.(50)

(50) Ibid. Alexander.
3.1.3 **New sources of pressure:**

**Pressure from the media:**

Some events on campus had been the focus of extensive coverage in the South African news media from 1984 onwards. The focus sharpened considerably after January 1987 when the Vice-Chancellor designate Prof. Jakes Gerwel, was interviewed on a number of occasions.(51) One newspaper, Die Burger, published critical commentary on new events as they occurred. Subsequently a pattern of critiques and accusations appeared on the paper's pages, reaching a peak during mid-1988. The Rector and a small group of student activists were critically implicated in what was seen to be a deteriorating and dangerous situation.(52) On the University campus, Die Burger's 'campaign' (now reverberating through the national media) was construed as a 'Conspiracy against UWC' and 'a blatant attempt to isolate the University politically'.(53) The University instituted formal proceedings in the Media Council and requested that the adjudication be by public.(54)


(52) Chris Louw, Die Suid Afrikaan 21.

(53) UWC, Bulletin, 1 August 1988.

Subsidy pressures:
The cutback in state spending on education applies evenly to all universities. However, the SAPSE formula which regulates the extent of the cutbacks was amended by a government decision linking state subsidies to student pass rates, rather than to student growth rates. This decision had serious implications for the UWC and resulted in the allocation of only 50% of the subsidy it might have received in past years. This meant that the University had to carry out its task of working with students (who through a legacy of social deprivation had entered university with inadequately prepared intellectual resources) and with an added burden of highly strained financial resources. Perceptions of discrimination against UWC are rooted in the fact that the cut back for UWC works out as being nearly 30% higher than for most other affected universities.(55)

3.1.4 New sources of support:
As a counterweight to these pressures the University drew on three forms of symbolic and practical support. In each case the University instigated the processes which yielded support.

A new Chancellor:
The installation of the Archbishop of Cape Town, Desmond Tutu, as Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape

was perceived as 'a tribute to those committed to the struggle for a new South Africa'.(56) In his address Archbishop Tutu gave expression to powerful sentiments of shared commitment, solidarity and praise of the University - "The University of the Western Cape is a first fruit, a promise of what a new South Africa could be like." Tutu provided symbolic capital of high purpose and moral conscience.

Practical planning:
A working document 'UWC 2001', the product of a University sponsored investigation into strategic planning of the University's future, was launched at the Second General University Assembly (August 1988) where the process of debating its proposals began. Critique of the document was seen as a positive exercise and requiring a collective effort to mark the hard choices necessitated by circumstances.

To plan is to refuse to be a victim of history ...

We are like sailors who have to rebuild our ship on high seas - we cannot build it from base in dry dock. We are in the midst of a journey and we need to keep afloat.(57)

Community bonding: The information campaign
An 'information campaign' extending well beyond the physical boundaries of the University, and as far afield as Johannesburg, allowed the Rector and his representatives to


present the University's case to its 'service community'. (58) The stated objective was to 'explain the University's commitment to a non-racial and democratic South African society' and the way that that commitment informed University practice in the fields of teaching and research. The meetings generated oppositional harassment as well as expressions of solidarity and were perceived as giving content to the concept of a University's accountability to the community.

I thought I'll never see the day when a university will go directly to the community to account for its actions. (59)

University conference on transformation:

A UWC conference 'Building a People's University: The Challenges of Transformation' was held over the weekend of 23 September 1988. Its purpose was to create space for 'rigorous debate' amongst academics, students, administrative staff and workers 'so as to allow us to understand what is possible and what is not, and what are the structural limits to changing UWC'. The programme was structured to maximise participation and worked by way of discussion, commissions and workshops. It generated

(58) The 'service community' here refers to parents and other people in the local communities; information meetings were held in Bellville South, Uppington, Saldanha, Worcester, Oudtshoorn, Port Elizabeth, Paarl, Vredendal, Kimberley and Johannesburg.

questions amongst the audience such as: 'Why were there so few academics?' 'Where were the coloured students?', and others asking whether it was possible to resolve the contradictions within the University.\(^{(60)}\) Most of the student participants in the conference were associated with the South African National Students Congress (SANSCO). The conference showed that academics were able to engage small groups of students and other staff in patient and serious debate.\(^{(61)}\)

The University conference described above was the last event contained within the boundaries set around the case, and this point of empirical closure was formally conveyed to the actors/Respondents in the case (Appendix E). The fact that events continue to shape the historical arena of the case underlines the foundational assumption of this dissertation. Any case located at UWC (or anywhere else) is by nature indeterminate. The postscripts to the Positions above are set out below.

3.1.2 Postscript to Position I "Servicing the Professions"

The events on campus during 1988 affected the viewpoints of adherents to this position in different ways. The

\(^{(60)}\) The questions were reported in an overview of the conference by a Conference Organiser: Bulletin 18 October 1988.

\(^{(61)}\) Participant observation data.
The strongest divergence of opinion occurred between two respondents whose viewpoints on institutional accountability otherwise fall easily into this position. The first respondent stated that there had been no changes to his viewpoints and that the campus 'crisis' supported his ideas. The second respondent commented as follows:

Events of the last year have turned my thinking somewhat. The disruption of our academic programme and the political pressures on us have engendered a feeling of revolt amongst me and my staff. We came to the University to teach - to make a contribution to our profession and a community who had been disadvantaged. We are now subjected to enormous pressures and tensions which I resent. (62)

3.2.2 Postscript to Position II "Servicing the Community"

For adherents to this position the primary goal of servicing the community was strengthened by developments on campus during 1988. The consolidation of this viewpoint was felt to be consistent with a recognition of allied responsibilities drawing them closer in two other positions, III: 'servicing the university' and I; 'servicing the professions'. In the first instance the reality of employment ("the fact is I'm paid by the university to do my work") engendered a strongly felt responsibility to the university. In the second instance,

the practice oriented nature of a disciplinary framework engendered a responsibility to external professional bodies. This responsibility was exercised through active organizational involvements off campus, spurred by the argument that practitioners should respond to changing community needs by reconceptualizing the role of professionals.

Although my profession is practice-oriented I don't separate my political position from practice. I don't hold that there are neutral professions. We need more appropriate role models which dispute the neutrality of the professional.

3.2.3 Postscript to Position III "Servicing the University"

The essential commitments of adherents to this position were both strengthened and deepened by events on campus during 1988. There was a greater elaboration of the responsibilities and problems inherent in transforming the university but with different understandings of what was entailed in those processes of transformation. All adherents stressed the importance of democratizing university structures:

What's happened in the last year has confirmed my ideas of getting a responsible democracy instituted at the University. (63)

But it was suggested that there was ongoing debate and deliberation about the nature of proposed new structures and their wider implications.

On the issue of elected Heads of Departments deliberations were seen to turn on different notions of administrative and academic leadership. One associated with connotations of hierarchical power and the other with intellectual persuasion.

In relation to student participation in their structures, two developments were noted:

- One reflecting a recent change in student attitudes to participation suggesting that their interpretations of participation as 'co-option' entailing a compromise of militancy had changed to that of seeing it as an educative and empowering process. This has led to a new willingness not only to participate in, but also to create new structures.

- The second development reflects a changed understanding of student accountability - away from the 'authoritarian' mode whereby student bodies accounted directly to the rector towards a 'democratic' mode whereby students expected to account to "more people than the rector".
The view was taken that the reduction of conflict between students and administration was due to perceptions that both expressed accountability 'to the people'.

On the issue of community participation of university structures, close structural linkages between the university and the community were proposed.

My views have strengthened since 1987. New university structures must include community representation so that the interests of the people can be represented at UWC. The University must not be separate from the community.(64)

The relationship of the political and academic projects of the University was elaborated.

- It was proposed that while much progress had been made in consolidating political gains, the challenge of transforming the intellectual life of the University had become the current focus of attention — particularly in the fields of teaching practice and the development of a research culture.

- It was felt that different interpretations of what it means to be politically committed academics either broadened or narrowed understandings of the

(64) Telephonic interview with Respondent Q, November 1987.
University's goal of academic excellence. Academics were identified as 'progressive' on different criteria—in either terms of their political involvements in community structures or in terms of their use of intellectual skills to transform and empower.

Maybe we should remember that while we have a role in political battles, our major contribution may be the intellectual one of fighting ideological battles on campus.(65)

A feature of campus life in 1988 was that more space had been opened up for such debates by a greater willingness to risk divergent opinions.

3.2.4 Postscript to Position IV "Academic Standards"

Reflections on the impact of the year's events centred on two considerations: one educational, the other strategic.

(i) There was a strong reassertion of the importance of giving the best education possible and a belief that the notion of education/Academic Standards was a tool for change. As such staff saw their accountability in terms not only of maintaining academic standards but to a vision of liberation—the two goals being seen as so intertwined that they were not separable.

(65) Interview with Respondent E, July 1989.
(ii) It was proposed that the process of democratization
was being obstructed by inappropriate strategies and
protest methods during recent months of campus crisis.

Most problems on campus relate to method
rather than ideal... I do not see that
threats, violence, boycotts or persuasion of
students by illegal means, are the best
method for achieving student participation
in University affairs.(66)

There had been a broadening of the constituency
articulating this critique in that 'the left' on campus
have for the first time 'spoken up' against methods used to
support boycotts.

While the University Administration's handling of the Law
Faculty crisis is supported; this crisis was seen in a
broader context:

I'm glad, it seems that the focus of
accountability is turning inwards, internal
to the University, and away from outside
agencies. The Commission appointed to
examine the Law Faculty dispute is a sign of
that. Moreover, its terms of reference show
that the problem in the Law Faculty is a
manifestation of wider problems in the
University.(67)(68)


(67) Terms of reference on the Commission of Enquiry into the dispute that
arose in the Faculty of Law are set out in footnote (46).

(68) Interview with Respondent J, UWC, Bellville, 2 December 1987.
3.2.5 Postscript to Position V "Problematizing Accountability"

The argument in this position was updated by a theoretical reflection which sees the accountability debate in South Africa taking place in terms of a dominant model (I) through which the organization of society is conceptualized. It was proposed that accountability needs to be understood in terms of the second model. (II) (See diagrams of both below.

In terms of the dominant model authority is centralized, and the direction of accountability is either to 'higher authorities' or to 'the people'.

A second model outlines various centres of authority in society with much more complicated lines and directions of accountability.

3.2.5.1

Model I places the university within a single hierarchical system, a consolidation of power and a clear choice of the direction of accountability either to 'higher authorities' or 'the people'.

```
Model I

Higher Authorities

University

The people

(Model I)
```
Model II places the university in a multiple system where there are several interrelated forms of accountability.

![Diagram showing interrelated forms of accountability: Legislative, Judiciary, Universities, Medical Profession, etc.]

The view taken was that most of the accountability debate in South Africa takes place in terms of Model I and that 'The Struggle' consists of moving (accountability) from the higher authorities to the people.

COSATU or the ANC are seen as representing both (i) the future 'higher authorities' and (ii) 'the people' - which allows one to avoid the either-or [choice]. NB. The dominant model is not questioned. (69)

The argument concludes that in a situation where accountability is seen in terms of Model I, universities cannot do the work they are supposed to do - as

(69) Written comment in response to a question enquiring about the impact of recent events on respondents' earlier views; See Appendix A for the full question.
universities. For instance, to offer a sustained critique of society.

I would now argue that accountability needs to be understood in terms of Model II. (But the elaboration, and defence of Model II involves the defence of a whole political philosophy.)(70)

4. CONCLUSION: ASSESSING POSITIONS AGAINST THE SHIFTS OF CONTEXT

The above position and postscripts together emerged through the clustering of perspectives contained within the interview data. An examination of the documentary data supporting the description of intervening events above, reveals the limitations imposed by the particular set of interviews conducted in the stakeholder context. A reading of 3.312, 'a debate about universities', reveals a missing position which might have been identified as "Servicing the nation's working class". Its key terms might have revolved around concepts of liberatory education as a tool in the service of worker emancipation. As a precondition for worker emancipation the imperatives of sharpening contradictions in the institutional context would have been placed above those of transforming this context. No doubt there are other 'missing' positions at the perimeter of the case.

However, one works with what is available, and in the context of the case the Positions were constituted by several discourses. The principal discourses will be examined in Chapter Three.

(70) Ibid.
CHAPTER THREE

A FIELD OF DISCOURSE THROUGH THE CASE

FIVE DISCOURSES IN THE WESTERN CAPE 1986-1989

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CHAPTER THREE

A FIELD OF DISCOURSE THROUGH THE CASE

FIVE DISCOURSES IN THE WESTERN CAPE 1986-1987

A self does not amount to much, but no self is an island: each exists in a fabric of relations that is now more complex and mobile than ever before... one is always located at a post through which various kinds of messages pass. No one, not even the least privileged among us, is ever entirely powerless over the messages that traverse and position him at the post of sender, addressee, or referent...

... there is no need to resort to some fiction of social origins to establish that language games are the minimum relation required for society to exist: even before he is born, if only by virtue of the name he is given, the human child is already positioned as the referent in the story recounted by those around him, in relation to which he will inevitably chart his course. Or more simply still, the question of the social bond, insofar as it is a question, is itself a language game, the game of inquiry. It immediately positions the person who asks, as well as the addressee and the referent asked about: it is already the social bond.(1)

1. INTRODUCTION

The case, positions and postscripts described in previous chapters are located within a field of discourse diagrammatically represented on page 99. In this chapter I shall identify five of these discourses: A professional discourse (A), an academic discourse (B), a redemptive community discourse (C), a developmental process discourse (D) and a behaviourist discourse in radical guise (E).

The discourses are named so as to suggest the character in which they appear in the case. This may appear provocative but I argue that it is necessary to conceptualize the discourses in ways other than the bland naming of A, B, C, D and E. The phenomenon of 'institutional accountability' is now re-presented in a new context of discourse. The move from studying this phenomenon in the static context of five positions to the active and dynamic context of discourses involves a major shift in the dissertation. The impelling motion of the discourses needs to be seen against the conceptual background of a new field. Both the new background will be described below.

I will link the first four discourse with, what I argue to be, their immediate ancestral roots in a few other South African discourses. The dynamic quality of these discourses will be emphasized showing their power to dislodge some positions and to penetrate other discourses. The implications of this discursive activity will be dealt with briefly (and speculatively) in the concluding summary of the four discourses A–D. The cautionary qualifications of 'few' are stated at the outset so as to acknowledge that in a study of this scale it is impossible to do justice to the complexity and variety of either the ancestral discourses or their progeny. The aim of what will be a relatively swift entry into this field of discourse is to examine more carefully two versions of 'South African' discourses, C and D, which also have wide currency in other educational institutions. In closing I will introduce as a signal a fifth discourse, discourse E, or a 'Behaviourist discourse in Radical Guise'. I do not examine the discourse itself, believing it to be a
'rogue discourse of positivist lineage, but point to its existence so as to argue that UWC transmits signals to discursive 'selves' who receive them as if from a malleable entity. This provides the conceptual link with Chapter Four.

The use of texts by Lyotard as an intellectual resource, through the introductory quotation above and another below, provides both a helpful entry point and focus to the second half of this dissertation. It also signals the tension within the whole dissertation which essentially takes its bearing from two oppositional intellectual traditions without first pausing to resolve the tension between them. The dissertation proceeds 'play' itself out in an intellectual domain which rests in between the one in which my 'critical impulse' takes root (see Chapter One, 3.1) and another which provides the tools for the textual analyses below. Thus, the study proceeds in between the pull of the emancipatory critical theorists such as Habermas and a second pull of the textual postmodern theorists such as Lyotard. My 'position' would be to hold that the resolution of the theoretical tension is a study-in-progress on many fronts elsewhere, and that I do not have the resources to resolve it for myself here. In the meanwhile the following analyses will proceed with tools which have convincing appeal. The tensions and contradictions remain and are lived with, in order that they may be worked through, however superficially. The alternative, in this dissertation, is permanent paralysis.
'Posts' of reference in the field of South African discourse and culture are provided by Bertelson, Driver, Morphet, Thornton and van den Berg. (2) The posts are also papers which have helped me to come to new understandings of the discursive context in South Africa. My own conceptual framework has been influenced by insights gained from the work of Bertelson, Morphet and Thornton. I have integrated 'borrowings' from all authors above into the following understandings: I use the term discourse in a general sense to suggest a form of language based on messages (or strongly linked sets of messages) which cohere around issues, topics or themes. I assume the knowledge of the reader about theories of discourses and the particular ways in which they call, relate to persons, drive them and work through them. The particular tension here lies in the arguments which organize discourse around codes of difference and/or exchange or use value. So that in the field of discourse meaning and signification is either contested through ongoing conflict (around words or meanings), or negotiated through the idea of pragmatic relationships in language or between 'selves'. (Lyotard) I would argue that meaning is both negotiated and contested within the case.

Sometimes 'negotiation' is more explicit than 'contest'. This proposition will be developed in identifying particular instances in the positions.

