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**Multiple Arenas and Professional Identity: Locating and
Defining the Professionalism and Accountabilities of the
Teacher Educators in Lesotho.**

JOHN NAAZI OLIPHANT

**A thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of
Education, Faculty of Humanities, University of Cape Town**

August, 2008

I hereby certify that the work embodied is the result of original research and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

Signed:.....

Full Names:.....

University of Cape Town

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Abstract

Challenged by the granting of institutional autonomy to his institution – the Lesotho National Teachers Training College (now Lesotho College of Education) - the author explores the professional identities of teacher educators in Lesotho. Considering and analysing Lesotho's socio-political historical and institutional contexts of teacher preparation from a postcolonial perspective, he argues that very many factors circumscribe education, in general, and teacher education in particular in Lesotho. Autonomy from the state could therefore mean subjection of the college to these other factors. The socio-political history of Lesotho, chiefly its double-colonisation through French missionary social and cultural sectarian subjection and British political and economic subjugation, renders it a highly heterogeneous society in subtle and subterranean ways. This is in sharp contrast with the popular rhetoric and belief that Lesotho is a homogenous country. There is, as a product of this double heritage, a strong conflation of education, religious affiliation and partisan politics which make professionalism and autonomy in the education arena questionable and unrealistic.

Based on this background, the author argues that unless we know and understand the teacher educators' professionalism and accountabilities we cannot guarantee that autonomy in and of itself can yield the good institutional performances envisaged. Informed by Mamdani's post-colonial subject and citizen thesis and Ahluwalia's post-colonial and post-structural critical stance on Mamdani's thesis, the author investigates the teacher educators' subjectivities as modern professional subjects and citizens. Based on a mixed method, predominantly qualitative, design, the study investigates and analyses the subjectivities of the teacher educators in two public institutions in Lesotho. It draws data from questionnaire, interviews and observations of teaching and some activities of the teacher educators. An iterative, integrated analysis of the discursive representations and practices of professionalism, and the questionnaire data, produces the following findings: the teacher educators' professional identities are multiple and ambivalent, and for some, located in desire, but largely anchored in their subjects of specialisation (disciplines). Nested in their disciplinary identities are three main discursive, shifting and multiple identity categories: the subject experts, the subject specialist methodologists, and the subject teacher generalists. The subjectivities of the teacher educators as subjects and citizens are variably located and immanent in the three identity categories.

The subject experts generally appear to display more citizen subjectivities than the subject ones. The subject specialist methodologists display strong subjectivities as subjects and some citizen subjectivities while the subject teacher generalists display both weak and strongly ambivalent subject and citizen subjectivities. The weak subject subjectivities suggest weaknesses in the performance of the main teacher educators' professional functions. In all cases where the citizen subjectivities have been identified, they are strongly intersubjective, displaying weak but opportunistically and strategically constructed and employed positioning and agency, and therefore conformist in nature. Based on these findings, the study draws from Foucault's notion of normalisation and observes that institutional autonomy is good only in so far as it frees the teacher educators from the state bureaucracy, but it is tenuously anchored and needs to be supplemented and complemented with forms of governmentality and accountability for performance that are capacitating and educative. The study recommends a *modus vivendi* that employs regulative techniques that are 'heteronormalising' in heteronymous ways. This involves inter-and intra-institutional and professional collaboration in regulating the performance and conduct of the teacher educators. This way external interfering value claims and factors could be mitigated. Improved professional performance could also be ensured and protected this way from the many subjective interests. It is in these circumstances that the utility of institutional autonomy could be realized.

The study is divided into four general sections. The first section covers the institutional and historical location of the study and the teacher educators and defines the study. The second section explores the relevant literature, defines the study subjects and discusses methodological considerations of the study. The third section identifies, analyses and discusses the professional identities and the inherent subject and citizen subjectivities of the teacher educators. The fourth and final section presents the summary and conclusions on the findings. It further proposes options for consideration in relation to the regulation of teacher education and the teacher educators in Lesotho. It also indicates some areas for further research.

Chapter One

The Institutional and Historical Settings of the Study

1.1 Introduction

Initial teacher education and training in Lesotho is the responsibility of two public institutions. The Lesotho College of Education (LCE) and the Faculty of Education of the National University of Lesotho (NUL) prepare the primary and secondary school teachers for the country. This study was undertaken in these two public institutions. The study sought to investigate and analyze the teacher educators' representations and practices of their own professionalism, with specific emphasis on how they perceived and defined themselves as professionals, and how their self-definitions manifested themselves in their practices. My interest in these institutions and their professionals comes in part from the fact that, as researcher, I have been connected to both as a student in the first place and to one, the college, as its Director, from July 1994 to January 2000. I therefore have been shaped in my own professional identities by these institutions.

This chapter is divided into two parts. Part One describes and explains the institutional context of the study. Part Two describes and discusses the historical context of the study. Both parts are intended to present a picture of Lesotho's historical background as well as the institutional contexts of the teacher educators' work locations. We begin immediately with the first part here.

1.2 Institutional Settings of the Study

The *context* in which one is located is significant to the construction of one's professional identity. The institutional work locations of the teacher educators in Lesotho form the context that I am interested in. The Lesotho College of Education and the Faculty of Education of the National University of Lesotho and their various departments form this context. From the contracts and job descriptions of these teacher educators we can discern the various ways their institutions define them. These institutional contracts and job descriptions form part of the arsenal of what Foucault calls 'technologies of the self' for these professionals. I believe that as 'autonomous' professionals, these teacher educators also define themselves independently of their institutional definitions. As professionals they have responsibilities that may require them to operate in other external settings such as schools and the various national education departments.

The extent to which they get involved with these other settings could be a useful marker of their professionalism. It could be a useful marker of their professional identities as citizens. In many ways these external settings, too, shape and influence the identities of these teacher educators.

In terms of the foregoing, the various ways the teacher educators define themselves, and the ways in which their institutions define them, form a complex interplay of interlocking processes of identity formation. They represent the relationship between the agency of these professionals and the structures, which they inhabit, which Hodkinson (1994) discusses in the context of curriculum change and reform in education. Giddens (1991) defines the relationship of agency and structure¹ in the context of modernity in which individuals, institutions and culture are constantly changing through dialectical processes. Educational institutions, more specifically, have been identified “as places where above all others, the tension/contradiction between being an individual and being a member of various collectives is played out” (Davies, 1990b: 344). These institutions are also sites in which power relations play themselves out strongly with the effect of determining those that should be included and those that should be excluded professionally. These institutions are also sites for the teacher educators’ practical engagement with their subjects or disciplines. Below, therefore, we turn to each of the two institutions.

1.2.1 Lesotho College of Education: In transition to autonomy?

The Lesotho College of Education was established in 1975. It is the only institution for the education and training of primary school teachers in Lesotho. It also produces a large percentage of secondary teachers, some of whom are prepared by the National University of Lesotho. Situated in the heart of Maseru, Lesotho’s capital and administrative city, it has a student population of approximately 3,000². Its mission is to train teachers for primary, secondary and vocational/technical schools of Lesotho through a mix of pre-service and in-service programmes³. It grew out of the amalgamation and nationalization of seven formerly church-owned teacher training colleges in 1975.

¹ Agency and structure in sociological theory concerns the relationship between the individuals and their capacities to act independently/autonomously (agency) in relation to the structures around them such as their institutions, churches, society and a host of other potentially constraining or enabling surrounding factors.

² Registrar’s office, 2006-7

³ See The LCE Calendar, 2006-7, p.4.

Until 1997 when an act of parliament was passed to grant it autonomy, the college was known as the Lesotho National Teacher Training College (NTTC). Before this period it was a government-owned and government-run institution. The civil service rules and regulations governed its staff and staffing. This meant that the college was operated and managed like any other department of government. Like all departments of government, it was run centrally with little room for local management and administration of most of its affairs. Nearly all non-teaching procedural matters such as procurement of goods and services were run and managed by civil service rules and regulations through the Ministry of Education. Operating as a government department through civil service procedures, it was a stifled institution. As a result, it was perceived in a number of reports as unable to achieve its goals (see Courtney, Tsekoa and Pitso, 1982; Turner, 1987). The college work culture and ethos were similar to those that prevailed in all government departments in Lesotho. It was a culture of work done on routine and less on creativity and professionalism. Promotions were mainly based on 'first come first to promote'. That is, those who joined the college first were the first for consideration in promotions and other work benefits. Performance seemed to take the back stage. Experience, narrowly defined as the number of years one has spent in the institution, was one of the most important considerations in matters of promotions. All College staff were employed by the Public Service Commission whose statutory function was to employ and promote employees of all government departments.

Party politics had a strong influence in the college like in all government departments. There is anecdotal evidence of this from people who were required to show their party card membership in order to secure employment as lecturers in the college, especially during its formative years into the 1980s⁴. As a result, professionalism was perceived as weak and submerged in routine operation. Creativity and initiative at work, though encouraged, were weak and only for those with a strong sense of work ethics and a strong sense of personal discipline (cf. Courtney, Tsekoa and Pitso, 1982).

With the hope of extricating it from its perceived challenges and low levels of performance, the college was granted autonomy through an act of parliament in 1997. This institutional autonomy only became effective in 2002 when a government gazette that put it into effect was published. With this new status it is responsible for its own management and administration. It is

⁴ I personally had conversations with some of these people in confidence and promise of anonymity. Some of these are still in the college others are in other areas of education.

responsible for staffing, promotions, remuneration of staff, finances and their management. But, it is dependent on the state for funding and resources, and therefore receives an annual subvention based on its budget submission and/or what the government can offer. It has a governing council with a responsibility for policy and related matters, and an academic board to deal with academic matters. There are various committees responsible for academic and non-academic matters. Members of teaching and non-teaching staff and some external people are members of these committees.

The college has been and continues to be affiliated to the National University of Lesotho (NUL). It offers undergraduate certificate and diploma programmes. The Senate of the university accredits these academic programmes. The implementation of the college programmes of study and curricula is supposed to be monitored by the NUL through the Faculty of Education. This means that on a regular basis the college has to work with the Faculty of Education. The normative position, according to this affiliation arrangement, is that its programmes are the programmes of the university. This means that initial teacher education as offered at the college is normatively a collaborative responsibility of the college and the Faculty of Education.

However, the affiliation has been marked by disagreements and tensions. The Faculty of Education is perceived as not performing its oversight and monitoring responsibilities effectively and on a regular basis. The college, too, is seen as failing to regularly consult the faculty on pertinent matters. The affiliation relationship is therefore being reviewed, especially since the change of the college status brought about by its autonomy from the state. Nonetheless, the college programmes, examination results and certification of teachers are approved by the Senate of the university. They are the programmes of the university. The two institutions are therefore mutually responsible for teacher preparation as it is offered by the college.

1.2.2 The NUL Faculty of Education: In an autonomous setting?

The National University of Lesotho has been an autonomous institution since the 1980s. Since this time the Faculty of Education staff, unlike that of the college, has operated in an autonomous setting. The NUL is the only university in Lesotho. Like the college, it is dependent on the state for funding and resources, and receives an annual subvention from the state. It is situated in the Roma Valley, some 30 kilometres outside of Maseru.

A governing council, senate and various boards and committees of the council manage its affairs. The Faculty of Education Board oversees all teacher education at the university and the affiliated institution – the Lesotho College of Education. By virtue of the affiliation arrangement the Faculty of Education is a senior partner with the college in teacher preparation. It has its own staff and resources. It has a student population of approximately 1463⁵ covering all its programmes. It offers undergraduate and some postgraduate programmes. At the time of this study it had suspended its Masters programme. There are three main departments: the Educational Foundations Department (EDF), the Language and Social Education Department (LASED) and the Science Education Department.

The Faculty of Education itself is often under criticism from other faculties, especially the faculties with which it shares students. One of the major criticisms is that its students who take content courses from these other faculties lack academic rigour and need to take more content courses and fewer education courses. I have been a witness to some of these criticisms voiced in senate meetings in which I was a member. As a result of this state of affairs the college programmes, curricula and results were always under intense criticism from these other faculties so that there have been suggestions that teacher education and training, at least at undergraduate levels, should delink from the university and be offered exclusively by the college. These kind of suggestions have remained suggestions only and not been turned into reality.

The university itself, has been unstable for quite some time. It is a highly politicized, and politically vibrant and polarized setting, unionized separately for academic staff and for non-academic staff. In the past few years since the late 1990s no Vice-Chancellor has comfortably completed his term of office. No Vice Chancellor has been able to reach the point of making him or herself eligible for re-election. All these Vice-Chancellors have had their demise determined on public radio by staff of their institution. This truism is common knowledge in the public sphere in Lesotho.

1.2.3 Collegiality versus (Dis)-organised Anarchy⁶

⁵ See NUL Statistical Information: Student Enrolment, 2006/07

⁶ I use the phrase ‘organised anarchy’ which was coined by Cohen and March (1974). But I have the prefix to it to show that what exists in the institution is Cohen and March’s corrupted form of the metaphor indicating disorganized and unsatisfactory state of affairs.

The college is a 'monolithic' institution, staffed by professionals with a common mandate of preparing teachers for Lesotho primary and secondary schools. It is a fairly homogeneous institution in terms of its mandate. It is homogeneous⁷ in the sense that it is made up of professionals that were educated and trained as teachers and it has the common mission – to prepare teachers. Over 70% of these teacher educators obtained their undergraduate qualifications in the NUL and are Basotho. The majority obtained their postgraduate qualifications outside of Lesotho, mainly because the NUL only recently, in the last ten years, introduced a Master's degree programme, which is currently suspended.

The working arrangement in the college is such that offices are allocated to subject departments and not individuals. They are generally disciplinary and communal in nature, with each office accommodating two or more staff at a time. These offices are only just beginning to have computers for staff. Shelves lining the walls of these offices have no books but piles of old and recent scripts and unused printed handouts. There is very little by way of academic ethos and atmosphere in them. There is a library, though, that was refurbished and updated in 1999 and some books and journals were purchased. New stocks of books are trickling in. Some people, including those in the Faculty of Education who also use this library, believe it is a good library, at least in relation to their own requirements.

Although there are a few computers in the staff offices, there are two computer laboratories for teaching purposes and attached to one of these laboratories, there is a staff computer laboratory. Each department has a secretary who does the typing requirements for academic staff. There is a sense in which the sharing of offices could be viewed as a factor conducive to professional community building and collegiality. It may have its own problems, though. Many times during my fieldwork, it was interesting to notice how these staff offices were buzzing with activity and animated discussion of social, professional, and other issues. One was able to get spontaneous multiple responses to many questions or challenges one posed. In this sense these were rich institutional settings for ideas for me as a researcher. On the other hand, they might be regarded as inhibiting to individualism which is seen as necessary for reflection and creativity that are the essential conditions for research and scholarship. It was not conducive to the conduct of individual interviews that I was carrying out; therefore, in some cases we had to look for free

⁷ In this study, the notion of homogeneity is treated critically. It is, however, used here to compare the college with

rooms for these interviews. Otherwise in most cases people were kind enough to leave us for an hour or so.

The staff of the Faculty of Education is more predominantly made up of Basotho than that of the college. During the fieldwork for this study, all but three members of this staff were Basotho with all the advantages and disadvantages this might entail. As in the case of the college staff, nearly all the faculty staff did their undergraduate education in this one university in which they now work. But nearly all of them did their postgraduate studies in various institutions in other countries. Every teacher educator has a personal office - a condition that is conducive to individual reflection and creativity. This condition, however, could be inimical to collegiality. The absence of collegiality seems to manifest itself, among other things, in the non-sharing of experiences, which some interviewees complained about as will be shown later in the study. In some of these staff offices there are computers but in others there are none. There are no viable libraries in practically all of these offices so that people have to depend on the main institutional library. There is also a facility that is called the Staff Development Centre in which there are a number of computers available for use by staff. Otherwise the departmental secretaries have computers, and cater for the typing requirements of the teaching staff.

The Faculty of Education is also a part of a larger and more heterogeneous institution – the university. This kind of institutional arrangement could both be an advantage and a disadvantage to teacher preparation. It also defines the conditions for the construction of the professional identities of these teacher educators. A larger and more heterogeneous context could be a site for the playing out of what Soudien (1996) referred to as antagonistic forces of self-affirmation, self-negation, self-compromise and self-renewal. Apart from this observation, we know how castigated and unanchored teacher educators are in university settings as Rhoades (1990) and Goodlad (1999) demonstrate. The purpose of this study is not to engage in these vilifications of the teacher educators, but I refer to it tangentially merely to make the point that it is one of the spatial realities for professional identity construction and reconstruction for teacher educators. It is also, I suggest, one of the factors that could bring about some differences in perceptions of professionalism and identity of these teacher educators vis-à-vis the college teacher educators in whose professional space, the professional or academic other is not a permanent phenomenon.

the university in terms of the fact that one is bigger in size, variety and diversity of professionals produced and teaching. The college has its own heterogeneities which will unfold in the course of the study.

The most significant other for these teacher educators is the Faculty of Humanities. The students who do teacher training courses receive the content of their teaching subjects from this faculty. These are subjects such as English (Language and Literature), Sesotho, History, Development Studies and others. The Department of Science Education, on the other hand, provides its own teaching subjects – Mathematics and the various natural sciences. The relationship between the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Humanities has not always been a cordial one. Blames and counter-blames have always marked this relationship over the content of programmes.

The foregoing therefore gives a brief overview of the institutional context or work locations of teacher education and the teacher educators in Lesotho. What then is the problem this study is addressing? And, what is the purpose of the study? It is to these that we turn our attention below.

1.3 Statement of the Problem : The state and teacher education

The state in Lesotho has from 1995 been tightening and taking over some control and regulation of primary and secondary education and the employment of teachers after many years of sole control by churches. At the same time, however, the same state has been paying little attention to the regulation of higher education and teacher education. Under the guise of autonomy, higher education institutions have existed in a state of virtual *laissez faire* despite their dependence on the state for funding. The regulation and direction of teacher education have practically been exclusively in the hands of the teacher preparation institutions. These institutions autonomously determine courses and curricula as well as admission criteria and quotas for their programmes of study. What goes on in relation to academic and professional conduct of teacher preparation as a whole has always almost entirely been guided by internal, institutional rules, regulations and mechanisms; not even a rigorous inter-institutional system of regulation of teacher education exists. No external mechanisms of control and regulation of the professional work of the teacher educators exist officially. There is no systemic oversight (even if at a distance) of teacher preparation. This state of affairs in Lesotho's context is worrying, especially since even the moral agency of the teacher educators in post-colonial settings such as Lesotho might be in doubt. There are doubts whether such agency exists at all or not. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to doubt the extent to which both the public and private interests are served by the 'autonomous' teacher educators.

Liberals would hail this unregulated state of education as ideal for creativity and productivity. They generally argue that professionals need autonomy and academic freedom to operate more creatively and productively. This issue is not in question here. What is in question is how, with their institutional and professional autonomy, the teacher educators do their work without any form of national teacher education policy direction or a clearly framework of accountability. A SADC commissioned study by Chisholm et al (1998) observed that Lesotho does not have an articulated comprehensive education policy. In these circumstances, what is it that informs and guides, in a systematic manner, the teacher education decisions about the courses to offer, and the number of students to admit into teacher preparation programmes? Who knows and how, whether the autonomous institutions and their staff are serving the public interests?

Lesotho's education was founded by Christian groups and it continues to be mainly offered by Christian educational establishments. Most schools therefore have religious affiliations. There are, for instance, Anglican schools, Roman Catholic schools and Evangelical schools. These are the three main ones. At the same time the country is politically volatile and unstable. There are occult practices (cf. Mbembe, 2001) that are evidence of this instability. Political parties, too, have religious connections. Lesotho is a country where the Christian religion, education and politics are coterminous with each other as will be demonstrated in some detail later in this chapter.

This latter state of affairs is one that concerns me most in terms of how it plays itself out in influencing the professionalism, professional identity and accountability of education professionals, especially teacher educators within the unregulated teacher education in Lesotho. Teacher educators are of particular interest to the researcher. This is not only because the researcher has direct interest and works in teacher education. It is also because the quality and work of teacher educators are pivotal to improvement in education, I believe. But most importantly, it is because the institution I am part of, the Lesotho College of Education, has recently been granted autonomy as stated earlier, which I find hard to fathom given the Lesotho problematic context.

Therefore, given the conflicting interests embedded in the conflation of religion, education and politics stated above, and the absence of systemic direction and policy framework, teacher education, like all other sectors of education, is open to a number of ethical and moral

challenges. Even if teacher educators were to be neutral and unaffected by these multiple interests, they are recruited from schools where religious (and political) influences and divisions have flourished over the years with impunity. Therefore they are unlikely to be immune from the influences emanating from these sites.

No suggestion is being made here that the teacher educators in Lesotho align themselves with these religious or political interests. What is argued is that there are very strong influences in Lesotho's public arena. Religious and political interests permeate every sector of Basotho lives. The religious and political challenges are not the only challenges; there are many other practices that could be inimical to education. Are these teacher educators able to serve their interests and perform their responsibilities as autonomous professional *subjects* and their public or societal interests and obligations as *citizens* well in spite of these multiple external influences? These questions will be answered by our understanding of the teacher educators as professionals (their professional identities) and how these identities manifest themselves in practice.

Based on the foregoing background and problem, this study is meant to answer the research questions that are stated below.

1.4 Research Question

What professional identities of the teacher educators in Lesotho best reflect the articulation between their responsibilities as autonomous subjects and their obligations as citizens?

How do these subject responsibilities and citizen obligations manifest themselves in the self-representations and practices of the teacher educators?

These questions subsume the following subsidiary ones:

1. (i) What professional identities define the teacher educators in Lesotho?
(ii) Which of these identities best define them as subjects on the one hand, and as citizens on the other?
2. What beliefs and perceptions do these teacher educators have about being professional?
3. What professional activities and practices exemplify these beliefs and perceptions in relation to their subject responsibilities and citizen obligations?

4. (i) What do these beliefs and perceptions about being professional and the related signifying practices, tell us about the strengths and the limits of autonomy and internal accountability in teacher education in Lesotho?
- (ii) Do these strengths and limits justify the need for external accountability?

1.5 The Study and its Rationale

The study investigates the meaning and content of the professionalism of the educators and trainers of teachers in the two institutions. It seeks to identify from the voices and practices of these teacher educators what being professional for them as teacher educators means and entails. That is, it seeks to investigate their occupation and work-related self-definitions (professional identities). It further seeks to establish the extent to which these self-definitions reflect their private commitments and responsibilities as modern subjects on the one hand, and their obligations to society as citizens on the other, especially from the vantage point of the *autonomous* institutions they work in.

As modern subjects, many Basotho occupy various positions. There are professionals such as teachers, teacher educators, psychologists, counselors, nurses and others and they owe allegiance to these professions. They also owe allegiance to their families and serve their own interests and ambitions, and churches and partake in the activities of these. As citizens they belong to and owe allegiance to communities, political structures and leaders, society's organizations, society in general and get involved in activities in this realm. But how they negotiate their various positions as a teacher educators, and balance all the interests, is of particular interest here. In other words, I seek to understand how and the extent to which the teacher educators operating in autonomous public teacher education institutions in Lesotho negotiate their private and professional interests with the public and societal interests. *The rationale of the study is therefore to develop a broad knowledge-base and understanding of teacher educators and their professional identities as subjects and citizens from the point of view of the teacher educators themselves.*

1.6 Objectives of the Study

This study is intended to achieve the following objectives:

- (i) to investigate the Lesotho teacher educators' professional identities;

- (ii) to identify the subject and citizen subjectivities from these teacher educators' self-definitions and practices;
- (iii) to assess the strengths and limitations of autonomy and the internal accountability of the teacher educators in postcolonial Lesotho;
- (iv) to examine the applicability of debates in the Western academic literature about the desirability or non-desirability of external accountability in professional settings;
- (v) Based on the findings in (iii) and (iv) above, to make suggestions for a system of governance appropriate for teacher education in Lesotho that recognizes the subjectivities of the teacher educators as identified in (ii).

1.7 Significance of the Study

Lesotho teacher educators' professional identities and their manifestations in practice merit enquiry and need to be delineated for a number of reasons:

Teacher education worldwide is an under-researched and under-theorised field as Stuart and others (2000) argue. Apart from consultancy reports that exist, there is no evidence that teacher education in Lesotho has been a subject of scholarly research. Electronic and print media searches revealed hardly anything on teacher education research in Lesotho. Apart from the recently publicized study done under the auspices of the Multi-Site Research Project undertaken by the University of Sussex, no studies⁸ seem to have been done of teacher educators specifically. Therefore, very little is known about these professionals' identities in general.

Practically all attempts to address educational quality improvement testify to the centrality of teachers and the education of teachers to these attempts. Yet paradoxically these testimonies have seldom been accompanied by rigorous, practical attempts to understand teacher educators as professionals in their own right so that through such an understanding more meaningful measures could be taken to improve them and their lot.

Higher education, including teacher education in Lesotho is almost completely funded by the government of Lesotho. Every year both the recurrent and capital estimates for this sector are

increasing. However, no policy exists to say what the form, content, philosophical orientations of teacher education should be. No policy framework exists to guide the academic and professional aspects of this enterprise. As a result, there is both anecdotal and empirical evidence to suggest that the Lesotho teacher education system is incoherent, not viable and generally not delivering (see Jegede, 1994; Lefoka, 1997, Stuart et al 2002; Sugrue, 2002).

At this stage we have looked at the institutional settings, problems and challenges of the study. The next section, Part Two of this chapter, provides the historical and socio-political background. This approach is predicated on the fact that identity is constructed historically and in context (Cascardi, 1992). Both the institutional and historical socio-political contexts have a heuristic significance to this study. And, as Swennen, Volman and van Essen (2008: 172) put it, ‘...to understand the professional identity of teachers ... it is important to understand the history of education and in particular the historical developments that influenced the educational context in which those teachers work’. Further, as Mamdani’s and similar approaches have shown, issues of subjectivity in postcolonial contexts are better understood from their contextual and historical origins. It is to these aspects that we turn to below.

Part Two: The historical construction of the Basotho postcolonial identities.

1.8 The Social and Political Context of the Study

Received popular rhetoric has it that the Basotho society in Lesotho is homogeneous, speaks one language and therefore, by implication, is united and free of internecine strife and divisions. On the contrary, the Basotho society is fractured socially and politically. There are minority groups of Nguni origin that have been hidden in the liberal homogenization rhetoric. Further, internecine rivalries are not uncommon. We do not need to go far into history (beyond 1998 when Maseru and various parts of Lesotho became scenes of looting, vandalism and lawlessness) to recognize this. Basotho are a society characterized by a multiplicity of social and political values and constituencies, and with them, multiple allegiances. Modern socio-political institutions coexist with traditional ones. The traditional institution of the chieftainship - diluted, defiled and fragmented (perhaps according to others, modernized) – coexists with the modern

⁸ I wish to recognise that at the time of reporting on this study some individual writings had been done on teacher educators in Lesotho by Jegede (1994), Lefoka (1997) and others as shown elsewhere in this study but such writings

democratically⁹ installed Western type of governance. Sandwiched between these two institutions, and between them and society, is the church – the schismatic Christian Church.

In religious terms, Basotho society comprises Christians and non-Christians. Among the Christians, and very significant to this study, are the Catholics and Protestants (Anglicans and Evangelicals). All these divisions carry with them multiple (and often confused and conflicting) values and commitments. How these divisions, values and commitments play themselves out in teacher education; how they define, shape and influence the professionalism and related practices of teacher educators in Lesotho is unclear.

1.9 The Churches and the State in Education

Lesotho's education system is a product of a set of complex socio-historical events that rendered it one of the most sectarian (in religious terms), one of the most contested between the churches and the state, and one of the weakest in accountability.

The single most enduringly influential factor in the ownership, provision and regulation of schools and education in Lesotho has been the churches. Past and present, the churches, and with them, religious affiliations, have continued to be the most dominant factor in Lesotho's education system. The state has historically occupied a back seat, spectator-like position in these matters. As a result, despite the latest, post-independence efforts by the state to regulate education, for equity and related reasons, as it has often been argued, the churches have continued to occupy an influential position. In some cases, the relations between the state and the churches have reached conflict proportions with respect to educational policies and provision. This has particularly been the case where the state has tried to involve itself in educational matters. Therefore, while this investigation is not necessarily about the church and the state in education, the contribution of the churches in education and in shaping identities both in Basotho society and education deserves some of the attention.

were hardly based on comprehensive empirical research studies as well as an investigation of their identities.

⁹I use the word *democratically* with caution. I do not use it to be presumptuous and judgmental about the democratic nature of the current Lesotho Government. But I use the word to indicate that it has been given power and authority to govern in open elections, which practically all local and international election monitors and observers declared free and fair in 2002.

So important and influential are the churches and religious affiliations that they permeate all sectors of Basotho society, especially the political. Political structures, party organizations, alliances and policies are generally perceived as taking their most important characteristics from their religious roots. Political parties are perceived as aligned to and in alliance with varying religious denominations, and vice versa (cf. Bardill and Cobbe, 1985:112). These associations have not been unproblematic. Since independence every political change (good or bad) has tended to be associated with or linked to one or other of the churches. Practically all political or social unrests, before and since 1993 when the democratic order was restored in Lesotho, have been associated with one or other of the churches¹⁰. This has led some to describe Lesotho as “a land of paradox where the theme ‘too much politics and not enough development’ is particularly true.”¹¹

Every government that has come to power has always been associated with one or other of the main churches. The policies of such a government, especially the educational ones, have always been viewed in sectarian ways by many as favouring a particular church, its schools and educational philosophies. So entrenched are these beliefs, views and divisions that they influence considerably the practices and values of almost every Mosotho. Teachers have been at the centre of these ideological differences. This is because teachers have been closer to and associated with one or other of the churches because they were employed by the churches. However, the extent to which these ideological and sectarian differences affect and influence teacher educators’ values and practices is not clear since teacher education has (especially since 1975 when church teacher training colleges were centralized by the government) always been offered outside of institutions that churches could legitimately claim to be theirs. Whether and how these differences have affected and influenced teacher educators’ professionalism and their sense of professional identity still has to be investigated.