2. CONTEXTS

The wider discursive context

I set out my own assumptions about the nature and activity of discourse that are germane to this chapter. They are considerations set out in no particular order, to provide a context for the discussion: Discourses are already a product of interpretation: one is not sealed off from the others - they may penetrate each other, or overlap; they present themselves through bearers, authors or interpreters. As in the analyses below, they are spotted as they appear through an immediate interpreter (discourse D and E) or traced back to key interpreters (discourse C). They are also transmitted by organizations, institutions, projects and gain or lose power and authority through identification with these bearers and as a result of judgements of greater or lesser legitimacy adhering to them (UCT, UWC etc.). Discourses are sometimes presented in 'pure', distorted, corrupted forms. (I present Discourse D as distorted by process criteria). Discourses shape practices and definitions. (I argue that educational practices, or definitions of accountability, are shaped by the discourses that frame them). This 'shaping' also happens because discourses provide conditions that frame practices - a cultural context. The particular power of discourses is that they 'point' towards certain kinds social reality and legitimate (or
delegitimate) forms of social or intellectual life (marriage, androgeny, patriarchy, forms of teaching and research). In doing so, they qualify or disqualify through objectifying, humanizing, rationalizing, demonizing, (and so on,) various arguments, activities, theories and identities. In doing all this work they become manifest, as I shall show in the text of the positions, and in other selected texts used in this chapter. Prior to explicit manifestation, however, they are deeply inscribed in the thinking and activities of people, as they either agree to shaping and identification, or refuse, or remain ambivalent. I shall draw parallels, through the texts of this chapter, in stances of ambivalence, identification and dis-identification in relation to discourses which run through the positions and the case. I use the discursive term 'self' instead of person.

What is more difficult to do is to show that while 'selves' may display resistance to a discourse in activity they may at the same time identify with it in private thinking. This masked double-talk, or ambivalence, is not explicitly presented in the data sources of this dissertation, and so I am unable to justify the proposition in argument. However, I believe it has great explanatory power in making sense of some contradictions and dilemmas of educational practice in the case, and more widely. I shall thus introduce the proposition, elaborated by Driver in the quote below, as a subtext to this chapter. (I quote at length so as not to truncate the argument or illustration).
As we know ... the dominant ideology itself promotes resistance as its contradictions widen and certain identities which have been imposed through racist language are refused. Specifically, what has been refused is the apartheid state's statement that black South Africans are not South Africans, and are not to be accorded the standard rights of citizens. To shift from black resistance to female resistance, what is interesting about the process of gendered resistance in this country is that in terms of activity there is an enormous amount of resistance to gender stereotypes and gender-specific roles: one thinks of the part women have played in pass campaigns, for instance, or of the women at Crossroads, or of the participation of women in trade unions. Yet, in terms of their language and perhaps even in terms of their private thinking, women in general have found it difficult to dis-identify themselves fully or even at all from the way patriarchy inscribes them as dutiful daughters and as mothers. Mary Ntseke, organizer for the General and Allied Workers' Union, says that within the trade union she has no difficulties as a woman, although she admits that she sees younger and less experienced women in difficulty in a male-dominated institution. Whatever her sense of an autonomous identity in the trade union, however, she says that "at home I must be a woman according to African custom. I must be under my husband's control all the time. He is the person to make suggestions ... because I've grown up under that system I accept it; not that he really oppresses me all the time ... I do believe that there should be equality in personal relationships - but I also accept the more traditional way!"

Over and over again one comes across an ambivalent position such as this one, where a woman exists on the edge of being something other than a woman in the service of men, something other than dependent on their sense of security as heads of the household.(3)

The manner in which this quotation serves as a subtext is in the possibilities that it provides for imagining how teachers (or other professionals) might in their thinking resist the narrow confinements of positivism but how in their activities, or practices, they might

use strategies or techniques developed within positivistic frameworks: So that their practices could well be at odds with their attitudes, thinking or theories.

Figure 3

The discourse field in an institutional context

Two points need to be made before examining the discourses working in the case - the second at greater length than the first.
Firstly, in Chapter Two, five positions were fixed by the researcher using a "rationalizing" discourse (see data analysis, 4.2 above). The positions were presented as static categories. In an attempt to assess the impact of intervening events on constituent perspectives the historical context was developed and postscripts were added to the positions. By reading position and postscript together it is possible to discern shifts and changes in the positions. In a discursive context the 'shifting' positions become dynamic - they are no longer static stances. In relating positions to discourses the word 'position' also begins to work as a verb and it becomes possible to say that discourses position people, sometimes placing them in more appropriate positions. The social bond, the language game (Lyotard) positions the researcher as well as the researched. In doing so old positions are weakened and new ones are strengthened. It is in both these senses that I will trace the workings of discourses between positions.

Secondly, the way discourses work in institutions is different to the way they work more generally. Discourses are constrained by institutional rules which allow certain notions to be privileged above others. (This point is of considerable significance when it comes to the detailed examination of discourses C and D below). There is negotiation and contest around the privileging of certain notions ('developed' knowledge or 'experiential' knowledge?) This results in some notions being privileged and others disqualified. This process is akin to the shifting of boundaries (or limits) within positions or institutions.
In order to convey more clearly the argument stated above I shall take some liberties with a text originally wholly authored by Lyotard. In it he makes the above points succinctly and eloquently. So as to make the text more relevant to this discussion I edit out of the text illustrations and examples provided by Lyotard. In their place I insert what I suggest are apt interpretations of statements and questions 'allowed' by the implicit institutional rules which place limits on discourses within UWC. In the text below the interpreted and inserted statements are enclosed within square brackets:

In the ordinary use of discourse - for example, in a discussion between two friends - the interlocutors use any available ammunition, changing games from one utterance to the next: questions, requests, assertions, and narratives are launched pell-mell into battle. The war is not without rules, but the rules allow and encourage the greatest possible flexibility of utterance.

From this point of view an institution differs from a conversation in that it always requires supplementary constraints for statements to be declared admissible within its bounds. The constraints function to filter discursive potentials, interrupting possible connections in the communicative networks; there are things that should not be said. They also privilege certain classes of statements (sometimes only one) whose predominance characterizes the discourse of the particular institution: there are things that should be said, and there are ways of saying them. Thus:

['Disciplines are open to development in exciting ways in UWC - as the intellectual home of the left we are in a unique position to do this."

We know today that the limits the institution imposes on potential language "moves" are never established once and for all (even if they have been formally defined). Rather, the limits are themselves the stakes and provisional results of language strategies, within the institution and without. Examples:

['Can UWC be accountable to those who have custody of The Struggle?"
'Can UWC reverse the subordinate and uninfluential role of black intellectuals in shaping the intellectual life of South Africa?';

... yes, if the limits of the old institution are displaced. Reciprocally, it can be said that boundaries only stabilize when they cease to be stakes in the game.

[my emphasis throughout](4)

3. DISCOURSES IN THE CASE

Each discourse will be identified in turn beginning with the more 'obvious' ones, the professional and academic discourses A and B. Each signals itself within the positions and the terms through which they emerge will be referred to. Some of the hidden complexities of these discourses will be briefly examined by drawing on the work of interpreters outside of the case who have identified similar or 'ancestral' discourses which have emerged in other institutions. Where UWC discourses present a lineage as drawn from more extensive family trees and therefore have more distinctive identities, this will also be explained. Finally, it is necessary to disengage from the residual meanings that may be carried over from the academic project, Political Project, as used in the Positions. The academic project had to do with a large institutionalizing university undertaking in which both classical and vocational academic studies were integrated. Similarly, the political project was an institutionalized UWC undertaking in which the social and political

purposes of the university were both integrated and propagated. Each project was sustained and developed by several discourses; using at least discourses A-D below, probably more. Thus the academic discourse to be examined below is only one of the constituting discourses of the Academic Project. The baseline of the academic discourse presented as an educational discourse in the case is that there is no splitting of the discourse into educational and political sub-discourses (or component parts). I assume the point does not have to be argued any further. Most educators at South African universities do not have to be convinced that the educational is political. And at UWC few need to be convinced that the political is educational.

3.1 A Professional Discourse

A professional discourse is easily discerned as it works through Position I in service of its explicit goal "Servicing the professions" in order to maintain the support of 'professional' bodies and Departments external to the University. The key indicators of the discourse are 'certification' and 'performance according to professional standards'. The performance, however, is in terms of 'traditional criteria' - "They'll only listen to us if we produce the goods." It is a discourse in a double bind. Forced to 'produce the goods' and so reluctantly supporting both the status quo of professionals in South Africa, as well as the bodies which have the power to endorse certification or withhold it, it is at the same time pressured
to tell a different and competing story about professionals. 'They'll only listen to us if...' is the signal of other discourses pressing for space to deliver these messages. Some have to do with visions of different managerial or service frameworks 'Marxists or free-marketeers', others take different views of development (a developmental discourse) - 'efficient management', 'providing tools for evaluations' and 'strategies of academic support'.

The clearest indication of a competing professional discourse emerges from Position II "Servicing the community". The key terms are: 'rethinking value systems', 'the oppressed', 'shifting accountability from white to black constituencies', "you don't supply expertise without prior approval of.. the people [you serve]", "It's not our realm to give answers, but to be initiators in a process of coming to an answer." and "The idea is to walk alongside..."

The establishment of a range of alternative bodies in the disciplines of Medicine, Psychology and Social Work, such as The National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA), the Organization for Appropriate Social Services in South Africa (OASSSA) and the Social Workers Forum (replacing the now disbanded Society of Social Workers) are clear evidence of discourses working to establish competing definitions of professional practice and ethics in fields way beyond the case itself. The two contexts of crisis are in the disciplinary
frameworks - international paradigm shifts (see Position II) and South African society. One explanation for growing 'revolutions' in the disciplines of Social Work, Psychology, Medicine, Theology, is that their boundaries are more permeable than ever before as so more open to influences of history, ideology, culture and language.\(^{(5)}\) The second crisis in South African disciplines is provided by the social context - the chronic crisis of South African social life.

Thus emerging redefinitions of ethical frameworks, styles of practice "Walking alongside", and the problematizing of the notion of dispassionate professionals "We need more appropriate role models which dispute the neutrality of the professional" (postscript to Position II) are signals of strengthening alternative professional discourses.

In new 'alternative' organizations professionals relinquish 'traditional roles' to work alongside non-professionals in groups and workshops. The new codes are participatory and egalitarian. The double purpose of the rhetoric of equality, regardless of qualifications, is to avoid reproducing the power hierarchies of traditional bodies and to avoid concentrating skills in the hands of a few. The ironic consequence of the rhetoric of non-professionalism, has been the phenomena of the 'reluctant professional' rediscovering the 'old' uses of

professionalism. The following reflection on workshops run for preschool teachers (in crisis contexts) by psychologists explicitly rejecting the 'expert' role illustrates the irony:

We found that we had underestimated both the extent to which our professional knowledge was directly useful to this kind of work and, more importantly, the containing aspects of our professional status for ourselves and others. It helps to know there are people around who have some formal knowledge of factors underlying common problems. (6)

What is significant for the accountability problem is that, in varying degrees, professional accountability is re-interpreted by emerging discourses which direct accountability to alternative bodies (as substitutes for traditional bodies) and/or clients. The connection with an ideal of professional autonomy slips by. This raises the question of the possibility of autonomy or different versions of autonomy: in service of other future ideals and, other future principles? It is questions like these which are the stakes in the language games of Positions I and II.

The very divergent responses in the postscript (above, Chapter Two 3.2) to Position I suggest that the position cannot hold as constituted. It will either fracture or collapse under the weight of the discoveries of 'new' or 'non' professional Position II. This may be one effect of the strength of the redemptive community discourse which is dominant in that position and its power to penetrate and dislodge positions such

(6) Ibid.
as I 'Servicing the professions'. The original position was a complex 'holding operation' keeping in somewhat precarious equilibrium the claims and pressures of multiple audiences, and therefore diverse lines/directions of accountability. The new positions which will develop around the educational concerns which held the original position together are likely to serve fewer audiences with greater clarity. The directions of accountability will most likely be correspondingly simplified.

3.2 An Academic Discourse

An academic discourse signals its dominance in Position IV "Academic Standards" through terms such as 'quality education', 'standards', 'committed academic', 'individually autonomous action', 'uncompromising commitments', 'precise terms' and 'delegated authority'. It appears in a defensive stance signalling either 'qualified agreement' or 'disagreements' over 'ends' - the latter being clearly understood as the goals of the redemptive community discourse, legitimated in the University philosophy and presented through terms such as 'the Community's needs and feelings'.

The academic discourse is founded on the principles of universal bodies of developed knowledge enshrined in the formal traditions and legacies of disciplines which reproduce and develop themselves at Universities, amongst other places. This they do through university functions of teaching, research and academic
apprenticeship in the field. The implications of this discourse for students is that there is an inescapable task of hard work, application, reading, taking notes and getting assignments in on time.

The massively destabilizing factor to the plain sailing of this discourse is deep and chronic crisis in South African education and society which has given rise to Discourse C (and to a lesser extent Discourse D) at UWC, and what Morphet calls the 'Social Purposes' discourse at the University of Cape Town (UCT). In the distance, the international intellectual ferment which signals crisis in the frameworks of the field of sociology of education, and contests in the inquiries into fields of knowledge, similarly, have destabilizing effects.

This South African crisis has produced a "new student". This person carries a label provided by the academic discourse: 'disadvantaged', which assumes that the "problem lies not only in the illegitimate systems of black and white educations, but also in the 'deficit' of the black student." The term 'disadvantaged student', however, allows for too quick a resolution of assumed educational problems according to the drives of the discourses in the case. I shall quote from a study on an academic support programme at UCT in order to give deeper content to the notion of a 'new student' as she, or he, struggles to come to terms with 'the idioms, practices and

(7) Morphet, "A study of the academic support programme at UCT", p.43.
demands' of the academic discourse at UCT. I suggest that the description may resonate at several levels with perceptions of "new students" at UWC, though no doubt there may differences. I shall follow on after the description by briefly outlining the interesting strengthening of the academic discourse in Position IV signalled in the postscript to that position.

[The new student is]... a person who carries the legitimacy of the new social forces, who enters the university empowered (even required) to challenge the illegitimacy of the discourses... [academic and social purposes]

The new student is a post 1976 phenomenon and is a character with whom Black but not (by and large) White parents and administrators are familiar. In offering a description I have no intention to claim any psychological insight, but merely to report, in the context, observations made.

The figure that I wish to describe is caught within a fierce contradiction between millenarian mass hopes and an acute sense of individual vulnerability and inadequacy. Both sides of this contradiction are fuelled by the experience, on both collective and individual levels of the past decade.

At the collective level the experiences of challenge given to the structures of an oppressive world - and of significant victories in mounting that challenge - have cultivated a commitment to solidarity and the maintenance of momentum. Collective action is not only something that has to be undertaken reluctantly - it is an opportunity to be sought out or created.

At the individual level the same figure is acutely conscious of the direct dangers and the widespread hostility of "official" structures. Coping with such experience individually has required strategic skills and a readiness to adapt to required performances on terms set by others.

It is this figure who typically earns the sobriquet "disadvantaged" and the label is accurate from the point of view of the "old" institution in its experience of the "old" student. The old student typically individualises slowly and carefully within a closely supportive institutional structure (school in
particular) and discovers the potentials of productive interactive relationships between him/herself and official structures. Collective action is regarded as an exceptional and a generally unwanted form of experience. Neither dominated nor dominating, the "old" student found the role of "learner" the best formulation available through which s/he could appropriate what was necessary and valuable for his/her independent growth and development.

A key point to emerge in any enquiry was that the new student cannot be somehow changed or upgraded or supported into becoming an old learner. Therefore the emergence of the new student signifies a major shift for the university. Its inputs are changing and will change further and, in the light of the discussion of the issues of legitimacy, the university has little option but to change its system processes - and possibly its outputs as well. The new student is unable (not merely unwilling) to disconnect the experience of the social reality which has formed him - he is unable to re-invent himself along the lines of the old learner.(8) [my emphasis]

While the redemptive community discourse does not penetrate the Academic discourse in Position IV it is the major discourse off-stage and the one to which the Academic discourse addresses itself throughout. It does this either by presenting strict criteria of admissibility - 'elected representation', 'The university's assertion of its full autonomy', or by rejecting its claims of collective ideals by privileging the rival claims to legitimacy of individually autonomous action - 'I set my standards and I'm a committed academic', 'Accountability requires... self discipline'.

The academic discourse penetrates Position II in a weakened form, but still carrying enough weight to be held 'in one hand' with the redemptive community discourse being 'held in the

(8) Ibid, p.43, 45-46.
A respondent who took responsibility for maintaining the precarious balance of both owned discourses provided the following metaphor:

"You have difficulty because you have to carry two things which cannot meet. It's like carrying water [in the one hand] and fire [in the other]. You have the danger of one extinguishing the other. But we accept it. That's part of our dilemma and part of our problem - how to find a way out of that... (position II above)"

The postscripts to Position III and IV suggest that the academic discourse gained ground during 1988. The signal in the 'servicing the university' postscript is that discourse B is presenting a competing definition of a 'progressive' - as making an intellectual contribution 'by fighting ideological battles' whereas the previous definition linked to discourse C presented 'progressive' academics as those who were politically active in community structures. The postscript to Position IV presents three signals which suggest the strengthening the discourse B.

First, through the interpretation that the 'focus of university accountability is turning inwards' (a lessening of the pull of discourse C?) in an effort to resolve the Law Faculty problem! The problem itself is presented as a University problem rather than a Faculty problem. Second, through the interpretation that the constituency labelled 'Left' on campus was making the same critique of inappropriate strategies of boycott (the problem of method rather than ideal) first mounted by bearers of the academic discourse in Position IV. Third, through a more powerful presentation of the argument that the academic
discourse held within itself an integral 'vision of liberation' - the tool for change and liberation being education/academic standards.

There is an intriguing paradox in the postscript to Position IV. The notion of individual autonomy becomes so recessive as to be 'invisible' whereas it was an integral element of the original discourse B. The explanations for this are likely to be complex but I would suggest that one explanation might be that if it were possible to conceive of elements at the edge of a discourse, then the element of autonomy has slipped off the edge of the academic discourse B for strategic purposes in the contest with the redemptive community discourse C; or that the slippage is due to the penetration of discourse C into discourse B. Two versions of the idea that gains on one front are made at the cost of losses on another.

Whatever the explanation it would appear as though the Academic discourse is changing form as it strengthens.

3.3 A Redemptive Community Discourse: C

The powerful effect of Discourse C has already been shown in the way if appears to dislodge the original 'professional' discourse (A) from Position I by introducing 'new' or 'non'-professional discourses. Similarly, while it does not dislodge the academic discourse (B), it appears to have distant shaping power in the
way that Discourse B is re-forming as it strengthens to challenge Discourse C. I would argue that Discourse C has developed into a major discourse both in the case and in a wider discursive context on the grounds of its effects: it has the power to shape, dislodge and disqualify other discourses. It does so principally by privileging knowledge born of experience (particularly experience of the Struggle) and through identification with the oppressed community. Its redemptive quality is presented in both religious and secular terms - religious or intellectual conversion - 'Dit was eintlik vir my 'n soort bekering...' (Position II above). I would also argue that this quality is emphasized by the explicit acknowledgement and legitimation of affective states as spurs to intellectual and political work. The 'motor' which privileges experiential knowledge is feeling born of the anger at injustice - '...because of the inequities he sees [around him] feeling is the power behind a person.' (Position II, above).

It is necessary to make one further point before identifying the signals of the discourse in Position II and examining it in more detail through texts provided by a key interpreter of the discourse. Both Discourse C and D are grounded in, and feed, a widespread participatory democratic culture which manifests itself in the theoretical applications of participatory process criteria (by the constituency labelled 'the Left') to
organizational and educational practices. (9) The culture signals itself with greater clarity in discourse D (below).

The signals of Discourse C appear in Position II as 'the oppressed', 'the disenfranchised', 'black', 'solidarity with the community', 'the community as a focus point of accountability', 'practical commitment to the community', 'the idea is to walk alongside the people] ...' and '... organizations outside of the campus [trans.]... bore that awareness for us'.

Father Albert Nolan, OP, has been a key interpreter of this discourse in his public addresses and writings. (10) I used to examine the discourse was selected on the grounds that it articulates the discourse in a single voice to present a vision of a University in service of 'The broader community'. In presenting a critique of the arguments in the text I offer an interpretation of what they might mean in educational settings.

(9) I use the term culture in the sense of a resource. In examining the concept of culture in a South African context Robert Thornton writes "... culture is the information which humans are not born with but which they need in order to interact with each other in social life. It must be learned during the long process of education, socialization, maturing and growing old." See Robert Thornton "Culture : A contemporary definition", in Emile Boonzaier & John Sharp, eds., South African Keywords: The uses and abuses of political concepts, (Cape Town & Johannesburg: David Philip, 1988), pp.17-28.

While the exercise is deliberate, I suggest that the interpreted argument embedded in the text can be seen as unintentional. The text prescribes educational priorities by interpreting the role of a university as a service organization. I quote in full to present the central argument:

My contention is that an educational institution is a service organization and, like any other service organization, it is therefore a servant of the people. The freedom of a university is the freedom to serve. Its freedom is restricted when it is no longer allowed to serve the people as a whole; but it can also restrict its own freedom by refusing to listen to the demands and requirements of the people when they are voiced by those who do genuinely represent the interests of the people. The educational institution that puts itself totally at the service of the people does not restrict its academic freedom, it enhances that freedom. Nor will it in any way distort its pursuit of the truth by accepting the will of the people, even the will of the people is indeed politics. Politics does not necessarily distort the truth. In fact true and genuine political decisions are necessary in order to ensure that we are not blind to the truth that sometimes stares us in the face. The pursuit of truth can be immeasurably enhanced by a genuine spirit of service and humility. We serve the truth and the interests of the people best when we let them decide what their interests are and what they need. We must continue to demand the freedom to serve the people. (11)

[my emphasis]

Thus administrative policy decisions, the design and purpose of curricula, are to be made by interpreting the 'demands and requirements of the people... voiced by those who genuinely represent the interests of the people...' The criteria for decisionmaking are presented similarly '... let them decide what their interests are and what they need'. It does not need

(11) Nolan, Academic Freedom: A service to the people, pp.11-12.
to be emphasized that these statements leave considerable room for negotiated or contested interpretations of institutional accountability. They become the stakes to be overcome as well as the new results of interpretations successfully negotiated which both limit and shift institutional boundaries (see Lyotard, above). The final outcome, when interpretations cease to be 'stakes in the game', is the new form and role of a university as an educational institution.

The assumption and rationale which propel the discourse are of particular significance: first the assumptions:

I am assuming that whatever is in the interests of the oppressed people of South Africa, as oppressed people, will also be in the best interests of the society as a whole. On the other hand the interests of the dominant race and the dominant classes in our society, insofar as they are the interests of domination and oppression, are not the interests that serve a society as a whole. (12)

The underlying logic is the substitution of one set of interests for another. Thus the choices of teachers, faculty and University 'about what will be taught, which facts will be described and whose opinions will be expanded and promoted' must be made in the interests of 'the community we serve' rather than 'some or other selfish purpose'. (13) The assumption is not only problematic because it proposes solutions/redemption through a logic of substitution and reversal but because of the

interpretation of the educational process as one in which 'facts are described' and 'opinions expounded and promoted'.

The rationale for the discourse is grounded on the experience of oppression. Nolan asks why, until very recently 'every Christian biblical scholar and theologian' consistently overlooked 'oppression as a fundamental category of biblical theology'. He provides the following answer:

The answer is quite simple. The academics who had made such a rigorous, meticulous and thoroughly scientific study of the Bible were not themselves oppressed people. They had no experience of oppression, no contact with people who were oppressed and therefore no appreciation of the words and images that describe it. For professional theologians, until recently, oppression as a category of thought was simply non-existent. The fact that we did not belong to the oppressed classes of people in the world or have any sympathetic contact with oppressed people made us totally blind to what the Bible was saying so insistently and so graphically about oppression.(14)

[my emphasis]

Nolan argues that the change of interpretation came about when "Latin American theologians, in an attempt to be of real service to the people, encouraged them to re-read the Bible and to interpret it themselves from the perspectives of their poverty and oppression". But the problem was the oppressed people were not academics and they needed the services of academics to reveal to them the theme of oppression in the Bible. Thus:

The oppressed people of Latin America were not academics. They noticed something of what the Bible was saying about oppression because it was in their

interests to notice it, but they did not get very far. Why? Because they did not have the academic skills to reach down behind the translations of the Bible they were using to understand the historical context of the Biblical text and to systematize all the references to oppression. For this they needed the services of the academic, the Biblical scholar. It was only recently when two scholars from a Baptist seminary in Costa Rica undertook a systematic and scientific study of the words for oppression and the whole theme of oppression in the Bible that its fundamental importance came to light. They, of course, were motivated to undertake this study by the interests, needs and concerns of oppressed Christians with whom they had come to identify themselves. But they had not only done a great service to the people, they had also made discoveries in the academic pursuit of truth that could not have been made in any other way. Serving the genuine interests of the people had not led to a distortion of the truth but to a discovery of the truth. (15)

[my emphasis]

Of secondary interest is the implicit validation of the academic discourse B on its own terms in the reference to ... academic skills to 'reach down...', 'to understand ...'. Of primary interest is the essential argument that academics motivated by the experience of others, should identify themselves with others (the oppressed) and so discover truths not available for discovery in any other way.

I propose that Nolan's arguments present profoundly problematic conceptualizations of learners and teacher/academics and about the production of knowledge. I shall elaborate on the first two of these conceptualizations by way of a digression which traces the ancestry of Discourse C (part of the family tree) to what I suggest are two earlier versions of this discourse (or

(15) Ibid, pp.7-8.
constituent discourses). Descriptions of these discourses are provided by A.S. Morphet as they present themselves in the field of Adult Basic Education (ABE) and literacy work. (16) The discourses "... assume literacy to be the extreme case. It is the point at which educational and social praxis is subjected to its most intense test. Illiteracy is implicitly equated with an extreme state of personal and social deprivation and all forms of response are framed therefore in terms of fundamental commitments." (17)

Ancestor I, the 'Laubach discourse' (institutionalized in South Africa as Operation Upgrade) supports conceptions of literacy work as "a missionary endeavour offering redemption for individuals and a strengthening of the body of the church". (18) In the field of ABE it is regarded as a steadily weakening discourse even though dominant in 'numerical terms'. Morphet argues that it has lost the theoretical contest and is vulnerable to charges that it patronizes and infantilizes learners'. I argue that some elements of this discourse are reproduced in Discourse C through transformative discursive 'moves' of considerable significance. The definitions provided by the Laubach discourse identified its constituency as 'the poor' (essentially weak). The definitions provided by Discourse C identify its constituency as 'the oppressed', 'The Community'.

(16) Morphet, "The ABE Project".


and 'The People'. The shift in definitions addresses Discourse C to a vastly strengthened constituency, one which is also addressed by the second ABE discourse, authored by Paulo Freire and institutionalized in 'progressive' literacy projects such as Learn and Teach and the Adult Learning Programme (Western Cape).(19) The Freire discourse is Ancestor II of Discourse C, (The redemptive community discourse), and the central ancestral definitions still hold strong: 'social and political oppression'. Its mobilizing power lies in the concept of 'conscientization' as a political and strategic force to be used in revolutionary social action. The discursive move here is to identify this kind of action with 'The Struggle'.

I have constructed the ground for a presupposition which might serve as a 'speculative snare' for discussion and research.(20) The tentative argument within it is this: Nolan's interpretation of Discourse C conceptualizes learners as partners/pathfinders in an academic quest through which the academic discovers truth in service of the learner (see 'the essential argument' above).


(20) I borrow the term from David Hamilton et al., eds., Beyond the numbers game (London: Macmillan Education Ltd., 1977); It is used in the introduction to Section 3, "Five advocates of change" to describe a tendency in the evaluation community towards 'soft' or 'limited circulation' papers 'setting speculative snares for insiders... or members of a particular conference'. I would argue that this dissertation falls into a similar category of limited circulation and that 'setting snares' is in keeping with its intent to keep open the possibilities for discussion of its central issues rather than to close discussion through premature and perhaps superficial 'findings'.
Thus the teacher/academic uses the learner, and the learner's experience, as a resource in an academic pursuit. If the teacher/academic does not share the same experience of oppression as the learner, I propose that to motivate for, and back, academic/teaching pursuits by using the 'oppression' experience of others is a subtle form of educational and human exploitation. It lends itself to a conceptualization the learner/student at once as both victim and saviour and entrenches him or her in the perpetual dilemma of the 'new student' (see above). S/he is propelled, as activist bearer of the hopes of the people, to realise the vision of true community in collective struggle. At the same time he/she must, as an individual learner, work towards emancipation in a curriculum designed to either provide excessive shelter for the 'victim' or too much exposure for the 'saviour'. The important and immensely difficult task in the 'real' world of universities is to design learning environments where students are not 'disadvantaged' by being cast into such contradictory roles. The conceptual 'jump' between 'partner' and 'pathfinder' echoes that of the more dramatic contradiction between victim and saviour - both share pioneering and daunting tasks.

I propose that tasks which secure personal emancipation or collective victory in struggle cannot but be grounded in differently owned experience of self. Knowledge is rooted in experience and selves (or students) can say "we know more than
we can tell"(21) But to say that one form of experience (whether of oppression or the Struggle) is always qualitatively better, or to be preferred, than another presents considerable problems of designing educational practices in a university curriculum. If, as Bernstein suggests, the curriculum is a mind-altering device, or, "Educational knowledge is the major regulator of the structure of experience",(22) then the political decisions which use one kind of experience as an educational resource need to be carefully taken. The problem presented by discourse C is that it makes such political decisions justifiable through identification with a cause. If the cause is as compelling as it is in South Africa then it's easier to grasp the most obvious answers presented by the discourse. To prevaricate with doubt about different, perhaps more desirable, methods of instruction; or to suggest there are different, equally valid forms of experience, it to re-introduce the notions of complexity and plurality into forms of education. I would argue that this is necessary. I would also argue that individual emancipation and collective victory in struggle are both important. If a central purpose of both tasks is also to


(22) See Basil Bernstein, Class, Codes and Control, (Volume 3), (London: Routledge & Kegan, 1975) The quotation is from p.85, Chapter 5, "On the classification and framing of educational knowledge" pp.85-115; He goes on to propose "theoretically, that educational codes provide excellent opportunities for the study on classification and frames through which experience is given a distinctive form". (p.86) These ideas will not be explored in this dissertation but a schematic map for doing so is presented in Figure 4, Chapter Five.
'know the enemy', then institutional frameworks could be designed so as to make this possible. Too much shelter or too much exposure of the student makes it very difficult for students to know their real enemies.

I shall conclude by arguing that Discourse C works to disqualify certain forms of intellectual participation or contest by privileging a particular kind of experience - oppression, or an identification with that experience. This point is made by Johan Degenaar who argues that Nolan's recent elaboration of the discourse reveals several forms of exclusivity: the rejection of people 'who differ' because they don't share the privileged experience of some; the tendency to demonize opponents which means 'the end' of the notion of politics as involving 'genuine relations with people who are genuinely other people, not tasks set out for our redemption'; and, the 'conceptual exclusion' of many South Africans who 'stand outside of' the Christian theologizing (verteologisering) of the political struggle... at a time of growing need to relate positively to the convictions of other people.(23) The power of Discourse C to exclude is also signalled in Position III.

(23) See Johan Degenaar, "Die keuse tussen demokrasie en radikalisme" in Die Suid-Afrikaan, August 1989, p.39, where he contends, 'Ter wille van 'n humaniserende ervaring waarby ons almal belang het, moet ons gedurig waaksam wees ten opsigte van die volgende: een final boek wat die waarheid sou besit (of dit nou is die boek van die religie, die boek van die natuur of die boek van die geskiedenis); een outorieit wat die finale woord sou spreek; een steutel waarmee die geskiedenis ooggesluit toegang tot politieke wysheid sou kon gee; een interpretasie wat all kontroverse sou kon beëindig; een program wat finale regverdiging sou kon waarborg; een bevrydingstryd wat all vorme van onderdrukking sou beeindig.'
Reference has been made to the signals which present the discourse in Position II. There are similar signals presenting it in Position III (see 3.2 (ii). "The Progressive Movement/Struggle determines"). It is significant that although the discourse appears in secular form and without religious overtones, it implicitly uses the first two arguments of identification and shared experience (above) as grounds for exclusion in the chain of accountability: "I don't see myself accountable to the Head of Department because [he]... has not been identified with the cause of this institution. I see myself as accountable to the Rector because we have been part of the struggle towards the same goal..." The discourse strengthens in the postscript to Position III in the statement "New university structures must include community representation... The University must not be separate from the community." (my emphasis)

It would appear that Discourse C appeared in the original Position III in support of Discourse D, the dominant discourse in that position. In retrospect the assumption was probably faulty as a result of what may have been a superficial reading of the texts: both on my part in 'allocating' one bearer of the discourse to that position, and on the bearer's part in agreeing to that allocation. Alternatively another explanation might revolve around an ambiguous identification with both Discourse C
and D, or identification in practice with Discourse D and in thinking with Discourse C. (24)

I suggest that while Discourse C sits in considerable tension with Discourse D in the case, they are not in as strong a relation of opposition as Discourse B and C. An examination of Discourse D below will illustrate this presupposition.

3.4 A Developmental Process Discourse: D

The Development Process discourse (D) is the most strongly presented discourse in the case in terms of the number of bearers who articulate it in the case. What is of significance, however, is firstly that it is contained within one 'home base' position (Position III, "Servicing the University") to a far greater extent than other discourses in the case. All others have been shown to penetrate or shape positions, or other discourses, in the case in some or other way. Discourse D only appears beyond the boundaries of Position III in the weak signals it presents in Position I where it supports the Professional discourse A in the signals of 'efficient management', 'tools to evaluate' and 'strategies of academic support'. Secondly, I would suggest that it is the most incoherent of the discourses examined here. The principal elements which are enmeshed in the discourse are present in each

(24) The kind of contradictory identification was illustrated above in Driver's reference to the dual identities displayed by a trade union organizer in the workplace and at home.
perspective which constitutes the position. They consistently present the terms and criteria of both process and developmental models of education (and educational policy and organization). But, I would argue that the incoherence is due to the jostling for positional dominance of one set of criteria above the other, and that the finely nuanced perspectives which constitute the discourse do not resolve the tension, either in terms of numerical strength or convincing argument which would place one set of criteria as prior to another. I shall argue, through presentation of criteria and texts, that process criteria discursively grounded in a participatory democratic culture are weakened by the conditions of that culture as they manifest themselves in a repressive political climate. As a corollary to this I suggest that weakened process criteria rob what might otherwise be a strong developmental discourse of its power. The discourse is thus complex in terms of an inner tension. This complexity becomes manifold when the discourse is read and traced in the context of a complex institutionalized mission to actualize the transformation of the university. "In a sense we are accountable to the rhetoric of the University... the University's declared policy as rhetoric rather than reality. We've taken that seriously and worked with it." (See Position III above)

I present the signals of the key elements of the discourse (in Position III) separately in order to give content to the tension. First the developmental signals: 'actualize...
through strategic and deliberative action', 'maintain an equilibrium between forces', 'hierarchical position within the administrative chain of command', 'formal accountability', 'effective institutional accountability depends on the development of an infrastructure...', 'develop structures and channels', 'a fine bureaucracy' and 'individual mobility'.