The three largest and most dominant churches in Lesotho are the Roman Catholic Church, the Lesotho Evangelical Church and the Anglican Church of Lesotho. Between them these churches own 86% of primary schools in Lesotho, and 82% of secondary and high schools. The Catholic Church owns the majority of schools, followed very closely by the Evangelical Church, and then

¹⁰ Dedicated references on this issue, especially as they pertain to education, are hard to come by. However, various newspapers and newsletters provide evidence of these unrests and their association with one or the other church. See *Work for Justice* Newsletters, No. 38, September, 1993; No. 48, December, 1996; *The Mirror Newspaper*, Vol.8 No.74, November 29, 1995; Machobane (2000) etc.

¹¹ See ‘*The Friend*’ Newspaper, May 14, 1983, p.3. Headline: ‘Conflicts in Lesotho’.

the Anglican Church¹². The government, communities and private bodies, the Methodist Church, the Adventist and other churches and religious groups, own the remainder of the schools. Related to the church ownership of schools, is the fact that teachers have historically been employed on the basis of their religious affiliations. Although they were officially employed by the government and were paid by it, especially since the late 1970s, the missions in whose schools they worked have often largely determined their fate as employees. Their loyalties, too, were to these missions. Thus, religious considerations and interests have always influenced teachers' sense of professionalism in Lesotho.

The history of education in Lesotho bears testimony to the fact that educational provision has been at the centre of the ideological tug-of-war between the churches and the state. The culmination of this tug-of-war was the centralization of teacher education and higher education in 1975. Since then, teacher education has, in theory, been the responsibility of the state. However, teacher recruitment and employment remained for a long time, until 1995, a responsibility of the schools' proprietors – the churches.

Despite the centralization by the state of teacher education and higher education in 1975, the significance and influence of the churches have to this date been pervasive and practically unrestrainable. The representation of churches in the governance structures of teacher education has always been acknowledged as significant. For instance, the Lesotho College of Education Act of 1997 provides for the representation of the three main churches in the College Governing Council. And, so these churches are represented in the council.

In the face of the above-stated ideological tug-of-war among the churches and between the churches and the state in the educational arena, the government's position has changed since 1995. Government has now legislated the control and regulation of primary and secondary education so that there is a clear demarcation of authority in relation to ownership, regulation and control of education and teachers.

According to the Lesotho Education Act of 1995, all teachers (except those privately employed by school proprietors or churches) are employees of the state. Their recruitment and employment

¹² By 2003 the Roman Catholic Church had 38% of the primary schools, the Lesotho Evangelical Church had 35%, the Anglican Church had 13%, the AME, 2%, the government and communities, 8% while the remainder belonged

is the responsibility of the state, though this is done in consultation with various school proprietors through relevant management committees and boards. Some churches did not take this legislation well as the newspaper headline “Stop Education Bill! – Shout Catholics,” shows (*The Mirror*, November 29, 1995). Various churches described the Act as a move to facilitate government’s take over of church schools. Serious confrontations and showdowns followed the introduction of this legislation. Unprecedented and prolonged teachers’ strikes became common, with clerics and politicians allegedly seen in teachers’ processions or ‘*toyitoyis*’ (a South African word referring to the chanting, dancing and singing done by an interest or political group of people as a show of dissatisfaction about something). Further, newspaper headlines such as “Intruding politician expelled by striking teachers” bear testimony to the nature of this problem (ibid. September, 13, 1995). According to this newspaper, “the striking teachers said they were tired of opportunists who were taking advantage of teachers’ concerns for their political interest.” According to the paper, “teachers warned that they do not need any political or church support in the teachers affairs”[sic]. Further, “...their strike was only for teachers regardless of their political inclinations or religious believes”[sic]. What these newspaper headlines reveal is how politics, religion and education are intertwined in Lesotho – a reality that has dogged Lesotho to-date. How this came about is important to understand. It is to a discussion of this historical background that the chapter now turns.

1.10 Historical Background to the Educational Problems

Lesotho’s educational challenges and problems as outlined above are largely a product of its missionary and colonial history. This is not to downplay the important role that the missionaries (and the colonial government) and the churches played in introducing modern formal education and health services, among other things. The significant role of the missionaries, which is not in dispute here, has already been documented elsewhere (See Urling Smith’ Report, 1925); it is not at this stage the focus of this study. Be that as it may, the country’s contemporary social and political problems are inextricably linked to its very specific colonial history, involving first the missionaries in 1833 and then the British colonial administration in 1871. The approach of this study, therefore, is that there is no way we can analyze and comprehend the current education scenario in Lesotho without reference to the country’s historical background. Nor is it possible to understand the professional identities of these teacher educators without reference to these

to other smaller missions and private owners (See Lesotho’s Education Statistics Bulletin, 1999 – 2003).

histories. As Epprecht (2002) observes, Lesotho's present parlous state could in part be attributed to the way in which early missionaries and colonial officials sought to place their distinctive stamp on the country.

The competition among the missionary groups for converts, their penetration of the traditional practices and the traditional governance structures and later their collaboration with the colonial government in transforming the Basotho had serious consequences on the subjectivities and the nature of the Basotho society that later developed. The conflation of religion and politics and education and religion were some of the consequences of these early experiences as is demonstrated in the sections that follow.

The Southern African instability of the 1820s and the 1830s caused a series of events and occurrences such as the Lifaqane. Shaka's impis, the Korannas and the Afrikaner trekkers caused Moshoeshoe to seek support to protect his people. Such was his determination to obtain this help that he dispensed with 200 cattle for Krotz to find him at least one missionary. Three members of the protestant Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) accepted Moshoeshoe's invitation. In terms of this, Eugene Casalis, Thomas Arbousset and Constant Gosselin arrived in Basutoland in 1833. Over and above the peace and security issues attached to the mission, the intention of the three men, which Moshoeshoe accepted, was to evangelize and teach the Basotho. Casalis's view of the mission was typical of that of similar missionary initiatives. He believed, "Basotho would be rewarded with eternal grace, new order of belief and manners which would secure tranquility, order and abundance" (Manyeli, 2001: 74). To achieve this purpose the PEMS Missionaries opened schools, which in turn necessitated having teacher-evangelists. It took a long time for this need to be met because it was only in 1868 that a 'normal school' was finally opened at Morija by the PEMS.

Almost 30 years after the arrival of the PEMS amongst the Basotho, The Roman Catholic Missionaries made their appearance in the kingdom. They arrived under Gerard in 1862 from an unsuccessful stint among the Zulus in Natal.

1.11 The Missionaries and their Modernisation Project

The work of the Protestant, and later the Catholic Missionaries in Lesotho, had both positive and negative effects on the development and fabric of everyday life of the Basotho. The Missionaries altered the internal dynamics of Basotho society and engendered new customs, class relations and political structures, among other things (cf. Epprecht, 2002:30). The discussion below deals with the work and influence of each of the missionary groups. We will begin with the PEMS.

1.11.1 The Paris Evangelical Missionaries (PEMS)

As stated earlier, Moshoeshe I invited the PEMS missionaries to Basutoland in 1833 with a specific mandate of fostering diplomatic connections for Basutoland, and procuring military hardware to enhance Basutoland's security. Notwithstanding this mandate, they determinedly set out to convert and 'civilise' the Basotho. The task of converting and civilising the Basotho was the basis for everything else that they did and became their main preoccupation. These missionaries were shocked and disgusted at certain aspects of Sesotho culture (See Manyeli, 2001). Coming from a Calvinist world-view, which was profoundly hostile to any superstitions, corruption and abuse of power, they were extremely critical of aspects of Sesotho custom that suggested anything but a certain kind of Protestant rectitude. They consequently "...sought to foster the cultural traits of their own specific national backgrounds among the Basotho" (Epprecht, 2002:31). They interpreted this as representative of and indeed essential for 'progress, prosperity and civilization', and thus towards salvation (ibid). In doing so they conflated religion and culture. For them the simple profession of faith was not a sufficient condition for conversion. The converts were required to adopt "...[the] full panoply of French Protestant bourgeois mores, dress, food..."(ibid: 31). For instance, upon converting two of Moshoeshe's wives in 1841, they forced them to insist upon divorces. This they did and the divorces were granted amidst vociferous opposition from Moshoeshe's subjects.

In describing the work of the missionaries, Machobane (2001:8) argues that

...the word of God *per se*, was of secondary importance to missionaries. What was dominant, that which is prominent in missionary history, was the enthusiasm to conquer and destroy the old Basotho society, and play the role of midwife to a new one.

Marriage with cattle, polygamy, and initiation were among these customs strongly opposed by the missionaries. The precondition for evangelization and instruction, according to Machobane, was “the [D]estruction of unChristian societies...” (p. 12) and, in this case, the destruction of the Basotho’s culture.

The first strategy of the missionaries was the conversion, and thus the ‘civilizing’ of the chiefs; hence their conversion of Moshoeshoe’s wives stated above. They found, however, that most chiefs were skeptical of the new religion. According to Manyeli (2001) Moshoeshoe argued about the contradictions within this religion. He and some of the chiefs had often wondered why the PEMS encouraged them to desist from raiding their neighbours’ cattle while their neighbours continued with impunity to do the same to them. Cattle-raiding was contrary to the spirit of the Gospel which emphasized love of the neighbour and justice (Manyeli, 2001: 74). These contradictions, especially the issue about not raiding the neighbours’ cattle led to Molapo’s apostasy in 1848. Molapo, one of Moshoeshoe’s sons, had earlier embraced the new religion and consequently been converted. But his disillusionment with the missionaries led to his withdrawal from this religion. With his abandonment of Christianity, a stream of converts said to be over half of those who took to the new religion, immediately followed him (ibid: 32). The church then realized the danger of their strategy of concentrating their initial efforts on the chiefs. Any fallout with a chief or chiefs, it seemed, sparked off a reaction among the subjects as the Molapo case showed. They appeared to have made the right judgement in this aspect because later, in the 1860s during the ‘Seqiti War’ (1865-1868), the unity between the chiefs and their subjects was impenetrable. As a result, one missionary remarked that there were “bad reversion to heathenism” and the chiefs were “in organized opposition to Christianity because they wanted to resuscitate the pagan customs of their ancestors” (cited in Mohapeloa, 1971: 96).

In the 1850s the missionaries abandoned this strategy of converting the chiefs first. They concentrated on the development of a new Westernized social class. This meant developing ‘bahlalefi’ or ‘matsoelopele’¹³ (the educated or progressive ones) among the commoner population. The new social class was to be imbued with Western values such as monogamy, market-orientation and thrift; as a result, they would be economically less dependent on the chief.

¹³ Although Sesotho words like bahlalefi and matsoelopele literally mean the educated and progressive ones, they, in Sesotho, have very strong cynical connotations expressing the marginalization or alienation of these so-called educated ones.

With this self-reliance among the commoners, the loyalty to chiefs and their ‘pagan’ values would diminish (ibid).

To achieve the objective of westernizing the commoners, they cultivated education and leadership skills among the commoner men. The building of schools, including the grammar school in Morija, and the Africanization of the mission so that in 1864 the first Mosotho evangelist was appointed, were efforts aimed at cultivating this education and the kind of leadership skills they desired. According to Epprecht (ibid) the PEMS encouraged “the emergence of an indigenous literature and intelligentsia” through institutions such as Lovedale College in the Cape Colony, Fort Hare University and others. The missionary success in this endeavour is evident in the emergence of renowned writers such as Mofolo, ‘Chaka’, Sekese, ‘Pitso Ea Linonyana’ and others whose works railed at chiefly rule and what they described as inherent abuses of power. Most of this intelligentsia went on to form an anti-custom and anti-chiefs movement out of which came organisations like the Basutoland Progressive Association.

Another strategy aimed at developing a new Western social class involved reconfiguring the status and rights of women. Realizing that bohali (marriage with cattle) and polygamy were cornerstones of chiefly power, and that these customary practices encouraged men’s idleness, it became imperative for these missionaries to attack and abolish these practices as shown in the attitude of the PEMS, expressed in 1871¹⁴

When a native talks of ‘Sesuto,’ ... meaning thereby the national manners and customs and all that constitutes a Mosuto, he refers especially to marriages, the property in women, and all the consequent rights and customs ... Take them away and the whole fabric is broken in pieces - the native heathen customs become meaningless – polygamy becomes impossible- woman is emancipated ... In our attempts, therefore, to introduce and propagate Christianity our chief blows should be struck at this system...there must be no compromise with this embodiment of evil, this chain of bondage...

Therefore, the PEMS focused their efforts (without success) on the eradication of bohali in Christian marriages. In terms of this they had a formidable foe in Moshoeshe who labelled polygamy “a strong citadel” that would not be shaken (Manyeli, 2001:77). To enter church, a polygamist was required to divorce all but his senior wife, or women were to demand a divorce. All sorts of things were done to undermine the wives’ deference to their husbands’ authority, and

¹⁴ This quotation has been widely cited to demonstrate the missionaries’ attitude to Sesotho (the correct spelling). For the origin, see Report of the Commission on Native Laws and Customs of the Basutos – C.O. 51/176. Also see Mohapeloa (1971: 96-97); Epprecht (2002:33)

to 'empower' women, such as the opening of girls' schools beginning in 1870 in Morija. Women were made the pivot of the conversion process. As a result, in 1896, 76 percent of PEMS members were female. By 1921 the number of men had increased; however, women still outnumbered them by a ratio of over 2 to 1 (ibid). In the 1950s the PEMS dropped its dogmatic position on 'bohali' as Catholics became a dominant, alternative Christianizing force.

1.11.2 The Roman Catholic Missionaries

As stated earlier, the Roman Catholic Missionaries made their appearance among the Basotho in 1862. They had earlier had a failed attempt to Christianize and 'civilize' the Amazulu in Natal. This experience with the Amazulu helped them to adopt a more cautious and less aggressive strategy among the Basotho than did their PEMS counterparts. In general terms, however, they took the same attitude (as did the PEMS missionaries) towards the Basotho and their customs and practices. They, too, embarked on a modernization project through converting and civilizing the heathen and barbaric Basotho. But their competition with the PEMS exacerbated the divisions amongst themselves and sowed some of the first seeds of religious sectarianism that the Basotho continue to experience today.

The Roman Catholics belonging to the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) had a mandate to evangelize the poor. They, like the PEMS, came from France "...bringing with them the long history of sectarian rivalry in France" (Epprecht, ibid: 39). They launched an aggressive campaign to win converts and to undermine the achievements of the PEMS 'Calvinists,' 'Huguenots' and 'heretics' as the OMIs viewed them (ibid.).

Like the PEMS missionaries before them, the Catholic missionaries were appalled at Sesotho customs and practices, which they viewed as savagery and depravity. They were intolerant of beer drinking, polygamy and marriage with cattle (bohali). Consequently, they too won few converts at the beginning. Nine years into their mission, by 1871, only 230 Basotho had been converted to Catholicism (Mohapeloa, 1971: 99). This slow progress later caused them to change their strategy.

The Catholics then became less antagonistic to Sesotho. In 1888 they took the position that bohali was not a sin as long as the traditional wedding ritual was followed by a 'proper' church

ceremony (ibid: 40). Further, since divorce was anathema to Catholic dogma, bohali was seen as an important factor in keeping the divorce rate down. They also began to tolerate polygamy and welcomed wives of polygamous men to church without enforcing the divorce condition. Alcohol (joala) was also allowed as the OMIs saw it as contributing to social cohesion. Excessive drunkenness, however, was frowned upon as were drunken revelries among women.

Notwithstanding its celibacy rule, the Roman Catholic Mission also took advantage of Sesotho custom relating to the position of women. They endorsed and recommended "...overtly patriarchal expectations of women's proper role in society" (Epprecht, ibid: 42). Like the PEMS, they assumed that a woman's primary role was as a mother and companion of her husband.

However, they differed with the PEMS on the education of girls. While the PEMS valued and encouraged female literacy and intellectual development, the Roman Catholics had little interest in this. To them undue intellectual enquiry by females was dangerous to their souls, for, the ideal woman was a prolific breeder and competent mother" (ibid: 42). This was, fortunately for the Catholics, in line with Sesotho customs. Therefore, to promote and enhance this role of women, Catholic education for girls had to do with family, family values and housecraft. The popularity of Domestic Science and Food and Nutrition subjects in many Catholic schools in Lesotho could be a result of this history. In general, the Catholic attitude to women's literacy is better expressed by Bishop Bonhomme's circular to the mission in 1942 that "ignorance is preferable to error" (ibid: 42). There was a concerted effort to ensure that Catholic girls had no access to the PEMS religious literature lest they were polluted, and therefore became susceptible to error.

Against this background, there emerged an alignment between class and church as a result of which the 'educated elite' were almost entirely Protestant. This led to a number of Catholics sending their children to Protestant schools. In response to this challenge, the Catholic mission began the improvement of its school system in the late 1940s. As a result of these later strategies, Catholics gained more converts in Basutoland as Table 1 below illustrates.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO CHURCHES

(1904 – 1966)

Church	Numbers 1904 %	Numbers 1956 %	Numbers 1966 %
Roman Catholic	5,701 (1.6)	215,921 (33.80)	328,793 (38.68)
LEC	40,956 (11.8)	140,003 (21.92)	206,340 (24.27)
Anglicans	3,383 (1.0)	60,130 (9.41)	88,631 (10.43)
Other Christians	838 (0.2)	36,871 (5.77)	71,238 (8.38)
Non-Christians	297,970 (85.4)	184,634 (28.90)	155,011 (18.24)
Unspecified	-	1,298 (0.20)	-
TOTAL	348,848 (100.00)	638,857(100.00)	850,013 (100.00)

Sources: Basutoland, 1963. Report for the year 1962. London, p.23; Kingdom of Lesotho, 1969 Population census report. Vol.I, 1966. Maseru, Statistics, p. 105; and Lagden, Sir G. 1909. The Basutos, Vol II. London, Hutchinson, p. 670. Cited in Breytenbach (1975 : 25).

The Catholics' sympathetic attitude towards traditional customs and their ultra-conservative stance appealed to the traditional sectors of the Basotho society and the chiefs. The conversion of Paramount Chief Griffith Lerotholi in 1912 was testimony to the appeal of the church to the traditional sectors and chieftaincy. With the conversion of the chief it was inevitable that a number of subjects would follow. Further, the Catholic Mission had extended its work vigorously into the yet untapped and inaccessible rural mountains of Basutoland while the PEMS⁸ and the Anglican churches⁹ had concentrated in the lowlands and urban centres. It is also said that the nun's indefatigable work, humility and public deference to male authority won them trust among many Basotho (ibid: 43).

This slow beginning notwithstanding, by 1870 when Moshoeshoe died, the missionaries' project of evangelization and instruction was well established amongst the Basotho. In 1871 Basutoland was placed under the British Cape Colony government. During this period, Christian conquest flourished more under the "strong consolidated front of missionaries and the British Government in the Cape Colony..." (Manyeli, ibid: 78). By this time all that was glaringly assumed to be in conflict with European ideas and customs was, according to Manyeli, crushed.

¹⁵In an attempt to appeal to the sentiments of most Basotho and therefore win more converts, the PEMS changed its name to Lesotho Evangelical Church (LEC) as it is known today.

¹⁶Not much has been said here about the Anglican Church; for, unlike the Catholic and the Evangelical Churches, it was mainly set up initially to minister to the needs of the English colonial community. Therefore, though significant, its impact on the Basotho society was less than that of the two other churches. I therefore have concentrated on these two churches for purposes of the argument of this study and chapter.

Emille Rolland's *'notes on the political and social position of the Basotho Tribe'*¹⁷ of 1868, addressed to the colonial officials, provide a comprehensive testimony of the attitude of missionaries to the customs and practices of Basotho. Reverend Germond's letter¹¹ addressed to the Governor and High Commissioner in Cape Town a few years later in 1891 expresses the same attitude shown by Rolland earlier. These notes and letter show how and why missionaries sought the legal intervention of the Cape Government in rooting out the national customs of circumcision and marriage with cattle as well as polygamy.

Circumcision was perceived as evil and its adherents as dangerous to the evangelization and civilization projects, since it was believed these adherents despised everything that was not connected with the national customs. Labelled as the 'School of Satan' by Rolland, circumcision was described as "one of the principal bulwarks of heathenism" which had to "be at once put down by proclamation, as a custom tending to immorality and dangerous to good government" (Rolland, 1868:185-186). As Machobane (2001:51) observes, circumcision was considered dangerous because it stood for a number of rites such as courage in war, upholding ancient customs and despising everything that was not connected with those customs. Marriage with cattle was later legalized side-by-side with Christian marriages without cattle transactions. This was done with the proviso that these marriages were registered by the Magistrate (Manyeli, Ibid: 80).

1.12 Colonial Rule and the Second Phase of Modernisation

Basutoland was annexed to the Cape Colony in 1868 as a result of requests by Moshoeshoe I. Continuing instability in Basutoland, resulting from hostile relations with the Boers in South Africa prompted Moshoeshoe to seek protection from the British who were seeking, in any event, to expand their interests in the area. Bodies of Boers were scheming to secure the land occupied by Moshoeshoe, and the future of Basotho was seen as unsafe. There were constant feuds between the Free State Boers and the Basotho. In 1862 Moshoeshoe appealed to the British for 'protection and the right to an alliance'. The British, in response, stated the conditions under which they would accede to Moshoeshoe's request. A dialogue then took place during which Moshoeshoe sought to emphasize the conditions of his request – namely that he had sought

¹⁷See Lesotho National Archives, Basutoland Recods, Vol. IV. Part 1, 1868.

¹⁸Ibid., 1891

protection and alliance only. However, in forwarding the Basotho's request to the Colonial Secretary, Sir Philip Wodehouse, the Governor of the Cape Colony, deceptively stated that the Basotho wished to be British subjects. Further, in relaying Queen Victoria's reply to Moshoeshoe, Sir Wodehouse stated that the Queen had accepted the Paramount Chief's request that the Basotho tribe "be admitted into the allegiance of Her Majesty" (see Mohlabani, July, 1955). Despite Moshoeshoe's protestations against the construction put on his request by Wodehouse, the subjection of the Basotho to the British Queen was quickly effected.

In the context of the Boers threatening the Basotho, Ramaneella, a nephew of Moshoeshoe, raided the Free State in 1865. The response was the invasion of Basutoland by the Free State Commandos. What ensued was the protracted 'War of Seqiti' in 1865-1868, as the Basotho called it. These events forced the British to act. By Proclamation published at Cape Town on 12th March 1868, Basutoland became a British protectorate. According to the Proclamation, "... the said Tribe of the Basutos shall be ... British subjects ... and the Territory of the said Tribe shall be ... British Territory" (See Proclamation No. 14, 1868; also see the Mohlabani Newspaper, August, 1957).

At first, the British were not keen on committing themselves to Basotholand as they considered the commitment too expensive. However, the need to secure peace on the frontiers of the Cape and Natal Colonies persuaded them that annexation of the area was an important step to take (Breytenbach, 1975). As a result, the area came under the direct administration of the Cape Colony. In Basotholand, it must be said though that this administration did not result in the enforcement of Cape laws. The area continued to be administered according to Basotho laws and customs under the control of four European magistrates, each of whom was responsible for one of the four districts (ibid.). From this time on Chieflly rule was systematically undermined and finally it came to disintegrate as Basotho were gradually turned into British subjects in accordance with the spirit of the 1868 Proclamation.

It is important to note at this stage that the exercise of administration by the Cape was never a smooth affair. The Basotho resented magisterial interference in their domestic affairs. In 1872 they resisted magisterial attempts to speed up grain and wool production (Basotholand was highly productive in these commodities and earned much foreign exchange from their exports). They also resisted the introduction of taxation (Breytenbach, ibid: 49). Furthermore, in 1880 the

'Gun War' broke out between the Basotho and the Cape Government. The Cape administration had tried to disarm the Basotho in terms of the Preservation of Peace Act, No.13 of 1878. A number of Basotho, many of whom were working in the Kimberly diamond mines, had purchased guns. In the event, the Cape forces lost this war. With the failure of the Cape Colony to administer Basotho, the British Government decided to take over, entirely so, the administration of Basotholand. In March 1884 Basotholand was declared a direct responsibility of the British Crown, the Queen of England.

1.12.1 The Nature and Effects of Colonial Rule (1884-1960)

Following a series of events around the strife with the Boers, it turned out that Basotholand did not become a British protectorate; namely, a state that is protected, and not governed, by another. The Basotho were British subjects, not protected persons, but rather a colony (Ambrose, 1993:81). A dual system of government (described by Breytenbach as two parallel governments) was put in place to administer the colony. On the one hand, the Basotho traditional administration through chiefs under the Paramount Chief was retained. On the other, the colonial administration was installed. It had a Resident Commissioner heading four Assistant Commissioners who were placed in charge of four districts whose boundaries were those of principal chiefs. The Resident Commissioner, in turn, was accountable to the British High Commissioner in South Africa who exercised all legislative and executive authority over Basotholand. The High Commissioner delegated his powers to the Resident Commissioner, the first of which was Sir Marshall Clarke, in Maseru. The institutionalization of this structure deeply undermined the Chiefs and chiefly rule. At the same time, however, the Basotho were encouraged to establish self-government sufficient to suppress crime and settle any tribal disputes. This way, the chiefs' traditional authority was maintained in a subordinate position as agents of local rule. According to Breytenbach (ibid: 49) "...the British did not interfere with the indigenous political process and institutions, except to restore order." Based on this, Sir Alan Pim commented, with a touch of exaggeration, in his 1938 report that "the Basuto received protection without control" (cited in Machobane, 1990:183).

Indigenous institutions and traditional Basotho political processes of popular consultation and decision-making such as the 'pitso' system were initially maintained. The colonial officials used these institutions and channels to arrive at important decisions. However, in due course, in the

late 1880s, the significance of the national ‘pitsos’ declined as the Resident Commissioner and some Basotho leaders sought to organise “an alternative and effective institution representative of Basotho public opinion” (Breytenbach, *ibid*: 50). This resulted in the establishment of a National Council in 1903. Although the Basotho chiefs were opposed to this Council at the beginning, they later accepted it as it also dealt with ‘tribal affairs’, and also because they were strongly represented¹⁹ in it.

Some of the politicized commoners viewed the National Council both as a substitute for the ‘pitso’ system as well as for the institution of the Sons of Moshoeshoe (the royal family). Notwithstanding this view, according to Breytenbach, the colonial administration sought to exclude commoners and to maintain the traditional system. The political system, particularly the political culture that grew out of these arrangements was complex. Although the structure seemed to strengthen the chieftainship, the National Council system detraditionalised the system of rule as a whole. The ‘pitso’ system was an all-inclusive forum of decision-making in which men (chiefs, headmen and commoners) (not women) came together to make collective decisions. The National Council therefore, contrary to what its architects claimed, was hardly a reproduction of the traditional system.

Be that as it may, the National Council remained, for a long time, an unofficial institution (Breytenbach, *ibid*). It was for this reason that the High Commissioner suggested that it be re-established as an official institution. He also suggested that it should be more representative, and should be empowered to perform other functions than the legislative ones. In 1910, it was replaced by the Basutoland Council, which was authorised to discuss the domestic affairs of Basutoland. Its structure and functions did not differ from those of its predecessor, the National Council. Although this new council was to have one European in its membership to represent white traders, and the High Commissioner ruled that such a representative be appointed, the Resident Commissioner opposed this as he felt the Council “...should be a Basuto body in accordance with the tradition of the National Pitsos” (*ibid*: 51).

For the first time in 1937, commoners gained nomination into the Council. But such commoner representation was not sanctioned by law (*ibid*). This did not satisfy commoners’ movements

¹⁹The National Council was made of 100 members. Five of these were nominated by the Resident Commissioner, and the rest (95) by the Paramount Chief (King). Twenty-two Principal Chiefs, also known as the ‘Sons of

which advocated formal representation in the council. Only later, after 1950 when District Councils had been established, did more commoners' associations obtain representation in the Basutoland Council via District Council votes. However, an important commoner (peasant) association, the Lekhotla la Bafo was not granted representation in the council whereas an elite association, the Basutoland Progressive Association, was represented.

With colonisation, Basotho were allowed to keep their customary civil code while colonial laws were introduced to govern particular aspects of life in Lesotho. While the Missionaries' purpose was that of evangelization and instruction, the purpose of colonisation was civilisation (Machobane, 2001). This apparent division of intent meant that Basutoland was on the one hand socially and culturally colonised by the French, and on the other, politically and economically colonised by the British. Based on the divergent nature of the colonial policies of the two imperial nations, the implications of this 'simultaneous double colonisation' were serious for the consciousness of the colonised.

Apart from consolidating the Missionary projects, the colonial machinery systematically transformed Basotholand's economic set-up and traditional governance arrangements. It transformed Basotholand from the granary of Southern Africa to a labour reserve. This had to be so, for as Thabane (2002) argues, Basotholand was seen as having nothing to offer except as a potential market for British industrial goods, an important source of labour and a supplier of grain to settler communities in South Africa.