Second, the Process signals: 'Consultative processes and democratization', 'open access and sensitivity', 'informal compromise mechanisms', 'grass roots representation to reverse top-down accountability', 'Strengthening collective responsibility', 'transformation by teamwork', 'reciprocal notion of... accountability', 'informal consultation' and 'collective interests'.

Both sets of signals relate to the key definitions of developmental models and process models in the field of education. Examples of these models are given below.

3.4.1 Development Models

The major definitions of development revolve around interpretations of 'betterment'. In the case this was interpreted as bringing into equilibrium the developmental needs of UWC as articulated in policy statements and in rhetoric, with the problems presented by the unequal development of South African society and the deep chronic crisis of the educational system.
In an international context definitions are constructed in different ways depending on whether development is conceived of as a process of reform or rebellion/revolution. I shall illustrate both definitions of development in order to support the argument that the signals in Position III tend towards a reform definition. (The UWC rhetoric presents it as transformation). The reform definition is grounded on another double-bind theme: "Incremental reform is both necessary and inadequate." (25) Central to the definition is planning guided by political decision making:

Educational planning... is simply 'the application of rational systematic analysis to the process of educational development with the aim of making education more effective and efficient in responding to the needs and goals of its students and of society.' (26)

Education [is]... both too crucial to national development and too costly to be allowed to develop simply through the momentum exerted by social demand. Decisions of a political character, relating to priorities and purposes, have to be tied in with the solution of administrative and practical problems. (27)

[my emphasis]

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(27) Ibid, p.132.
Thus planning of an inherently political character supports stated objectives. Below the developmental objectives are 'greater equality and efficiency':

If the objective is greater equality and efficiency, then a central problem is how to redefine the relationship among the actors in the reform process - the haves and have nots - to assure that both groups participate in the identification of their needs and the management of the investment programs. ... governments of developing nations "must recognize the necessity of assuring broader participation of their peoples in the process of development."(28) [my emphasis]

In terms of these definitions of development, planning and objectives emanate from an acknowledged centre of power: in the example above, in governments of developing nations. The points of 'stated objectives' and 'government'/power centre will be pivots of the argument to be elaborated later.

If, on the other hand, development is conceptualized in a framework of rebellion against a capitalist order, then planning and its objectives should stand behind, or rather are dependent on, the prior achievement of a redistribution of power. This argument is set out in full below:

Where... the state represents primarily the interests of the capitalist class, it is these objectives - not a commitment to equality or to maximizing the rate of growth of per capita output - which dominate educational policy.

Egalitarian or economic growth promoting education thus confronts its limits in the imperatives of the reproduction of the class structure, the logic of the accumulation process, and the capitalist domination of the state. The primary obstacle to more bountiful and broadly shared economic rewards is the distribution of power, not the distribution of human capital.

As part of a popular political movement to challenge the class structure and the uneven development of the capitalist social formation, educational programs might be used to further social equality or to contribute to a more rational growth process. But to discuss these possible functions of education, in the absence of rebellion against the capitalist order, is worse than idle speculation. It is to offer a false promise, an ideological palliative which seeks to buy time for capitalism by envisioning improvement where little can be secured, and by obscuring the capitalist roots of inequality and economic irrationality. (29)

[my emphasis]

In the case the transformation of UWC proceeds prior to the achieved redistribution of political power in the future government of a non-racial democratic 'Post-Apartheid South Africa'. It is clear that the terms and definitions of the developmental process discourse as it appears in the case are set by 'reform' considerations held within the 'transformation' rhetoric.

3.4.2 A Process Model

In Discourse D process criteria support the University's commitment to 'consultation and democratization'. This is

a key organizational value widely shared in the organizational sector of the service community of the University of the Western Cape. (The community is described in the historical context, Chapter II). I would argue that the major definitions of process in the field of education (in an international context) revolve around the idea that 'good' educational process does not depend on the specification of objectives. Some educational activities are 'good' because of their inherent worth, and this justifies certain principles and procedures of teaching. (30) In terms of priorities, primary educational goals would centre on processes of learning rather than products of learning. In the edited text below certain criteria are proposed for judging one activity as more worthwhile than another. Each criterion is premised on "All things being equal":

All things being equal one activity is more worthwhile than another if:

1. ... it permits students to make informed choices... and to reflect on the consequences of their choices.

2. ... it assigns to students active roles in the learning situation rather than passive ones.

3. ... it asks students to engage in inquiry into ideas, applications of intellectual processes, or current problems, either personal or social.

(30) This argument is derived from a considerably elaborated exploration of a process model by Stenhouse, see Laurence Stenhouse, An Introduction to curriculum development, (London: Heinemann 1975), pp.84-97.
4. ... if completion of the activity may be accomplished successfully by students at several different levels of ability.

5. ... it asks students to examine in a new setting, an idea, an application of an intellectual process, or a current problem which has been previously studied.

6. ... it requires students to examine topics or issues that citizens in our society do not normally examine - and that are typically ignored by the major communication media in the nation.

7. ... it involves students and faculty members in 'risk' taking - not a risk of life or limb, but a risk of success or failure.

8. ... it requires students to rewrite, rehearse, and polish their initial efforts.

9. ... it involves students in the application and mastery of meaningful rules, standards, or disciplines.

10. ... it gives students a chance to share the planning, the carrying out of a plan, or the results of an activity with others.

11. ... it is relevant to the expressed purposes of the students. (31)

[my emphasis]

These criteria all have a ring of instant acceptability and, I suggest, are so normalized in what is termed 'good' educational practice that they have become 'naturalized' elements in some of the discourses in the case. For instance criterion No. 8 is a key element of the academic discourse B, (and so is No. 5 subject to the ideals of teachers). No. 6 would be key to a Critical discourse (not examined here). Nos. 9 and 10 would appear to be integral to Discourses D and C, and this brings me to a key point.

In the absence of stated specifications or objectives, each criterion leaves considerable room for interpretation in different ways by privileging elements and qualifications of each discourse. Thus in No. 9, meaningful rules and standards be interpreted through Discourse C as egalitarian rules validated by the standards (of experience) of those who have custody of the Struggle; and through Discourse B as hierarchical rules validated by the standards of academic achievement; and through Discourse D, as democratic rules validated by the developmental and process standards of the University.

Each criterion becomes a stake around which discourses place limitations on the processes and forms of teaching practice, and accountability. As has been shown, the discourses of the case are dynamic and powerful and the application of process criteria to teacher accountability, places a heavy weight of responsibility on both teachers and institutions.

3.4.3 Defining Accountability through a Developmental Process Discourse

I argue that it is possible to produce a developmental definition of accountability by stating purposes, objectives and goals. I provide an example below. However, a developmental process definition is conditional
on the completion of process criteria in practice. Thus in the case, the developmental process discourse is unable to deliver a final definition of accountability. It does, however, present definitions-in-the-making which leave considerable room for reading into them a range of purposes, objectives and goals. I shall present one such definition-in-the-making of teaching accountability drawn from the supplementary documentary data sources of the case.

First, a developmental definition of accountability in the context of political and socio-economic development in Africa. The structure of the definition is: in order to achieve the purposes and goals of accountability is defined as B:

A. - to promote probity, dedicated service, and efficiency in the management of resources; and to encourage leaders and public officers in developing countries to portray appropriate humanitarian concerns in their environments...

B. - accountability is 'furnishing (to someone) satisfactory, reliable, verifiable and accessible records, reasons, and explanations for the actions of those having custody of power, human resources, public money and other resources'(32)

Implicit in the definition is the identification both of the person (or group of persons) who have to render

accounts and receive accounts and the reasons for both preparing and receiving accounts. The underlying assumptions of the definition are that people have access to methods and/or processes which can be used to present complaints which will be heard and acted on without prejudice.

Secondly, a proposed definition-in-the-making provisionally titled 'Teaching practice and accountability' was presented in the context of deliberations subsequent to the Law Faculty dispute and campus crisis. (The crisis is described in Chapter II, above).(33) In the texts below I emphasize developmental signals and provide a corresponding reference (Dvpt). Process signals are emphasized with the reference (Prs). I argue that the text reveals the inner tension and incoherence of Discourse D, as proposed (see above). It also signals the conditions/cultural context in which accountability questions and issues should be resolved. These signals are emphasized and referenced as (p.c.) - for participatory culture/conditions.

(33) The definition-in-the-making is devised with close reference to an article 'Teaching practice and accountability' by Shirley Walters, see "UWCADE NEWS", September 1988 (mimeographed); views expressed in the newsletter do not reflect the policy of the University of the Western Cape Association for Democratic Educators (UWCADE); The chairperson of UWCADE, Dr Ikey van der Rheede provided some background to the article in telephonic statement, 18 September 1989; He said, 'The article does not reflect UWCADE views as such, [but] at that particular point in time no-one challenged those views.'
A set of questions provides the framework for the definition-in-the-making of accountability at UWC. It is premised on two assumptions: (a) that one of the underlying problems of the campus crisis is "a struggle relating to the jurisdiction over the educational practices in the University" and (b) that the "question of the allocation of authority" [of staff and students] is not "clear". Assumption (a) signals a contest over a power centre (or centres) that would have the right and power to interpret and apply 'the law' in relation to educational practice at UWC. Assumption (b) is problematic in that it signals a conceptualization of authority as a resource to be allocated. This is problematic on two grounds: (i) students or teachers do not gain or develop authority in themselves but stand so as to be allocated an authority resource by sources outside of themselves; (ii) authority is designated to students and teachers by external sources for (so far) unspecified purposes; for example, 'we designate (allocate) to you the authority to do x, y or z'.

The framework is set as follows:

The questions that need to be addressed then are:

1. What channels of communication are there for students to feedback information about their grievances relating to courses? (Prs)

2. How important is it for students to participate in the development of effective teaching and the development of university teachers and the courses? (P.c., Dvpt)
3. To whom should the Faculties be accountable for effective teaching practice and how is this accountability best practised? (Dvpt)

4. What are the needs and commitment of UWC to effective teaching practice? (Dvpt)

5. Who should make decisions relating to establishment of courses, curricula, methods of teaching, organization of courses including who should teach? (Dvpt)

6. How should the decisions relating to teaching be evaluated? (Prs)

7. How do different departments presently evaluate their courses and their teaching practices? (Prs)

8. How can effective teaching practice be promoted? (Dvpt, Prs)

9. How do these issues relate to the concept of People's Education and a People's University? (P.c.)

I will touch on some of these questions in an exploratory way to open up discussion and debate.

[my emphasis](34)

The implicit goals and purposes are expressed evocatively in Question 2. Question 1 asks for clarity on the processes which can be used to present complaints. Implicit is an assumption that they will be heard and acted on by those who have custody of power. I shall not interpret questions any further but will examine the list of issues below, which are premised on an assumption that 'UWC is committed to good teaching practice' and that the University can become 'a more effective teaching institution'. The question which prompts the list of issues is how the assumptions are realised:

Some of the issues that would need to be addressed in responding to this question are:

1. UWC would need to have a clear, unambiguous commitment to the development of effective teaching practice. (Dvpt)

2. 'Effective teaching' would need to be defined by all departments. (Dvpt,P.c.)

3. There would need to be a commitment to ongoing development of teachers. (Dvpt)

4. Good teaching practice would need to be acknowledged and rewarded (eg criteria for employment: annual teaching award). (Prs,P.c.)

5. Evaluation procedures would be needed in each course in each department. (Dvpt)

6. Problems and barriers to good teaching practice would need to be identified and strategies developed to overcome them.

In order for teaching to be taken seriously, all staff would need to participate in its development instead of the problem being given to a university unit to solve. A university-wide strategy needs to be developed for the promotion of the university as a good teaching institution. (P.c.,Dvpt)

[my emphasis](35)

I shall not restate the developmental, process and 'participatory culture' signals emphasized and referenced above. It is clear that the emerging definition seeks to identify the persons or groups who should receive and render accounts, and to clarify the methods and processes (channels) available to those who wish to present complaints. The 'issues' framework however does not present proposals to be addressed which might elicit

(35) Ibid.
educational, principled, or political reasons for accountability beyond the stated objectives of 'effective teaching practice'. Nor does it acknowledge or problematize the political character of decisions which have to be taken for achieving an accountability definition or system. (This may be a result of the broad support given to the University's philosophy/objects)

It is clear that complaints would be motivated by perceived violations of needs, values or aspirations. There is much room for interpreting these motivations. The overarching goals and purposes of accountability also remain obscure. Issue No.4 (teaching awards) introduces the behavioural objective of a performance incentive which resonates with a later reference in the article to students as 'consumers'. The implicit notions here are that awards would secure improved teacher/educational 'outputs' to be 'consumed' by students - a notion which conveys a narrow view of professional teachers: to be held responsible for products. (A broader view might hold teachers responsible for outcomes).

The consistent and underlying concerns of the definition-in-the-making, clearly stated, are to do with effectiveness, systematic applications and evaluation procedures.
How could accountability be practised more effectively? The most obvious means of ensuring accountability in a systematic way to constituent groups are through the development of evaluation procedures/strategies which include obtaining feedback from those concerned to course curricula, course organization, course goals, course achievements, teaching practices, students' attitudes to the course, etc. The most effective means of doing this would require careful development.

[my emphasis](36)

This statement presents strong developmental criteria, in what I suggest is a behavioural design, to bring about, with the greatest possible efficiency, better student and teacher performance at UWC. It these were the only concerns there would be no need to hold back on a developmental definition of accountability. But, as I have argued, the strong pull of process goals holds a definition at bay, and weakens the developmental elements of the discourse. The evocative goals of the broader definition to come emerge very strongly through connections made between 'teaching practices' and 'People's Education', between 'curricula relevance' and 'democratic' relationships, between 'People's Education' and the 'mass democratic movement', and the parallel connections between 'People's Education', UWC and the 'Political/Policy direction of UWC'.

Teaching practices are central to People's Education. The types of concerns that have been expressed are for curricula relevance, for a

(36) Ibid.
democratic teaching/learning relationship and for accountability to the mass democratic movement.

To locate itself within People's Education, UWC would thus have to take teaching practices more seriously. It would need to ensure greater accountability of teachers to the political/policy direction on UWC and to peers and students within the university. Teachers would need to take seriously the opinions of students as they strove to achieve greater participation in the teaching/learning situation. Staff would have to be trained in more democratic/participative teaching methods...

Ongoing evaluation of courses and teaching practice coupled with development of staff teaching skills, I would argue, is essential to the development of People's Education and a People's University.

[my emphasis](37)

The pervasive process goals throughout the texts find expression in the closing signal 'democratic/participative teaching methods' again placed in inner tensions with the development goal of 'training', which, if it is read within a behavioural design, suggest mechanistic applications of the conceptual frameworks of People's Education. A kind of performance contracting system-in-the-making in service of People's Education.

The term 'democratic/participative' teaching introduces the following reflection which problematizes, on the side, the potential for spilling over into the field of University practice, the widespread forms of a participatory culture.

(37) Ibid, p.10.
3.4.4 Some Forms of Democratic Participatory Culture in the Western Cape

I shall present a brief and concentrated interpretation of current forms of this culture in the Western Cape based on three data sources: selected categories of South African literature on organizations and democracy, one reference to English practices in the same field and my own observations and interpretations of democratic organizational practices on the edge of the mass democratic movement as it operates in the Western Cape. (38)

I hold that democratic participatory practices have great potential for strengthening organizations. My own experience here makes me aware of the particular enrichments they offer in


II See Charles Landry et al., What a way to run a railroad: An analysis of radical failure (London: Comedia Publishing group, 1985), pp.1-12, 14-18, 37-41;

III An independent organization generally supportive of the aims of the mass democratic movement, the Black Sash is peripherally involved in MDN activities. The MASS DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT is formally constituted by the major umbrella organizations of COSATU, UDF and their affiliated organizations, who act under the discipline of the MDN; The distinction is important: at time when it mobilizes for broader support independent organizations are drawn in. They are necessarily excluded from all formally constructed deliberations.
broadening skills and resources basis. However the shift away from hierarchical structures presents a surprising number of problems.

Several points will be made in an argument which pivots on the presupposition that in the current severely repressive political climate the essential conceptual differences between institutions and organizations are blurred or submerged, particularly in non-formal and informal practices in organizations and, I suggest, in the importation of these practices into Universities.

The treatment will be swift and brief for three reasons: (i) I wish to present as a signal one reference to a culture which I regard as important and significant in order to make the further point that it has a powerful shaping effect on the thinking which lies behind educational administration and practice, and therefore, on the forms of these practices; (ii) the repressive climate is a real, constraining, destructive force which has the power to distort and corrupt organizational practices. As I am committed to strengthening these practices across a broad front, it is not possible even in a dissertation to provide references to meetings or minutes except where, in one case, a meeting was fairly public and the minutes support essential points in the argument; (iii) the dissertation already presses against the set of
prescriptions of word length. The democratic participatory culture requires extensive and serious study elsewhere.

The critique implicit in the following argument is premised on this assumption: that the critique might be considered seriously if it reaches organizational actors who may either be in agreement or disagreement with the key points made through it. The intent is constructive.

In the democratic participatory culture of the Western Cape the concept of democracy is institutionalized as a naturalized good practice. It is normalized in organizations by prioritizing those aspects of participatory democracy which mobilize and nurture the membership. In a repressive climate there are sound political and organizational reasons for doing this. In any alternative project the workload is usually considerable, even awesome. It is thus essential to mobilize for the widest and most committed forms of support and resource bases in both human and material terms. The external threats and vulnerability of projects in hand give rise to powerful calls (ideological and other) to personal identification in the discursive context. I suggest that these conditions give rise to the following phenomena.

There is a blurring in the conceptualizing and implementation of democratic practices, whether they be
representational, collectivist or participatory. The forms often co-exist. While representational or collectivist forms may be manifest in the electoral constitutions of organizations, outside of the Trade Union Movement, they appear in such soft forms so as to avoid divisive 'power' issues (mobilizing and nurturing imperatives) that strong currents submerged beneath an overt democratic gloss support forms of covert caucussing. I would also argue that organizational decision-making is often based on a rationale of identification with causes rather than explicit arguments based on principled or strategic considerations.

Thus, the espousal of democratic values in organizations is meaningless unless they become manifest in consistent forms and practices. I would argue that the uncritical importation of democratic participatory organizational practice into educational practices in institutions presents a set of ethical, political and educational problems. They have much to do with hybrid forms and dogmas of 'good' democratic practice and 'correct' internal politics. Essentially, the 'soft' criteria of democratic process.

I argue that in an educational institution such as a university all things are not equal. (I refer to the Rath's premise for worthwhile activities 'All things being
equal', above), but that the inequalities are masked by (i) the prioritization of process politics (Discourse D); (ii) the egalitarian principles of a new form of professionalism (the alternative Discourse A); (iii) the fact that forms of individual, autonomous action (or thinking) are suspect and ruled 'out of order' (or elitist) by those sharing collectivist values (collectivist electoral procedures are different to values) (Discourse C), and finally, (iv) an evasiveness about the realities of power and authority (Discourse D).

Thus, I argue, the deep suspicion of power as a resource leads to situations where there is resistance to the manifestation of different degrees of power. The history of South Africa provides ample grounds for this suspicion but in a university context this gives rise to the suppression of the individual possession of knowledge and skills as a source of power. In a context where developmental programmes have increasing access to the massive budgets of donor agencies, the problem of power and its open acknowledgement is inescapable. Developmental discourses are premised on conceptualizations of a future post-apartheid South Africa and hold within them key definitions of empowerment and training, both formally or informally linked with a broad democratic movement. A stage may be reached, at the conclusion of due consultation and process, when a few organizations/programmes explicitly
acknowledge a developing power centre. (39) More often than not, I argue, these power differentials are kept hidden by privileging the protocols and process criteria of a participatory culture.

The political imperatives of collective solidarity values allow the concept of equality to be 'remodelled' as the 'suppression of all difference'. (40) This leads to two problematic situations in education: (i) in order to maintain a surface veneer which delivers the message that 'everything is equal and shared' the end result is that no-one can be held directly accountable for anything; (ii) the submerging of all differences of knowledge or skill beneath this veneer sometimes leads to tragi-comic situations particularly prevalent in some educational or political workshops (the dominant educational code of the participatory democratic culture): The failure really to share:

...As the possession of knowledge or skill is something which people are made to feel guilty about, they often can't admit that they have them, which amongst other things makes it

(39) One such developing power centre which openly acknowledges a future power centre in government is the Centre for Development Studies (CDS) which is involved in post-apartheid research and policy-making in the Western Cape. It explains one of its purposes as follows: 'CDS can be compared to the British Labour Party who had to prepare for government by doing shadow reports on various aspects of policy', quoted in the minutes of a CDS (Land Sector) meeting, Cape Town, 2 July 1989.

(40) See Landry, What a way to run a railroad, p.41.
difficult for them to share their skills with others. (41)

I shall briefly sum up below but in concluding here I would want to make the following assertion. The critiques of discourses and culture above are not a critique of the very real personal concerns which provide the motivations for the difficult and important tasks of realizing educational, political and ethical considerations in educational practice. Sometimes research is perceived of as being disrespectful towards, and undermining of, those people slaving away at the coalface. I acknowledge the insidious isolating tendencies of research away from all of that. Educational practice means using and developing theory 'on the hoof'. There is no time or space for 'armchair' theorising in the classroom or workshop. But, at the heart of the matter lies the problem of defining the responsibilities implicit in the clumsy and burdensome term 'institutional accountability'. This has been an attempt at bringing rationality to bear on those problems. (42)

3.5 SUMMARY

I offer speculative propositions about the implications of the shaping effects of discourses A-D on the original Positions I-V.

(41) See Landry, What a way to run a railroad, pp.40-41.

(42) The great difficulty of writing up the research on this chapter lay in the intellectual disengagement from persons whose qualities of heart drew me strongly to them. This was particularly true of those who identified, wholly or ambiguously, with Discourse C.
In a sense the propositions answer a speculative question - "What is the future of the five positions?" The answer proposed below is based on a personal holistic understanding of the case.

As suggested earlier (3.1 above) Position I "Servicing the Professions", will most likely collapse. Its goals and content may shift to other positions. The competing 'new' professional discourse emanating from Position II "Servicing the Community" will take care of some goals of Position I. The remaining goals which are tied to servicing the status quo of professionalism in South Africa may find a home in another position (missing in the case). Something like "Servicing the status quo professions" (for instance the teaching of science and accountancy) by using a strong technocratic discourse. (This was only weakly present in the interview data).

Position II "Servicing the Community" can only strengthen: Discourse C is immensely powerful and it rides on the wave of historical developments in South Africa.

Position III "Servicing the University" will hold once the incoherence of discourse D is resolved by privileging process criteria. I argue that the essential commitment of the University is to democratization through prioritizing due consultative process. The implications here are that there will have to be considerable conceptual clarification of the notions democracy and equality.
Position IV "Academic Standards" will hold as it draws on support from democratic educators who join what I can only call an 'old guard' in clarifying the meaning of academic standards in the context of successive phases of transformation of the University. I predict that the notion of individual autonomy will be carefully handled or swept under the carpet until it regains legitimacy in more propitious times. The academic discourse is doing interesting work but it is at present difficult to 'see' this work.

Position V will hold as an uncomfortable but necessary position. "Problematising Accountability" in retrospect is the subtext of this dissertation. In the position V the central tension captured was whether directions of accountability would continue to flow towards centralized power centres or should flow to a number of decentralized power centres (or centres of authority). I shall argue in Chapter Four below that the latter argument (decentralization of directions of accountability) is more appropriate because of the nature of an institution.

I conclude by suggesting that the dilemma of institutional accountability lies in the choices people make in between contrary pulls. These can be seen through several theoretical frameworks, whether they are ideological calls or historical drives. I have also suggested that discourses in an institutional context are constrained by the rules of the institution in the way it privileges certain notions and
disqualifies others. I tried to show that discourse A (a professional discourse) and discourse D (a developmental process discourse), contain double-bind tensions which render them incoherent.

Eve Bertelson and Robert Thornton both illuminate similar struggles in between very different domains. Both suggest that we will have to change the rules of perception in order to understand more fully the meaning of contemporary events. Where these trap us in double-bind situations, I suggest it is all the more important to gain clarity on the nature of the double-bind. I offer the following final quotations as invitation to explore these themes more fully. They show that these dilemmas are rooted in South African history. There is no easy way out of the dilemma of institutional accountability.

First: In reflecting on the struggle in discourse between an instance of political opposition on UCT campus and the interpretations of that instance made by a liberal university and the Press, Bertelson concludes:

It has not been my view... that because the students represent the interest of a majority constituency in the country that their view should have been preferred to O'Brien's. I have tried to think around the event and its meaning as a cultural transaction, particularly in order to understand why a clear piece of political opposition should have been so broadly signified within liberal culture as violent and meaningless disorder. The 'how' of the question has been easier to answer. As to the 'why', I suppose that what I am finally proposing is that both University and press have re-arranged perceptions to the furthest extent that their paradigm will allow.
The crisis of hegemony is likely to escalate on a sliding scale. Our survival depends now more than ever on the willingness to 'think the unthinkable'. But to do that we will have to change the rules.

[author's emphasis](43)

Second: In reflecting on the heightened cultural and political significance of the 1985 Uitenhage shootings, Thornton begins by suggesting as follows:

... it is not enough to explain violence as a causal consequence of political motives and structures. Violence such as this is itself constitutive of social order through the elaboration of narratives and political symbols that provision the ongoing political process.(44)

He ends by arguing that the tragic dimensions of the shooting have to be understood as a **struggle between** civil order and moral principle, two mutually contradictory duties - a **double-bind** situation:

The Uitenhage shooting represents a **struggle between** submission to coercive power and the moral and customary duty of burying the dead. The deaths of those for whom the funeral was to be celebrated had already acquired political meaning, and to forbid their burial added to the significance of the event since it entailed a contradiction between two mutually contradictory duties... Such contradictions, called "double-binds" serve to focus attention on the event that is thus **double-bound** and is so doing to heighten its sociological and psychological significance. In Greek tragedy, such as the drama of Antigone, this is what gives the tragedy its dramatic force and narrative potential: in psychological contexts, double-binds of this sort are frequently connected with severe emotional distress or schizophrenia. In political contexts such as Langa and Uitenhage at the time, the double bind clearly created confusion and added to the other factors which already focussed

attention on the funerals, and which provided a "framework" of knowledge and expectations within which social events were enacted.

[my emphasis](45)

I argue then that the discursive contest in the case lies in interpreting institutional accountability through the frames of different discourses. There is a struggle for meaning between them all. Accountable actors within UWC will continue to play out that struggle.

3.6 A Behaviourist Discourse in Radical Guise: E

Discourse E provides the conceptual link with Chapter Four. The following text presents a discourse which defines accountability in behaviourist terms. The structure of such a definition might be as follows: A (teacher, unit) is required to produce evidence B (quality of teaching or other product) usually in terms of what happens to C (students or units affected by B). A must then stand ready to be judged on the basis of the evidence produced: A takes responsibility for the results (C) of his/her actions on B.(46)

(45) Ibid., p.21.

that some of these issues and others that I omitted for ethical reasons be addressed.

Let me conclude by making a few recommendations:

a) a proper report back meeting should be organized to report to university...

b) a meeting should be organized for all constituencies to assess the campaign and discuss the Plan of action for 1989.

c) that the meeting be organized with the progressive organizations to discuss the aims, objectives and our POA, and how the POA of the MDM can be taken up...

d) the university must clearly define what will be the role of the local support UWC committees in the different areas. Failure on our part to determine this, will lead to a loss of person power and potential democrats.

e) Most of the time we have defended UWC politically whilst also raising the community projects. I would suggest that individuals involved in other University projects eg. Dentistry, Gold Fields, I.S.D. etc. be drawn in to explain their function on these public platforms. The purpose of this is two fold. Firstly, the community will get an in depth understanding of these projects.

Secondly, the co-ordinators and workers of these projects can get the opinion of the community regarding such projects.(47)

(my emphasis)

I argue that the significance of the text is that UWC as university and institution is perceived as a malleable entity. In a drastic simplification - an institution is perceived as an organization. The implicit implication is that the university releases signals which are received as if from an organization. The following chapter will draw on a form of customary knowledge to provide a suggestive illustration of differences between some contemporary South African institutions and organizations, so as to argue in the concluding

The principal point made by the text is that it essentially presents substitutions for A, B and C in a similarly structured accountability chain as follows: A = The university/organizers, B = The information campaign and C = The black majority/The Community/Democratic organizations. The simplified message of the text is – the author calls UWC to account for 'mistakes' made in the campaign, proposed procedures for the production of new evidence in the next campaign which will display the changed behaviour of UWC in the new campaign. (The original information campaign was described in Chapter II above).

I wish to take a limited look at one of the campaigns which the university embarked upon in 1989, namely the Information Campaign...

I need to point out that certain mistakes were made which need to be addressed to ensure success this year...

For the record, I must point out that one of the objectives of the campaign was to create popular space for the mass democratic movement to express its views regarding the state of the nation. In the areas where repression was the severest, the organizers failed to provide that space.

The Campaign provides the space to prove in action the UWC is serious about building non-racialism and sees itself accountable to the black majority.

Secondly, when the mass democratic movement or the university for that matter, takes up a mass campaign, the organizers must be accountable to democratic organizations when the programme is assessed as the campaign progresses and a new programme is worked out...

It has come to my attention that the campaign is going to employ a full time co-ordinator and student assistants. Activists drawn in from the progressive movement to assist in organizing must be cleared by the movement to ensure proper co-ordination between the campaign and the community organizations. I hope that before the campaign starts during the new year
chapter of this dissertation that if it is possible to provide
definitions of institutional accountability, they should be of a
distinctively different character and form to other definitions of
accountability.
## CHAPTER FOUR

INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE THE CASE

ANOTHER CASE, CAPE TOWN, 2 SEPTEMBER 1989, 1-3 PM

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CHAPTER FOUR

INSTITUTIONS AND ORGANIZATIONS OUTSIDE THE CASE

ANOTHER CASE, CAPE TOWN, 2 SEPTEMBER 1989 - 1-3 PM

1. INTRODUCTION

Purpose and Form of this Chapter

This chapter has an overall strategic purpose. Its intention is to foreground underlying, perhaps submerged, issues and themes held within this dissertation. It also purposefully introduces jarring and disconcerting elements which test and challenge the dominant research conventions in South African educational practice by aligning itself with a different research tradition. (In doing so, I suggest that it echoes principal themes in the 'transformation of The University of the Western Cape' - those of 'strategic purpose', and 'critical alignment'. However, the chapter proceeds differently.) The intention is to extend the ground for later argument. The focus turns away from UWC and Educational institutions, but provides a vantage point for oblique reference to both.

What may jar and disconcert is the slippage (in this chapter only) of the dissertation's register, held fairly evenly until now. The tone changes: the researcher 'appears' and 'speaks' more strongly and the reader is invited to engage far more directly. The tool for change is the production of a narrative which demonstrates, as narratives do. (Later, it will be used to argue). I would suggest that the
In presenting the following narration I'm preparing to argue that the conflation of organizational and institutional boundaries both weakens and undermines institutions. (Institutions place different limits on discourse.) The narrative also tells a story about discursive and cultural space. On this day invisible boundaries are extended, contested and finally fall back into place. I propose that these processes 'captured' within two hours are part of a larger contestation of boundaries/limits in the field of discourse and culture to be discovered in the 'life' of a (presently) marginal constituency: In common talk, 'the left'. At the moment the central player is the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). It draws in, and reaches out towards 'capabilities' of immense power in the form of human and intellectual resources. I suggest it is attempting both to re-legitimise and re-capture the State, but I find it difficult to understand these very submerged processes in terms of educational theory. They would need to be examined as structural pressures in the light of macro sociological/historical theory, and so, for the purposes of this chapter, the 'big' issues of power and legitimation are kept off-stage, but hinted at, all the same.

What could be discerned in this single instance in Cape Town 2 September was, firstly: a coming together of many of the collective and participatory processes I've observed (and participated in) in the last few years. (In Chapter Three, 3.4 they were portrayed as being problematic in certain contexts). Secondly, this instance reveals a fascinating integration of cultural forms. I would argue here that these participatory processes were largely successful and
unproblematic in the 'instance' and that such 'forms' take root and flourish in spaces protected by recognised limits or boundaries (an institution or a curriculum) and that the same processes are severely constrained, threatened and disrupted in spaces where the boundaries are made to disappear by forceful contestation (as in the morning of 2 September). These are organised ventures into a hostile and violent world. Having said that, I would also want to argue that these ventures are necessary to the life and legitimacy of institutions. I suggest that a perhaps fatal strategic flaw in re-conceptualizing institutions might be to mistake one for the other - institution for organization: Institutions may depend on organizational 'arms', but, I suggest, institutions are not organizations. This may be a statement of the only too obvious. Maybe not.

The final introductory comment to this chapter has to do with acknowledging the shift in research style from Chapters Two to Four. The positions described in Chapter Two were the result of empirical, almost categorical, study. The form of their presentation is propositional. As I have argued before, it was an essential first step to overcome a research paralysis induced by facing up to the human feelings and qualities captured in the raw interview data, within a highly charged situation. By (nearly) stripping the data of feeling, reducing it to, and analysing it within, categories, it was possible to present an interpretation of what was said. The 'positions' lie within a research tradition which Eisner labels as the "Hegemony of propositions" and which is generally regarded as
The narrative story below, (so long in coming because it requires such careful introduction!), lies in another research tradition. It is framed in the language of qualitative, non-propositional research. It attempts to validate the importance of experience. In doing so, it no longer objectifies through de-personalization but positively delights in the richness of experience and feeling. My intention however is not to privilege experience, but to use it to complement other forms of knowledge presented elsewhere.

The narrative is headed by two quotations, as though I might hold before an audience two precious objects, prior to launching the story. Their message is "See here and remember as you listen."

2. NARRATION IN THREE VOICES

Introduction:

I stand before readers as a hurried, stressed, non-propositional researcher, and hold before you these:

... Institutions, conceived of as regularized practices which are 'deeply layered' in time and space, both pre-exist and post-date the lives of individuals who reproduce them, and thus may be resistant to manipulation and change by any particular agent.

Narration is the quintessential form of customary knowledge, in more ways than one. First, the popular stories themselves recount what could be called positive or negative apprenticeships (Bildungen): in other words, the successes or failures greeting the hero's


undertakings. These successes or failures either bestow legitimacy upon social institutions (the function of myths), or represent positive or negative models (the successful or unsuccessful hero) of integration into established institutions (legends and tales). Thus the narratives allow the society in which they are told, on the one hand, to define its criteria of competence and, on the other, to evaluate according to those criteria what is performed or can be performed within it.

Second, the narrative form, unlike the developed forms of the discourse of knowledge, lends itself to a great variety of language games. (3)

My only claim to competence for telling this story is that I was there, and the proceedings addressed themselves to me. I observed, listened, marvelled, puzzled, wondered and thought. (4) As Lyotard might say, I occupied the post of 'addressee'. (5) In telling you, the reader, some of it I now occupy the post of 'sender' and the reader now occupies the post of addressee. The story is all about the undertakings of heroes and heroines. They occupy the posts of 'referent' and their presence completes a 'speech act' - a story.