To transform governance and constitute the colonial administrative machinery, "the colonial government took the place of the people as a source of legitimacy for the chiefs' tenure, and chiefs could only remain in the office on condition that they enjoyed the confidence of the colonial officials" (Thabane, 2002:105). Thus, chiefs became the colonial administration's support system and surrogates performing such tasks as tax collection, assisting labour recruitment and others. Since they derived material benefits from these tasks, including being paid by the British for their chiefly duties, the chiefs became willing supporters of, and assistants in colonial rule. This strengthened their relationship with the colonial government while it strained their relationship with the subjects. Consequently, "the people lost their ability to ensure that the chiefs' power was exercised with restraint" (ibid: 106). The view punted in the popular

Moshoeshoe' were incorporated in this council by the King who had the right to appoint 95 members.

press was that “...the paid Chief is no Chief, for he gives up his independence to become an agent of his masters...” and “...he could be utilised to betray his people...” (See the Mohlalani Newspaper, January, 1958: 14). Mamdani (1996) has written extensively about the dilution and erosion of the status of traditional chieftainship as a result of colonial policies. With his notion of decentralized despotism, he demonstrates this erosion of the chieftainship. A more detailed discussion of Mamdani is carried out in Chapter Two.

Thus, between 1870 and the 1890s the colonial government imposed a number of changes on Basotholand’s political economy. As stated above, these included the dilution of the chieftainship and its authority and the polarisation of chiefs and their subjects. The monetisation of Basotholand’s economy through imposition of taxes only payable in cash, the destruction of Basotho’s self-sufficiency especially in grains through, among other things, the imposition of tariffs on grains from Basotholand to South Africa, are some of these changes. A combination of these deliberate colonial efforts and natural disasters such as rinderpest, drought and soil erosion resulted in the Basotho becoming labour vassals to the South African mines, railways, factories and farms, and the collapse of agriculture by the late 1920s (ibid.). This was the situation on the political and the economic front. What follows then unravels the situation on the social and the educational front.

One of the legacies bequeathed to post-independence Lesotho by the colonial administration was sectarianism (Matookane, 1981) and a weak state²⁰. This is particularly the case in relation to the education sector, which until 1995²¹ had been the exclusive preserve of missionaries and churches. The role of the colonial state in education appears to have been that of an uninterested player. Its involvement was akin to that of an irresponsible and unaccountable parent who is only happy to dole out money for his/her child’s fees but hardly cares how that money is used, let alone what benefits accrue from the money doled out. For a long time between 1871 to the early 1900s the colonial government’s involvement in education was negligible. The missionaries, on the other hand, were active from 1833 when the PEMS Missionaries first arrived in Basotholand. Blanchet-Cohen (1976: 7) makes an apt and instructive observation that “...the Colonial

²⁰In liberal thought a weak state is one that is less directly involved in regulating social and economic activities but empowers citizens to do so. I use this phrase to refer to the state’s non-involvement in these activities and its inability to enforce its rules and policies.

²¹In 1995 the two-year old democratic government promulgated the Education Act which sought to realign the balance of power in the regulation of primary and secondary schools by removing exclusive regulatory powers from

Government ...was renowned for its policies of 'laissez-faire' [sic], and its minimal intervention in the internal affairs of the territory" (emphasis and spelling in the original). This liberal stance henceforth had implications for the management of education in Lesotho as described below.

The non-involvement of the colonial state in education, the non-regulation of education by this state, and the resultant gradual entrenchment of missionary and church interests and values and lack of accountability in Basutoland's education have been described in various colonial education reports (see Ambrose, 2007; Brooksbank et al 1964).

The education of Basotho seems to have been of secondary significance to the colonial government. According to Thabane (2002) the British colonial government had no incentive and interest in establishing social programmes geared towards social welfare and human resource development in Basotholand. The shortage of mineral resources and the absence of a significantly large settler population were, according to him, the causes of this lack of incentive and interest. As a result, very little was done to develop social and welfare services. It is the missionaries that did more work by way of providing schools and medical services. While the Missionaries began in the 1830s to provide education, only between 1929 and 1939 did the colonial government establish schools that popularly came to be known as 'Controlled Schools'. And in 1939 it opened the first high school in Maseru. All these were done belatedly considering that the colonisation of Basotholand began in 1871.

In terms of this discussion, therefore, the pioneers in the establishment of schools and provision of education were the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PEMS) missionaries in 1833. The Roman Catholic Missionaries followed in 1865, and the English Church Missionaries in 1876. As stated earlier, initially education was mainly guided by the purpose of evangelization and moral instruction. Nonetheless, mission schools were opened and education of a kind was provided. For about a hundred years the Missionaries single-handedly built schools and provided formal education. It was only in 1871 and 1885 when the colonial government came that mission schools received grants-in-aid. For some time this remained the only way in which the colonial government made any contribution in education. Matooane's (1980: 426) view is that "it is the function of the symbolism of the grants-in-aid as representative of the reaction of the government

school proprietors (churches) to citizens via management committees and boards. The reactions to this initiative were belligerent.

to rise from the inertia and ambivalence of the posture of distance and noninvolvement.” This view expresses the lack of interest and reluctance on the part of the colonial government to be involved in providing education.

Earlier, in 1868, the Reverend Emille Rolland of the Evangelical Church had recommended that the incoming colonial government complement the work of missionaries by funding education. He had argued that the ‘civilization’ of the Basotho required a concerted effort that would destroy traditional institutions and practices and replace them with new ones. In terms of this, the establishment of schools by churches as a counter to initiation (Lebollo) was a project worth pursuing.

However, the general approach of the colonial government was not to assist missionary efforts to construct schools. Their funding was only intended for tuition and maintenance of students in these missionary institutions. Therefore, the construction and ownership of schools, they insisted, remained with churches. Periodically the colonial government would provide funding as it was able to. This was held in place for a long time. Later, “the colonial government extended its responsibility to cover the remuneration of teachers in churches’ schools” (Thabane, *ibid*: 128). This mode of involvement confused the practice of accountability. While schools belonged to the Missions, and teachers were recruited and employed by them, the state paid teachers and funded these mission schools. There was hardly any form of follow up by the state on performance of these mission schools as indicated in the course of this discussion.

The attitude of the colonial administration to Basotho education is explained by one colonial official’s remarks in the late 1890s that

the objective of the colonial government was to ensure that Basotho were not educated beyond labour. Basotho ...were good only as labourers in South African diamond and gold mines, farms, railway works and domestic services and to provide them with higher education in Lesotho ‘would be a mistake’ (Thabane, 2002: 129).

So, the colonial government established the South African Native College at Fort-Hare in 1916 and funded some Basotho to attend. This arrangement and attitude were in the context of the plans to incorporate Basotholand into South Africa. Only in the 1930s when it became apparent that the wisdom of incorporating Basotholand into South Africa was doubtful were the plans made to build a government secondary school in Maseru. Otherwise education had been and

continued to occupy lower priority in colonial development plans. As a result the construction and management of schools remained the preserve of the churches.

Some changes in the attitude of the colonial state to education took place from 1926 as a result of Urling-Smith's report. The report observed that the education system in Basotholand lacked control, coordination and regulation, especially by the state. The report stated that "[E]ducation is almost exclusively controlled by the Missionary bodies, the Paramount Chief and other chiefs exerting but a slight influence, while it is hard to see where the Government exerts any..." (p.8). The changes in the attitude of the colonial state were, however, only minimal and restricted to the provision in grants-in-aid, the establishment of a Central Advisory Board and an increase in the number of school. But all these changes did not reduce the dominance of the churches and increase the role of the state in the control, coordination and regulation of education. This unfinished business has dogged Lesotho's education system to-date.

Up to this point very little has been said about teacher education and training. This is mainly because most of the historical reports and records have concentrated on the larger education system, especially schooling. Very little is available on higher education and teacher education. But this is also partly because historically, and to a large extent today in Lesotho, teacher training has tended to be subsumed in and a consequence of what goes on in the school system. However, below we briefly focus our attention on teacher education. This is important because teacher education is the focus of this study.

1.13 Teacher education

The establishment, expansion and development of teacher education seem to have historically been reactive and responsive to the establishment, expansion and development of schools (Dove, 1990). Therefore, it is difficult to trace the history of teacher education (or teacher training as it was commonly called) as an exclusive discursive field. Teacher education is embedded in the general education system, especially the provision of primary and secondary education. And much of what has been written above about schools applied to colleges as well. These colleges belonged to the Missionary Societies and the colonial state's only involvement was through payment of grants-in-aid as was the case within the entire education system.

Teacher education is a highly under-reported sector of education in Lesotho. Apart from sporadic references in some reports on education, there is very little discussion about the field. Teacher education in Lesotho began with the opening of a Normal School in Morija in 1868 to train teacher-evangelists. The school was initially like all others, the work of the PEMS Missionaries. Only in 1871 did they get government support when the Cape Colonial Government decided upon a policy of aiding existing educational establishments by providing block grants for two institutions – the Morija Normal School and Thaba Bosiu (an industrial school for girls). Strongly foregrounded in most reports on education was the concern about the scarcity of qualified teachers, or the high proportion of untrained to trained teachers.

The Clarke Commission was disturbed by the scarcity of trained teachers in Basutoland, and as a result it made far-reaching proposals for remedying the situation. It proposed the construction of a new Government Training Centre for teachers “intended to increase the annual output, and also to set a standard for present [sic] institutions to aim at” (1946 Annual Report, p.24). Although this proposal “proved financially impracticable” (ibid.) it was evident that “drastic measures have [sic] to be taken to improve the ... standard of training and also to provide facilities for an annual output of teachers from the English Church Mission” (ibid.). As a result of discussions with the Central Advisory Board, it was decided “to broaden the basis of the ...Morija Paris Evangelical Missionary Society Training Institution into a centre to serve the needs, not only of the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society, but also of the English Church” (ibid.). This was accepted by the Mission authorities, and Morija “ceased to exist as a specific Paris Evangelical Society Training Institution”, and was to become a joint institution for the training of Protestant teachers managed by the representatives of the PEMS, the English Church, the Government and the Basotho (ibid.).

By 1959 there were seven teacher training colleges. Two of them were exclusively male, four for females and only one was mixed (i.e. Hermitage Training College). At the same time (1959), teachers for the post-primary system were trained at Pius XII College, and at extra-territorial institutions such as Lovedale, Healdtown, Marianhill and others in the Union of South Africa.

1.14 Concerns about Quality

While there had been a concern about the low number of qualified teachers as stated above, the quality of performance and standard of teaching in schools was also considered below expectation. So it was believed that “the main factor in improvement must be to concentrate on an early improvement of the quality of the Institutions [sic]” (1946 Director’s Report, p.25).

In 1964 similar concerns about the quality of performance of the teacher training institutions continued to be expressed. According to the 1964 UNESCO Report, ‘... this sector of the educational system is most poorly served’ (p. 69). Educational expenditure records, according to this report, showed how neglected colleges were, “(y)et in no sector is the need greater” (p. 69).

Based on their study of the teacher-training scenario in 1964, the UNESCO Mission were “...convinced that nothing less than a radical overhaul of the whole of teacher training will [sic] suffice” (p. 19). They went on to observe that “[F]ar from being in the forefront of educational progress, the colleges are in danger of becoming the conservators of outmoded traditions and practice. It is difficult for institutions existing on the verge of starvation to be otherwise” (p.69).

According to this Mission there was “a parochialism in outlook which is [sic] not in accord with the educational needs of a country emerging to independence” (ibid.). As a result, “a great opportunity for leading the schools in educational thought and practice is being lost” (ibid.). Further, not enough was being done to improve the educational standard of entrants from primary schools in colleges. And, “if the quality of the teaching in the primary schools is low, the training colleges can not escape their share of the responsibility”, the mission argued (p.69).

To solve the problems stated above, the UNESCO Mission made a number of recommendations. They recommended that the University of Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland be asked to set up an Institute of Education. Within the framework and under the guidance of such an Institute, the aims, orientation and functioning of training colleges should be reviewed and remodelled to accord with the present day needs of a progressive educational system (p.70).

The mission also recommended that the possibility of amalgamating existing colleges either with each other or with new institutions should be considered or carefully planned. The mission noted that the amalgamation of colleges and the setting up of two new colleges would warrant much consultation with voluntary agencies concerned, such as the churches. Much later, in 1975, as a result of this recommendation, the Lesotho National Teacher Training College (later, since 2002, the Lesotho College of Education) was born out of the amalgamation of the seven church-owned teacher training colleges. In the same year, 1975, the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland was nationalised, and in this context teacher training in the university became a local or national matter.

Teacher education as it is offered in Lesotho today began in 1975 after a century of provision by the Evangelical, Catholic and Anglican Churches. These churches had established and operated a number of prominent institutions. During this year the government amalgamated seven mission teacher-training colleges, and established one national college, with the result that all church colleges soon closed down. This was a result of a long felt need for a centralised, larger and higher quality teacher training institution run by the government.¹⁵ Thus, the Lesotho National Teacher Training College (NTTC), now known as the Lesotho College of Education was established. Its establishment was heralded as a move to increase the production of teachers in order to cope with the already insatiable demand for qualified teachers. It was also seen as an attempt to create a centre of excellence for the production of high quality teachers (Turner, 1987).

In his speech at the dedication of the college in May 1975, the Lesotho Prime Minister of the time had this to say to indicate the functions of the college and its professionals

...we must always remember that this is not just a college for training students to be teachers, but that it is dedicated to the service of the children in our schools, and that its success will be measured by the contribution it makes to their advancement, in communities... (See the 1975 Education Report, p.42).

Coming out strongly in this speech is the twin purpose of teaching and community service. For purposes of this study, teaching is an internal, professional matter in the practices of teacher

¹⁵ Faced with the problem of rising enrolments and shortage of teachers in the 1940s, the colonial government saw the need to establish a government training centre for teachers to increase output, and to set a standard for other institutions to aim at. This proved financially impracticable, and it did not materialise. The need became stronger in the 1960s. See the 1946 Annual Education Report, and the 1964 UNESCO Report

educators while community service could be both professional and public. The extent to which the teacher educators get involved in the improvement of teaching and learning in the schools is an important component of this public service.

In relation to the amalgamation of the former church colleges, the then Prime Minister indicated that the growth of national identity resulting from the country's independence and sovereignty and the consequent increasing responsibility of the state for national development, meant that teacher training needed "to reflect national aspirations, rather than those of particular regions or groups" (ibid). For, according to him, prior to this, teacher training had been conducted in a number of small colleges representing the various regional and religious groupings in the society.

During the same year (1975), the government nationalized the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, which is today known as the National University of Lesotho. The nationalization was part of the government's policy to ensure that virtually all public sector facilities first and foremost benefited Basotho¹⁶. So, 1975 could be seen as a watershed year in the control and regulation of higher education and teacher education by the government in Lesotho.

According to the 1964 UNESCO Mission, "...the programmes of development of training colleges should...be accorded very high priority". For, "it is the key to fundamental improvement in the primary schools and so to the quality of the whole educational system" (p. 71). Cognizant of this significance of teacher education, especially the quality and professionalism of teacher educators, this study investigates the nature of professionalism of these professionals in Lesotho and the values underpinning this professionalism.

1.15 Summary

In summary, what we can decipher from the foregoing historical background is that Lesotho simultaneously experienced what could be described as two systems of colonialism: that of the French through the Paris Evangelical and Roman Catholic Missionaries and that of the British. Matooane (1981: 64) puts it thus; "...it was colonized by the English, but Christianized by the French." To say that Lesotho experienced both French assimilation (even if lightly) and the

¹⁶ See the First and Second Five Year Development Plans of the Government of Lesotho (1970-1975) and (1975-1980).

British divide and rule simultaneously is a truism considering the historical background above. The result of this was a highly sectarian and conflict-ridden educational system, and a very conflict-torn and unstable political system and state. For, as Matooane (1981:68) has argued ...any system that is realistically church-oriented must mark that sectarianism can be a very troubling element that usually breeds conflict and unrest.”

Coexisting in the political arena were the captured and weakened traditional system of chiefly rule and the hegemonic Western system of government. This has continued into the current post-independence Lesotho. This coexistence, it must be noted, has not been unproblematic. It has often been marked by some kind of ‘cold war’ that has manifested itself in the conflicts that have been described in the background above. In terms of allegiance, the population remained subject to the traditional chiefly system and the Western system of governance based on which they were nominal citizens or subject citizens to use Ahluwalia’s (2001) characterisation.

On the social front, various churches in Lesotho own schools. They therefore have their own expectations and requirements in relation to the teachers that teach in these schools. At the same time the government (as a putative custodian of national interest and values) has its own expectations and requirements. As a result, the social, sectarian interests and values inevitably and regularly conflict with civic, political interests and values. Since the state has had no history of regulating education and therefore no experience in this area, conflicts resulting from clashes with sectarian interests and values are inevitable. The state too, is likely to be viewed as an unwelcome intruder in the educational arena, if it tried to be more regulatory. Although teacher education institutions and professionals in them are autonomous, they operate within this morass of sectarianism and highly contested value systems.

Against this background of a highly divided and contested education system, the purpose of this study is to identify the professional identities and accountabilities of the Lesotho teacher educators, and analyze these identities to establish the extent to which they reflect the articulation between the private and professional responsibilities of the teacher educators as autonomous subjects and their public obligations as citizens.

Chapter Two

A Review of Related Literature

2.1 Introduction

Interest in teacher professionalism has been on the resurgence since the 1980s. Aspirations to raise teaching quality and standards abound (Flores and Shiroma, 2003). In the same vein, the professional development and training of teachers has come under the spotlight; and, it is at the forefront of education reform (Hargreaves and Goodson, 1996). The demands of Education for All and the education-related Millennium Development Goals have seen a plethora of related policy responses in Lesotho's education system since 1999. As a result, the challenges of universal primary education, caused by the introduction of the free primary education policy in 2000, have suddenly awakened the sensibilities of many to the fact that teachers are, after all, important. Therefore the supply of teachers and the quality of teacher preparation are key areas of public education policy discourse in Lesotho in contemporary times.

According to Fullan (1994), "teacher education still has the honour of being simultaneously the worst problem and the best solution in education." Cochran-Smith (2001:540) observed that "teachers and teacher educators are being constructed as both the last hope and the most culpable culprits in what ails American schools." Yet what it means to be professional in teaching remains unclear and contested, according to Hargreaves and Goodson (1996). What it means to be professional in teacher education and as a teacher educator remains even hazier, and scantily explored (Swennen, Volman and van Essen, 2008). Since the 1980s there has been an increased interest in issues of subjectivity and identity in teacher education (Diniz-Pereira, 2002:3).

Apart from the work done on teacher education in the United States of America (see Lanier and Little, 1986), that done in England and Wales (Furlong et al 2000), the Multi-site Teacher Education Research (MUSTER) Project coordinated by the University of Sussex (Lewin and Stuart, 2003) and that done in Australia (see Hooley, 2005) there is

very little research literature on teacher educator professionalism and professional identity (what it means and entails to be a professional as a teacher educator). Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991:290) view teacher education as an opportunity and a crisis of enormous proportion. This paradox and the scarcity of research (especially in developing countries) makes teacher education and teacher educators areas of study interest for those of us who are involved with this very important yet often underrated discursive formation.

The literature that is reviewed in this chapter serves a number of purposes. It grounds this investigation of the professional identities of the teacher educators in Lesotho in Mamdani's citizen and subject thesis which is presented below. This literature further explores identity theory in general and post-colonial identity in particular in order to develop a theoretical framework for the analysis, interpretation and understanding of the professional identities of the teacher educators in post-colonial Lesotho. The notion of teacher educators' professionalism and being professional, and the influence of various role players in education and contextual factors in this professionalism on these professional identities, is important. In relation to the latter issue, the literature being reviewed looks into the debates around professionalism and accountability in higher education and in teacher education in particular. Overall, the purpose of this chapter is to explore the relevant literature and develop a theoretical framework for the study of teacher educators' professional identities in Lesotho.

2.2 Locating the Problem in the Literature

My initial concern over the utility of the college autonomy and questions of accountability developed my interest in the professionalism of the teacher educators. Accountability and citizenship go together; in fact, accountability is about claiming citizenship¹. The commitments of the teacher educators as professionals to their profession, what Bourdieu (1989) called 'pure culture' and to the Basotho society and the

¹ See the Editorial of id21 'Building inclusive citizenship and democracies' downloaded on 10/9/2007 from <http://www.id21.org/focus/citizenship/art00.html>

various components of this society, what he called ‘engagement’ or civic engagement, are central to this investigation. What concerns me most is the articulation of the roles of the teacher educators as modern subjects on the one hand, and as citizens, on the other. The bi-polar framing of the research question that suggests a dialectical relationship between subjecthood and citizenship is derived from and grounded in the works of Mamdani (1996) and his critic, Ahluwalia (2001). These works are usefully complementary though they are elsewhere presented in opposition, one to the other.

Mamdani’s thesis, which I turn to presently, is mainly concerned with the nature and the dichotomy of subjecthood and citizenship at the macro level of the post-colonial state. It demonstrates how this fracturing came about² and what its consequences are on the postcolonial subjectivities and how it relates to what he sees as the development impasse in Africa. Ahluwalia’s thesis deals mainly with the dialectical articulation of subjecthood and citizenship at the level of the post-colonial individual’s subjectivity, and not at the level of the state. Furthermore, Ahluwalia is not as much concerned about the origins of these subjectivities as Mamdani is. Below I turn to these theses in their chronological order with the purpose of clarifying the notions of ‘subject’ and ‘citizen’ which are key to this study. How the two are separate from and/or immanent in each other is useful to our understanding of the subjectivity of the Lesotho teacher educators that is being investigated in this study.

2.2.1 Mamdani’s thesis: Citizen and Subject

Mamdani’s thesis deals with the tensions and contradictions that were brought about by colonial rule in the relationship between the traditional and customary law and authority on the one hand, and the colonial, modern and civil law and authority on the other. Mamdani describes, with examples and evidence, the mode of subordination of the customary by the colonial authority through the subjection of the native chief to the supreme chief/authority through carefully crafted ‘repugnancy clauses’ (p. 115). In terms

² The historical background in Chapter One was meant to demonstrate, along Mamdani’s lines, how the fracturing of the Basotho subjectivities came about.

of these clauses, anything in the customary was only acceptable as long as it was not repugnant to Western justice, morality, equity and good conscience or order or if it was not “contrary to public policy” as defined by the coloniser. No wonder Ekeh (1975) argues that these juxtapositions of the customary, modern or private, public resulted in the private as amoral and public as moral. We will get to this latter issue later.

In terms of Mamdani’s thesis, modernisation, brought about by colonisation, separated the customary from the modern, thereby subjecting the colonised populations to two contrasting and conflicting public realms to which they were subjects (in the case of the customary) and to which they *could be* citizens (in the case of the modern) but to which they could only be citizens under certain strict conditions. In the case of the customary realm, subjects had obligations but not rights, for rights belonged to the modern realm of citizens.

In Mamdani’s thesis, colonisation complicated the socio-political fabric of the colonised societies through creating internal contradictions in them. It created racism and tribalism simultaneously so that the former thrived on the latter and the latter always appeared the worse of the two evils. Colonisation pitted the modern, urban and civil structures and systems against the local, rural, traditional and customary ones so that the former developed at the expense of the latter. Subjects were residents in the local while citizens were residents in the modern, external system. According to this social engineering, citizenship has always been a foreign phenomenon to the colonised subject (whether in Africa or the earlier Asian and Latin American colonies). Furthermore, citizenship has always been more complicated for the educated, ‘civilised’ African whose civilisation merely placed him/her among the civilised or citizens but did not make him/her one of them. The educated Africans have always formed “a class in civil society but [were] not of civil society” just like the migrant labourer in South Africa who is *in the urban* while he is *of the rural* (Mamdani, 1996:218).

In further distinguishing citizens from subjects, Mamdani describes citizens as rights-bearing and rights-enjoying individuals who also enjoyed direct rule under colonialism

while subjects were those individuals, mostly of peasant background, who were “indirectly ruled by a customarily organized tribal authority” (p. 19). One unique feature of the subject population was its “containerization” (Mamdani, 1996:51). This describes the fact that this population is placed in separate, controllable spheres or jurisdictions “under the custody of a Native Authority” (p.49). They were subjects of power. Positioned between the citizen and the subject is, according to Mamdani, another group of urban-based native individuals of middle and working class status who are “neither subject to custom nor exalted as rights-bearing citizens”. According to Mamdani, these individuals “languished in a juridical limbo” (p.19) straddling the various jurisdictions they are subjects to. Comaroff and Comaroff (1999:50) describe these individuals as “nominal citizens”. Is this where we could locate the teacher educators like all their educated and modernised counterparts, I wonder?

Through the policy of direct and indirect rule, colonial administration crafted a system of ruling the colonised through traditional authorities where governance issues were tribal, customary and traditional. Colonial administration also used traditional authorities in cases where governance issues were controversial and most likely to trigger opposition among the subjects. Mamdani calls this ‘decentralized despotism’. In terms of the foregoing discussion indirect rule was a form of “control anchored in a historical and cultural legitimacy” (Mamdani, 1996: 77). In the case of direct rule, civilized and modern institutions were used to mediate colonial control over national, civic issues as opposed to tribal issues. Therefore, whereas indirect rule was applied to natives over native affairs, direct rule was applied over civil issues of European origin and interest. Direct rule was applied to the world of the citizens.

Mamdani (1996) used the citizen and subject binary to portray and describe this fractured condition of the colonized people’s world reality. He argued that the colonial policy of direct and indirect rule fragmented the socio-political order of the colonized societies. On the one hand, the colonizer directly set up colonial administrations with all their legal and other support systems. On the other, they left “significantly intact a defeated pre-existing order made up of parochial, more immediate authorities” (Ifidon, 1996: 102). The

coexistence of the two systems of rule created what Mamdani called a ‘bifurcated state’ to which the colonized owed allegiance. There was the ‘modern’ colonial order to which very few, if any, of the colonized were citizens while at the same time there was the traditional order to which all were subjects. The modern order, endowed with urban power, “spoke the language of civil society and civil rights,” while the traditional order was based on “rural power of community and culture” (p18). The confused nature of the private - public realms in the African context as observed by Chabal and Dalos (1990) seems to have some of its origins in this background.

Implied in the citizen and subject nomenclature are issues of rights. Very few, if any, of the colonized people qualified to be citizens with civil rights; for, complete and meaningful citizenship (citizenship as legal and as practice) was never to be the reality for the colonized population. Only those Africans who had been acculturated (Ayiittey, 1992) or civilized (Mamdani, 1996), qualified for citizenship status. Those who did not meet these criteria remained only as subjects, with customary rights to the primordial order (Mamdani, *ibid.*). For the acculturated and civilized, this bifurcation was even more complex and confusing. Although they were assimilated into the colonizer’s culture and practice and qualified to be citizens, they still retained their traditional roots and owed allegiance to the primordial order; for, citizenry was racially defined. Thus, although the citizens among the colonized represented modernity, they did not, as per colonial design, de-link from the primordial realm. Comaroff and Comaroff (1999:47) depict this doubleness in their description of the nature of citizenship in the French colonies by pointing out that

[C]olonial humanism ... produced native subjects defined by a colonial double-bind: destined to become rights-bearing individuals, but always too immature to exercise these rights. Native demands for autonomy were undermined by the administrative claim that they were minor members of the French nation, while their demands for citizenship rights were undermined by the claim that they were still too different to be equal.

The bifurcation of rights demonstrated above created post-colonial societies that were characterised by the double-consciousness which manifested itself in Mamdani’s subject and citizen binary. The creation of bifurcated states, the bifurcation of rights, together

with the duality of subjecthood and citizenship that it created resulted in what has variously been described as ‘binationalism’ (Oyelaran and Adediran, 1997); as ‘dual publics’ (Ekeh, 1975); and as ‘dual citizenship’ (Halisi et al, 1998).

Much earlier than Mamdani’s analysis and somewhat corroborating it, is Ekeh’s (1975). Ekeh demonstrated that “there are two public realms in post-colonial Africa, with different types of moral linkages to the private realm” (p. 92). On the one hand there is the public realm in which the primordial order exists and operates. This he calls the primordial public. On the other hand, there is the public realm that has been traditionally associated with colonialism and colonial administration, and this realm is associated with popular politics. According to Ekeh, it is the realm that anchors itself in civil structures such as the military, the police, and the civil service. He calls this public realm the civic public. According to Ekeh, “[M]ost educated Africans are citizens of two publics in the same society” (p. 108). They belong to the civic public from which they gain materially but to which they have no morality, and “they belong to a primordial public from which they derive little or no benefits but to which they are expected to give generously and do give materially” (ibid).

According to Hogan, 2000, p.10), the duality or fractured subjectivity of the post-colonial individual negatively manifests itself in “conflicts in one’s self-understanding, aspiration, expectation, action ...leaving one almost entirely unable to take coherent action toward fulfilling goals....” Expressed differently, this duality is perceived as causing confusion in the allegiances of the educated African, and a double consciousness that simultaneously expresses itself in the liberal-individualist values and the civic-republican (communitarian) values. Resulting from this double consciousness, the educated African is perceived as too confused to take coherent action. To describe the apparent ‘confusion’ or fluidity, Homi Bhabha has coined the notion of the uncanny double or double-inscription while Freud has referred to this as psychic ambivalence (see Goldberg and Quayson, 2002 and Bhabha, 1993:136-137). According to this argument, teacher educators in Lesotho as a category of educated Africans are faced with these multiple publics to serve. My interest is in how and how far these teacher educators as

professionals traverse these public spaces, and provide the needed services, and which of their identities as professionals best enable them to negotiate and traverse these colonially created multiple spaces. Mamdani's thesis as described above, however, has its critics to which we turn our attention below.

2.2.2 A Critique of Mamdani's thesis

Ahluwalia (2001) is critical of Mamdani's *binary* view and portrayal of the subject and citizen identities. He argues that in the African context "multiple identities are part of the very fabric of society. ...African identities are complex and diverse and rooted in the post-colonial experience" (ibid. p. 14). He contends that post-colonial identities are complex formulations in which we are all citizen/subject (Ahluwalia, ibid. , p.108). This dualism or bi-polar relationship is dynamic, shifting and changing as "individuals are private subjects and public citizens at the same time" (Ahluwalia, ibid. p.110). According to him the subject is amorphous; capable of relinquishing his/her individual interests for the general interest as citizens (ibid.). He uses Said's imagery of the potentate and the traveller to illustrate the dynamic and dialectical relationship between the subject and the citizen positions.

Said (1991:18) uses the aforesaid imagery to demonstrate the changing nature of identity in the context of multiple allegiances, especially for intellectuals. He urges the intellectuals to adopt the identity of the traveller, because by so doing, they "suspend the claim of customary routine in order to live in new rhythms and rituals." Unlike the potentate, "who must guard only one place and defend its frontiers; the traveller crosses over, traverses territory, and abandons fixed positions, all the time" Ahluwalia, 2001:109 & also see Said, 1991: 18).

Masolo (1997: 297) suggests that individuals constantly move back and forth between multiple congregational communities in which they participate regularly. In this back and forth movement, the identities of these individuals change since the focus on them keeps changing too. For example, one individual may attend congregations of three or more

organisations within a short space of time without confusing his or her different roles in each, Masolo suggests. According to this, it seems reasonable to believe that teacher educators in Lesotho are capable of performing their roles as professionals without confusing these roles with their roles as religious subjects, family members or their roles as citizens. Whatever the case may be, we experience different identities at different times and/or settings in such a complex dynamic that it is virtually impossible to spatially determine the boundaries between each of these identities as the citizen and subject binary might suggest. Each of the identities we experience highlights our participation in given settings that we are part of.

According to Karp (1992:3-4)

“...An individual can in the space of a short time move from emphasizing the part of his or her identity that comes from membership in an ethnic community to highlighting his or her participation in a formal organization such as a professional society and then back to being an ethnic-community member again. We experience these identities not as all-encompassing entities but through specific social events: encounters and social settings where identities are made relevant by the people participating in them.

Said's imagery of the traveller cited above helps to explain the dynamic relationship between our multiple identities. Central to this imagery is the need to see the subject-citizen relationship as dialectical, and not as a dichotomous relationship that assumes rigid subjecthood versus rigid citizenship. Said's traveller metaphor places the subject-citizen identities on a continuum on which we move back and forth. Thus, according to these arguments, the essentialist (fixed) binary view of the relationships between subjecthood and citizenship is generally flawed and misleading (Ahluwalia, 2001; Werbner, 2002).

Ahluwalia is supported in his post-structuralist analysis by Werbner (2002) who is also critical of the binary portrayal of the relationship between subjecthood and citizenship. For him, too, the two should not be viewed as distinct categories in which there is a choice between one and the other. Rather, one is a subject-citizen, becoming more of the

two at one time and vice-versa depending on the prevailing circumstances. This relationship is further clarified in Mouffe's (1992) and Laclau and Zac's (1994) notion of 'dialectical reversals', which stresses the indeterminacy of the relationship between subjecthood and that of citizenship.

Mouffe argues

[T]he distinction private (individual liberty)/public (respublica) is maintained as well as the distinction individual/citizen, but they do not correspond to discrete separate spheres. We cannot say: here end my duties as a citizen and begins my freedom as an individual. Those two identities exist in a permanent tension that can never be reconciled (p.238).

Against the preceding background, below we briefly describe what appears to be the points of similarity and those of difference in the positions taken by Mamdani and Ahluwalia.

2.2.3 Mamdani and Ahluwalia: Synergies and Differences

Both Mamdani's and Ahluwalia's theses are useful to this investigation. Both portray some similarities in the subjectivities of the postcolonial populations by indicating that they are complex, multiple and confused. They both share, in different words, the view of the fractured subjectivities of the post-colonial people. They also do not differ in showing that these subjectivities are rooted in colonial experience.

Mamdani's thesis helps us understand the development of citizenship and subjecthood as separate entities in the colonies. This understanding has a heuristic significance in facilitating a better insight into the nature and complexities of citizenship and subjecthood at its formative roots in postcolonial conditions. Where the values and practices of one of these are more dominant than those of the other, it may help to look for some of the explanations in this history. Most of Mamdani's work portrays the fracturing and formation of the subjectivities of the uneducated, 'uncivilised', primordial

Africans in colonial circumstances. This is one of the areas of difference with Ahluwalia. However, Mamdani's thesis is not useful in portraying the subject and citizen identities as if they are essentialised or fixed. It is mainly in this rigid binary portrayal of these identities where his critics are strong. A post-structural non-essentialist view of identity of his critics is useful for this study.

Ahluwalia's thesis is less interested in the historical development of citizenship and subjecthood but more interested in the articulation between the two statuses. His thesis seems to operate from the position where citizenship and subjecthood are existential realities, and therefore how, in their existence in postcolonial conditions, they are dialectically related rather than opposed and dichotomised. Unlike Mamdani's, Ahluwalia's analysis applies mainly to educated 'civilised' people- professionals so to speak; hence the examples from Said's work on intellectuals. His thesis, too, is important insofar as, for purposes of this investigation, it enhances our understanding of the relationship between the two identities, and what ontologically happens in cases of multiple identities. But it does not address itself to the question of the roots of the complexities and fracturing of subjecthood and citizenship, and the possible explanations of these complexities, and the multiple identities in post-colonial conditions.

I therefore find the two theses complementary, rather than in opposition. Applying the citizen and subject relationships described above to the professional world, with specific reference to intellectuals, Bourdieu (1989: 99) puts it succinctly and aptly as follows:

Intellectuals have come about historically in and by their overcoming the opposition between pure culture and engagement. Thus they are *bi-dimensional* beings. To claim the title of intellectual, cultural producers must fulfil two conditions: on the one hand, they must belong to an intellectually autonomous field, one independent of religious, political, economic or other powers, and they must respect that field's particular laws; on the other, they must deploy their specific expertise and authority in their particular intellectual domain in a political activity outside it. They must remain full-time cultural producers without becoming politicians.

It was on the basis of the theses above, made more relevant to the world of the professionals by Bourdieu that the research question for this investigation was framed as stated in Chapter One. But to better understand the foregoing discussion, especially the complex, indeterminate and multiple nature of post-colonial subjectivity, it will be necessary to look into the notion of identity; for, to describe people as both subjects and citizen is to implicate their identities. For this reason and the fact that the study is about professional identities, it is to identity theory that we now turn.

2.3 Identity and Identification

A common view exists that human identity is plural and multifaceted in nature. As a result, it is common in the literature to refer to 'identity' in the plural ('identities') as an indicator of its multiple and multifaceted nature. This is most pronounced among the post-structuralists such as Foucault, Derrida and Deleuze, whose philosophies, according to Green (1997:9), echo Nietzsche in stressing "the fragmentary, heterogeneous and plural nature of reality..." Identity consists of experiences and meanings of one's gender, nationality, family relationships, personality traits and capabilities, attitudes and values (Baumeister, 1997, cited in Krabi, 2005). As a result, it is common to talk about various identities such as gender identity, ethnic identity, cultural identity, academic identity, class identity, institutional identity and professional identity (Krabi, 2005). It is the latter of these identities that this study concentrates on.

Professional identity can be seen as self-definition connected with one's occupation or work (see Krabi, 2005). For Watson (2006) professional identity is equated with Gidden's (1991) notion of 'self-identity,' as a reflexive project, when applied to the context of people's working lives. It is a set of attributes that are imposed upon the teaching profession either by outsiders or members of the teaching fraternity itself (Sachs, 2001). It is a set of externally ascribed attributes used to differentiate one group from another. Sachs goes on to observe that teachers inhabit multiple professional identities. It could, by the same token be expected that teacher educators inhabit multiple professional identities.

Professional identity for teacher educators is defined by Hooley (2005:7) as

a constant process of negotiating the many socio-cultural forces, trends and structures within which they work and the relationship they seek to develop with knowledge, with students and their families and with other professional colleagues.

Citing Beck and Young (2005), Hooley observes that for Bernstein, the driving force of professional identity is the relationship that practitioners have with knowledge, a relationship characterised as 'inwardness' and 'inner dedication.' Such sacred knowledge, was labeled by Bernstein as 'singulars', which are being invaded by other forms of knowledge that are more profane in nature thereby redefining the nature of academic and professional identities. Also see Beck and Young (2002: 184).

Identity is transitory and transient. It is a process. According to Illeris (2003, cited in Krabi, 2005) identity is a fluid phenomenon with a limited stable core. It is constantly deconstructed or reconstructed. Using Foucault's theoretical lens, Ball (1994:142) observes that the subject "...is always in the process of becoming and working towards a technology of the self." As a result, "to say, 'I am' is in direct antithesis with 'I am becoming', or 'I am in the process of'." Thus, our identities are always in the making as. Amina Mama (2001:10) observes that we are "constantly seeking the integrity and unity that the notion implies, without succeeding in securing it or coming to terms with it. ... identity remains a quest, something-in-the-making." In a similar vein, Nyamnjoh (2001:25) wonders if identity cannot be seen as nothing but "a *process of identification*." He goes further to observe that [I]dentities are ... not constants, but subject to renegotiation with new experiences and aspirations." Citing Mveng (1985:68), he further argues that any African identity must be seen and treated as " 'a dynamic reality ... that moves forward daily but knows no end.'" Ahluwalia and Nursey-Bray (1997) have made similar observations on the nature of identity. In his rejection of Mamdani's binary portrayal of the citizen and subject identities, Ahluwalia (2001) is influenced by this non-essentialist view of identity. According to Haywood and Mac an Ghail (1997: 267)

identity is constituted by a range of subject positions that cannot be contained within a single category; hence the significance of the notion of ‘positioning’.

2.3.1 Identity and Gender

Gender is an important aspect that defines identity. Teaching is generally perceived as a gendered profession. Similarly, the structure of the academic workplaces is gendered (Walker, 1998). In these workplaces, women are the ‘other’ that face subtle, deeply embedded and more difficult to contest practices of exclusion (ibid.). It is important in this analysis to delineate the various gender-related representations the teacher educators make of themselves. It will be important to understand what representations the female teacher educators vis-à-vis their male counterparts make of themselves as professionals. I do not intend to take a feminist position in relation to this analysis of gender. However, some feminist theorising is not completely tangential to this analysis. In fact I do draw on some of this theorising, not with the intention of having a long sustained feminist argument, but to illustrate the significance of gender in this analysis. The reason for this selectivity is that feminist theorising is a whole broad and fully-fledged discursive field that warrants exclusive attention, which is not the approach this study as a whole takes.

2.3.2 Agency and Structure

The notion of agency is quite significant to the understanding of the nature of identity and its formation (Woodward, 2000:8). In terms of this notion, individuals have some control in constructing their own identities. Such a degree of personal control is, however, also limited by some material and social constraints in the external world. That is, individuals construct their identities.

Be that as it may, the traditional sociological approach to agency that I find as illuminating and useful to this study is that which, according to Davies (1990b), has been criticised for constituting women discursively as non-agents. Elsewhere, Davies (1990a) goes on to deconstruct the interpellation of the female subject as ‘of the collective’ with

no individuality while the male is independent and individual (ibid.507 – 511). According to this line of argument, it is possible that the female teacher educators' representations of themselves or definitions of who they are and their professional beliefs, are consequences of this interpellation, in which they inherit their social representations and actively construct them and own them as inherited. In his discussion of disciplines and the identity debates, Hollinger (1997:342-343) notes the significance of the feminist movement in viewing masculine and feminine differences at best as cultural construction, and at worst, as barriers keeping women from living lives fully as do men. As a result, identity by gender has become a matter of significant discussion beyond traditional talk of roles for men and women.

Contextual factors are also significant in identity construction. Various institutions in society and the state have a major influence in the construction of individuals' identities. There is a general consensus in the literature that the construction of the self is dependent on the cultural, social and political context (see for example, Capozza and Brown, 2000; Castells, 2000 and Walker, 2001). That is, "identity is shaped by the surrounding social, political and historical forces" as Walker (1998: 336) argues. Based on this, I wish to recognise the fact that the teacher educators being investigated here and their institutions are located in a much broader economic, political and socio-cultural context characterised by various conflicting interests defined in Chapter One. This broader context comprises a complex morass of the societal structures that may circumscribe and therefore provide parameters for identity formation for these teacher educators. These structures could determine the latitude of the agency of these teacher educators. Hussein (2004:16) has also advised that in "determining the worldly responsibilities of the intellectual calls for an examination of the tensive transactions that take place between individual agency and the multiple collectivities in which that agency is embedded...." The teacher educators' perceptions of their professionalism and their professional identities are therefore most likely to be articulated in relation to both these broader societal and specific institutional contexts which are inextricably linked. For purposes of this study, some of these institutions that are seen as having a strong influence on the construction of the professional identities of the teacher educators in Lesotho could include their own

institutions of professional operation, the schools, the church and the state (colonial and post-colonial), and the various sectors in the social and political arena as argued in Chapter One.

In terms of the foregoing, the various ways the teacher educators define themselves, and the ways in which their institutions define them, form a complex interplay of interlocking processes of identity formation. They represent the relationship between the agency of these professionals and the structures, which they inhabit, which Hodkinson (1994) discusses in the context of curriculum change and reform in education.

Giddens (1991) defines the relationship of agency and structure in the context of modernity in which individuals, institutions and culture are constantly changing through dialectical processes. In the same vein, Kopstein and Lichbach (2000:10) suggest that “people’s ...identities are shaped by and pursued within institutions.” Educational institutions, more specifically, have been identified “as places where above all others, the tension/contradiction between being an individual and being a member of various collectives is played out” (Davies, 1990b: 344). These institutions are also sites in which power relations play themselves out strongly with the effect of determining those that should be included and those that should be excluded professionally. Furthermore, the teacher educators’ institutions are sites for practical engagement with their subjects or disciplines. They are also sites which, according to Goldstein (1984:181), contain “the raw material necessary for further discursive production” of knowledge through what Hollinger (1997: 344) calls liberating ‘intersubjective reason’, which for Foucault is an instrument of domination (ibid.).

The influences on individuals’ identities are as stated above because identity is not a fixed essence that is not affected by history, culture and context (Hall, 1992: 395). It is non-essentialist. Our identities, according to Hall, have a history, which has its “real, material and symbolic effects” and continues to speak to us through memory, fantasy, narrative and myth (p. 395). Woodward (2000) argues that identities are necessarily the product of the society in which we live. Castells (2000) adds experience to history as

another significant factor in identity construction; for, according to him, identity is real, not fantasy, if it is also rooted in experience, which in itself is historical.

In this study, therefore, the missionary history and Basotho contact with the French first and later the British, presents a complex historical experience that has left a legacy of ‘doubleness’ of identity with foreign origins so that it is possible to speak of a Mosotho that is culturally split into ‘Frenchness’ on the one hand, and ‘Englishness’ on the other. At the same time, however, a Mosotho struggles with the original, pristine and primordial self like the African in the diaspora or the Caribbean. This is the background that is significant in the understanding of the Basotho and their professionals. Considering that it is the professionals that would have had more direct and prolonged contact with the French and English cultures, it is important that Chapter One looked into the history of the Basotho society as a background to this study. This is an important basis for the investigation of the identities of the Basotho professionals that this study is about.

The works of Foucault and Fanon demonstrate how identities are a result of ‘dominant regimes of representation’ (see Hall, 1992: 394) as represented by the West. Through these regimes the African experiences him/herself as the ‘Other’ of the West. For Foucault this regime of representation is formed by the ‘power/knowledge’ couplet. Through this couplet, the subject is positioned as the ‘Other’ of a dominant discourse and it is subject to that ‘knowledge’ through what Hall calls “the power of inner compulsion and subjective con-formation to the norm” (p. 395). It is this message that Fanon portrays in his insight into the colonizing experience in *Black Skin, White Mask* (ibid. 395). It is this inner compulsion and subjective con-formation that manifests itself in the doubleness of identity of a Mosotho referred to above. Further, Basotholand was, to use Hall’s expression “the space where the creolisations and assimilations and syncretisms were negotiated” (pp.400 – 401). In terms of this, it is important therefore that this study leans quite significantly on history in order to explain the origins of these creolisations, assimilations and syncretisms that constitute the identity of the modernized Mosotho in the form of teacher educators.

The discussion on the postcolonial identities above is consensual and consistent on a number of issues. These are that postcolonial identities are multiple; they are fluid and changing; and they are contextual. In general, there is consensus in the literature on the fact that identity construction is dynamic; it is grounded in history and is contextual, but also negotiated with other people (Walker, 2001; Castells, 1997). Melucci (1996: 49) puts it that identity involves "...constant negotiation among different parts of the self, among different times of the self, and among different settings or systems to which each of us belongs." People's definitions of themselves vary in time and place (Grant, 1997).

Describing the transient nature of identity, Abbas and McLean (2001: 342) view identities as in the process of construction and reconstruction. They therefore argue that professional identity is precarious since it is held together by a "temporary unification of different elements (or networks) of the social world in which they are embedded." This means therefore that in terms of this literature, for people to have multiple conflicting jurisdictions and allegiances, is not an unusual phenomenon. It is not supposed to mislead them or cause unethical professional conduct. But rather that it is normal to have this multiplicity of commitments and to be able to deal with them well. Having said this, it is possible, according to Hogan (2000:10) that the multiple identities of the post-colonial individual or professional may result in "conflicts in [their] self-understanding, aspiration, expectation, action ...leaving [them] almost entirely unable to take coherent action toward fulfilling goals...." It is this potential for confusion and uncertainty that concerns me in this study, especially given the unsavoury and sometimes violent nature of the relationship among some of the jurisdictions that teacher educators might be paying allegiance to in Lesotho. Further, where there are weak external regulatory mechanisms as is the case in Lesotho's education system, confusion and uncertainty and at worst unethical professional conduct are highly possible among the teachers and teacher educators. Will the evidence in this study confirm this assumption?

2.3.3 The Significance of Identity in Sociological Analysis

Identity is about who we are and who we associate with as individuals or as groups. Similarity and difference are key to identity. According to Reybolds (2003) through developing, maintaining and reconstructing professional identity, professional sameness and differentiation are kept balanced by academics, by teacher educators, in this study. There is a relationship between our identities and practices. That is, who we think we are influences what we do (Watson, 2006). Further, professional identity is seen as a resource to conceptualise, interpret and justify oneself in relation with others and the world (Maclure, 1993; cited in Krabi, 2005). It is also about how individuals see themselves, including the way they define themselves as well as how others see them. In terms of the former, how individuals see themselves, identity can therefore be seen as involving the internal and the subjective while in terms of the latter, how others see them, it involves the external as well (Woodward, 2000:7). Therefore, our identities represent our socially recognised positions as Woodward suggests.

Woodward further states an important aspect of identity, which largely influenced the methodology used in this study. He suggests, “identity relies upon a conscious, active presentation, but it might also involve thoughts and feelings about which we might not be conscious” (p. 15). What Woodward argues here is that we are largely responsible for the construction of the identities we adopt. It was therefore significant to investigate identity from the research subjects’ points of view, and their own voices since such an approach triggers their own conscious and unconscious thoughts and feelings about who they are.

Self-knowledge or a sense of identity is important in so far as it determines our individual memberships. Furthermore, a sense of identity helps one to make choices. It also furnishes one with a sense of strength and resilience. Also significant is the fact that an individual’s own structure of values and priorities is best understood from identity knowledge. Investigating people’s identities involves finding the goals that provide direction in their lives, according to Baumeister (1986). Hall (1996) observes that “people automatically increase their responsibilities when they know who they are, and when they

see and do whatever is possible for them to make constructive contributions to society” (p. 171). Views of the world depend on our self-conceptions and identities. Knowledge of the self helps to understand values.

The need to probe identity is predicated on its capacity to tell us how and why humans behave as they do, as well as to understand their internal and external values and commitments. Strunk (1979) informs us that people’s views of the world depend on their self-conceptions and identities (cited in Hall, 1996). Baumeister (1986) goes on to say that people’s understandings of who they are, their goals, affiliations and basic values provide a more penetrating view and better sense of how they fit in the world in which they are as well as their relationship with others in that world. That is, a person’s identity provides a link between him/her and the world in which he/she lives (Woodward, 2000). It is a bridge between self and society (Hall, 1996). According to Hall (1996) to change people’s lives and who they want to be, they need to pay attention to their identities rather than just goals and strategies. The more people understand their identities “the more they are able to take charge of their lives and make meaningful contributions to others” (ibid:159). Therefore to understand teacher educators’ professional identities is to seek to understand the link between them as individuals and their social selves.

Having established the state of the literature on identity in general, and post-colonial identity, in particular, it is relevant to this study to review what research literature there is on professional identities in higher education, and professional identities of teacher educators in particular. It is to this review that the next sections get us.

2.4 Research on Identities in Higher Education

Teacher education is increasingly being offered exclusively in universities. Where teachers’ colleges or colleges of education or teacher training colleges exist and operate, they are affiliated to universities. The curricula and academic standards of teacher preparation are determined, in the final analysis, by universities to which they are affiliated. This means that more than ever before practically all pre-service teacher education is guided or influenced by universities.

Countries differ in their definitions of higher education. In some, teachers' colleges are not part of the higher education sector. In others, such as Lesotho, higher education includes teachers' colleges. Against this background, this section explores existing research on identities in the higher education sector in general. This is followed by the exploration of existing research on identities in teacher education specifically, regardless of whether such teacher education is offered in university Faculties of Education or in university affiliated colleges.

Much of the recent research on identity in higher education seems to use as its point of departure, the various neo-liberal changes and challenges facing higher education globally. Henkel (2000) investigated academic identities in the context of the changing relationship between higher education and the state. Her study acknowledges the multifacetedness of academic identities – being both individual and collective, being research-related, and being teaching- related and so on. Central to her investigation is how academic values have changed or remained the same as a result of the new challenges, and with these changes of values, how academics have had to redefine themselves.

Nixon (1996) has investigated professional identity in higher education in the context of recent restructuring informed by neo-liberalism. Central to his investigation is the significance of “values upon which any claim to professionalism might be based”, and how they have been affected by this restructuring and therefore affected the practitioners' perceptions of their professionalism. Emerging from Nixon's investigation is what he calls a *crisis of professional identity*. Some of the features of this crisis include a divided profession, plurality of occupations, and proletarianisation, all of which show how far identities are malleable and changing all the time as the context of practice changes.

Although Henkel and Nixon did their respective work with reference to the entire higher education enterprise, their findings could equally apply to teacher education and teacher educators. This is so, not only because teacher educators are part of the higher education

enterprise but also because they are some of the hardest hit by neo-liberalism and restructuring taking place in higher education in Lesotho and other sites.

In their analysis of the rise of audit culture in higher education (what they call coercive accountability), Shore and Wright (2000) discuss the activities of the state on the conduct of higher education professionals. Based on their anthropological research findings, they argue that the key feature of this new culture is the combination of “external subjection and internal subjectification” so that professionals conduct themselves in terms of the norms through which they are governed (p.62). Thus, according to them, audit is “a political technology of the self” (p.62). They argue that this audit culture has had the effect of “changing the identity of professionals and the way they conceptualize themselves” (ibid.). It is “used to transform professional, collegial and personal identities” (ibid.) into new kinds of subjectivity – that of self-managing individuals who render themselves auditable (p.57).

Harman’s (1989) work on values within the professional schools of the University of Melbourne in Australia is useful. He argues about what he calls a ‘mythical’ view in the western societies that characterises universities “in traditional, Newman-type, liberal terms that emphasise the intrinsic value of learning and scholarship” (p.49). He considers this view as failing to recognise the *plurality of missions and values* that are typical of the ‘real’ (as opposed to mythical) university. His study explored this mythical-real dichotomy in relation to the values of professional schools. Emerging from his findings is a scenario that depicts professional schools as operating within “dual and oft conflicting cultures of academia” (p.491).

These cultures are characterised by professional values on the one hand, and academic values on the other. The conflict comes in the manner in which the two sets of values tend to be viewed in universities. The academic values tend to be considered as the core of university culture. They entail commitment to and engagement in scholarship, academic norms and intellectual life. The professional values, on the other hand, involve

transmission of vocational skills and attitudes necessary for professional practice, according to Harman.

Implied in Harman's work and the dichotomy just outlined is that while the rest of the university staff identify themselves with academic values, those in professional schools identify with both the academic and professional values. Based on these values and inherent practices, there are both the academic and professional identities. This duality of identities applies to staff in professional schools as opposed to the rest of the university staff. Faculties of Education responsible for teacher education within university settings constitute these professional schools. Against the background of the preceding discussion, it is to teacher education that the next section turns.

2.5 Research on Identities in Teacher Education

In their research on the identity of teacher educators in the United States of America, Judge et al (1994) observed that teacher educators there wrestled with a dual identity. On the one hand, there is identity related to the allegiance to their disciplines rather than the education of teachers. This, they observed, was true of teacher educators of foundation courses who associated themselves with disciplines such as psychology, sociology, history and philosophy. On the other hand, teacher educators in the methods courses identify more with the school subjects of their training.

According to Ducharme (1985) teacher educators come in all shapes and sizes such as a school person, scholar, researcher, and methodologist (cited in Raina, 1995: 47). Raina has argued that many Indian teacher educators assume "a pseudo-identity". They try to be like their liberal studies colleagues in order to be more welcome in their institutions.

Beliefs about best ways of preparing teachers may also be significant in shaping teacher educators professional identities. There are a number of beliefs and philosophical orientations to teacher education. These include the constructivist and behaviourist or competency-based orientations (Avalos, *ibid.*). There are also the apprenticeship, inquiry

and technical orientations (Krompf et al, 1996). Embedded in every teacher educator's belief and value system about teacher preparation, there is consciously or unconsciously the influence of one or more of these orientations. Each of these orientations is also likely to define the professionalism or professional identity of each teacher educator. Doyle (1990) and Zeichner (1983) have also suggested that conceptions about what teacher education is about are underpinned in the major paradigms that inform the teacher educators' beliefs, values and practices.

Boote (2001: 65) argues that there are paradigmatic differences within the teacher education community. The evidence of this is in the mutual criticism among teacher educators in the conduct of teacher preparation. For instance, practicum supervisors complain that teacher educators fail to understand the realities of practice; university-based teacher educators complain that practicum supervisors abrogate their efforts; and curriculum professors complain about Foundations professors and vice versa.

Danaher, Gale and Erben (2000) have investigated the manner in which the market and state changes in the steering of teacher education have affected teacher educators' professionalisms in Australia. Their study was concerned with the question of "how teacher educators... conceive of themselves and their peers as 'professionals' working in diverse fields and how they attempt to construct and achieve commonly understood and accepted professional goals" (p. 55).

Based on these cited studies, it is clear that in the Western world, professional identities in higher education and teacher education have long been areas of research and theorising. As a result, current research and scholarly preoccupation is increasingly shifting to how these identities (already researched and theorised) are being affected by the neo-liberal changes or the various forces of globalisation. In the African context, and in Lesotho specifically, the absence of related research suggests that no research and theorising have been done on the identities of higher education professionals, especially teacher educators. As a result, whatever characterisation of their identities there may be, could be based on the language developed in the west. In order to close this gap, research

on identities of African professionals is necessary. This is the contribution that this study hopes to make.

With the review of the identity literature done above, it is necessary to seek an understanding of professionalism as a central concern of this investigation. To investigate the professional identities of the teacher educators in Lesotho is to seek to understand professionalism (its nature and content) through the voices of the teacher educators. It is to seek to understand their own definitions of who they are as professionals (their professional-ness). In order therefore to make sense of their self-definitions as professionals it is essential that we review the literature on professionalism.

2.6 Professionalism and Being Professional

The academic literature on professionalism is wide, diverse and complex. There are a variety of versions of professionalism. Each version seems identifiable from the other by, among other things, the values and practices that underpin it. This section explores the terrain of professionalism. With this exploration, a framework for the investigation, analysis and identification of professional identities of teacher educators in Lesotho will be developed. There is a need to review this literature since professionalism is no longer viewed in the same light. Various views exist that influence conceptions of what constitutes professionalism. Therefore, it will be important that as we discuss the teacher educators' professional representations and practices these varying perspectives are borne in mind.

Danaher et al (2000: 4) suggest that professionalism is an important concept in teacher education and for teacher educators since it legitimates particular understandings and practices. It is also important in teacher education since it sets boundaries around what is possible and acceptable. After a long period of obscurity, teacher education has finally come to the fore. As the movement to professionalise teaching spreads, especially in the United States of America in the 1980s following the Holmes Group Report and the subsequent critical analysis of teacher educators by Lanier and Little (1986), teacher

educators have come under the spotlight. Their professionalisation and professionalism are, according to this movement, a precondition for the rise of the status of teachers and teaching (Labaree, 1992).