This story represents a customary form of South African knowledge. Readers (who constitute the 'society' of educational researchers and others) must define its criteria of competence, and accordingly evaluate whether this narrative can be performed within this 'society'.

The narrative is in two integrated parts: the first - the story proper: Here the heroic characters appear in roles conferred on them by the MDM, and it would appear that they accept these easily enough. They are known as 'dignitaries', 'marshalls' and 'comrades'. In the story, all are heroic and must suffer and rejoice in the fate of heroes and heroines. In the second part of the narrative, (the story improper), I present two more sets of heroes, quite real to me, but less easily seen. I assign to them the roles of 'institution' and 'organization'. Perhaps they are legends, but nevertheless, actors too in the story. I shall also tell what I see them as doing. I assign to the comrades a second identity - Selves: Their discursive, cultural 'selves' are also slightly discerned by me and so, for the story, they are bearers of dual identities. Similarly the dignitaries too have another identity, but their special status requires definition. They have names (Tutu, Omar) and labels (Academic, cultural worker).


(4) I didn't go there to do research. My presence there was part of my other life. In the end, those boundaries dissolved.

With so many kinds of things to tell, I shall use different voices. In the first voice I describe, in another [in square brackets] I offer comment. The words I use are also of different kinds: I borrow from the society of researchers ('practices', 'activities') and the society of political reporters and actors ('protesters', 'police'). I tried, but was unable to resist adopting a third voice. I'm too 'indoctrinated', and the readers, I guess, too 'tough' to easily convince. I use it to bolster my story. This voice appears in my footnotes and uses the language of modern science. It indicates the paths to be followed for checking the story and tells where more, better can be found to corroborate, substantiate or contradict. The language of science demands this and I think that's fair enough. Perhaps the postmodern needs the modern: the one cannot, (at the moment), do without the other. Finally, I genuflect to reveal my sources: mental imagery and rough fieldnotes supplemented by documentary data.(6)

THE TIME, THE PLACE

There is a piece of Anglican Church turf in Cape Town, bounded by the South African public library, Victoria Street, Wale Street and The Avenue (with Parliament behind). One part of the institution of the church 'lives' there. I was there on Saturday 2 September for one part of the MDM campaign of non-violent civil disobedience, popularly called the Defiance Campaign. The name vibrates with historical significance, calling up memories and mythologies of the African National Congress (ANC) Programme of Action in 1949, The Defiance Campaign of 1951 and the events of 1960 which led to the banning of the ANC and Pan African Congress (PAC). There had been protests and attempted marches (outlawed by the institution of government house in Parliament) for several days before. Dignitaries, academics, journalists, nuns, priests, women, comrades, 'protested' and were arrested, charged (by the institution of the Police, in service of parliament) and released.

On Saturday morning, despite roadblocks which deterred many, thousands of selves congregated in three different spaces in the city and attempted to march to Parliament. The marches were disrupted by 'other' selves, the police. Some bodies of comrade selves were sprayed purple, knocked off their feet, or beaten, bruised and scarred. Five hundred and fifty selves were arrested, removed in

(6) The term 'mental imagery' is used in the sense that its meaning is dependent on surrounding activity - the source of its 'life' is society; I derive this understanding from B. Bloor, "From Mental Images to Social Interactions" in Wittgenstein : A Social Theory of Knowledge, (London: Macmillan, 1983) pp.6-15.
trucks and delivered to the charge offices of the institution of the Police. (7)

Those who escaped the morning's dragnet, together with others who came to take part in the rest of the day's proceedings, gathered together in the Cathedral Hall at 1 o'clock. The church turf was tightly bounded by the encroaching human and material appendages of the State: uniformed and plainclothed police and security officers (men and women), too many to see all at once, or count; and many vehicles of iron and steel coloured yellow and blue - five caspirs, thirteen shielded police trucks, water cannon mounted on a truck and numerous police cars and vans.

[The boundary was tightly in place, held by the institution of the police. Nevertheless, the boundary was porous - police plainclothesmen moving through, as well as comrades, selves, determined to broach and join the proceedings. It felt as though the boundary could at any moment pull in like a drawstring. There was also hope that somehow, by force of tradition and the institutional power of the church, the ground of church turf would be recognized as inviolable - that the boundary would hold].

[That is not the end of the boundary story. On church turf there are inner boundaries, hanging like auras around the Cathedral and the Hall. They do things to selves. What helps to transmit messages is the language of form - of the Hall and the Cathedral. In concert with this (and impregnated with the language of form) the languages of socialization, tradition and culture influence the practices and discourses of selves as they move from Hall to Cathedral].

2.1 IN THE HALL [CHURCH AS ORGANIZATION]

Selves are encouraged to go into the hall, rather than to stand chatting and milling around in huddles and groups, far too exposed to the presence of 'other' selves whose proper place was barely across the road. Comrade selves comply and file in.

[The spaces of the hall are defined by raised stage, central auditorium, side and rear entrances, a few chairs along the walls. Selves know their allotted space and take it up. Speakers with licence take turns on the stage. Hearerers remain on the floor. On occasion some speak up without licence. That too is respected].

(7) The events of the morning, the practices of the police and comrades are reported and documented in, at least, the following newspapers: Sunday Star, Sunday Times and Rapport, (Cape Town, 3 September 1989); Cape Times (Cape Town, 4 September 1989).
Inside the hall is nearly full of selves. Sitting on the floor, sharing chairs, standing around the edge. Arms hold and encircle those displaying welts; bruises and plasters covering cuts.

[The dress of woman, man, everyself on the street are so familiar that the details are lost beneath the new stamp of police; purple stained long blonde hair, brown skin, clothing once white, patterned, now purple. Today, here, a badge of honour].

First Speaker

A self who proclaims himself 'academic' addresses, declares from the stage. He explains that his presence signifies again the motivations and purposes expressed in the previous day's march of academics. Ninety-six selves had laid claim to the Public Turf of St. Georges Street Mall.

[the event already lived in my mind, transmitted along a grapevine, it had crystallized into memorable myth in less than a day. Not so much for the activities of the academics alone, as for the magic moment of integration of the forms of 'high' and 'low' culture captured in a central image which stimulated my visual, auditory and emotional senses. The image is this: A serious, black-gowned academic procession is brought to a halt by the 'secular' police force of a political institution controlled by a minority of selves. At that moment, the vocal noises of 'onlooker' selves, the music of 'busker' self, is momentarily stilled. Softly, projected into the silence, saxophone sounds produce a melody recognised as 'Nkosi Sikelel i Afrika'. A community of selves (procession and onlookers) quietly take up the refrain. Daniel Khobo has orchestrated the anthem - by moving his saxophone into the space made available.(8) The arrests, charges become banal history. On another level, public space has been won, lost, reclaimed. The boundaries are back in place].

Second Speaker

A recognized MDM facilitator asks comrade selves in the audience who also bear the identity of marshalls to relocate from auditorium to stage. It is requested that they put on the red headbands/bandannas which signify their 'marshal' role, and that they devise a plan of action to enable the comrades to transfer safely from hall to Cathedral.

[The stage is filled with fifty or more selves uniformly red-banded, huddled, working to organize a strategic task].

(8) The moment is humourously described by John Scott, 'Look, a demo's not a demo without the COPS, hey!' Cape Times, 4 September 1989, p.6; A photograph showing Daniel Nkobo in front of the academic march appears in the Cape Times, 2 September 1989, p.2.
Third Speaker

A United Democratic Front (UDF) office holder recounts the details, sequence and form of the day's marches to Parliament, the manoeuvres, violence, arrests, transport of trucks full of comrades, dignitaries, to be processed by the courts. 550 comrades in all. (9)

[In an image the invisible boundaries shift back and forth as road space is contested. The road to Parliament is symbolically opened then again closed when the advancing procession is stripped of its protective shield of dignitaries and marshalls, attacked and dismantled into trucks. The institution of the police appears to violate the rules of the institution of law but this must obey another book of rules written in Parliament].

The same officer holder loudly and publicly addresses 'the informer', standing at the back of the auditorium and asks him to leave the hall. The officer reminds comrades (and the informer) that his presence is an acknowledged part of the game. But the firm demand is nevertheless that he should leave.

[The crowd turns around to identify the intrusive, unwanted self. Tension rises, is contained and the self eventually leaves to join other selves displaying their official identities on the pavement outside the hall].

Fourth Speaker

A comrade takes the stage by standing on a chair in the auditorium. He argues for a course of action: Comrades who wished to so should march to the courts and offer themselves up for arrest in symbolic support of 550 comrades arrested earlier that day. The action would be stronger if it was seen to be a disciplined collective enterprise.

[A murmured groundswell of support for the proposal emerges from the audience].

Fifth Speaker

A cultural worker climbs up on to the stage. She tells the story of a large work of visual art, prepared off-site during several nights work and erected on site in District Six early that Saturday morning. By 9 a.m. it was destroyed with pickaxes wielded by police workers. It was strong enough, large enough, the details clear enough, near enough, to be brightly visible from the highway. It seems it spoke too loudly and could not stay. But it was necessary to state in the hall that the visual arts group of the Cultural Workers Congress (CWC) had contributed to the Defiance Campaign by erecting a brief-

(9) For a more detailed description see 'Landwyke onrus duur voort', Rapport, 3 September 1989, p.2.
lived monument to symbolise the forced removals of millions of selves and others still threatened. Two visual artists were arrested for taking photographs of the art work.

[The 'dangerous' aesthetic image is inscribed in the memories of selves who listened and absorbed: Imagine a wide and flat-topped arch resting in two holes dug in the ground, 4½ metres apart, filled with cement, each holding a 3 metre-high steel pole. A large corrugated zinc sheet stretches from the top of one pole to the other. That is the arch. The joints are welded. The sculpture is solid and details speak: Large letters cut out of the zinc panel read 'The people shall govern'. Suspended from the panel are yellow and green painted tin cans arranged to form even larger tubular letters - they read 'Mayibuwe'.(10) At the side of the arch there stands a small wood and corrugated iron shelter. Stones laid on the ground in front of it and painted white again read 'Mayibuwe'.(11) The District Six turf was captured only briefly. The destruction of the work took a full half hour. A brief shifting of the boundaries before they moved back. Some cultural workers return to their institutional bases. There is space enough there to nurture the impulse of guerilla aesthetics].

Second Speaker Returns

The MDM facilitator announces that the church dignitaries had arrived and were waiting in the Cathedral.(12) Marshalls should leave the hall first to structure the way to the Cathedral. The comrades should follow. They are reminded to observe forms of appropriate behaviour once in the Cathedral. A fringe dignitary in the hall is requested to use her presence as a buffer between the apparently encroaching police and the marshalls.(13)

Passage to the Cathedral

Marshalls in red headbands form two human chains and comrades move from Hall to Cathedral in the space formed between them. The dignitary and her colleagues watch.

[The buffer space is stabilised and all slowly filter into the Cathedral].

(10) The meaning of 'Mayibuwe' approximates to 'Come back Africa, return to the people'.

(11) A photograph showing the 'monument' in the process of being erected appears in South, 7-13 September 1989, p.3.

(12) Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Dean Colin Jones.

(13) Mary Burton, National President of the Black Sash.
The space in the nave resonates the gentle choral singing of 'Senzenina'(14) The aisles are overflowing with selves. Where there is no more aisle-space, other architectural forms allow for seating or leaning posts. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Dean Colin Jones and other church dignitaries welcome and address the audience/congregation. They ask them to continue singing while they go outside to 'remind' the police that the church turf is still protected by a court interdict won during the week, and that the close presence of the police infringes the interdict.

[The institution of the law in service of the institution of the church].

Tutu and Jones return and the audience near windows bears witness to the rumbling departure of all caspiers, trucks, vehicles and police. All that finally remains visible is a police cordon half-way down Burg Street and curious spectators nearby. A ripple of amused, joking commentary spreads through the audience.

[The boundary has moved back].

The proceedings take on a rhythm of their own. In the spaces provided while dignitaries confer, women in choir stalls begin spontaneous chants:

Viva UDP! audience replies each time: Viva!
Viva PESAW! Viva UWCO! Viva SANSCO!...
Viva UWC!... Viva! [note]

Archbishop Tutu reports back to the audience on his conferral with the police (there were less women than last time!, he says). The police agreed to go, but it appears the trade-off is a request to the marshalls: they must remove their red headbands.

[They do so. How powerful is the form of 'uniform'! How clearly (or subliminally) the police outside recognise the reconstitution of the institution of police, inside].

The formal proceedings begin. In a long address, interspersed with digression and incident, Tutu reminds the company of selves of the moral righteousness of their cause. His introduction is surprisingly abrupt:

"Show me your hands!" he calls

[a few selves lift hands up hesitantly]

"What is in them?"

(14) A Xhosa hymn: Part of its meaning is "What have we done? ...people are crying".
"What is in them?" ["nothing' selves shout back]
"They're empty!"
"Why are they [outside] so scared of empty hands? ...to display all those trucks, all those men, some women, ... Why?"

[no self answers, ... yet]

"As they are not here to answer for themselves, I will answer for them: '... we use violence against them because there is nothing else we can use'"

[illegitimacy as blocking device]
The Archbishop continues to reassert the importance (and difficulty) of the struggle for freedom:

"Let's say, we will be free!

[urgent shout]
We will be free together, Black and White in a free South Africa."

"Say it again!"

[The audience hold fists up high, repeating the statement:]

"Say it again!"

[Audience response repeated, shouted loudly]

'Let's sit down."

He outlines the procedures for completing the meeting. The description is interrupted by the arrival of civil rights Advocate Dullah Omar, Chairperson of the UDF Western Cape Region.

"Here comes Dullah, Dulla a a!"

[Warm, joyous cry].

"Let's say, welcome Dulla a a!"

[Audience stand up and cheer. This is Mr Omar's first public appearance since suffering a heart attack in July. Foremost church dignitary is joined by foremost MDM dignitary. One in church robes, black and purple, the other in dark suit, no tie, red shirt. The whole a rich visual integration, up front and within the audience, of a diversity of cultural signs, forms and signals against the backdrop of Gothic arches and other signs - the architectural language of traditional church as institution].

The Advocate addresses the audience. He tells of the re-adaptation of the Caledon Square Magisterial Halls and Courts to process legal
charges against 500 or more selves, being processed in batches of 20. He refers to the struggle.

"We are winning this war of liberation."

He refers to the violence, the police outside, the memory of the Minister of Police, Mr Vlok's television appearance the night before. Recounts his anger at the falsity of Vlok's statements and outlines his thoughts at the time: - Vlok's statements reminded him of the Nuremberg trials at the end of World War II, he says to himself "Vlok, when we have trials like that, you will be there."

[Shouts of approval].

He turns smilingly to Tutu and says to the audience, "I know my friend doesn't like this kind of talk, [but it must be said]"

[Warm and tolerant spirit between the two. They are, it seems, at different listening posts. But the discourse of common liberatory/political purpose is dominant. They are resolutely together in this struggle].

The Archbishop brings proceedings to a close, explaining the method by which the audience is requested to leave the Cathedral, small groups leaving the Cathedral in batches, so as not to draw the police cordon back. The marshalls will facilitate the process. As this will necessarily be a slow process there is other business to be done: "Those of us who have been dying...."

[The words are left unsaid, the meaning is clear - it refers back to the proposal in the hall - 'to offer ourselves up for arrest'].

"Stay here, so we can decide together what dying people do!"

[Humour and awareness in the audience too].

"I have a dilemma... I'm a protected species... I have tried five times to be arrested!" [without much success] [laughter] "You are not."

[by implication, 'a protected species']

"I have to be particularly sensitive as to how I involve you my little brothers" [the phrase 'my little sisters' may have been added, it was not heard].

The Cathedral empties.

[The marshalls no longer need their headbands. Their roles are recognized and defined by their stance and activities. I was not present to record the discussion of the dying people. There were no more reported arrests].
I walked three streets up, to the mountain end of Loop Street, and discovered how far the boundary had been pushed back. My car was 'odd' in a line of police vehicles, water cannon, stained purple directly in front of my 'red' car.

[I simply like red! The other language of cars is not admitted here].

As we all drove off together, I followed to return to the Cathedral. But the cordon was back, porous to police vehicles, closed to mine. The boundary was back in place, the story ends.

3. DISCUSSION

In this discussion I reclaim the role of propositional researcher, while also holding on to that of non-propositional researcher. The two together will do a 'balancing act'. I've stumbled so far in the fog that I've become inured to risk.(15)

I shall not interpret the narrative story beyond stating an opinion: Social realities were recognized by participants - they successfully read the implicit rules of institutions and organizations, and acknowledged the invisible boundaries.

The institutions which played a role in the story above were institutions of government, police, church and law. The institution of higher education appeared in the distance, represented by the academic hero - the first speaker, and the myth of the march. I would argue that all these institutions are tainted, soiled,

(15) I allude to Kemmis: "Those who expect to follow the progress of science in brilliant light will be ill at ease following the case study worker stumbling from lamplight to lamplight in the fog", see Stephen Kemmis, 'The imagination of the case and the invention of the study' in Helen Simons, ed., Towards a Science of the Singular, p.100.
contaminated and/or obstructed by the violent and desperate course of South African history. Some teeter precariously between social/political legitimacy and illegitimacy. How far they lean one way or the other depends on how we see them and rate them. (I would assume the agreement of readers to a proposition which asserts that the institution of government, as presently constituted, is glaringly illegitimate, and will undergo rapid adaptation and change. How, when and to what ends, is not at issue here).