Understandings of professionalism seem to have been evolving over time in keeping with the processes of modernisation and rationalisation (Siegrist, 1994). As societies develop and advance, it is argued, professions become more complex (Jackson, 1970: 5). The direction of societal changes and the levels of change that societies have reached differ across the globe. Given these differences, it is necessary to recognise that universalistic conceptions of professionalism and perceptions about professionalism may not be realistic. Conceptions and issues of professionalism in the United States or the United Kingdom are more likely to be influenced by these countries' needs and levels of development. Such conceptions and issues may not necessarily, *ipso facto*, be applicable to a developing country. Therefore, conceptions of professionalism may need to be context-based.

A cross-national study carried out by Broadfoot et al (1988) demonstrates the significance of national contexts in influencing conceptions of professionalism, as well as perceptions of professional responsibility and practice. According to this study, across nations and national contexts various typologies of professionalism can be constructed. The nuances revealed by the context-based studies are important since they are more likely to enhance our understanding of the professionalism in the context of practice.

Writing more from the western perspective, Nixon et al (1997) delineate three phases in the development of professionalism. First, there is the *traditional model of professionalism*, which they describe as professionalism of the post-war period. Then there is the *professionalism of the 1970s and 1980s to the 1990s* (which we may refer to as professionalism of the neo-liberal period), and thirdly there is what they call *the emergent professionalism* of the period from the late 1990s to the present. Each of these phases is described below.

The traditional model of professionalism depicts professionals as experts endowed with specialist knowledge that gave them the status of civic leaders. This professionalism was oriented towards public service. It was considered a positive force against the excesses of self-interest and competition, and thus an important means of promoting the professional interests of the community. There are testimonies to the existence and dominance of this conception of professionalism in Europe earlier than the 1945 period (Durkheim, 1957). For Durkheim, traditional professions were “moral mileaux” (ibid.p.29) whose function was to bring cohesion and stability to society whose traditional moral order had been fragmented by a new division of labour and the rise of trade and industry, as was the case in England and other industrialised nations of the time. For Nixon and his colleagues, the traditional emphasis on service remains a powerful residual element in the construction of professionalism, especially within the public sphere. This service ethic continues to have an influence on professional identity construction.

Esland (1980) and Eraut (1994) share the above views. According to Esland, altruistic motivations and respect for confidentiality in dealings with clients are some of the typical features of professionals. Professions also determine their own codes of practice and standards of education and training. Specialist knowledge and technique is a further defining feature of these traditional professions. Eraut delineates possession of specialist knowledge base, professional autonomy and service orientation as features of this traditional model of professionalism.

Freidson (1994) critically describes traditional professionalism as a common-sense idea because it is passive, not elaborated, not systematic and developed as a model or as an analytical concept. He argues that claims of the existence of an ideal model of professionalism based on this common-sense idea are flawed. According to him this folk or lay version of professionalism is janus-faced: it is a common-sense idea or an ideological ploy. As the former, it has more to do with the promotion of elitism and protection and justification of power and privilege. As the latter, it emphasises probity and public service because it is “shaped primarily by convenience and necessity” (p.170). Arguing along Freidson’s lines, Frost (2001) suggests that contemporary professions are

involved in a continuing struggle for legitimacy in Western societies. Just like Freidson, he argues that the traditional model of professionalism is a traits-based, taxonomic model that is descriptive, lacking a consistent theoretical underpinning. As a result, it is rendered liable to abuse by new groups wishing to claim professional status.

Socket (1993) defines professionalism in terms of four dimensions. Two of these dimensions – professionalism in terms of professional expertise and professionalism as it defines the professional ideal of service are part of the traditional model of professionalism just discussed above. The third dimension is what Socket calls *professionalism as it defines the professional community*. That is, we judge professionalism in relation to the professional's affiliation to formal and informal communities such as subject departments and professional clubs. This view resonates with Wenger's (1998) notion of the 'community of practice', by which he suggests that communities we are attached to, define who we are as professionals; they define our professional identities. Socket's fourth dimension is that of *professionalism in relation to accountability to clients*. These clients include learners, the parents, and "the public through the mechanism of the state" (Socket, *ibid.* p. 16). This dimension is discussed below in relation to Nixon's and his colleagues' second phase of professionalism. For now it may be useful to note that according to Socket, within each dimension of professionalism, there are different professional groups and a plurality of professional identities. For example, within the professional community of teachers, there may be three groups – academics, practitioners and administrators. Each group may have a different identity from others, but at the same time they have the same identity as teachers. These differences and similarities are important as they define the specific values and practices of each group.

For Nixon and his colleagues, *professionalism of the 1970s to the 1990s* is characterised by the emergence of private sector managers of the great corporations and their allies who came up as a strong challenge to the public sector professionals. Sachs (2001: 151) views this professionalism as managerialist, emphasising policies of accountability, effectiveness and efficiency. He observes that discourses of managerialism claim that

“efficient management can solve any problem; and that practices which are appropriate for the conduct of private sector enterprises can be applied to the public sector” (ibid.).

With the advent of neo-liberalism and its managerialist agenda, state-sponsored professions such as university academics (including teacher educators, teachers, social workers and civil servants) have come under attack as unproductive and “parasitic upon the wealth-creating private sector”(Perkin, 1989: 473). The managerialist perspective is critical of the traditional model of professionalism, arguing that there is nothing of altruism and civic ethic in professionalism, but power and control, Perkin argues. In the same vein, Burbules and Densmore (1991) argue that professionalisation and professionalism privilege professionals at the expense of equity concerns, parental involvement and responsiveness to clients. They, too, believe that professionalism is about power and control.

According to Burbules and Densmore, Perkin and others, traditional professionalism emphasises self-interest and maintenance of occupational monopolies (see Nixon et al, 1997: 10). As a result, Socket’s professionalism in terms of accountability to clients’ needs or managerialist professionalism, has come to dominate governance discourse. It influences policy debates around regulation and governance of professions and professionals today. Nixon and colleagues lament the fact that this change towards moral accountability “highlights major trends toward deterioration and deprofessionalisation in teachers’ work and portrays that work as becoming increasingly routinised and deskilled” (p.10). Similar perspectives of disillusionment have been expressed by Hargreaves (1994), with him describing, in his ‘intensification thesis’ (p.118), how teachers have become overloaded as a result of accountability requirements and pressures.

The third, emergent professionalism, is being promoted and given prominence. This version of professionalism is nascent, not yet fully defined in terms of the elements that constitute it and its underlying codes. It is *professionalism that focuses on learning*. As Nixon et al (1997: 13) argue, “insofar as professionalism constitutes a commitment to the internal goods of learning, it provides a critical distance between the practitioner and the

institutional contexts within which the practitioner operates. The practitioner lays claim to professionalism by virtue of that critical distance.” In professional education, theories of organisational learning, notions of reflective practice and the professional as ‘reflective practitioner’ of Schon (1983) inform this emergent professionalism. This perspective, according to Schon (ibid. p. 3), is not based on the “notion of ‘technical rationality’ that is inadequate to the ‘indeterminate’, swampy zones of practice that lie beyond canons.”

This emergent version of professionalism, Nixon and his colleagues suggest, is based on a set of values and practices. Values of collegiality (intra-professional), negotiation (professional/student), co-ordination (inter-professional) and partnership (professional/parent) are critical elements of this professionalism (p.16). These values, they argue, inherently carry with them practices at the student learning, school organisation and community-school levels. This model of professionalism seems to share features of Socket’s professionalism as it defines the professional community. It resonates well with the notion of professional accountability. It empowers the professional and emphasises internal accountability, though external accountability to clients remains important to it.

Just as there is the emergent model of professionalism for Nixon and his colleagues, there is Johnson’s “Third Way” approach to understanding professionalism. Frost’s description of this approach renders it more or less the same as the emergent professionalism described by Nixon and his colleagues above.

The Third Way approach to professionalism is described as centring on the analysis of professionalisation. Its focus is the client-professional relationship. According to this approach “professionalism needs to be seen as being constantly constructed and reconstructed through the social relationship between the professional and client” (Frost, 2001: 8). In this approach, the knowledge claims of professionals are constantly undergoing renewal and reconstruction. For Nixon and Ranson (1997), this emergent professionalism reinforces the primacy of the relation between professionals and their

publics, and the need to ground that relation in an ongoing dialogue regarding the ends and purposes of learning (cited in Nixon et al, *ibid.* p. 234).

There is much in common between Schon's professionalism as reflective practice, Nixon et al's professionalism as learning trajectory and Johnson's 'Third Way' or what Frost calls the 'Power School'. The fluidity of professionalism as described in these models, allows for conceptions of professionalism that are context-based, and particularistic. For, as Frost argues, the conditions of social recognition of a profession get dismantled "as social formations splinter and divide into a series of interest groups with separate and diverse claims" (p.10). There is, he argues, fragmentation of social consensus around what constitutes expertise, which the traditional and functionalist models celebrate so highly.

Three kinds of discourses seem to be central to the analyses and discussions of the professionals and professionalism. The first of these is established and insists on professionalism as service on the basis of client needs. Altruism and the service ethic are central to this discourse. Professionals are state-sponsored and in return societal or client-oriented. The traditional version of professionalism discussed above constitutes this category. The second discourse represents a revisionist stance on professionalism, one that Hargreaves (2000) has attributed to the age of the autonomous professional. It is critical of the service ethic claims of the traditional professionalism as mere ploys to protect self-interest, power and monopoly. According to this discourse, altruism and the service ethic do not in reality exist. As a result, the revisionists have labelled the claims made in relation to this professionalism as ideological. To them autonomy and academic freedom are the key requirements of professionalism. The state should not interfere with the work of the professionals who have been 'responsibilized' (and 'normalised' in Foucauldian terms) enough by their education and expertise to deliver the kind of society required without any interference. Functionalism is neither in their vocabulary nor mission. Theirs is disinterested and rationalistic performance. The third discourse deals with the commercialised version of professionalism (Hanlon, 1998). Hargreaves (2000) called it the post-modern version of professionalism. It is the most current version serving

the neo-liberal agenda. Together with the revisionist versions it insists on limited state involvement in the world of the professionals. It is market-oriented and has faith in the autonomy of the professionals. Yet unlike the revisionist version, it encourages accountability of the professionals. In this sense, it is more like the traditional version, concerned with instrumentalism, which from time to time, should be demonstrated through accountability.

2.7 Professionalism and Accountability

The conservative liberal view of professionalism in higher education places strong emphasis on autonomy and academic freedom as the defining features of professionalism. These conservatives argue that the professionals' main duties include the search for disinterested and objective truth, which requires retention of their institutions as communities of scholars and scientists, governed by rationality, truth and adduction of evidence through research. These duties can only be performed in conditions of autonomy and academic freedom, they argue, (Kimball, 1998; Lobkowitz, 1984; Middlehurst and Barnett, 1994). For Middlehurst and Barnett (1994) this category of higher education institutions represents 'higher education as private interest'. In this category, the form and practices of these institutions is "largely a matter of the internal or private interests of the academic community" (p.55). The control of the curriculum rests with the individual academic professionals though its ownership is more collective within the institutions.

The protagonists of this view, such as Shils (1977), strongly advocate separation of the professional sphere from the political. In terms of Mamdani's language Shils advocates separation of the professionals' subject responsibilities from their citizen ones. He does not see how these roles can be articulated in a manner suggested by post-structuralists as shown earlier. Polanyi (1962) refers to the academic world as an independent community – the 'Republic of Science'. Lobkowitz (1984) argues for the insularity and independence of these professionals - academic citizens, as he prefers to call them. Becher (1994) sees this professional world as divided into independent territories, with

each one having its own tribes. Kerr (1994) writes about the “on-campus citizenship responsibilities” of these academic professionals. This language emphasises the irrelevance of ‘political’ or external citizenship requirements in this higher education professional world. The holders of these positions argue against requirements for professionals to be responsive and utilitarian. According to them, professionals have to be autonomous individuals pursuing ‘purely’ professional business without any requirement for public commitment and accountability. To them, it seems, professionalism and citizenship are incompatible or immanent. That is, the private realm of professionals should remain unhampered in order to facilitate unfettered professional productivity and responsiveness. Requirements for public responsiveness can only be counter-productive; for, after all, professionalism is inherently service-oriented.

It appears that just as the liberal view of citizenship holds that “rights inhere in individuals” (Ndegwa, 1997: 602), the classical liberal view of higher education emphasises individualism, autonomy, insularity and non-utilitarianism as traditional ideals. Virtually all the western literature on the traditional ideal of higher education stresses the centrality of these values as a precondition for the academic professionals’ performance and creativity (Henkel, 2000; Becher, 1989)

Alejandro (1993) has captured quite succinctly the clear-cut relationship between the individual and citizen, and the significance of this individuality. He has observed:

with the principle of moral autonomy, the modern era invented the individual, endowed him with moral sovereignty and placed him in a specially designed realm, the private, where he could display all his unexplored potentialities, while following the dictates of his reason. The individual thus displaced the citizen as a central object of reflection, and the citizen became the public garb of the self. The citizen was no longer an all-encompassing category enjoining both the public and the private. The individual came to be the new universal principle (p. 11).

As a result of the shift that Alejandro describes above, Rousseau has lamented that “we have physicists, geometers, chemists, astronomers, poets, musicians, painters, we no

longer have citizens” (cited in Alejandro, 1993: 59). Another result of this shift, according to Alejandro, is that the political space is no longer a space of relations among citizens as had been the case in Ancient Greece, but a space of individuals striving to defend their individuality against the state that was threatening it.

John Stuart Mill extols the virtues of individuality and liberty. Individual liberty, the individual’s free will as well as the individual’s autonomy are for Mill, and defenders of traditional university ideals such as stated above, critical ingredients and conditions for the academic’s performance and productivity. Mill, for example, argues that the individual’s liberty is “the only unfailing and permanent source of improvement” (Mill, 1945: 86). This is because liberty creates for every individual, independent centres of improvement; or what Muller (2000: 16) calls pluralisation of claims to knowledge from within the academy itself. Mill argues that Europe’s progress and ‘many-sided development’ is a result of this individual liberty with the plurality of paths to progress that it enables.

Demonstrating the undesirable consequences of these liberal views to higher education, Dill (1998) argued that marketisation has found a conducive and fertile environment for its growth in the individuation of the academic profession. It has found the necessary competitive ethos in the academic individualism of the disciplines. Self-interest too has crept in. Faculty have maximised their time investment in research at the expense of teaching (Dill, *ibid.* p.368). As a result, the guild power has been eroded; ‘hollowed collegiality’ (Massy et al, 1994: 19) has taken over. Perhaps the metaphor of organised anarchy captures the paradox.

Kerr (1994) laments what he considers the erosion of the ‘inner ethic’ in the academic profession. The problem for him is the decline of this ethic in relation to teaching that has been sacrificed by scholarship, which has largely maintained its ‘inner integrity’. However, even scholarship “is undertaken primarily because money is available for it and not for its intellectual challenge” (p.12). Knowledge is no longer power; it is both power

and money, according to Kerr. All this deterioration is self-inflicted as “the profession is ... on the road to self-destruction” (p.9).

The preceding views are hotly contested. There are contrary views that argue that accountability and professional autonomy are not incompatible (Sizer and Cannon, 1999; Tight, 1992; Altbach, 1991). The reasons advanced for this counter-argument are that public institutions and their professionals in most cases rely on the state for funding. In his discussion of rationalism (cf. functionalism), Elzinga (1993) depicts universities as government institutions or institutions of public interest. Further, education is a public good, and a political investment. As a result, governments are bound to exercise closer oversight on the education institutions and professionals. However, as Sizer and Cannon (1999) caution, care should be taken to develop a well-defined framework of accountability, which leaves room for considerable autonomy for these institutions and their professionals.

More or less reconciling the two opposite positions is Ewell (1994). Writing in the context of the United States of America, he discourages self-defensiveness on the part of the professionals as they are pressured to be accountable. Instead, he encourages a review of self-regulation, which today is in disarray, according to him. He suggests that emphasis should be to revise and reaffirm the centrality of self-regulation. In this revision, he proposes strengthening of the values of reasoned self-examination, fact-based decision-making, academic integrity and collective responsibility. He goes on to advise that in this review and revival, society must not be excluded. He suggests, “we must make certain that ‘collective responsibility’ includes listening to the voices of our principal clients – students, employers, and society’s representatives” (Ewell, 1994, p. 28).

According to Ashby (1966) controversies over institutional and professional autonomy and government control are as old as universities themselves. Berdahl (1990) observed that universities and their professionals are inherently in a state of ambivalence with the society they are supposed to serve. They are “both involved and withdrawn; both serving

and criticising; both needing and being needed” (p. 170). In the midst of this uncertainty, these institutions and their professionals have emerged as losers, according to Alexander (2000). Governments and society have seen them as being unresponsive to societal and economic demands. Consequently, policy-makers are getting largely more directly involved in monitoring educational quality and performance through increased demands for accountability.

For those in higher education who decry what they perceive as an invasion of their professional space by demands for accountability, there seems to be a problem in the conceptualisation of autonomy as synonymous with academic freedom (Ashby, 1966; Berdhal, 1990). This conflation has so often manifested itself in exaggerated claims by such professionals that their autonomy was being interfered with, when in fact, it is academic freedom that they have problems with or vice versa. Ashby indicates that the two are quite distinct and different from each other. They are nonetheless mutually complementary in academic settings. For, it is possible for an institution or professionals to have one and not the other, yet ideally the presence of both is preferable. It could then be argued that either party (professionals or government) could easily take advantage of these conceptual weaknesses. Apparently because of the lack of clarity regarding the parameters of autonomy, claims abound among governmental agencies that universities and professionals in them, are too free, independent and removed from society. This becomes a justification for more direct governmental steering.

A related problem is that both policy makers and professionals have always taken autonomy as a bounded, monolithic concept (Berdhal, 1990; Berdhal and Millett, 1991). According to Berdhal and Millett, autonomy has to be separated into *procedural autonomy* and *substantive autonomy*. The former has to do with an institution’s freedom in procedural and routine matters on staffing, purchasing and other administrative matters; the latter deals more with the substantive matters of teaching, research and curriculum.

Based on the discussions above, it is important that the concept and practice of accountability that is so central to this investigation is understood. The next section does precisely this.

2.8 Accountability

Eraut (1992) suggests that it is intrinsic to the nature of professions to be accountable. For Becher (1994: 177) “accountability is a defining feature of professions.” Curry and Wergin (1993) argue that historically professions have been given autonomy to operate because of the technical and complex nature of professional service. As a result, accountability has been entrusted to the professionals. Later on, there was a rise of ‘within-profession’ institutions to oversee accountability.

Accountability takes various forms. Any discussion of accountability that does not take into account these various forms is likely to lack focus, and treat accountability as if it is a single, homogeneous concept (Kogan, 1986). Darling-Hammond (1989) suggests the following forms or models of accountability: *political accountability* for political, public officers. This is mainly related to political responsibility and performance. *Legal accountability* is related to legislative and judicial processes while *bureaucratic accountability* also called administrative/organisational accountability or managerial or contractual accountability (Dwivedi and Jabbara, 1989) is associated with accountability to one’s employers. The *market or moral accountability* has to do with accountability to clients and consumers. *Professional accountability* has to do with professionals’ responsibility and accountability. It is this latter form of accountability that this discussion is mainly concerned with although various forms can overlap in practice. It is highly likely that moral accountability as accountability to students exists fairly widely.

According to Becher (1994) professional accountability is the most common form of accountability in professional settings. It is related to the obligation of professionals individually and collectively, to justify their actions to legitimate audiences. These audiences could be fellow professionals, clients, government agencies or employers.

For purposes of this study, accountability can be delineated into *internal* and *external dimensions*. Altbach (1991), Clark (1983) and Muller (2000) provide these bi-polar dimensions. Accountability is internal in the sense that it is anchored in professional norms or ethos – with professional norms being considered as “the internal regulatory agents of practice” (Muller, 2000: 22). Muller suggests that professionalism inherently entails internalised standards that help professionals to judge good from bad performance and therefore to hold themselves accountable. In this sense accountability is rendered to oneself or it is personal or internal. It entails the professionals’ internal beliefs, motivations, and perceptions about performance. It covers their notions of responsibility. It is about the professional’s conceptions of acceptable professional practice. Foucault has coined the concept of governmentality to describe the self-policing or self-regulating capacity of professionals. Governmentality, it is argued, ensures the “normalisation of the citizen-subject” (Johnson, 1993:142). According to this, governmentality defines, checks and guides the freedom and autonomy of the individual professional so that he/she remains morally upright.

Kivinen and Rinne (2000) have extolled the virtues of governmentality. Writing about their Nordic experience of the relationship between the state, governmentality and education, they suggest that in the welfare state, social control is characteristically ensured through maintenance of extensive systems of highly trained experts. These experts, professionals in this study, are “the main pillars of support for the welfare state, and the guardians of normality” (ibid. p. 1737). Because of them, it is therefore “increasingly possible ‘to govern without governing society’” (ibid.). This is so because governing is assured through what Kivinen and Rinne call “‘responsibilized’ and ‘educated’ anxieties and aspirations of individuals” (ibid.). Woods (2003: 146) observes that contemporary forms of governance depend on responsabilization of the individual, which emphasises “the need to internalize and act as one’s own ‘governor’”, involving “...strategies designed to inculcate a culture of self-discipline or self-surveillance.”

Internal accountability as defined by Muller (2000) is a form of governmentality that emphasises the power of the individual’s professionalism and the individual’s conscience

to guide his/her actions and to set operational standards and parameters for his/her performance. Darling-Hammond (1989:4) has observed that “professionalism exists in some tension with alternative forms of regulation and accountability, with continual adjustment made on all sides to enhance the public good.” Accountability as defined by Darling-Hammond (1989), Kogan (1986), Becher (1994) and others at the beginning of this section is external. This is the most common and emphasised whenever the need for accountability is discussed.

Both these internal and external dimensions form the core focus of this study. It is in fact this *internal - external accountability nexus* that is of particular interest to this study. Internal accountability, on the one hand, could be described as what defines, shapes and guides the teacher educators’ professional responsibilities as autonomous subjects. It gives direction to their professional practices. On the other hand, external accountability defines, shapes and guides their obligations as citizens.

Finally, the nature of the professional identities and accountabilities depend, apart from the factors stated in the preceding discussion, on the nature, policies and actions of the state. As stated in the introductory chapter it was the colonial state that determined the politics and economic direction of Basotholand. It was the colonial state, in collaboration with the missionaries and churches, which shaped the subjectivities of the Basotho as subjects (and as citizens) through education. What then has been and should be the role of the *post-colonial (post-independence) state* in the construction, deconstruction and perhaps the reconstruction of the post-colonial subjectivities of the Basotho. For us to understand the role of the post-colonial state in such projects, it is important that the remaining section of this chapter addresses itself to the notion of state and the church and state, especially the post-colonial state, in relation to the possibilities and challenges they might have or pose in the construction of subjectivities.

2.9 The State and Construction of Professional Identities

Since independence Lesotho has seen a number of phases in its political journey. I wish to generally characterise these into four phases. The democratic phase of 1966 to 1970, the 1970 to 1986 phase of unconstitutional rule, patrimonialism and political instability and a 'strong' state, the 1986 to 1993 phase of military rule, patrimonial and strong state and finally the 1993 to present phase of democratic rule and weak state. During each of these phases the nature of the state machinery changed. At some point the state was weak, more liberal and involving of the populace in the political, social and economic affairs of the country. In other cases the state was omnipresent, less liberal and authoritarian and less involving of the populace in national affairs. By the same token education policy changes took place more observably in some of these phases than they did in others.

The changes that were discussed in Chapter One, such as the nationalisation of the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, the nationalisation of the church training colleges to form the National Teachers Training College, took place during the periods of the strong state. These changes were made by legislation and public announcement not by popular consultation though the need for the latter of these changes had been felt since the 1960s as stated in Chapter One. Despite these changes, only one area has been resilient in all attempts at the changes in education. It is that of the management and control of schools by the churches. Government after government sought to influence this area in vain. It was only in 1995 that the state (the democratic state) had considerable in-roads into the control and regulation of education and schools albeit not without much strife and struggle as was stated in the previous chapter.

There is much literature on the nature of postcolonial states and their incapacity to deal with development challenges they face. This section will briefly describe the characterizations that have been made of the postcolonial state in Africa. The section will not become a detailed analysis of postcolonial states but it will merely raise some of the issues that will facilitate a better understanding of Lesotho's education projects since independence and how and why the post-colonial state in Lesotho may or may have not

been successful in some of its education development efforts. The understanding of the notion of the state will also be useful in understanding the feasibility of some of the recommendations made at the end of this study.

Much of the literature on the post-colonial African state sends mixed signals about the nature and capacities of such a state to perform. According to Doornbos(1990: 179) concerns about the African State are numerous and not new. These concerns generally relate to capacity and performance, styles and orientations of leadership, measures of representativeness and legitimacy. The general view, as will be shown below, is that there is a problem with the African state. Some of the problematic features of this state are its post-colonial status, its heavy involvement, its pervasive external context and dependence (p.180).

For Osaghae (2000: 33) the post-colonial African State “refers to the corpus of governmental structures, regimes and governance in the post-independence country”. Although post-colonial is defined in this study not just temporally as after independence, but for purposes of this section of the study, and for Lesotho’s statehood, it is the post-independence period that is of interest.

The performance and capacities of the post-colonial state could be best understood from the various characterisations of this state as flawed, weak and ineffective (Osaghae, 2000; Doornbos, 1990), as pathological (Osaghae, 2000), patrimonial in its governance, where patrimonialism is seen as “a highly unstable form of governance” (Fatton, 1990: 462). For Chabal (1996: 72) “the postcolonial state was constructed on the foundations of the colonial state which was anything but democratic ... coercive and bureaucratic ... and unaccountable to those over whom it ruled”.

According to Ayittey (2005) many of the problems of post-colonial states in Africa are a result of the state machineries in these countries and less of the West. The dysfunctional state institutions and systems and drivers of these systems are, according to him, sources of the problems. This means that dependence on the state for some of the projects and

programmes may itself be a problem. That states are unstable is an important issue to consider for sustainable interventions.

Given the features of the African state outlined above, there is a general belief that the post-colonial state should be salvaged in order for it to perform the functions expected of it. The belief is that it is through the existence and activities of the civil society that the salvaging could be done (See Osaghae, 1990; 1998). However, the paradox is that “there can be no civil society without a state and vice versa” (Osaghae, 1998: 9). But the existence of two publics, as shown by Ekeh’s (1975) analysis, rather than one, as is the case in the West “emasculated the civil society” (ibid. p. 9). It is in these weaknesses and contradictions that the African post-colonial states like Lesotho exist. Their capacity to perform is shrouded in these contradictions. These could be some of the reasons why then the churches have over time become very strong players in the public arena to extent of posing a challenge to the state agenda where it conflicted with their interests.

In Lesotho, the churches have always been significant in influencing, and sometimes inhibiting, the direction of the state education policies. For these reasons, it is important to seek an understanding and describe the relationships between professionals, the state and the church. Put more directly, in the context of their professional jobs, the teacher educators in this study are autonomous professional subjects; they are Christians; they are also citizens, to mention just a few of their multiple identities and jurisdictions. For these reasons that are peculiar to Lesotho, it is important to seek an understanding and describe the relationships between professionals, the state and the church. It is to these that the next section of the literature turns our attention.

2.10 The Church and State and the Obligations of Professionals

As stated in Chapter One, the churches in Lesotho are very important players in the education system since they own virtually all primary and secondary schools. As a result their influence in teacher education is crucial. Therefore the nature of the relationship between the church and the state as a generic phenomenon is critical to this investigation.

It could help us understand the existing relationship between the two institutions in Lesotho, which is marked by problems and tensions, strategic selective collaboration at times, and how these relationships help shape the professional identities of education professionals. Most problematic and destructive is the extent to which these tensions have polarised the Basotho society (refer to Chapter One). Based on this polarisation, this investigation questions the extent to which teacher educators can be immune to these divisions so that they remain non-partisan and non-sectarian professionals on the one hand and citizens on the other.

The issue of the relationship between the church and state world-wide has been widely researched and documented. The existence of an extensive literature on it bears testimony to this (see Haynes 1996; Gifford 1995; Gelm 1994; Audi 1989; Robbins and Robertson 1987). One of the common features of this relationship globally is its ambivalent, fluid and ever-changing nature over time, characterised at times by collaboration and at other times by tension. The dynamic, shifting and ever-adjusting nature of this relationship was captured in the remark made by Archbishop Tutu in 1993 when he pointed out that “the political dimension of our faith varies according to the requirements of each different context” (cited in Borer, 1998: 207). Practically all these authors share the common view that the church has historically enjoyed spells of collaboration and cordial relationships with the state world-wide. In the Third World, and Africa in particular, this collaboration and cordiality goes as far back as the colonial period (Twaddle 2002). In colonial times for instance, as was also demonstrated in the previous chapter, “the Church and State had much in common, since their mission was the same: to ‘civilize the backward people of Africa’ through true religion and principles of civilization” (Sindima 1998:3).

Central to these ever-changing relationships has always been the issue of self-interest by either party, and how best to perpetuate it. Haynes (1996:80) argues that the church and the state interpenetrate each other in many complex ways “to perpetuate the role and position of a certain hegemonic stratum.” In many cases religious leaders interact with the state to seek to achieve a hegemonic ideology that stresses the desirability of stability rather than progressive change (ibid.:104). Therefore religious leaders tended to find

ways of defusing, reducing and, when necessary striving to eliminate serious political challenges to the status quo (ibid.). This could explain why in 1995 when the Government of Lesotho passed the Education Act, various churches were up in arms against it; for, the Act was interpreted as intended to facilitate the take-over of church schools by the government. In this sense the Act was a serious challenge to the status quo in the education system. Briefly, self-interest in all the various ways it manifested itself as shown above was one of the main reasons for the collaboration between the church and the state in the 1970s and 1980s in Sub-Saharan Africa.

After the 1980s, especially since the 1990s, these kinds of relationships have changed as Sindima (1998) observes. It is worth-stating that the periodisation stated above does not necessarily apply in the case of South Africa since, as we know, these were the years in which the anti-apartheid struggles were at their height. Many of the majority churches were strongly behind and in active support of these struggles against the Apartheid State. Therefore, since 1994 the anti-state position by the churches has had to change. While there has been general cordiality and concern with reconciliation (a sacred ideal depending on one's ideological world-view), there are indications, as Borer (1998:208) argues, that the church has taken note of and is beginning to do something about 'the signs of the time' that indicate that the poor and marginalized are far from doing well. In this sense the Church and State relationship has taken on a new dimension, of both collaboration and opposition.

Increasingly today, there are very strong oppositional and sometimes confrontational relationships between the Church and State in various parts of Africa (Sindima 1998) and Latin America (Borer 1998). This is not to suggest that there is complete absence of collaboration, but merely to stress the fact that not only is there collaboration, but increasingly even more powerfully there is opposition and or confrontation depending on the varying national circumstances globally. Today, churches "have acquired the moral authority to condemn and to exhort" (Ranger, 1995:34). The showdowns in Lesotho in 1995, up to today, as shown in the previous chapter, are just concrete examples of this fact.

Various scholars explain why we witness these different and more confrontational relationships today. Robertson (1987: 41) has argued that the concern of various religious denominations world-wide with what he calls the “concrete human circumstance” has brought these religious groupings into the purview of the state. Yet, on the other hand, the challenge of globalisation and its norms and secularisation of states are challenges to religion. He argues that so long as globalisation is a challenge to individual and societal existence and identity (cf. Castells, 2000), it is an invitation of the church into politics. In these circumstances states take what Robertson calls ‘surrogate –religious forms’ in which they take unto themselves “various existential and moral issues concerning human welfare, psychic and physical well-being” (p.46). At times, though, the church has also become a surrogate-political organisation in a number of cases as the extent of the Catholic presence in American politics demonstrates (Gelm, 1994).

In the case of the Catholic Church, various positions taken by and communicated from the Vatican have helped shape its relationship with the state. According to Gelm (1994:2) “while the Church has taught throughout its history that social and political questions cannot be separated from moral principles, Vatican II was a catalyst for bishops to find new ways to implement that teaching.” Hastings (1995) argues that the active anti-state position of the Catholic Church clerics, especially in relation to violations of human rights in English-speaking Africa, could be explained by the fact that many of the first political leaders that later got involved in these violations such as Kaunda, Moi and Banda had been Protestants. Therefore, while the Protestant Churches had been implicated in their regimes, the Catholics were free to criticise them. This argument is however dismissed in reference to the case of the French-speaking West Africa where many of the first leaders had been Catholics and yet the Catholic Bishops were latterly at the forefront of anti-state human violations there (ibid.).

A different yet important other source of church and state tensions is what Robertson refers to as ‘the state monopolization of culture’ which tends to be globally legitimated. Such monopolisation of culture is most notable with respect to education. He argues that

this culture is significant in defining societal identities and conceptions of the meaning, purpose, and future of human life; therefore, it is a challenge to the normative interests of religion. The Lesotho government's recent policies to get more involved and more directly in control of the education system, particularly schooling, was problematic in this respect to those opposed to it. Whatever the case may be, the overall scenario seems to be as Robertson (ibid.: 50) observes it, that "...religion is being politicized and politics ... is being sacralized intrasocietally and globally." These interpenetrations and mutual imbrications are at the heart of the nature of the Church and State relationships for the better or for the worst. This mutual coexistence and complementarity is unavoidable and should be encouraged since both institutions are by their very nature and purpose both profane and sacred in one way or the other (cf. Sindima 1998: 120).

Notwithstanding the complexities and limitations imposed by the nature of the nexus between agency and structure, this section looks at principles that can assist in guiding individuals' conduct. These are principles that could guide the interaction between people's religious commitments and their duties as citizens. Audi (1989) calls these the *principles of conscience*. The most salient point of this principle is that in a free and democratic society people wanting to preserve religious and other liberties should not argue for or advocate laws or policies that restrict human conduct on the basis of religious reasons. They should be able to offer adequate secular reasons in support of such laws or policies. Essentially therefore, only adequate secular justifications should be acceptable for propagation of laws or policies in these societies. Audi contends that a reason is secular if its normative force or status is a *prima facie* justificatory element not dependent on some sacred or theological justification. This means therefore that human conduct in public affairs should be restricted on the basis of secular reasons. Audi calls this the *principle of secular rationale*. But the weakness of this principle is that it does not preclude advocacy for policy that is religiously inspired and therefore could permit conflation of religious and secular in such advocacy. These blurred lines between the secular and the religious could be a source of conflict between the Church and the State. He therefore believes something stronger, what he calls *the principle of secular motivation* is better. Secular motivation is stronger than secular reason since it is the only

and very reason or justification for advocating a policy. It could be inspired by religious considerations but those in themselves are too weak and not enough to justify action or advocacy. The only strong justification is the motive for doing or advocating. This principle is the central guide to ethical conduct in free and democratic societies. A number of other principles can however be derived with it as a standard. For instance, it can be graded down or weakened to the *principle of essential secular motivation*, if only one's secular reason be necessary rather than sufficient for one's action. It can further be weakened to the *principle of partial secular motivation*, which suggests that an adequate secular reason is some part of what motivates one to act. But the weaker the principle the less plausible it is as a justification for action (ibid.).

These principles have far-reaching implications for governmentality or the self-regulation of professionals. It also has implications for development of governance policy in professional circles, or more specifically in teacher education.

2.10.1 Types of Church and State Relationships

The extent and nature of the tensions, cordiality or conflation between the church and state varies according to the nature of the formal relationship between the two institutions and of religion and politics (Haynes, 1996; Robertson, 1987). According to Haynes there are three main types of relationships between the church and state or between "secular and ecclesiastical power" (p.87): *hierocratic*, *theocratic* and *caesaro-papist* relationships (also see Robertson, 1987: 46-47). In hierocratic societies "secular power is dominant but cloaked in a religious legitimacy"(ibid.). There is separation between the Church and State though the separating lines are blurred. Robertson argues that societies such as the United States of America with a sharp separation of Church and State, and those with major divisions between religious or ethnic groupings, "...are internally restricted in the degree to which they can strategically conflate material and ideal interests and make them cohere in the kind of religiopolitical identity" that globalisation encourages (p.47). According to him, the limitation imposed by globalisation on modern national societies in developing their own socio-cultural identities both in relation to themselves and to

humanity as a whole, and various other globalisation - inspired phenomena and contradictions, have combined to necessitate “the politicization of religion and the ‘religionization’ of the state” (ibid. 46). It is this conflation that is restricted in the societies just described above. Theocratic societies are characterised by pre-eminence of ecclesiastical authority over secular power³ (Haynes 1996). For Robertson theocratic states are those that easily conflate religion and politics through subordinating the political to the religious as in Iran. In caesaro-papist societies, on the other hand, “secular power holds sway over religion itself” (Haynes ibid.: 87). In these societies, material and ideal interests can easily conflate since their internal structure encourages the use of religious or quasi-religious imagery by the political regime, as Robertson suggests. According to him communist societies are part of this category.

In what he calls the separation of Church and State doctrine, Audi (1989) proposes a set of principles for regulating Church and State relationships, and the relationships between these institutions and the individual citizens. The latter part of his proposal is also very significant to this investigation as far as it covers the individuals, who, in this study are the teacher educators. However, it is the first set of principles that we turn to first. For Audi these doctrines provide tools for assuring cordial relations between the Church and State, and as much as possible and wherever necessary, co-operation between these institutions. According to the Separation of Church and State doctrine, in a free and democratic society the state should neither establish a church nor impair religious liberty (Audi, 1989: 260). The state should not interfere with the church and the church should not interfere with the state, though the latter is often not emphasised (ibid.). For Audi, the institutionalisation or codification of this separation doctrine is useful. It is guided by three principles: the *libertarian principle* which requires that the state permit the practice of any religion, of course within certain limits; the *equalitarian principle* according to which the state may not give any preference to one religion over another. Religious affiliations cannot be used to determine access into public office or institution; and the

³ The use of the words ‘authority’ and ‘power’ in this definition of theocratic societies is problematic, as it seems to suggest that ‘authority’ is associated with ecclesiastical organisations while ‘power’ is associated with secular entities such as the state. In so far as these words imply legitimacy, they may be applied to either of the two entities and not to one vis-à-vis the other depending on varying contexts.

neutrality principle according to which the state should not give any preference to religion or the religious persons over the non-religious ones. It should give no preference to institutions or persons simply because they are religious. Guided by these principles, states are likely to improve their relations with churches in their back yards.

2.11 Summary

What this literature chapter has sought to achieve is establishing a broad and hopefully fresh framework for investigating professional identities. Most of the available literature does not seek to investigate and understand professional identities in terms of Mamdani's citizen and subject binary. In this research I have not come across other studies that have sought to understand professional identities of teacher educators in terms of their reflection of citizen and subject values and practices, especially in postcolonial conditions where the notion of citizenship itself is problematic. Some studies of teacher identity do exist in Africa, but not so of teacher educator identity. It is this knowledge gap that this study seeks to contribute towards filling.

In conclusion, the investigation of the professional identities of the teacher educators as autonomous subjects and citizens in postcolonial Lesotho has necessitated an eclectic theoretical approach and anchor. First of all, the study is based on Mamdani's subject and citizen thesis. In terms of Mamdani, postcolonial experience, through direct and indirect forms of rule, created a complex fractured and bifurcated socio-political public realm in the colonies. It created the realm of the customary, local and parochial authority in which the inhabitants were subjects. At the same time, in opposition, it created the modern and civil realm inhabited by the colonists defined as citizens. As a result of this fracturing, there are subjects and citizens in postcolonial settings. In terms of this social engineering, citizenship has tended to be associated with the external foreign sphere of civil governance and not the local where subjects are inhabitants. Ahluwalia criticizes Mamdani's binary, fractured presentation of subject and citizen thesis. In terms of his criticism, postcolonial reality is that individuals are both subjects and citizens or subject/citizens each becoming stronger in various circumstances at different times.

Whatever the case may be, in terms of this literature chapter, the two theses are complementary rather than in opposition. Therefore, from Mamdani and Ahluwalia we understand how subjecthood and citizenship developed through postcolonial policies and conditions and how the two, as subjectivities, are however, seen as mutually articulated.

Further, to investigate the professional identities necessitated an understanding of identity theory and the literature on professionalism. The literature in this chapter has explored identity theory. In terms of this theory, identities are plural, fractured and non-essentialist. This means that at any one point people possess multiple identities which are always shifting and changing in relation to a variety of internal and external factors. The notion of agency and structure defined in this chapter is intended to explicate these internal and external factors in the subjectivities of the people and in their contexts. We therefore have to better understand identity as identification and positioning.

In relation to the professionalism of the teacher educators, the chapter has demonstrated that professionalism is a complex and contested phenomenon. There are various perspectives and models of professionalism: the traditional model with its emphasis on the autonomy and academic freedom of the professionals, the professionalism of the 1970s through to the 1990s which is the neo-liberal model in which autonomy must be coupled with accountability, and the 'third way' approach to professionalism, which according to Frost (2001), emphasizes the client-professional relationship. In terms of this model, professionalism is shifting and changing; it is constructed and reconstructed depending on the changing client-professional relationships. In the final analysis, phenomena are in a flux, always changing, constructed and reconstructed. This understanding and approach subsequently provides the tools and the lens that will help and guide the analyses, interpretations, discussions and conclusions in this study.

Increasingly, with democratisation and the neo-liberal agendas, professionalism in higher education and teacher education has to be redefined to suit the changes and citizen demands for accountability. Finally, from this literature we have the knowledge of how

limited or practically absent the studies of professional identities of teacher educators are in general and in postcolonial settings in particular.

University of Cape Town

Chapter Three

Research Design and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

This study investigates the professionalism of the teacher educators in Lesotho institutions as defined by the teacher educators themselves. It relies mainly on the voice of the teacher educators as well as observations of their professional practices to identify, analyse and understand their self-definitions as professionals and the content of this professionalism. This chapter defines the methodology used in this investigation.

Methodology is a description and analysis of the techniques and procedures used in the research process (Cohen and Manion, 1980). Such a description and analysis covers the resources and limitations of the process. It is an outline and description of the research process from the conceptualisation of the topic of research to data collection, analysis and the development of conclusions.

3.2 Research Design and Data Collection Methods

By its nature, the research question in this investigation prescribes a particular mode of inquiry. Its conceptualisation was within the interpretive paradigm (Cohen and Manion, 1994). The interpretive paradigm is characterised by a concern for the individual as a unit of analysis (ibid). This investigation sought to capture the individual teacher educators' experiences and perspectives or the frameworks through which they make sense of their professional world (Chapman and Pyvis, 2005:40). According to Chapman and Pyvis, from an interpretive paradigm "the social world is subjective. Each individual constructs their (sic) own social reality." This social reality can only be adequately understood from the individual actor's point of view. Neuman (2003:77), too, posits that "people possess an internally experienced sense of reality. This subjective sense of reality is crucial to grasp human social life. External human behaviour is often an obscure indicator of true

social meaning.” According to Leedy and Ormrod (2005: 150) “Qualitative inquiry is fundamentally interpretive.” For Best and Kahn (1993:185) qualitative methods involve collecting qualitative data that they define as thick descriptions; inquiry in-depth; with the intent of capturing the personal perspectives and experiences of the research subjects.

For purposes of this study, however, the need to get as broad a picture as possible of the social realities of the teacher educators and what the key issues were and then what their being professional meant to them required that many of them be surveyed. This was done by means of a questionnaire at the very initial stages of the investigation. Self-administered questionnaires were given to all the teacher educators in the two institutions that prepare teachers in Lesotho.

Above all else, the study required that personal narratives through interviews be complemented with observation of professional practices. This was seen as one of the best ways of studying the subjects’ professional self-definitions (cf. Wenger, 1998). It was necessary to undertake observations of the practices of these teacher educators in order to better place in a proper perspective their responses to the questionnaires and the interviews, and most importantly, to understand their context and practices. According to Neuman (2003) observing involves paying attention, watching and listening carefully. It also involves carefully scrutinizing the physical setting to capture the atmosphere. This is so, as Neuman (2003: 381) reminds us because “...the core of social life is communicated through the mundane, trivial, everyday minutiae.”

Therefore based on the preceding explanations, the study followed a pragmatic application of mixed methods. This approach blends the use of qualitative and quantitative methods. In this study it was done with a strong bend towards qualitative and, interpretive methods.

Questionnaires were used at these initial stages to collect demographic, descriptive and other forms of data which were further analysed quantitatively. For these reasons it is essential that we discuss, though briefly, the debates in the literature concerning the

merits and demerits of each of these modes of enquiry. Further, in their formative years these debates were so polarised that there was a general belief that the two modes of enquiry were incompatible. Such a belief, not surprisingly, still lingers on.

3.3 Mixing Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

Combining qualitative and quantitative methods is today a generally accepted and promoted practice as many research methodology theorists show (see Cupchik, 2001; Kelle, 2001; Fielding and Schreier, 2001). The use of mixed methods is gaining popularity. Mixed methods are now viewed by some as the third paradigm after the quantitative (post)positivist, the qualitative interpretive/constructivist paradigms (Creswell, 2002; Denscombe, 2008; Tashakkori and Creswell, 2008).

Lutz and Ramsey (1974) argued for the anthropological field study approach in order to break through the confining framework provided by statistical studies. Both of them were critical of the fascination with the quantitative approaches' concern with variables and testing of hypotheses that might not even be grounded and had little relationship to operational reality. For them, quantitative researchers were exclusively preoccupied with hypotheses testing rather than the development of such hypotheses. The development of hypotheses as opposed to testing of hypotheses "is the special province of the anthropological field methods"(p.5). Anthropological field methods, they argued, were also scientific, and their analysis might even be more difficult than "most statistically designed research" (p.6). They therefore concluded that both anthropological studies and statistical studies are "distinct modes of scientific thought", and are "parallel ways of acquiring knowledge". They saw the two approaches as complementary rather than conflicting, depending on the purpose of the research done. Burns (2000) observes that the polarising of social science research into the two paradigms is overdone and misleading. Cohen and Manion (1994: 40) cite Merton and Kendall (1946) to make the same point that "(s)ocial scientists have come to abandon the spurious choice between qualitative and quantitative data: they are concerned rather with that combination of both which makes use of the most valuable features of each."

Juxtaposing the two approaches, Punch (1998) also observes that quantitative approaches are mainly preoccupied with measurement of variables, the control and conversion of data into numbers (also see Burns, 2000). Qualitative approaches for their part are concerned with “empirical information about the world, not in the form of numbers” (p.59), Punch observes. Citing Denzin and Lincoln (1994), Punch argues that qualitative data comes from multiple sources or what he calls “qualitative empirical materials” that include interview transcripts, recordings and notes, observational records and notes, documents, and personal experience (p.60). This means “the qualitative researcher ... has much wider range of possible empirical materials than the quantitative researcher”(ibid).

On the nature of qualitative data sources, Patton (1990:12) suggests that there are three kinds of data collection methods used: in-depth interviews; direct observations; and written documents. The interview data consists of direct quotations from the interviewees about their experiences, opinions, feelings and knowledge. The observation data consists of detailed descriptions of people’s activities, actions and the full range of interpersonal interactions and organisational processes that are part of interpersonal observable human experience. Document analysis yields excerpts, quotations and entire passages from organisational clinical and programme records; memoranda and correspondence, official publications and reports. The multiple data collection techniques stated above can be used in isolation or in combination (Best and Kahn, 1993:184).

Quantitative data has a predetermined structure while qualitative data is often initially unstructured. Structure in the qualitative data will emerge during analysis, according to Best and Kahn. It is inductive. This ‘structure after’ in the data allows respondents in the research to “tell it in their own terms” while “pre-structuring the data does not permit people to provide information using their own terms, meanings and understandings” (ibid, p.60) though it provides direction to the investigation quite early. However, with the ‘structure after’, it is difficult to make standardized comparisons, Best and Kahn argue.

Creswell (2002) has written much about the historical development of quantitative and qualitative researches. According to him, quantitative research is mainly concerned with collecting and analysing information in the form of numbers, collecting scores that measure distinct attributes of individuals and organisations. It is also concerned about comparing groups and individuals and looking for correlations. Qualitative research seems to have developed to provide an alternative to a quantitative research approach. Proponents of the qualitative approach criticized the traditional quantitative approaches for too much reliance on the researcher's view of the world than the research participants' view. As a result, traditional approaches "created a *contrived* situation in which the research participant was 'taken out' of context and placed within an experiential situation far removed from his or her personal experiences" (p.42).

This does not mean that traditional scientific methods do not have any strengths. Their strengths include precision through quantitative and reliable measurement, and control of the inquiry through sampling and design. They, however, have problems for the researcher in education and behavioural science (Burns, 2000). This is so because "human beings are far more complex than the inert matter that is studied in physical sciences." Furthermore, "the scientific quantitative approach denigrates human individuality and ability to think" (Burns, *ibid.* p.10). In this context, Burns, therefore, argues that the human element has become a very significant determining factor in the definition of truth and knowledge. Qualitative methods recognise the "importance of the subjective, experiential 'lifeworld' of human beings." They embrace "personal meanings that are derived from the context of experiencing" (*ibid.* p.11). Qualitative methods are good at "capturing what people say and do as a product of how they interpret the complexity of their world..." (*ibid.*). Further, qualitative methods can highlight subtleties in the behaviour and responses of subjects, and indicate reasons for actions. All these strengths, notwithstanding, qualitative methods have limitations in terms of not paying attention to adequate validity and reliability of the results. Results can neither be replicated nor generalised, which is a major problem for quantitative researchers.

Best and Kahn (1993: 185) best summarise the discussion above, especially as it relates to the merits of qualitative inquiry by pointing out that qualitative inquiry makes use of context sensitivity, empathetic neutrality, and inductive analysis. Taken individually, each of these features is described below.

(a) Context sensitivity: Qualitative inquiry places findings in a social, historical and temporal context. It is reluctant to make generalisations across time and space. That is, “data are not generalized to other contexts, socially, spatially, and or temporally” (Best and Kahn, 1993: 186).

(b) Empathetic neutrality: In qualitative inquiry there is a general belief that complete objectivity is impossible while pure subjectivity is seen as most prone to undermining credibility. The researcher’s concern is to understand the world in all its complexity and to prove or advocate something. It is not to advance personal agendas but understanding. According to them, “[T]he researcher includes personal experience and empathetic insights as part of the relevant data, while taking a neutral non-judgemental stance toward whatever content may emerge” (p. 185).

(c) Inductive analysis: The researcher immerses him or herself in the details and specifics of the data to discover categories, dimensions, and interrelationships. He/she begins by exploring open questions rather than testing theoretically derived (deductive) hypotheses. Inductive analysis permits the researcher to discover reality without having to fit it into a preconceived theoretical perspective (ibid. p. 186). This is the antithesis of the logical-positivist approach of quantitative inquiry.

It is against the understanding derived from the strengths and limitations of each of these approaches and the more personality and the human centredness of this investigation that qualitative methods were found more relevant than the quantitative approach. This, notwithstanding, quantitative methods were used to provide the initial useful baseline data which laid the basis for the subsequent interviews. The richness of the findings

coming from the complementarities of the two approaches during the analysis proved invaluable.

According to Denscombe (2008: 280) “the mixed methods approach can be seen as offering a third paradigm for social research through the way it combines quantitative and qualitative methodologies on the basis of pragmatism and a practice-driven need to mix methods.” Green (2007) describes mixed methods as based on a paradigm or “a stance or an orientation towards social research ... that is rooted in ... multiple ways of making sense of the social world, multiple stand-points on what is important and to be valued and cherished” (cited in Bliss, 2008: 20).

In this study, therefore, the mixed methods were used because of the multidisciplinary nature of the key issues being investigated. A need to respond to existing pre-defined conceptions about being a teacher educator and about professionalism, the need to allow for new views and to cover as many teacher educators as possible as well as to get depth and elaboration in the responses given, necessitated an eclectic approach and made the use of mixed methods imperative. I decided as the study began to unfold that the objectives of this study could not be achieved by only one method. I decided that a combination of the literature review, archival material, questionnaires, interviews and observations was necessary. Despite a wide literature research, I had no access to other studies of the similar nature, done in post-colonial circumstances, on which to build.

3.4 Data Collection Instruments

Survey research can be used to describe the nature of the existing conditions. It can be used to identify standards against which existing conditions can be compared and to determine the relationships that exist between specific events. Surveys can vary from those that provide single frequency counts to those that present relational analysis (Cohen and Manion, 1980). Data for this study were therefore gathered by means of self-completion questionnaires, semi-structured face-to-face interviews and less structured lesson observations. These were used to gather the primary data for the study.

Secondary data about the institutions were gathered from institutional documents especially the calendars of the two institutions. Institutional reports, internal memos, notices and minutes of meetings were also useful sources of information. Archival records were accessed for the historical information on the present state of affairs in teacher education as well as the state and church relations in the education system. The Morija Museum and Archives were very useful in this regard.

The Western and postcolonial academic and professional literature on professionalism, professional identity, subjectivities, and accountability was a useful point of departure for the investigation and its theoretical framework. The works of Mamdani (1996) and his critic, Ahluwalia (2001), were especially useful in the framing of the research question that guided this investigation.

3.4.1 Description of Instruments and their Construction

3.4.1.1 The Questionnaire

Questionnaires were used to gather data at the very initial stages of the study. One of the advantages of the questionnaires is that they can be distributed to a large number of people to get a broad set of representative responses. They however take time to design, construct, administer and process (de Vaus, 1995).

The questionnaire was divided into three main parts: Part A, Part B and Part C. Part A covered descriptive background information on the subjects. Some of this information was demographic. The bulk of it formed a major part of the relational analysis of the data. It comprised the various descriptors that were correlated with the responses that were got to different questions. Part B consisted of questions about the teacher educators and their professionalism, especially the kinds of representations they made of themselves or others made of them. These questions required the subjects to rank order the categories provided according to how best they represented them (the respondents), and their professional practices and beliefs. Most of the questions in this part were intended to

represent and reflect the private and professional domain of the teacher educators' professional identities. Part C sought to identify and reflect the external (societal) domain of the teacher educators' professional identities. The most common and dominant question types were rank order and Likert-style questions. Both Parts B and C also had open-ended questions. These were meant to give the subjects the opportunity to expand on their responses to closed questions as well as to describe in some detail their professional beliefs and practices in relation to the private – public domains referred to above.

3.4.1.2 The Construction and Sources of the questionnaire Items

The items in the questionnaire were developed after an extensive review of related literature on higher education and its professionals (including teacher education and teacher educators), professionalism and accountability. An item bank was developed from this literature to cover the key issues on the broad areas stated above. The debates in the literature on accountability and professionalism were a useful source of items in Question 7, Part B and Question 7, Part C. Generally, items in all the three parts of the questionnaire were derived from the reading of the related literature. Items in Part A are explained in some detail later in this chapter (see 3.11 below). Reasons for their selection and relevance to this investigation are explained there. It might suffice at this stage just to state that the items described in some detail are gender, work location, qualifications, experience, religious affiliation and nationality.

The construction and development of the questionnaire was a long iterative process involving continuous drafting and redrafting of the questions. This was to ensure that the questions meant what they were intended to mean and elicited the kinds of responses that they were intended to elicit, which were relevant to the study. The comments and suggestions of colleagues and critical friends were useful in this construction of the questions. Some of the most important considerations in this writing of the questionnaire were the clarity and efficacy of the questions, the length and appearance of the

questionnaire. The research question and research objectives were the main standards against which these questions' fitness-for-purpose was assessed.

Since no similar investigation had been done before, as far as my investigation indicated, I had no access to previous related questionnaires or instruments. However, many studies, most of them qualitative, had been done on identities in education. These were useful to some extent. Most of these studies that I was able to find commonly used ranking as a mode of questioning, which is the most dominant mode in the questionnaire part of data collection of this investigation.

In general the questionnaire served a purpose of covering a larger section of the teacher education population in order to establish the breadth of the issues that would subsequently be followed up in the interviews and the observations. Further, to be able to make more meaningful recommendations of the regulation of teacher education, it was important to get wider and broad-based information about issues of beliefs and perceptions about teacher education, identity and accountability of these educators.

3.5 Pilot Study and its Purpose

The questionnaires were piloted with ten teacher educators in the two teacher preparation institutions in Lesotho after permission had been sought. This was done between November 2001 and Mid-January 2002. The teacher educators were selected at random for this purpose. Seven of them were in the Lesotho College of Education and three in the Faculty of Education of National University of Lesotho.

This was the most critical and anxious time and experience for the study. Being a college employee, and a senior manager at that, I did not know how my investigation would be received, perceived and treated¹. My major problem and apprehension was with the

¹ I joined the college in 1994 as its Director. It had had a long spell of instability as a result of which my predecessor had lost his job. Animosity and mistrust between teaching staff and senior management were serious. Senior management and students were worlds apart. At all levels rifts were serious. Although it seemed as though life and relations had improved at all levels, six years later in 2001, I could not guarantee

college, not the university respondents. I therefore had to find ways of ensuring that the questionnaires reached relevant respondents with as little anxiety amongst the respondents as possible. I discussed my worries with a senior colleague who seemed to share my concerns but who also believed she knew how to handle the situation. I therefore left the questionnaire with the Academic Affairs Office to find ways of distributing them to any seven academic staff. I hoped that this approach would give some legitimacy to the study and assure the respondents that I was not there to privately dig into their professional practices. The pilot questionnaires were distributed mostly to senior and experienced teacher educators.

This was an advantage in many ways. Firstly, responses from the senior and experienced teacher educators would in themselves be very useful in providing material for revising the questionnaires. Secondly, once the senior and more experienced teacher educators were involved in the study, I was confident I could solicit their support and assistance in the main investigation later to persuade everyone to respond to the questionnaires. At the university, I personally distributed the pilot questionnaires to all the subjects that I could find. Every respondent stood the same chance of being selected for this investigation

According to de Vaus (1995) an important purpose of a pilot is to devise a set of response categories for each question, which will cover as comprehensively as possible, the full range of responses which may be given in reply to the questions in the main investigation. Further, de Vaus suggests that pilot testing provides the researcher with the opportunity to examine the clarity of the questions as well as minimise non-response to questions. Besides this purpose, I set myself the following purposes for the pilot:

- (a) to identify the ambiguities and any other problems in the questions and instructions;

that I could just investigate the professional identities of these professionals without them suspecting some sinister motives. I was fortunate in that I joined the college at that time from outside. So, I had not been part of the animosity and rifts when they started.

- (b) to obtain more issues and response categories around the professional identities and accountabilities of teacher educators that could be incorporated in the revision and development of the main questionnaire;
- (c) to make a trial run, and to allay my own fears and apprehensions regarding my acceptability in the research site by the subjects, especially those in the college.