At present, I propose to hold back on discussing Universities in general, and UWC in particular, as educational institutions implicated in the case. The rationale for doing so now, is that the were so much at the perimeter of the story that they barely existed in the mind of the narrator and thus were insufficiently conveyed to the mind of the reader. There is a second reason too: UWC, and other South African universities in general, are such complex, multi-layered, deeply contaminated institutions that those of us near them, or inside of them get used to seeing them in habitual ways. I propose to move sideways and to bring two other institutions into view by means of analogy, metaphor and dramatic/romantic language. (16) I shall touch on the institution of banking and reflect on the institution of law, so progressively approaching the institution of learning/higher education as vested in the custody of UWC in order to see it afresh in Chapter Five.

(16) The terms need definition: by dramatic language I mean language that 'performs'. Similarly the meaning of the word romantic suggest fictitious and remote qualities. To say that 'institutions live' is questionable in everyday academic language but, I suggest, true in romantic language.
I begin from a pre-theoretical proposition: that is, it is entirely appropriate that major South African institutions are tainted, contaminated and obstructed. They are part of that society and deeply embedded as they are, can only display the features of that society—its weaknesses and strengths, and all that exists in, and between, the tragic and the heroic. The corollary to this is that institutions are not confined to their major 'bearers' and 'interpreters'. They spill over and seep into other bearers and interpreters. These may be minor, unstable or vulnerable. Their great strength is that they survive as 'deeply layered' 'regularized' practices. Formal institutions merely have protective custody of these practices while they harbour them well enough. Once they fail to do so the scarred or fledgling practices relocate elsewhere.

The institution of banking would be one case in point. The major commercial banks and building societies reproduce themselves as long as they continue to serve "well enough" that sector of society in which they are embedded and where structural conditions allow them either to persist or decline. That is the fate of 'First National', 'United', 'Volkskas', 'Standard', 'Perm', 'Allied' et al. I made the point (prior to delivering the narration) that institutions may depend for their survival and legitimacy on organizational 'arms'. Could the advertising departments of banks and building societies, in cohort with the advertising industry, be the organizational arms of formal banking institutions? If the proposition holds, then I would suggest that this is an organizational, lifegiving, and profoundly political task of banks, but it is not banking.
I would develop the argument further by proposing the formal banks fail to do full justice to the richness and complexity of South African society. More simply, they don't serve well enough. The institution of banking grows well enough, lives well enough in range of informal structures from steadily multiplying co-operatives to thriving 'Umgalelo' and 'stokvel'. (17) The future of the institution of banking as a whole in South Africa is tied to the fate of all these 'bearers'. It may lie 'in between' them.

The institution of the law, as it appeared in the narration above, on the knife-edge of illegitimacy, still worked well enough. It allowed itself to be used by the fair and the foul. However sullied, it was used to move boundaries back in protection of the comrades keeping police away through interdicts, and then to draw them back right in around comrades to legitimate arrests and brief captivity. It would appear that these seemingly contradictory moves were accepted as part of the game. The future legitimacy of the institution of the law may well turn on why it was not called on, or able, to constrain or arrest the particularly foul (some police), and how soon it will regain the ability to do so. Meanwhile it must continue to perform without prejudice for oppressor and oppressed. While society adjusts the institution of Law, as in the Legal System, buys scarce time to

(17) Galelo means 'to put into, pour in'. Umgalelo (gooi, goo) is the name of informal saving and banking schemes operating through the commitment of smaller or larger groups of people. The same kind of schemes are called 'Stokvel' in the Transvaal. While they may be lacking in managerial sophistication they do serve credit needs - the same function existing in formal banking structures. Umgalelo and stokvel may draw on the powerful resource of customary knowledge.
adapt and to that end its organizational arm is presently addressing itself. (18)

There have been signs in recent years of a reconstitution of the institution of law in organised developments which draw on 'deeply layered practices' already reproducing themselves in townships and rural areas in South Africa. I will reflect briefly on issues raised by recent manifestations of 'people's courts' and 'people's justice'. (19) The rationale for doing so is that they present in 'real' terms and clear relief the notions of 'institution', 'system', 'organization' and 'accountability'. They speak clearly of the structural constraint of the present legal system, the power of human agency in 'organization', the possibility of organizational accountability and, I suggest, the 'impossibility' of 'institutional' accountability at present. This reflection will bring to a close the 'waywardness' of this chapter and return the dissertation to its central problem of 'Institutional accountability'.

(18) I suggest that the organizational arm of the institution of law in South Africa works through the activities of Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers (NADEL). They operate on wide fronts. Both are active in schemes which assist people on death row to explore all options to staying execution on the grounds that many death penalty judgements raise serious questions about the ability of the courts to dispense justice in non-discriminatory rulings. NADEL extends professional and humanitarian help to death row prisoners. LHR are monitoring the applications of the doctrine of common purpose with the object of eliminating racial discrimination in the administration of justice.

Some people's courts may have been problematic because their principal lineage was organizational. I suggest that those which stood proud had a lineage which was overwhelmingly institutional and that their organizational arms worked in communities which despite crippling odds remained whole. I allude to a remarkable case (too sensitive and long to describe here) which worked itself out through a street committee in Port Elizabeth. The story has not been aired publicly because its ability to reflect positively on people's justice was in clear contravention of the Emergency Regulations. (These are still in force and constrain publication.) The case itself was no soft story. While it was lodged in a community where the words 'tradition' and 'respect' carried rich meanings, the outcome of the case demonstrated a hard sense of pragmatism and even expediency. It enabled a band of professionals (employed) and local workers (mostly unemployed) to work with compassion, creativity and stunning resourcefulness, through a street committee constituted of 'the people' (elders and youth). The wronged received restitution, the wrongdoer was constrained by the cushioned but vice-like grip of the 'lawful' community, and generously re-integrated into it. The outcome was as funny as it was inspirational. While the story is too intricate and detailed to tell here, reference to it has a purpose.

I would like to pose one question after making three assertions about people's courts and people's justice:

(20) I had intended writing an article about the case for publication. The case can be substantiated by taped interview data in my possession. Interview with Thobeka Florence Gaxamba, Cape Town, September 1987.
(a) They are no longer publicly active as a result of structural constraint. The point at which this manifested itself was in the concerted actions of a system of government drawing on the resources of the institutions of law and police. (21)

(b) Some people's courts were lodged in resource bases so structurally weak and problematic, that in a sense they contributed to their own downfall. (22)

(c) Central to the problems of people's justice was the question of how accountability was expressed. Where the spirit of accountability to 'progressive' movements was widely shared and the resource base was strongly structured (if only briefly, as in Port Elizabeth). It seems as if the balance maintained between human agency and social structure resulted in legitimate operations. (23)

Where accountability must be expressed in harder terms the clear options are stark: The very existence of these courts is an expression of the need and necessity of maximising the independence of people's courts from a 'contaminated' legal system and institution of government. Is this independence secured by a form of accountability to another political power centre? (The progressive

(21) A case in point is illustrated in W. Scharf, People's Justice, Sash, pp.19-23.

(22) Ibid.

(23) People's courts are so under-researched that assertions such as the above must remain conditional.
movements then, the MDM now). Will this ensure that justice is done, particularly where it may be necessary to go against the prevailing 'wisdom' of the progressive movements (in policing boycotts etc.)? That is the nub of the question. I would be prepared to argue that in many cases 'good' politics may result in 'bad' justice, which in turn contaminates 'good' politics (and potentially de-legitimates it.) (It is also possible to argue that excessively terse and unsubstantiated statements such as above should be deleted from responsible dissertations). I would choose to leave it there, and suggest that by lighting fires on different pieces of turf it becomes possible to see (in the new light provided) the many predicaments of institutions of higher learning - the universities of South Africa. The 'clearer options' of formal direct accountability to another power centre are clear enough, and not concretely proposed by any university. It would appear that the spirit of accountability to these centres remains expressive, whether strongly or weakly evoked. The stronger questions are in the grey area of 'other options' - a decentralization of power centres. (One route for such a structural analysis is shown in the following chapter.)

4. AN OPEN-ENDED 'CONCLUSION'

This chapter will end with a 'mini' narration and an alternative metaphor for universities that have to reconceive their roles in rough conditions. The point of the metaphors is the kind of signals they produce.
First, the mini-narrative about institutions:

Believe it or not, South African institutions are heroes/heroines and legends. Living as they do, in 'deep space and time', they can do no other than be available to all, reproducing themselves without favour or prejudice. Open to thorough use, whether ennobling or discreting, they pass from old impostors and tricksters to the new pretenders and rulers. The territory is wide open to be penetrated by all divine children, great-mothers and father-gods.

Some of us, who feel protective about all of this, get out and organise or stay in and work. Doing both, the motto is: remember in is a different place to out.

It this narrative is too mystifying the last point can be driven home in a different way. The youth in the Port Elizabeth 'people's justice' story knew when they entered the room of the street committee that they had entered a different world. As F.G. recounted to me, they 'stood with dignity'. If they could have used another mystifying and exclusive language, they might have said "We have entered a different sphere of discourse."

Second, two metaphors:

Metaphor I for 'rebuilding' a university was presented in Chapter Two, 3.1.4:

We are like sailors who have to rebuild our ship on high seas - we cannot build it from base in dry dock. We are in the midst of a journey and we need to keep afloat.
I would argue that if the metaphor is read in the context of UWC rhetoric it is both immensely powerful and potentially misleading. It is the central image of a ship which presents the problem. Before I indicate the problem, a brief note about the rhetoric (clearly justice can only be done to the rhetoric by a fuller and richer description).

The Rector and Vice Chancellor of UWC has been scrupulous in presenting the duality of potential and threat to the university in public statements. Thus he invited parents (masterfully using dramatic and romantic language!) to "take our hand in yours and ... walk with us into the night" so as to "open up the unknown and hazardous trail to the future" (see Chapter Two, 1.3 above).

No mistaking the threat.

He also said: "This university is ... historically placed ... to be an intellectual home for the left" (see Chapter Two, 1.1 above).

No mistaking the potential.

My argument is that these statements may not be equally weighted/heard in a situation where social conditions give rise to staggering needs and awesome hopes. The call lies in 'hand in yours', 'home' and 'left'. The call is strong enough, I suggest, to make all 'nights' and 'hazards' worth the risk.
To return to Metaphor I: Read in this context the image of ship, although clearly requiring repair, is a powerful signal to those 'wrecked' and 'marooned' on 'an island'. The 'ship' signal may signify too strongly the possibility of safe rescue. (And the resolution, for some, of a crisis of identity).

I would propose that metaphor II be worked around an alternate image: that 'ship' should instead be 'flotilla of rafts'. 'The journey, the high seas, the need to rebuild' are valid enough. But the ship signals itself as an entity – perhaps an organization. The assorted rafts, while still attempting a common journey, represent, I think more appropriately, the nature of a university institution. The rafts bob up and down, so vulnerable on the high seas, that those marooned on the island may receive a clearer signal of the risk to them and their future chances if they get on board. The rafts may not all fare equally: some may sink and those who steer some of them may choose to steer so as to drift into quieter waters, to wait until the storm subsides before regrouping to continue the journey. Each raft may represent aspects of UWC – its faculties, departments, centres and institutions. Or, I would argue, they represent the disciplines which are themselves institutions within the larger university institution that holds them in formal custody. The language of Afrikaans is such an institution: sullied by its usage by a dominant power centre in government, it is being reconstituted by university staff who are alternate bearers of a language institution more richly conceived, (because the social reality of Afrikaans is perceived in a broader, different conceptualization.) And so,
perhaps, with other disciplines and forms of higher learning. The second part of this argument is as follows: each department may be judged 'good' or 'not so good' in the way that it conceives of the discipline (and its practices) as 'taught' in the department. Such judgements are made because they conform to relevant criteria accepted by those who 'know' (or have opinions about) disciplines. Thus an Afrikaans department and a Physics department are judged 'good' or not, on different criteria. For instance, the truth or justice, of a literature which interprets social reality (for Afrikaans), or the scientific truth-status of physics. On what kind of a consensus then can a university institution set the rules of accountability?

There may be a third metaphor for an institution. Would readers join the game? Out there, there is a field of learning, disciplines and allied practices - the tasks of rebuilding (and the journey) can hardly be avoided.

In the context of the complexity and diversity of institutions in South Africa, I suggest that definitions of institutional accountability must identify appropriate centres of authority (or power) and the criteria which is used to judge each as 'good'.
CHAPTER FIVE

SUSPENDING THE ENQUIRY

1. REVIEW

2. TWO ROUTES FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION OF THE CASE

   2.1 Introduction

   2.2 Curricular relationships at UWC:
       A map in two versions

   2.3 Educational interaction within South African Systems: A map for macroscopic analysis

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CHAPTER FIVE

SUSPENDING THE ENQUIRY

1. REVIEW

The inquiry of this dissertation has been an attempt to get to grips with the particularly South African meanings of institutional accountability. It has searched for these meanings in a small-scale naturalistic case study located within the University of the Western Cape. The case was complex on many levels. Most obviously the phenomenon of institutional accountability was not manifestly present in the Case where it might have been examined through a consistently applied method of case study research. In Chapter One I described the approach taken, and suggested that the study set out to justify itself internally and that it would not issue findings or recommendations. The case is regarded indeterminate and as such cannot be 'concluded'. This chapter therefore is not presented as a conclusion. It will briefly review the organic, improvising nature of the dissertation and then propose that further explanations of the case may be found by considering some aspects of the case in two theoretical frameworks: The first, curriculum theory and the second a macroscopic sociological/historical framework.

The study began (without any sense of where it was going to end) when I, as researcher, gained formal access to the UWC campus. The processes of searching for the phenomenon to be studied were set out
in a detailed description of the Research Study. I indicated that political and ethical considerations were major factors in shaping the case study. At almost every stage of writing, it was necessary to face up to constraints imposed by methodological choices made in a highly charged situation.

I attempted to convey the social reality of the case to the reader by means of rich description of contexts. The seventeen educator/actors, whose viewpoints were the major source of primary data, practised in a real 'living' world. The processes of change impacting on that world were influenced by forces emanating both from inside and outside of the University of the Western Cape. It was proposed that an interpretation of interview data showed five distinct and explicit positions on institutional accountability. Each position was organized around a key unifying idea or focus, and as such were accepted as valid by the educators whose viewpoints constituted the positions.

By analysing positions data, key phrases were identified as signals to the principal definitions of five discourses. The discourses were named and it was proposed that they constituted a discursive field through which it was possible to make a second reading of the case. The shifts in each position after one year was ascribed to dynamic discursive activity 'feeding' not only on intervening events on the UWC campus, but a more general field of discourse in the Western Cape, traced in the period 1986-1989. It was argued that two major discourses, a 'redemptive community discourse' and a 'developmental
process' discourse were grounded in a participatory democratic culture which was problematic in certain contexts where a severely repressive political climate had distorting effects on a resource which could be an enriching asset in other contexts. It was suggested that the acknowledgement of different degrees of power was complicated in situations where there was a reluctance to openly state the goals and purposes ascribed to alternative authority/power centres. On these grounds it was proposed that the participatory democratic culture of the Western Cape was of considerable importance and warranted further study. The analysis of discourses was suspended in a speculative vein by suggesting that the 'servicing the professions' position, (Position I in the case), would most likely collapse and that others would strengthen or change.

In reflecting back on the phenomenon of institutional accountability in the context of new insights into the case it is argued that the meanings accruing to the term have much to do with dilemmas of educational practice in a 'University' domain positioned in-between the contrary pulls of 'community' and 'academic' domains, each privileging different ideals of social reality. The importance and significance of personal identification with discursive ideals was argued to lie in the related forms of educational practice.

In the last phase of the dissertation, prior to suspending the enquiry, I entered a non-propositional research mode and produced a narrative drawing on resources of customary knowledge. Its purpose was to explore perceived differences between institutional and
organizational forms and practice. This research mode broadened in
discussion where it was argued that institutions placed distinctively
different limits on definitions of accountability and that these
complexities should be acknowledged in definitions of 'institutional
accountability'. I suggested that such definitions direct personal
accountabilities, or practices of accountability, to appropriate
authority/power centres. Judgements as to appropriate
authority/power centres might be made by identifying the criteria
which legitimates authority and power. I argue thus that definitions
should be structured so as to place institutional considerations as
prior to organizational considerations on the grounds that elements
can only be organized once they are already instituted, or
established. I propose that 'elements' of educational practice in
institutions such as universities are 'deeply layered' in time (and
more resistant to change) and are thus not as malleable as other
current forms of educational practice in Western Cape organizations.
I argue there should be no conflation of organizational
limits/boundaries and institutional limits/boundaries.

As a tentative ending to an indeterminate case study, I propose a
tentative structure to a definition of institutional accountability
which could be used to clarify the practices of individuals who hold
office in educational institutions:

Person A in institutional capacity of B declares A accountable to C
(one or several centres of authority) for actions D (practises) in
pursuit of E (aim) for the purpose of F (goals to be achieved). The criteria for legitimating C is G.

Implicit in the structure outlined above is the consistent application, in educational practice, of social ideals, as well as the existence of appropriate channels which can be used by authorities (who have the muscle) to call practitioners to account.