3.6 Assuring Validity and Reliability

From this pilot stage and throughout the most part of the research process I was conscious of the fact that my relationship with the subjects might affect the validity and reliability of the data. The pilot questionnaire and the main questionnaire were answered in anonymity. This was intended to ensure that the respondents would provide true, as against, desirable responses to the questions. I also tried to avoid ambiguities in the questions to enhance the validity of the responses. Furthermore, the use of more than one data collection techniques was another strategy for ensuring reliability of responses and data. On the questionnaire the same information was sought through different questions and question styles. According to Mouton (1996) use of multiple methods and sources of data collection, can increase the reliability of data. This is because the various methods complement each other and balance out each other's shortcomings. It was stated earlier in this chapter that data were collected initially through questionnaires, and later, and most importantly through, interviews and observations.

3.7 Interviews

In-depth, face-to-face semi-structured interviews were carried out on some of the key questions in the questionnaire. The interview questions were structured around the various ways in which the teacher educators defined themselves as professionals. The interviews were semi-structured since I needed to elicit responses in relation to the earlier answers to the questionnaires as well as in relation to the literature. There was also a need to open the questions up somewhat to allow for other new responses or information from the interviewees' point of view. The structured interviews sought to elicit detailed, but

targeted responses on what the teacher educators meant by defining themselves as teachers, researchers, scholars, subject specialists and others. They further sought to elicit detailed responses on what accountability meant to them as professionals, and the reasons why they needed or did not need it in their professional practices. (See interview schedule, Appendix B). Throughout the interviews, I was guided by Neuman's (2003: 292) caution that "[T]he role of interviewers is difficult. They obtain cooperation and build rapport, yet they remain neutral and objective."

Fifteen interviewees were selected for this purpose. A combination of random, purposive selection and to a limited extent, snowballing techniques, were used to identify them. While the subjects were largely selected randomly, I was also guided to specific individuals by the other interviewees. For instance, on some questions they would specifically mention their colleagues who would be best to approach as they were involved in relevant activities. The interviews were carried out between October and November, 2002 in the two institutions.

3.8 Observations

I initially spent a month from April to May 2003 doing class observations in the two institutions. I later spent an extended period when I returned to the college after the expiry of my study leave period. During this period, especially from April to December, 2004 (although I continued beyond this time as the study will show) I observed relevant out-of-lesson practices and mundane everyday minutiae of the college and university teacher educators, especially those teacher educators that had initially been interviewed. I also on an ongoing basis had informal conversations with the individual teacher educators about their work, institution, colleagues, students' performance, and a whole range of work-related and professional issues. The activities that were observed included attendance of lectures, involvement in teaching practice, research activities, other professional activities such as involvement in external educational and community development activities and college meetings. A diary of these activities was kept throughout this period. It is from the observation of their activities and practices that the

various teacher educators' professional attitudes, inclinations and allegiances were better understood and defined. For, in these free and relaxed real life situations the research subjects were able to express their individuality better.

The teaching lessons of ten teacher educators were observed. Observation data are important because the researcher notes down what he or she sees as it happens. For this study, observations were useful in checking on and supplementing the information obtained from the questionnaires and interviews. The need to investigate how the private and public aspects of the teacher educators' professional identities were manifested in practice meant that it was necessary to observe some of these teacher educators' practices. One of the limitations of observations, which I was constantly conscious of, and tried by all means to avoid, is that those observed could change their behaviour to suit the observation. This could therefore affect the reliability of the observations.

In order to have focussed and comparable observations, a loosely designed observations protocol was used (see Appendix C). The protocol was designed to cover the lessons and other activities of the educators. I therefore took descriptive and reflective notes and demographic information covering the time, place and educator involved in the lessons and other observed educators (cf. Creswell, 2003). I also gathered informal information about other aspects observed in the lessons that could help us understand the teacher educators better. These included the behaviour and attitude of the students and how the teacher educators dealt with them.

The lesson notes captured the content of the lesson, the interactions between the educator and students. This information was summarised after every observation. Later each summary was analysed into various aspects covering the key lesson issues, the nature of the content (pedagogical or knowledge-based), the various professional roles the educator assumed in the lesson and the most dominant one(s), and issues of professionalism observed. The approach I adopted was such that I would avoid as much as possible, any disruptions to the natural course of the lessons.

The arrangements to observe these lessons were also informal and agreement in nearly all the cases was spontaneous so that all but only two of the teacher educators had the opportunity to inform their students that they would have a visitor in their classes. Further, in most lessons I was not introduced to the students until at the end of the lesson. All these ensured as much as possible that the lessons remained natural and less interrupted by my visits.

3.9 Archival Material and Institutional Documents

Since identity is socially and historically constructed (Cascardi, 1992; Werbner, 2002), it was necessary to access archival material in order to trace the historical construction of the Mosotho subject, lay and professional. To understand the development of the education system and how that development shaped the state of the education system as we experience it today as well as how it shaped the professional identities of teachers and teacher educators, archival material and institutional documents were useful. The latter, institutional documents, provided useful information on the work contexts of the research subjects. They helped describe and define institutional values and expectations with regard to the professional and social responsibilities of these subjects.

3.10 The Study Subjects and their Selection

Teacher educators in the only two teacher preparation public institutions in Lesotho were all sampled for this investigation. The two institutions are the Lesotho College of Education (LCE) that was formerly known as the Lesotho National Teachers Training College (NTTC) and the other was the Faculty of Education of the National University of Lesotho (NUL).

By teacher educators I am referring to all those teachers employed in these two institutions with specific day-to-day duties of teaching, educating and training teachers. They are teachers of teachers. They include all those professionals who teach teachers in these institutions, excluding those whose defined day-to-day main duties, although they

are carried out within these institutions, are non-teaching and non-teaching practice supervision. There were 90 teacher educators in the two institutions when this investigation was carried out. This number excludes part-time staff, those teacher educators who were on study-leave and the vacancies which were more common in the college than the university. All the 90 teacher educators were sampled and 65 of them (72%) responded, with only two questionnaires rejected because only the first part had been answered while the two other very important parts had been left unanswered.

For the interviews 15 teacher educators were selected randomly although opportunistically I purposively selected some individuals. Cohen and Manion (1980) define a purposive sample as the selection or handpicking of the cases on the basis of the researcher's judgement of their typicality. In selecting the interviewees I ensured that they were gender representative; that they represented various levels of qualifications and experience as well as at least the three main religious denominations (churches) in Lesotho.

Ten of these teacher educators were also observed in their classes. They were randomly selected among those that had been interviewed earlier and on the basis of their availability and readiness to be interviewed. Seven of these observations were done in the college and three in the university.

3.11 Describing the Subjects of the Study

This section focuses on the description of the respondents in relation to the following descriptors: work location, gender, qualifications, professional experience, religious affiliation and nationality. The major source of these descriptors is the international literature on higher education and specifically teacher education. We begin below by explaining the significance of each of these descriptors in relation to this study.

A complex of interconnected and conflicting factors influences the various ways in which people define themselves. Experience, defined both spatially and temporally is one of

these factors. Others include the institutional context of practice, gender and educational attainment defined by one's qualifications (cf. Beadle, 2002). It is also possible to read off professional identities of teacher educators from the utterances they make about who they are in relation to their professional work. Their narratives about themselves, what they *actually* do in carrying out their professional responsibilities, as well as what they do not do, which according to them, is a significant aspect of their professional responsibilities are significant sources for understanding their identity. This is so since identity and practice mirror each other as Sachs (2001) and Wenger (1998) tell us. In the sections of this chapter that follow each of these factors that influence identity are defined and described in relation to the relevant literature. This is not necessarily to return to the literature review. It was done in Chapter Two. Rather the literature being referred to is just to serve the purpose of showing how the factors stated above, which help influence identities, are defined. It is to each of these factors that we now turn.

Experience represents a trajectory of discursive practices marked by varying, but continuous moments of reflection, self-criticism and self-renewal – what Giddens (1991) has called reflexivity. Each of these moments is a critical stage in the construction and reconstruction of the professional self. Over time, these discursive moments give substance and meaning to identity as different times and circumstances elicit different responses to the question of 'who we are', as Reed (2001) tells us. The significance of these moments to identity formation is identifiable in the passionate and nostalgic references some of the teacher educators in this study make about their professional past or training as teachers in the now defunct teacher training colleges. These are a subject of later sections in this chapter.

The experience of teaching is a continually unfolding process of constructing professional identities (Coldron and Smith, 1999). It is the identities of *both* those who teach and those who are taught that are in this process of construction through mutual imbrication. The experiences of teacher educators are significant to this study as they define their actual engagements with the reality of their responsibilities over time. In this sense we could go on to see experience as consisting of "the complex, multiple,

heterogeneous realities” (Giroux, 1992:32) that the teacher educators have lived or gone through and continue to go through in various ways and under varying conditions.

People’s identities are shaped by and pursued within institutions (Kopstein and Lichbach, 2000:10). Institutions are also sites which, according to Goldstein (1984:181), contain “the raw material necessary for further discursive production” of knowledge through what Hollinger (1997: 344) calls liberating ‘intersubjective reason’, that is, in community and collaboration with others. Further, teacher educators in university settings operate within cultures of scholarship, academic norms and intellectual life (cf. Harman, 1989). Nash (1993) has observed the significance of institutional values vis-à-vis the work of teacher educators. Based on these and other theoretical positions and the reality relating to differences in the institutional contexts of teacher education and teacher educators in Lesotho, I assumed that *work location* as an institutional factor would be an important descriptor in this study. Work location represents both the physical and social space in which teacher educators operate. Social space relates to where and how one is positioned in relation to others (cf. Coldron and Smith, 1999). This relational positioning is important in defining identity, Coldron and Smith assert. Work location also encompasses “the whole set of practices and traditions, on the basis of which choices are made...” and the landscape in which the teacher educators are located (ibid.: 714).

In relation to *gender*, Ducharme (1994) notes that the teaching ranks in the elementary schools in the United States of America remain largely female while those who prepare teachers are predominantly male. Lanier and Little (1994) also report smaller representation of female than male professors in colleges and departments of education. Various AACTE Studies (1989, 1990) note differing professional engagements between male and female teacher educators in the United States of America. With these kind of assertions in mind, it seemed potentially important to interrogate the significance of and the differences based on gender in the teacher educators’ professional self-perceptions in Lesotho.

Another descriptor is that of *age*. Schuttenberg et al (see Wittrock, 1986:6011) and Ducharme and Agne (1989) note differences in the publishing (scholarly) performance between younger and older teacher educators. According to them, younger teacher educators tended to be more productive and engaged than their older counterparts. Apart from these studies, personal experience in teacher education and the pilot study results related to this investigation, pointed to the need to investigate the role and influence of age in the teacher educators' practices and professional self-perceptions. It seemed that while younger teacher educators are more interested in career related professional matters such as further studies, publishing for promotion purposes, the older ones concentrated on personal matters of the status of their employment. In relation to *experience or length of service* of teacher educators, Ducharme and Agne (1989) have noted some differences in the scholarly performance between new faculty and the longer serving ones. This could also be tied in with the career related and promotion ambitions of the younger teacher educators vis-à-vis their older counterparts.

I considered *rank and qualification* as important descriptors based on the observation that class and rank origins of teacher educators are important determinants of who will be teacher educators and how they will perform as teacher educators (Lanier and Little, 1986; Wittrock, 1986).

Some of the descriptors stated above will be used in the next chapter to relate to and classify the responses to the main research question so that we are able to identify the teacher educators' self-perceptions and definitions in relation to these descriptive categories. Below we describe the subjects of the study according to the descriptors just explained.

In relation to these descriptors, there are 44 college-based teacher educators compared to 21 that are university-based. There are 35 females and 30 males. Table 1 below shows the division of the respondents according to professional rank. According to this table, 52.3% are lecturers while 23.2% are assistant lecturers. Senior lecturers constitute 18.5% of the

total. The ‘other’ category is made up of two college Assistant Directors and one Deputy Dean in the Faculty of Education at the university.

Table 1: Respondents according to Professional Rank

Professional Rank	Frequency	% N=65
Teaching Assistant	1	1.5
Assistant Lecturer	15	23.2
Lecturer	34	52.3
Senior Lecturer	12	18.5
Professor	1	1.5
Other	3	5

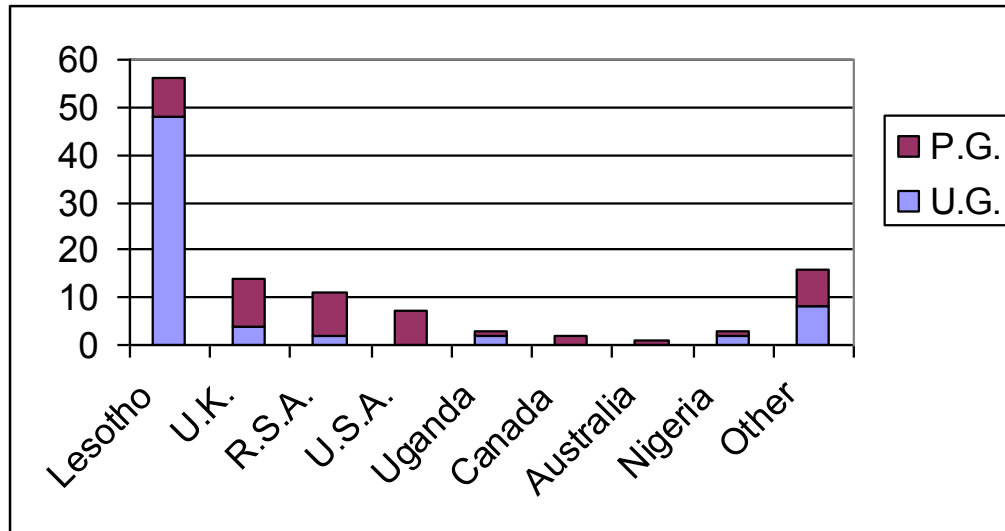
To a large extent professional ranks are, among other factors, related to the professional qualifications and experiences of the respondents. Table 2 below presents the qualifications of the respondents. The ‘other’ category is made up of respondents that hold undergraduate diploma qualifications.

Table 2: Respondents according to Qualifications

Qualification	Frequency	% N=65
Bachelors degrees	24	37
Masters degrees	32	49
Ph.D	7	11
Other	2	3

These teacher educators obtained their qualifications from various institutions world-wide including from Lesotho as Fig. 1 below shows.

Fig. 1: Respondents according to place where Qualifications were obtained



According to Table 3, there are three categories of the respondents divided in relation to their years of service as teacher educators.

Table 3: Respondents according to Length of Service as Teacher Educators in Lesotho.

Length of service	Frequency	% N=64*
6 years and below	32	50
Over 6-15 years	22	34.4
Over 15-25 years	10	15.6

* 1 respondent is missing (did not indicate length of service).

For the information on the teacher educators by religious affiliation, see Appendix D.

3.12 Data Analysis: From independent to integrated analysis

Jang, McDougall, Pollon, Herbert and Russell (2008) suggest various data analytic strategies in mixed method studies. There are the complementary, the expansion, the integrated and the concurrent mixed method data analysis designs. In this study the analysis moved from the concurrent design in which the quantitative and qualitative strands were implemented independently. This was a semi-linear design that treated each

data set independently. Later as the analysis needed a move towards explanations and, elaboration, the analysis became integrated by pragmatically combining both the complementary and expansion analytic designs. The quantitative data on its own would not have made sense in terms of the research question. At the same time, the qualitative data results, though much more useful, could not be easily extended beyond the 15 interviewees without the quantitative data sets. For instance, what the teacher educators meant by defining themselves as subject specialists would not be enough in terms of telling us how strongly this self-definition was among the teacher educators without the quantitative data. Further, the qualitative, interpretive explanations were necessary to clarify what the teacher educators meant by defining themselves as subject specialists. These explanations also helped to clarify what practices exemplified these identities. Therefore, an integrated iterative design was used to analyse the data at the later stages of the analysis.

3.12.1 Analysis of Quantitative Data

The quantitative data were analysed using EXCEL. Following Mouton's (1996) suggestion, the first level of analysis was aimed at cleaning, organising and reducing the data into manageable proportions. This involved coding and recording all the data, identifying and finding missing data, until all the required and available data had been recorded in the spreadsheets. Mouton calls this first stage of analysis, univariate analysis, involving an interest in single variables. It also involved developing frequency and percentage tables in order to get a clear picture of the data.

The next stage of analysis involved looking at the relationships between the variables. The variables were mostly categorical. Even where they involved figures, the figures were translated into categories to retain the qualitative inclination of the study. This translation was particularly the case in questions that required ranking of categories from 1 to 7 where in the analysis any responses from 1 to 3 meant 'weak ranking' or 'least important' while anything from '7 to 5' meant strong ranking or 'most important' with 4

as middle. This approach was also applied to the Likert-scale question. Various questions guided this analysis.

The demographic details of the respondents were useful in analysing and categorising the findings according to gender, work location such as college or university, teaching experience, qualifications and religious affiliation. For instance, in relation to gender, one of the questions was: who between the female teacher educators and male ones defined themselves more as teachers? Does gender make any difference in terms of how the teacher educators will define themselves as professionals? In relation to religious affiliation one of the questions was, does religious affiliation have any relationship with the self-identities of these teacher educators? The purpose of this stage of analysis was to identify patterns and themes in the data. Each of these stages, especially the second stage, was long and iterative.

3.12.2 Analysis of Qualitative Data.

Most of the qualitative data were collected by means of interviews. The data from the lesson observations also fall in this category. In the analysis of this data I incorporated most of the responses to open-ended questions in the questionnaires. The analysis of the qualitative data in this investigation is anchored in Miles and Huberman's (1994) guidelines for qualitative data analysis. They suggest a two-pronged method of data analysis covering first and second level coding. These two levels of analysis were done by means of the *Nvivo* qualitative data analysis software.

According to Miles and Huberman, first level coding involves the production of a set of descriptive codes, with little interpretive character. It involves naming and categorising what is in the data or text. In *Nvivo*, this first level coding is the process of creating free nodes and codes. It is a process that reduces data into labels and meaningful categories. This process is done through moving between the *Nvivo* coder and the text, using the copy and paste facility. The coder is instructed to create a free node, then the chunk of text to be coded is highlighted and the free node is dragged and dropped on the text. This

process links the node and the coded chunk of text. This process is repeated until as many free nodes and codes as possible have been created. In this process, memos are created and written to describe the nodes and codes and their meanings and justification. The process is also recorded in a journal on an on-going basis. The Nvivo facility has all these process in-built and therefore very convenient to use.

Second level coding, on the other hand, is a more interpretive level of coding which results in the creation of what Miles and Huberman call “pattern codes.” These are explanatory codes that also show relationships among the codes and chunks of the text coded. In Nvivo, second level coding is the process of creating tree nodes with their children and/or siblings. At this level of coding, the idea of patterns and relationships among codes gets clearer with Nvivo as nodes are classified in accordance with their familial links of parent nodes and their child nodes and siblings of the child nodes.

First of all, the entire fully transcribed transcript is saved in the Nvivo rich text facility. It is from here, and not from Microsoft Word, that it has to be accessed for analysis. The entire transcript was read thoroughly a number of times until it was familiar and it was then analysed stage by stage, guided first of all by the research question and then more specifically by the questions that were subsidiary to the research questions. The analysis looked at the various identities of the teacher educators: teacher, subject specialist, researcher, academic, citizen and others. For each of these categories various free nodes and tree notes were created, each of which defined the multiple categories of what being a teacher or subject specialist or researcher or any other category involved. As a result various tree and free nodes were created around these categories.

The third stage of the analysis brought together the findings from the two levels (quantitative and qualitative) as explained earlier to provide explanations and expansion and to facilitate discussion of the findings.

3.13 The Scope and Challenges of the Study

This study is an investigation of the professional identities of the teacher educators in Lesotho. Its findings, conclusions and recommendations are confined to the Lesotho teacher education system. They are not meant to be replicated elsewhere but mainly to help us understand, explain and improve the teacher educators and the quality of teacher education in Lesotho.

Good research, I believe, requires good investment of time and resources, especially the financial resources. These were far from adequate, and therefore affected the scope of this study. Being an employee in Lesotho, I was granted study leave for four years. I however had to continue working on the study beyond the four years. Furthermore, travelling 130 kilometres to the research sites from my home meant that I had to have enough resources for transport. Though I had a Government of Lesotho sponsorship, for which I am thankful, it was grossly inadequate. Therefore about 40% of the financial resources I required came from my own limited resources. This imposed a serious limitation on the number of institutional visits I could make initially until I was back from study leave.

Doing research in the college in which I had been a senior manager (Director) in the last six years meant that I had to first undergo a very difficult process of personal identity redefinition. I was conscious of the fact that by virtue of my position as a Director, there was a clear-cut space between the staff and myself. This very space was an important barrier between us. I was also conscious of the fact that, even the most popular and loved managers have their detractors. I had to accept myself first as a student, not Director, and therefore one who depended on the college staff for the completion of this study, and not their senior manager. The first two years were transitional years for me, with the first one being most difficult and challenging. It was good that I had study leave to be out of the college during this research. My own re-identification and new self-understanding was critical to the establishment of a rapport that involved trust and empathy among equals and colleagues. This re-identification became useful in many ways. It helped me to

reflect on my own strengths and weaknesses as a professional. It also helped me to look back objectively into my term of service in the college. It became an experience and period of reflection and introspection. I make more of these personal reflections in the last chapter.

A further challenge imposed by my relationship with the subjects, especially those in the college, was that there were strong possibilities of receiving responses that were doctored to suit what the respondents thought I was looking for rather than what I was actually looking for. Chances of obtaining desirable rather than true and authentic responses were high. Therefore, the questionnaires were answered under conditions of anonymity. The subjects did not have to identify themselves by name. Rather, identification numbers were assigned to every questionnaire, which were the numbers by which every respondent was known and identifiable. But I also had to ensure that I knew who each respondent was for purposes of follow-ups. Therefore, by their own qualifications, professional ranks and experience (length of service), subjects taught and a number of other background details I was able to tell who most of these respondents were, except those that had recently joined the institutions. In general I had to keep as much out or away from the research sites as possible initially; for I believed my very presence might affect the subjects' attitude and the handling of the questionnaires.

I also shared parts of the study report with critical friends who know the college and its staff. One had been a visiting academic (a literature academic in an American University) to the college. Another had been a Science lecturer in the college for many years and had resigned. He continues to be an external examiner for the college. Their critical comments were useful.

Despite these challenges, the study was so attractive and interesting to me that I had the urge to continue. I had so much desire to get broader and deeper knowledge and understanding of the teacher education in Lesotho from the point of view of its servants'- the teacher educators' professional subjectivities.

To conclude this chapter I briefly reflect on ethical issues I had to pay attention to in doing this study. These issues have been touched on in the course of this chapter, but in this last section I wish to concentrate exclusively on them to emphasise their significance.

3.14 Ethical Considerations

A consideration of research ethics is key to every research into the behaviour and practices of people (Johnson and Christensen, 2004). The researcher has to make decisions on whether and how to carry out a research study. Three approaches to ethics which Johnson and Christensen describe are important. These are the deontological approach, ethical scepticism and utilitarianism. The deontological approach views ethics as based on some universal standard according which certain actions are inherently unethical and should not be performed at all (p.95). Ethical scepticism views ethics as contingent upon the individual researcher's conscience and decisions about what is right, and what is wrong and therefore to be avoided. The utilitarian position maintains that judgements about the ethics of a study depend on the consequences of the study for both the researcher participant and the benefit that might accrue from the study. Therefore, according to Johnson and Christensen, "if the benefits are sufficiently large relative to the costs, then the decision is that the study is ethically acceptable" p.95).

According to Neuman (2003:116) "ethics define what is or is not legitimate to do, or what moral research procedure involves." Johnson and Christensen (2004: 96) suggest that ethics should not be a set of moral dictates imposed on the research community but, rather, a set of principles that assist researchers in deciding how to conduct a study ethically.

Most ethical issues in research fall into one or more of these categories: informed consent, right to privacy, and honesty with the professional colleagues (Leedy, 2005: 101); also see Burns, 2000: 18, Neuman, 2003: 130). With this in mind, my relationship with the research subjects made these ethical issues imperative. Most of my research subjects were my professional colleagues and my supervisees at work. I therefore had to

give them the confidence that my study would not affect their work and our relationship. They deserved their privacy and protection although this was very difficult to ascertain in reality.

From the onset I was conscious of the fact that the subjects of the study were clear about the purpose of my study. I ensured that both the questions in the questionnaire, the interviews and the purposes of the observations were clear to these subjects. Their choice to participate in the study depended on their understanding of what the study was about. Throughout the study I was guided by the principle that the information provided by the subjects had to be treated with the strictest confidentiality. The questionnaire had a statement that the responses would be confidential and they were answered anonymously with only an identity number (not names) to identify the respondents.

In soliciting the participants' consent, the difficulty was always how much information to provide to the participants about the study and its purposes. I had to balance informed consent with the need not to influence the responses I would be given.

Ethical considerations are also important in reporting the findings. In reporting the findings of this study I have tried following Leedy's (2005: 102) advice that

Researchers must report their findings in a complete and honest fashion, without misrepresenting what they have done or intentionally misleading others about the nature of the findings.

Also see Neuman (2003: 118) on this advice.

In respect of honesty, I have throughout this study acknowledged ideas and words that are not mine. "Honest researchers do not hesitate to acknowledge their indebtedness to others", according to Leedy (p. 102). All the data reported in this study is as was obtained from the research participants. This is important to state because faking or inventing data that were not collected as Neuman (2003) indicates is research fraud.

Spending time in a study context or environment unobtrusively studying and recording behaviour presents ethical dilemmas, and yet studying behaviour this way could provide useful data. This violates informed consent and the right to privacy. These are some of the considerations that guided my conduct throughout this research and in reporting the findings. One also has to remain conscious that the pressures to publish the results must not outweigh the significance of being ethical and respecting the privacy of the subjects and the confidentiality of their information where such information should be treated as confidential.

In the next chapters therefore, we look at the analysis, interpretation of the findings. Chapter Four presents the analysis of the teacher educators' professional identities. In Chapter Five we identify the most dominant of these professional identities and discuss its institutional location and delineate its various features. Chapter Six explores the teacher educators' subject and citizen subjectivities in relation to the various descriptors such as gender, qualification, religious affiliation and experience. In Chapter Seven we bring the study to a close by consolidating the findings and delineating the implications for policy and further research.

Chapter Four

Defining and locating the Subjects

4.1 Introduction

In Chapter One, I defined and explained the broader socio-political and cultural context of the study. In this contextualisation I sought to define Basotho society as a product of a long historical process of colonial, social, cultural and political construction and reconstruction by the French missionaries and later by the British colonisers. It is worth noting that about 86% of the teacher educators involved in this study were Basotho. Therefore, central to this context as defined in Chapter One, is the ‘dual’ colonial experience and the **irreversible and irreconcilable?** effects it might have had and continue to have on the psyche of the Basotho society. This broader context, as argued in Chapter One, is central to our understanding of the Basotho society; and the heuristic significance of this context will, from time to time in the course of this study, be invoked to bear on the issues being raised.

The current chapter defines the subjects of this study and their institutional settings. It addresses the question of who the teacher educators that are being investigated in this study are, and what their cultural resources might be. I try in this chapter to draw a picture of the institutional context in which these teacher educators operate. Like Soudien (1996) I see their context “as a site for the playing out of antagonistic forces of self-affirmation, self-negation, self-compromise” and self-reconstruction (p.95). As will be shown later in their narratives, these teacher educators portray themselves in various ways as professionals **in search of an anchoring identity**. I do not mean this in an essentialist sense; for identity in an essentialist sense contradicts the whole essence of continuous space seeking and finding in this fast changing world. It is opposed to the notion of reflexivity and change that I see as central to constructivism. What this means is that these teacher educators project fluid, unanchored and multifaceted senses of

themselves. This is therefore a space-clearing chapter for a better and more intelligible reading of the other findings chapters that follow.

4.2 Institutional Settings of the Study

The *context* in which one is located is also significant to the construction of one's professional identity. The institutional work locations of the teacher educators in Lesotho form the context that I am interested in. The Lesotho College of Education and the Faculty of Education of the National University of Lesotho and their various departments form this context. From **the contracts and job descriptions** of these teacher educators we are able to glean the various ways their institutions define them. These institutional contracts and job descriptions form part of the arsenal of what Foucault calls 'technologies of the self' for these professionals. On the other hand, I believe that as autonomous professionals, these teacher educators also define themselves independently of their institutional definitions. As professionals they have responsibilities that may require them to operate in other external settings such as schools and the various national education departments. The extent to which they get involved with these other settings could be a useful marker of their professionalism. In many ways these external settings, too, shape or influence the identities of these teacher educators.

In terms of the foregoing, the various ways the teacher educators define themselves, and the ways in which their institutions define them, form a complex interplay of interlocking processes of identity formation. They represent the relationship between the agency of these professionals and the structures, which they inhabit, which Hodkinson (1994) discusses in the context of curriculum change and reform in education. Giddens (1991) defines the relationship of agency and structure in the context of modernity in which individuals, institutions and culture are constantly changing through dialectical processes. In the same vein, Kopstein and Lichbach (2000:10) suggest that "people's ...identities are shaped by and pursued within institutions". Educational institutions, more specifically, have been identified "as places where above all others, the tension/contradiction between being an individual and being a member of various collectives is played out" (Davies, 1990b: 344). These institutions are also sites in which power relations play themselves out strongly with the effect of determining those that

should be included and those that should be excluded professionally. Furthermore, these institutions are sites for practical engagement with their subjects or disciplines. They are also sites which, according to Goldstein (1984:181), contain “the raw material necessary for further discursive production” of knowledge through what Hollinger (1997: 344) calls liberating ‘intersubjective reason’, which for Foucault is an instrument of domination (ibid.).