If the definition is used to call, or declare, institutions accountable, (if A refers to an institution rather than a person), then A might specify the appropriate limits/boundaries to C, D, E and F and, most importantly, to state the criteria used to declare accountability in one voice. I argue that for an institution to speak in one voice requires a centralization of authority which places severe constraints on the potential diversity and richness of institutions such as universities in South Africa, and especially, the still-to-be-realized universities of the future. This argument is tentative on two grounds. One, that the case is indeterminate, and two, that the dissertation cannot do justice to the case without additional explorations and explanations. Two exploratory routes are proposed below.
2. TWO ROUTES FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION OF THE CASE

2.1 Introduction

This study is suspended at a point which is determined by pragmatic considerations (those of prescriptive wordcount and submission dates for higher degrees at UCT.) However the case, in a holistic sense, calls for further explanations which would be possible if it was examined through alternative frameworks. I would suggest that some features of the case (reflecting the UWC aim of democratization) might be analysed by using a curriculum frame focussing on the educational codes of democratization - as in what appears to be a form legitimated by the university 'philosophy' - that of participatory democracy. Other features of the case (reflecting the importance and significance of the UWC information campaign) might be analysed through a macro-sociological/historical frame, focussing on the contest for educational control of UWC as an educational institution which is both structurally and politically obstructed. In both these frames of analysis the case would almost disappear into the larger 'system' contexts of analysis and explanation.

The value of using frameworks such as these lies in drawing on developed bodies of theoretical knowledge which may help to illuminate the case within far larger contexts. This is necessary so as to come to a better understanding of the
organizational (or re-organizing) and institutional (or constituting) functions of teachers and administrators at UWC. What I have in mind is that organizational change (and the administration of these changes) at UWC be viewed as a moral science. To do so would not, I suggest, introduce ways of 'seeing' which don't already exist at UWC. In examining institutional change, on the other hand, the conceptual map is much larger and the issue is not so much morality as the powers, or forces, which modify the structure of UWC as an educational institution within a changing educational system.

I provide two conceptual maps, and some additional 'speculative-snares' (Maps in 2.2 and 2.3 below) as two routes into these explorations. The 'maps' are diagrams which provide a simplified broad outline for viewing (i) the curriculum processes of the case (UWC) and (ii) UWC's position within the South African Educational and political systems. The diagrams are drastic simplifications of the conceptual complexities of the UWC curriculum (or two curricula) and of UWC's location within South African Systems. As such they may be largely self explanatory. Where a few terms need to be explained, I shall do so briefly below each diagram.

I would argue that to view the case through additional frameworks is important for two reasons. First, that democratic

participation in curriculum/institutional contexts in opposition to dominant power centres outside the institution, must necessarily be constrained in ways which are very different to where it is legitimated by a power centre in government.(2). The key issue here is the degree of liberty available to students and staff within a democratic (and participatory) institutional context of a university such as UWC. If one ideal of democratic participation can be perceived as in the quotation below, then which ideal does the UWC curriculum philosophy legitimate? Or, to restate the question, how far do structural constraints allow the institution to be serious about the democratization of the university and its curriculum processes?

Merquior, a social theorist, introduces his ideal by saying, "none of our praise of participation should be construed as akin to the curious civic mania displayed by some contemporary socializing liberals..." He goes on to argue:

Democratic participation ought to be seen as a matter of enlarged opportunities, not of mandatory virtue...Therefore, participation should be available but not considered, let alone stipulated, as a duty. Compulsory voting has never been a trademark of genuine democracy; and compulsory participation is not better, except as a pipe dream of dogmatic moralists showing too little interest in, or respect for, the multifarious tastes and desires of the human animal. If democracy is to serve liberty, it should never be made into an obligation tantamount to a denial of freedom; and if democracy is not geared to

liberty, then it also ceases to be democratic in any serious sense of the world. (3)

My own sense of what could be feasible in an institution is that office holders might be held accountable for educational practices which enlarge student opportunities up to a point where they are obliged by structural constraints to restrict those opportunities. The question for institutional debate in this respect is by whom, and on what criteria, is that point (or limit to freedom) stipulated? Whatever the outcome of these decisions the essential consideration is that forms of institutional accountability are more in keeping with the power of persuasion, rather than coercion; and accountability, in essence, is about placing acceptable limits on power.

The second reason for viewing the case through another framework is that the political and ideological contest around UWC cannot be explained from close-up, or through even one significant part of the case - the Information Campaign. The Campaign is a signal of national political/ideological contest around UWC. This should be seen in terms of the external structural forces which condition the educational interaction of UWC with its various communities and other interactions with supportive groups within the education system in South Africa, and of particular interest, supportive groups outside of South African society. I would set a speculative snare as follows: I argue

that social and institutional processes at work within UWC have produced evidence in the case that show that value conflict within the university is reduced. There appears to be widespread belief in, and support of the University's stated goals and objectives: This has allowed the University to ride tumultuous and potentially divisive events, on campus and outside of it, and so to avoid internal ruptures around debates such as Academic Freedom and various internal boycotts. However, its success in this area has, I think, had another cost: these processes have thrown the whole institution into a national arena of destructive political and ideological context; thus rendering UWC an obstructed institution.(4) Such status requires extraordinary institutional responses such as the information campaign and full page advertisements in national newspapers to tell the other (fairer) part of the UWC story. (The broadening of its international support base is also relevant here.) What needs to be understood is the rapid conversion of a racially defined 'neighbourhood catchment' institution to a non-racial 'extended catchment' institution serving far more more than regional interests. The university now has a national catchment area and the idea of expressive (or contractual) accountability to the community is thus vastly complicated. It is no longer tenable to suggest, meaningfully, that the university should be accountable to the community, or

(4) Margaret S. Archer discusses obstructed institutions in a study which attempts to account for the characteristics and contours of national educational systems; see Chapter 2 of her book Social Origins of Educational Systems, (London: Sage, 1984), pp.19-38.
to use the notion of community accountability innocently. The complexity of this notion requires full elaboration.

2.2 Curricular relationships

The diagram below is based on the following pre-theoretical presupposition: A holistic view of the case supports the idea of two major curricular relationships on the UWC campus. (In both 'positions' and discourses they are apparently understood as one). The formal curriculum constitutes the University. It is structured around coursework, defined by selected criteria prescribed by staff, university committees and external monitoring bodies, and sanctioned by UWC certification procedures which are accepted by various external bodies, professions or agencies. I argue that there is a second major curriculum, experimental and untested by certification procedures. Its basic purpose is to inform and shape social action in the turbulent changing contexts inside (and outside of) the university. It uses crisis as an educational opportunity and it operates through similar channels to those which presently facilitate the democratization of UWC structures. It would appear that it encourages maximum student, staff (academic and administrative) and worker participation. In my view it is managed by 'progressive' teaching staff and works through a range of informal, loosely structured educational projects and crisis management procedures. In the case there is evidence of it working through UWCade networks,
ERA seminars, the circulation of working/discussion papers and
the UWC Bulletin letterpage.

The diagram juxtaposes two versions of the curricular
relationships: in the bottom schema the formal curriculum is in
fair harmony with the second curriculum, a non-formal 'learning'
curriculum or Community Curriculum. The formal curriculum is
largely contained by a clear definition of its boundaries, which
are made slightly porous by a supportive/harmonious interaction
with the Non-Formal curriculum. The boundaries of the second
curriculum are extremely porous, even open, to the social and
community processes of South African society. It is constructed
from certain interpretations, made by its 'managers', of the
conditions outside the university - the socio-political context.
The relationship between the educational 'projects' of this
curriculum is of immediate and direct relevance to the
socio/political contexts in general and mass-based or community
organizations in particular.

In the schema above, the 'learning' Community Curriculum is in
considerable tension with the formal curriculum, exerting great
pressure on the boundaries of the formal curriculum, apparently
distorting it, or resnaping it. In my view, both schema are
'true' representations of the curricular relationships at
different times. Further exploration might lead to different
understanding of the overall UWC curriculum.
Three key questions which could direct this exploration are:

(i) "what are the core educational democratizing codes (or constructs) of the learning curriculum?" (5) (ii) "What is the available space for conceptual work in the learning community curriculum considering its close relationship to ongoing social processes?" and (iii) "What is the actual relationship between the Formal and the 'Non-Formal learning' curriculums?"

What I have in mind is an overall UWC curriculum system where the critical distance and connections to social process are clarified. The conceptual frame for doing so might be as follows:

Creating the curriculum system is part of an attempt to gain a degree of distance from the welter of ongoing broad social processes, but at the same time retaining sufficient connection (with the same processes) for the conceptual transformations made possible by the curriculum pattern, to stand as significant sources for future action. "critical" and 'relevant' are often used as broad gestures of definition for this complex relationship of distance and connection.

In formal circumstances the distances and available spaces are given and guarded by institutional boundaries; in non-formal conditions, however, these have to be constructed by the learning group itself. Non-formal learning is inevitably very much more closely meshed into on-going social practices and it therefore is generally able to make strong claims of 'relevance' though often at risk is the viability of

(5) The concept of educational codes is discussed by Victor Lee and Basil Bernstein in Victor Lee, "Social Relationships and Language. Some aspects of the work of Basil Bernstein", (Walton Hall: The Open University, 1973); see the supplementary reading "A brief account of the theory of codes" by Basil Bernstein on pp.65-86.
the distance and the stability of the space it is able to create for conceptual work. (6)

See figure 4 below for a representation in broad outline for the curricular relationships of the Non-Formal learning curriculum to the Formal curriculum.

Figure 4

**Curricular Relationships**

**Two Possible Versions**

1. **UNC**
   - Legitimates External Ed. structures
   - Contained within Institutional boundaries

2. **Points of pressure**
3. **Socio/political context**

- **FORMAL CURRICULUM**
- **NON FORMAL 'COMMUNITY' CURRICULUM**
- **Questions & delegitimates External structures**

- **(i) Two curricula intersecting (in some tension with each other)**
- **(ii) Two curricula running parallel (in fair harmony with each other)**

- **Porous frames or boundaries**
- **Socio/political context**

**Institutional Boundaries**
2.3 Educational interaction within South African Systems:

Figure 5 below shows some of the external forces which condition educational interaction of UWC with communities and supportive groups in a schematic representation. It shows the location of UWC in an exposed position (on the edge of the educational system) thrust into the arena of political and ideological contest between oppositional groups in South African society. It attempts also to suggest how other parts of South African society impinge on the university. It is in the centre of a broad and complex web of social relations, conditioned by structural influences from within South African society as well as independent internal and external influences. Some educational institutions in the system are obstructed, others are neutral or 'adventitious' beneficiaries of the educational policies of the dominant group holding educational control. (7) The thrust of the schema is to suggest that educational change (in UWC and the educational system) is part of a much larger process of social change where groups interact inside strongly conditioning structural forces which eventually influence the future structure of the educational system in South Africa. The question here is whether future State authority over the educational system will be centralized or decentralized and consequently whether teachers gain autonomy (in a decentralized system) or lose it (in a centralized system).

(7) The term adventitious beneficiaries is borrowed from Margaret S. Archer, Social Origins of Educational Systems, p.26.
Uneven social development

Weakened & unstable economic base

Foreign sanctions & disinvestment

Sources of threat

Social system

Economic system

Dominant groups

Oppositional groups

Area of contest

Political system

Sources of support

Foreign donors

Mass democratic movement

Community organizations

S.A. political movements in exile

S.A. Universities

Educational support groups

Educational institutions seen as 'obstructed' 'neutral' or 'adventitious beneficiaries' in relation to dominant political groups
The study is suspended at this point. It is hoped that the meanings and implications of practices of accountability revealed in the context of the case have also generated ideas and speculative hypotheses which might be used by accountable educators at the University of the Western Cape for further explorations in relation to their own experiences on the UWC campus.
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7 August 1987

Ms S.-A. Raynham
Dept. of Adult Education
University of Cape Town
Private Bag
RONDEBOSCH
7700

Dear Ms Raynham,

Thank you for your letter of 2 July, and the accompanying Research Proposal. The University has no objection to your undertaking a small-scale study on institutional accountability at UWC under the supervision of Prof Millar. Enclosed please find a letter of introduction for your use in approaching persons within the University. Prof Owen van den Berg has agreed to assist you in obtaining information about access to the necessary persons and documentation.

In order that you might structure your research in the way you and Prof Millar deem fit, we shall not require you to discuss your proposals with any "relevant authorities" prior to the commencement of your research or to seek an interview with me at this stage. I suggest rather that you seek such an interview with me at a time which is mutually convenient and which you consider most beneficial to the execution of your project.

I trust that you will be prepared to discuss your work with interested parties on this campus both while the study is in progress and after its completion, and wish you well in your research.

Yours sincerely,

[Signature]

G J GERWEL
RECTOR & VICE-CHAIRMAN
GJG/YA
Ms Sarah-Anne Raynham has been granted permission to conduct an investigation entitled "Institutional Accountability in the context of South African crisis: A case study of the University of the Western Cape 1984 - 1987" as part fulfilment of the requirements for the M Phil degree in the Department of Adult Education at the University of Cape Town. Her supervisor is Professor C J Millar, Head of that Department. Ms Raynham envisages focusing on certain key events at UWC between 1984 and 1987 in order to examine the issue of accountability in the context of crisis.

In order to assist Ms Raynham with her project, I request you to provide her with such information as she might request. Prof Owen van der Berg of the Department of Didactics has agreed to act as on-campus facilitator on behalf of Ms Raynham. Should you have any queries regarding the information being sought by Ms Raynham, please do not hesitate to seek clarification from Prof van den Berg.

G J GERWEL
RECTOR & VICE-CHANCELLOR
GJG/YA
22 October 1987

Prof
Faculty of Science
University of the Western Cape
PO Box X17
BELVILLE
7535

Dear ____________________________

I have received permission to conduct an academic study at the University of the Western Cape. I enclose a letter of introduction from the Rector.

I'm writing to give you some background on the study and to ask whether you would grant me an interview in connection with this research. It's not necessary to reply to this letter as I shall follow it up after you have had time to consider the request by 'phoning you between the 3rd and 6th of November.

As part of a M Phil in Adult Education I intend examining the concept of accountability in the context of the present South African crisis, particularly in relation to educational institutions. The University of the Western Cape is an important site in which to conduct such an investigation. As a result of early exploratory discussions at UWC I've decided to explore the issue of institutional accountability in broad open-ended conversations with key figures on the University Campus. I would be happy to elaborate on my research or to answer any queries you might have prior to my intended 'phone call in November. Otherwise, perhaps at that time.

Should you agree to be interviewed it would involve an appointment for a meeting of about 1 hour during the 3 week university examination period, or else at another time to suit you before the end of the current semester.

I hope a meeting with you will be possible.

Yours sincerely

[Signed]

SARAH-ANNE RAYNHAM
(Part-time Tutor)
The following people were interviewed between 9 November and 10 December 1987.

The offices referred to below were held during 1987. In some cases office holders have changed office since then.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PEOPLE INTERVIEWED</th>
<th>OFFICE : UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE</th>
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<tr>
<td>Prof D S Albertyn</td>
<td>Dean : Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences</td>
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<td>Ms Jean Benjamin</td>
<td>Lecturer : Department of Psychology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof G R Delpierre</td>
<td>Head of Department, Department of Biochemistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof J J F Durand</td>
<td>Vice Rector (Academic), Officer,</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prof B Esterhuizen</td>
<td>Dean, Faculty of Science</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr O N Gelderbloem</td>
<td>Assistant Registrar, Central Administration : Student Affairs</td>
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<tr>
<td>Prof J A Malan</td>
<td>Dean, Faculty of Arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof L P Miles</td>
<td>Acting Dean, Faculty of Dentistry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof W E Morrow</td>
<td>Head of Department, Department of Philosophy and History of Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ms M McDonald</td>
<td>Junior Lecturer, Department of Social Work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr P J Robinson</td>
<td>Dean, Faculty of Theology</td>
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<td>Prof F C T Sonn</td>
<td>Senior Lecturer, Department of Psychology</td>
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<td>Prof O C van den Berg</td>
<td>Dean, Faculty of Education</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dr I van de Rheede</td>
<td>Senior Lecturer, Department of Afrikaans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prof L F van Huysteen</td>
<td>Dean, Faculty of Law</td>
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continued/...
Follow-up discussions were held with the same people in November 1988, with the exception of Professor R van der Ross. Two people who were not available at that time provided retrospective viewpoints in February and July 1989.
12 October 1988

16 Boshoff Ave
Newlands
7700
Phone: 644228

Dear __________

I'm writing to follow up on the interview I had with you in November last year. Because of other intervening commitments, I only resumed work on the project recently and the short document enclosed is the rather late outcome of doing my homework on eighteen interviews.

I would be grateful if you could skim through the document. The introduction on pp.1-2 gives the reasons for the working methods used and for the depersonalised and somewhat abstract format of the five positions described on pp.2-10. Data drawn from the transcript of your interview, (along with data from ___ other interviews) was used to inform Position ___ on pp.______

I would like to make two specific requests:

1. Could you please consider whether the way I have used data from your interview on p.___, raises any problems for you. While all quotes are purposefully used without author throughout the document, your name does appear as one of the interviewees in the footnotes on p.11. While this document is confidential, the final version will form part of my dissertation and will, of necessity, be more open to scrutiny.

2. Please consider whether recent events at U.W.C., from the campus crisis to the "Building a People's University" Conference, have had any impact on the views you expressed in the interview last year. Would you want to express yourself any differently now on issues related to institutional accountability?

I'll 'phone you in the week of 24 October. If you feel you have little to discuss, the matter can be handled quite quickly and finalised on the phone. If this does not suit you I could make an appointment to come and see you and discuss the matter more fully.

I hope to use your responses, and those of the other interviewees, to correct and perhaps develop the understandings reached through the first round of interviews. This would be the last phase of the empirical work done on the project before writing it up. Given that discourses on accountability are increasingly used in current debates, I'm anxious not to distort these discourses as they work on the UWC campus. Your response, therefore, will be much appreciated.

Thank you for your help.

Yours sincerely

Sarah—Anne Raynham