4.3 Defining the Subjects of the Study

The teacher educators that I analyse in this chapter are only those who were interviewed as well as those, if not the same ones, who were observed in their teaching, the context of their institution or work environment. Those that responded to the questionnaires and were not interviewed and/or observed are presented and analysed in the next chapter. However, it is important just in passing to indicate here that there were 90 teacher educators altogether in the two Lesotho teacher preparation institutions that were sampled for this study. Of this, 65 responded to the questionnaire. This study is therefore based on the responses of these 65 teacher educators, some of whom were also interviewed and their teaching, conduct and other practices observed. Of the 65 teacher educators, 44 are located in the Lesotho College of Education (LCE) while 21 are located in the Faculty of Education at NUL.

Fifteen (**twenty**) of the 65 teacher educators were interviewed and observed during the fieldwork period. **The ten observations were all of the fifteen subjects that had been interviewed earlier???** **Though I had planned to do so, the reality of the research site and the availability of people required some flexibility on my part. So, six of those I had interviewed were observed and the other four had not been interviewed but they had responded to the questionnaire???**

4.4 Locating the Subjects

The subjects of this study are located in the college (LCE) and the Faculty of Education at NUL. In this section each institution is described in order to provide as broad a picture of the context of operation of these teacher educators as possible. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, there is a very strong link between identity and context. It is in this sense that these institutions are described.

At the time of this study the university was undergoing what everyone in it referred to as transformation. This comprised various activities and processes of reorganisation and rationalisation of programmes of study reminiscent of the neo-liberal driven wave of changes in various institutions worldwide. Some of these changes included, I was told by some of the interviewees, the requirement for academic staff to demonstrate their scholarly activities and productivity, something that had always been there as part of their contractual obligation. This ‘revived’ requirement, I was told, was a source of much bitterness among the longer serving members of the Faculty of Education who were perceived as professionally stagnant by some of the interviewees. But also crucial in this transformation process was the fact that its main drivers, those in top management, were new and recently appointed executives – the Vice Chancellor and Pro-Vice Chancellor, among others. Their appointment is of interest because it came after a period of turbulence and internal rivalry and wrangling that culminated in the ‘sacking’ of the former Vice Chancellor. These institutional conditions are significant to this study as they form part of the immediate context in which the teacher educators being investigated could define their professionalism and professional identities.

4.4.3 Collegiality versus Organised Anarchy¹

The college is a ‘monolithic’ institution, staffed by professionals with a common mandate of preparing teachers for Lesotho primary and secondary schools. It is a fairly homogeneous institution. It is homogeneous in the sense that it is made up of professionals that were educated and trained as teachers and it has the common mission – to prepare teachers. Over 70% of these teacher educators obtained their undergraduate

¹ I use the phrase ‘organised anarchy’ in the sense used by Cohen and March (1974).

qualifications in the NUL and are Basotho. The majority obtained their postgraduate qualifications outside of Lesotho, mainly because the NUL only recently, in the last ten years, introduced a Master's degree programme, which is currently suspended.

The working arrangement in the college is such that offices are allocated to subject departments and not individuals. They are disciplinary and communal in nature, with each office accommodating two or more staff at a time. These offices neither have computers for staff nor libraries. Shelves lining the walls of these offices have no books but piles of old and recent scripts and unused printed handouts. There is very little by way of academic ethos and atmosphere in them. There is a library, though, that was recently refurbished in 1999 and some books and journals were purchased. But there is no evidence of new stocks of books coming in. However, some people, including those in the Faculty of Education who also use this library, believe it is better than the university one, at least in relation to their own requirements. Although there are no computers in the staff offices, there are two computer laboratories for teaching purposes and attached to one of these laboratories, there is a staff computer laboratory. Each department has a secretary who does the typing requirements for academic staff. There are no single-staff offices except in a case where only one person mans a department. There is a sense in which this arrangement could be viewed as conducive to professional community building and collegiality. Many times during my fieldwork, these staff offices were buzzing with activity and animated discussion of social, professional, and other issues. One was able to get spontaneous multiple responses to any question or challenge one posed. In this sense these were rich institutional settings for ideas for me as a researcher. On the other hand, they might be regarded as being inhibiting to individualism which is seen as necessary for reflection and creativity that are the essential conditions for research and scholarship. It was not conducive to the conduct of individual interviews that I was carrying out; therefore, in some cases we had to look for free rooms for these interviews. Otherwise in most cases people were kind enough to leave us for an hour or so.

The staff of the Faculty of Education, like that of the college or even predominantly so, is made up of Basotho. At the time of fieldwork for this study, all but three members of this staff were Basotho with all the advantages and disadvantages this might entail. As in the case of the college staff, nearly all the faculty staff did their undergraduate education in this one university in which they now work. But nearly all of them did their postgraduate studies in various institutions in other countries. Every teacher educator has a personal office - a condition that is conducive to individual reflection and creativity. This condition, however, could be inimical to collegiality. The absence of collegiality seems to manifest itself, among other things, in the non-sharing of experiences, which some interviewees complained about as will be shown later in this chapter. In some of these staff offices there are computers but in others there are none. There are no viable libraries in practically all of these offices so that people have to depend on the library. There is also a facility that is called the Staff Development Centre in which there are a number of computers available for use by staff. Otherwise the departmental secretaries have computers, and cater for the typing requirements of staff.

The Faculty of Education is also a part of a larger and more heterogeneous institution – the NUL. This kind of institutional arrangement could both be an advantage and a disadvantage to teacher preparation. It also defines the conditions for the formation of the professional identities of these teacher educators. A larger and more heterogeneous context could be a site for the playing out of what Soudien (1996), cited earlier, referred to as antagonistic forces of self-affirmation, self-negation, self-compromise and self-renewal. Apart from this observation, we know how castigated and unanchored teacher educators are in university settings as Rhoades (1990) and Goodlad (1999) have demonstrated. The purpose of this study is not to engage in this vilification of teacher educators, but I refer to it merely to make the point that it is one of the spatial realities for professional identity construction and reconstruction for teacher educators. It is also, I suggest, one of the factors that could bring about some differences in perceptions of professionalism and identity of these teacher educators vis-à-vis the college teacher educators in whose professional space, the professional or academic Other is not a permanent phenomenon.

The most significant Other for these teacher educators is the Faculty of Humanities, which prior to this transformation was separate from the Faculty of Education. But students doing education courses receive the content of their teaching subjects from this faculty. These are subjects such as English (Language and Literature), Sesotho, History, Development Studies and others. The Department of Science Education, on the other hand, provides its own teaching subjects – Mathematics and the various natural sciences. The relationship between the Faculty of Education and the Faculty of Humanities has not always been a cordial one. Blames and counter-blames have always marked this relationship over the content of the programmes. Now with the transformation these two form one faculty – the Faculty of Humanities, which many Education staff are dissatisfied about. This is yet another significant institutional factor that could influence the formation of professional identity for the teacher educators in the university.

4.5 Qualifications of Interviewees

Most of the college professional staff hold postgraduate qualifications, especially a Masters qualification. There is, however, a considerable number that holds undergraduate degree qualifications. Most of the staff in the Faculty of Education have Masters qualifications, and a considerable number has PhD qualifications. Of the fifteen interviewees in this study, eight are college-based and seven are university-based. Six of the college teacher educators are Masters degree holders. One holds an undergraduate degree and the other one a non-degree diploma qualification. Five of the seven university-based interviewees have Masters qualifications while two are PhD holders.

Below I provide a more detailed description of each interviewee's qualifications, experiences and professional beliefs. Their narratives will form a major part of these descriptions, and could help us understand the beliefs that they have about their professionalism and themselves as professionals.

4.6 Experience and Beliefs: Satisfaction and Disenchantment

Teacher preparation is a complex, contested and emotive process in Lesotho. A variety of beliefs about the best ways of preparing teachers abound. By the same token, values that underpin these beliefs are diverse and hard to reconcile. As a result, a complex mix of emotions and feelings is evident in the interviewees' narratives of their professional work and experiences. Some of these emotions and feelings were raised in response to specific interview questions while others were characteristic of some of the interviewees' view of the world and therefore could characterise some of the transcripts in their entirety. When they were asked to describe their experiences as teacher educators in their institutions, the respondents provided answers that could be captured in the two words which are a part of the sub-heading above. These narratives seem useful in that they tell us about the interviewees' own views of their professional world as well as the view of their experiences. What follows are the descriptions of the interviewees and their stories about their professional experiences.

Interviewee One, a male Mosotho teacher educator in his late forties, is a holder of a Masters degree in Special Education obtained in the United Kingdom. He has been a teacher educator in the college's Professional Studies Department for eight years. He considers his professional responsibilities and experience as a teacher educator as both interesting and challenging. To him the transformational role of a teacher educator, which is "to convert somebody into a professional teacher" is both interesting and difficult. Yet it is satisfying in the final analysis.

Interviewee Two, a female Mosotho teacher educator in her sixties with 23 years experience as teacher educator, and a holder of a B.Ed qualification in English teaching obtained from NUL, sees her responsibility as both interesting and frustrating.

According to her

...seeing someone coming to ...train as a teacher and then see some changes, significant and positive changes in some of the students, it's encouraging; it is interesting. And trying to find ways of helping. Ya...

you are always saying: how else could I help that person become a teacher. And that part is interesting.

On the other hand she finds understaffing and a high staff turnover in her institution very frustrating to some of them who have seen staff come and go, and have consequently become overloaded and seen little progress because of "...this staff turnover that is so rampant here." She believes a teacher educator is someone who feels for the students that he/she is teaching; "somebody who does not say myself first." In other words, a teacher educator is professionally concerned about the welfare of her clients, she says. The interviewee is also a strong believer in the significance of practice in teacher preparation. Being a teacher educator for her involves both the theoretical, knowledge-based teaching and how that knowledge should be taught. Everything a teacher educator does in his/her work, be it teaching, be it research must relate to the world of practice, she strongly believes.

I also had the opportunity of observing this interviewee's teaching. Her lesson on 'How to teach Vocabulary and Structure' was a strong mixture of content (vocabulary and sentence structures) and methodology. She regularly related her teaching to the situations in schools, presenting students with challenging situations with which they had to deal. She teaches English Methodology courses. Her strong emphasis above on the significance of practice reflects her institutional professional responsibilities, thereby showing how identities and what we actually do mirror each other.

Interviewee Three is a female Mosotho in her late forties. She is a Masters degree holder, which she obtained from NUL with a specialisation in Clinical Supervision. She is placed in the Educational Foundations Department in the university. She has fifteen years experience as a teacher educator in the college, and at the time of this study she had been at the university for two years. She is passionate about her work as a teacher educator and a strong believer in what she calls good professional ethics and morals among members of the teaching profession, especially her students. As a result of this belief, she is always strict, she says, about what the student teachers wear and how far they appear decent. She

hates students with dreadlocks. This belief seems to relate to her strong religious, Christian values and beliefs. She believes they are lucky in Lesotho because most people are Christians, for, religion is important in teacher education as it influences ethics. These *aesthetic and moral* aspects in her view of professionalism seem to be shared by at least five of the fifteen interviewees as will be shown later. She, therefore, believes she herself has to be a good exemplar of professionalism to her students. She is, however, disappointed that her students can only be what she wants to be when they are with her or in her classes. She is disappointed that as Foundations staff they never meet to share experiences. “We really don’t have the time to sit down and we...we talk about our experiences. In fact, we work as divided people despite our being in the same department”, she regrets.

This interviewee’s feelings about the absence of any opportunities to share experiences is an illustration of the point made earlier (**about the architectural setup**) that the individual nature of offices in the university could be good for academic freedom and productivity but less conducive to collegiality. But it is also worth noting that this interviewee had been in the university for two years after having spent fifteen years in the college. Therefore, this recent joining of the faculty from the more collegial setting in the college could exacerbate her feelings about the absence of collegiality in the Faculty of Education.

Interviewee Eleven, one of the longest serving male members of this faculty, with over seventeen years of service and a Masters degree in curriculum and teaching obtained in the United Kingdom, shares the dissatisfaction of Interviewee Three with the lack of collegiality in the Faculty of Education. He is disgruntled with the fact that in this faculty, teacher educators “are not the kind of people who have time to share ideas about the teacher we should produce.” As a result, he feels, theirs is too much content teaching, recall and reproduction of such content by the students. Therefore, “the teacher we produce cannot think, cannot be independent. We have not equipped them with the necessary knowledge and competence.” The interviewee strongly believes in empowering students to be independent thinkers and learners, and therefore *thinking, critical,*

competent and *independent* teachers (These are the words he uses). Another of his strong beliefs is the significance of practice in teacher preparation, and he considers himself a teacher researcher or action-researcher, not a teacher or researcher. This interviewee is one of the most consistent in what he believes about teacher preparation and professionalism. His responses to open-ended questions of the questionnaire are easily identifiable by the same beliefs stated above which he tends to express strongly and passionately. He is generally dissatisfied with the programmes of study they offer. For him these programmes cannot produce thinking, competent and independent teachers. They are too content-focussed, with content that is not relevant to the needs of a teacher in schools.

Interviewee Four shares the concern of Interviewee Three earlier about aesthetics and morals. Interviewee Four is a male Mosotho teacher educator in his late forties with six years experience. He teaches Educational Management and Administration in the Faculty of Education. He holds a Masters degree from the NUL. Before this he was a teacher for over ten years and a secondary school principal. Like Interviewees One and Two described above, he is passionate about his job, especially its transformational potential as a result of which, he says, "I'm able to produce people who are going to face the world and educate our children." Yet like Interviewee Three, he is dissatisfied with the students' morals in his institution. He says he is strict about what they wear and their appearances. He does not allow boys with dreadlocks in his classes. For him too, this strong moral bend seems to be consistent with his Christian or religious identity for he states, "...we are Christians, all of us", although he believes Christian values should not conflate with professional values. He is strongly opposed to his students wearing hats or earrings in his classes. His colleagues generally ignore these things, he observed. In some of the classes I observed there were obvious differences in the appearances and general deportment among students. In some of the classes I was able to observe students late, and going in and out of class in a manner disturbing to the classes in others a completely different scenario. To me, these differences were interesting practical illustrations of varying professional beliefs of people, which I believe could go a long way in telling us about their professionalism and identities.

In Sesotho culture a male is not supposed to wear a hat indoors. In churches, only women wear hats, for instance. In formal public meetings men do not wear hats. A younger male is supposed to take off his hat when he is talking to an elderly person. In this sense, it seems, Interviewee Four's sense of ethics and morals are culturally based. His sense of what being a professional is, seems to be anchored in Sesotho culture. He does not seem to be alone in this. Interviewee Three as stated above shares this sense of 'professionalism as culturally related or based'. The same ethical and moral beliefs and concerns can be identified from Interviewees Five, Nine and Ten later. These teacher educators, many of them strong believers in their churches, are on the one hand modern Christian and professional subjects. On the other, they uphold some of the values that are traditional. This typifies the hybrid nature of their subjectivity.

Interviewee Five is a female Mosotho in her late fifties with five years experience as a teacher educator. Before this she had been a teacher for nineteen years and a secondary school principal. She holds a Masters degree from NUL and is a Sesotho Language teacher educator. She is proud of her 'dynamic' experience as a teacher educator and her transformational professional role that has helped change her students who "...were dressing in anyway', but now 'they can dress like professionals.'" At the same time she believes the training of teachers has declined in quality and standard though she does not define this quality and these standards. She says this based on the fact that she was, she says, "...trained at church training colleges where really, I think, we were really trained" [sic]. She also defines herself both as a teacher and a Christian. In this belief that there was better training of teachers in the old church training colleges, Interviewee Nine agrees.

Interviewee Nine is a female Mosotho teacher educator. She an English Education lecturer in her late forties with a Masters degree obtained from the United Kingdom. She has seven years experience as a teacher educator, and is a former teacher for over fifteen years and a former secondary school principal. She is a very strongly Christian and church-oriented teacher educator whom I interviewed after I was encouraged by her

colleagues to do so because they thought she had very strong critical views about teacher preparation in the college vis-à-vis what she believed should happen. Like Interviewee Five above, she is passionate about her training in the former church teacher training colleges. She believes her perception of her work, as a teacher educator, is different from that of her colleagues. This difference in perception is as a result of the type of training she had that was better quality and more effective than what they are currently doing in the college. In her own words she puts this in the following manner:

The type of training that I had was helping me to ... could help me produce a teacher. But here I...I don't think I'm producing the type of teacher that I want. I think ... probably it's because of some of the things that are not being taken care of, which I think make what a teacher is. I have an impression that a teacher should be a role model, and people who are making those who are teachers or lecturers as we call them now because of the institution, fail to become what I regard a role model ... in many ways in the way they present themselves, in the way they do their work, in the way they interact with their pupils or students.

She went on emotively to express a view that even teaching is sterile and lacking in creativity and not preparing what Interviewee Eleven earlier called 'thinking and independent' students and teachers. These two interviewees express the same feeling about the nature of teaching as encouraging recall and regurgitation of information. Interviewee Nine goes on to express her feelings.

I don't know how our pupils manage, ...because ...I... you file something, then you assign them to go and read. Then they'll rewrite that in their own words or just have it ...you don't know whether any learning has taken place if a person reproduces something like that. So, the way that we go to class and deliver our teaching, really ...it's not what I expected.

As a result of her disappointing experience in the college, finding that they are not going to produce the type of teacher she wants, she is disillusioned and feels alienated. In fact she has already approached her church, she said, to consider her as one of the first applicants if the government should allow the church to open its own teachers' college.

During my fieldwork, there were rumours of this being contemplated. She explains her disenchantment as follows

I think to be a lecturer ...I want to say I'm disillusioned because I came here with high expectations. I thought I was going to...to have more challenge when I'm teaching people at a tertiary level than high school where I was going to work for my students to come up with good credits. I'm not looking for credits here, I'm looking for professional teacher, and I'm not sure whether up to now we are producing professional teachers. That is my feeling. Anything else...!

Interviewee Six, a female Mosotho teacher educator in her early fifties, holds a Masters degree in Development Studies obtained in the United States of America. She has ten years experience as a teacher educator in the college. She believes her role and experience as a teacher educator have shaped some of her life principles. They have brought about personal transformation for her. She is now a better person with public speaking skills, interested in educational research and curriculum development. She strongly believes her subject (Development Studies) is responsible for her personal and professional transformation. Her subject, she says, strongly promotes respect for other people's opinions. As a result, like Interviewee Eleven, she believes she is a facilitator of her students' learning and not a teacher. She believes in students doing the learning themselves while she creates the learning environment and opportunities for them.

Interviewee Seven is a female Mosotho teacher educator in her late thirties. She has nearly five years experience of teaching in the Faculty of Education, and holds a Masters degree in Educational Psychology from the University of the Western Cape. She believes that her experience as a teacher educator has helped her grow professionally. As a result she sees herself as an upcoming scholar, thereby expressing her *professional identity as desire*. Further, as a result of her experience she is able now to look at her students' development needs in a more holistic manner, she says. This attitude seems to reflect her subject specialisation as a Counselling Psychologist with interest in her students' emotional, psychological and physical development, as she says.

On the other hand, Interviewee Eight who is an older and more experienced Mosotho male in his late sixties, has seventeen years experience as a teacher educator in the college. He holds a Diploma in Music from the United Kingdom. He also spent some years prior to his joining the college as a schools inspector. He is proud of his experience, which he describes as having been challenging. He has this to say about himself

I am just a humble Mosotho man ... I am the least qualified, academically in this place. But I always think I have something, which other people don't have. And this is what made me stay in this place for 17 years. And I can see the results. This little file here (*He shows me a file with photographs and names and details of former students*) is about people who are able to walk in my footsteps. I call them young composers...

He is a typical subject specialist and citizen in his values and beliefs. He is passionate about the fact that he has "...been solely confined to my own subject area for all the seventeen years – which is Music." All these seventeen years, he says, he has been trying to mould students "into ...useful citizens, useful teachers of tomorrow." He is a type teacher educator, a choral music composer with a hundred songs, who is heavily involved in national events with his Music students and choir. All over the walls of his office are photographs capturing these various events and activities with his choral music choir. 'I am also engaged in other compositions about prominent Basotho that have lived,' he says. But he also believes the church should be involved in guiding teacher education because "we need Christian teachers. We need people with ... good ethics, Christian teachers with good manners." Yet he believes that this should be done in such a way that no one church dominates the others in teacher education. In a sense he expresses a wish, some kind of nostalgia for the earlier church colleges in the same way as Interviewees Five and Nine. Like these two, he also did his initial teacher training in the church colleges.

Interviewee Ten is a female Mosotho teacher educator in her forties with eleven years experience in the college. She holds a Masters degree in Special Education and Curriculum Studies from the United Kingdom. She believes her experience as a teacher

educator has brought personal transformation for her. She has transformed from a secondary school teacher of younger people to a college educator of adults. Her teaching approaches are different, she says. She is one of those teacher educators that are concerned about what students wear and what their appearances are. She says she is concerned that her colleagues and herself do nothing about these things. She states her concerns in the following manner.

There are so many things that I see in the college here that I always ask myself. I'm even ashamed of saying I'm a teacher trainer, when I look at them: the... the way they talk to people, the way they talk among themselves, the way they even address their lecturers, the way they...the way they behave in the dining hall, you know. They are far ...far...far... from being teachers. I...I don't know. I...I may be, I don't know how to express it. But I don't see teachers. I don't see ethics in them. And, I'm sorry to say it, I don't even see it in our work. And I don't know how I expect it in students when it is not there within us teacher educators.

Interviewee Fourteen, a male Mosotho PhD holder in Mathematics Education, obtained from the United States of America, is in his late thirties with twelve years experience in the university. He is deeply concerned about what he considers to be poor content knowledge they give to students, which results in unsatisfactory teachers being produced. He believes more time needs to be spent on this than on Foundations and Methods courses. On this issue, he is in sharp contrast with Interviewees Two and Eleven, particularly. Interviewee Two believes there is too much preoccupation with content knowledge to the detriment of 'the how to teach it' as she puts it. Interviewee Eleven is worried about too much content that is not relevant to the needs of the teachers they produce. This seems to be the core of controversy in teacher preparation in these institutions. It seems to be a very important issue in teacher education in many parts of the world. Nonetheless, Interviewee Fourteen also regrets the absence of effective in-service programmes for teachers, which would help teachers in their teaching subject deficiencies. He observes that the kind of in-service programmes that are on offer by the various departments of the Ministry of Education are too many, uncoordinated and lacking in purpose and direction. His third concern that is also important to this study is

the absence of research by teacher educators, which he attributes mainly to lack of training and skill in research. He is consequently, I personally observed this, actively involved in research promotion, mainly in the Faculty of Education, but this also includes college staff members that are interested. He also observes, however, that there is too much individual self-interest among those that are already involved in research for personal enrichment. In these self-enriching and self-promotion activities there is lack of research ethics. On this issue, his emotions were clear and he could not disguise them.

4.7 Teacher Educators and their Teaching

As stated earlier, identity and practice mirror each other. We project our identities, among other ways, through our practices. On the other hand, our practices reflect our beliefs, values and identities. As Wenger (1998:149) argues, "...practice entails the negotiation of ways of being a person in ...context." Below I therefore define the teacher educators observed and describe their practices. All the teacher educators observed had earlier responded to the study questionnaire.

For teaching purposes, the college curriculum, across the board, is divided into content and methodology for every school subject taught. As a result, it is common to find an educator of English teaching content or subject knowledge, and a different one teaching the methods of teaching such content. In general, however, one teaches both and divides his/her time to cover both.

Teaching in the Faculty of Education, especially in the LASED, is supposed to concentrate on the subject curriculum issues and the teaching techniques related to subjects. Other departments in the Faculty of Humanities teach subject knowledge. There lie problems, it seems. School subjects such as English, Sesotho, History, Geography and others are taught by these other departments. It is also common, however, to find educators in the LASED teaching content knowledge in these subjects, and not just the curriculum issues and teaching methods. This is because they believe they know better what a teacher needs and consider the subject knowledge provided by these other

departments inappropriate and unnecessarily taking the time that could be used for methodologies and teaching practice. These differences and divisions are very pervasive and significant in defining and positioning the teacher educators as professionals. They are significant definers of their professional identities. Against this background, below I describe the lessons observed.

Ten lessons were observed between the months of April and May 2003. Seven of these were in the college while three were in the university. They covered a wide range of subjects: English, Sesotho, Business Education, Religious Education, Art, Agricultural Education, Science and Professional Studies.

Educator A, a male university-based Mosotho with five years experience as a teacher educator, holds an MA in Development Studies. His lesson was on the topic, 'International Trade'. It was a three-hour knowledge-based lesson directed by the educator. Within the lesson the educator assumed a variety of roles such as leading and advising (mentoring) the students on the significance of independent study and reading before they came to class. They had apparently not done their reading assignment on the topic of the day. The most prominent role the educator exhibited is that of a subject specialist as a knowledge expert, lecturing and explaining technical and complex aspects of the topic.

Educator B is a male college-based expatriate teacher educator in his forties with six years experience as a teacher educator. He has a BA (Honours) degree in Fine Art and therefore teaching Art Education. Before he joined the college he had been teaching in Lesotho schools for over five years. Therefore, he joined teacher education with some experiential knowledge of the Lesotho school system. He believes his duty as a professional is to impart knowledge and skills to teachers in his area of specialisation. He also perceives himself as a guide to his students with the best practical methods and techniques of becoming effective teachers.

From the lesson I observed there seemed to be a synergy between his beliefs about knowledge and production of effective teachers. Throughout his lesson on the teaching of 'Drawing and Painting' to primary school learners, he combined subject knowledge and techniques of teaching, demonstrating drawing and painting techniques to his class. He seemed to have knowledge of the problems and needs of teachers of Art in schools. This informed his professional activities and teaching. He had also developed a project proposal to launch an in-service programme for teachers of Art in schools and was collaborating with the National Curriculum Centre in this effort. In his teaching, he typified an educator who combines internal, professional responsibilities with external, societal responsibilities quite evidently. He is both a subject specialist and a practitioner.

Educator C is a female college-based teacher educator of Science Education with a Bachelor of Science Education degree. She is in her late forties. She believes that having taught at secondary school level for 19 years she deserved to do something more challenging such as preparing teachers. She feels strongly accountable to her discipline, institution and students.

Hers was a two-hour Biology lesson on 'Pollination'. The lesson was teacher led but also interactive. She was an example of a subject specialist, teaching without necessarily relating her lesson to how the topic of 'Pollination' should be taught in schools. She told me she would deal with methodology later when the students had grasped the content.

Educator D is a female university-based Mosotho teacher educator of Sesotho with an MA in African Languages. She had 20 years experience as a teacher educator. According to her, being a teacher educator has a multiplier effect because her work ends up affecting not just her students but future generations as well. To her, the values and needs of the nation and the knowledge of the needs of Lesotho schools are important. Is it possible that this kind of professional attitude is shaped by her discipline, which covers many Basotho values? Could this be a demonstration of how a discipline can shape beliefs and identity? The attitude she portrayed was rare. Not many of her colleagues both in the university and in the college reflected it in their professional beliefs.

Her lesson was about Sesotho Poetry; specifically focussing on a poem about two sons of Moshoeshoe involved in the Battle of Tlokoeng. The lesson was different from the others since the teacher had invited an external historian who, I was told, is an expert in the historical aspects raised in the poem. This was a knowledge-based lesson, tapping from the expertise of the locals.

Educator E is a male college-based Mosotho teacher educator in his late forties with an MBA qualification. His specialism is Business Management (or Business Education). He has been a teacher educator for over six years. He believes his duty, as a member of the teaching profession is to participate actively in the development and promotion of the education system through the development of his discipline.

His was a three-hour lesson on 'Non-trading Organisations'. It was a knowledge-based lesson with the educator being the main knowledge-provider. He had however given his students a prior library reading assignment on this topic. As a result, the lesson was largely interactive, with students contributing their knowledge, asking questions and debating among themselves on the controversial aspects of the topic.

All the ten lessons observed were either purely knowledge-focussed or combining knowledge with pedagogy. This combination, it seems, reflects the reality in the teacher preparation lessons in both institutions. It is regularly laced with practice when there is micro-teaching and then teaching practice in schools.

Conclusions

The process of preparing teachers is complex. There are diverse, contested and emotive views and perceptions about what constitutes professionalism and being professional as teacher educators. These complexities and polarities are critical ingredients for identity formation for these teacher educators. The complexity of teacher preparation stated above appears to be a result of the fact that Christian identities and professional identities,

that are inherently conflicting, jostle together in the same space to define professionalism. This problem is compounded by the fact that political identities are immanent in Christian identities in Lesotho as Interviewees Two, Four, Eight and Ten explicitly indicate. This relationship was demonstrated in detail in Chapter One. Where no teacher education policy framework exists and the norms and standards are not defined, the extent of diversity and polarised perceptions and practices is likely to be greater. These are some of the factors that define and construct the professional identities of the teacher educators in Lesotho.

Nonetheless, the foregoing exposition raises a number of issues that are central to this investigation, which the chapters that follow will pick up and deal with. Based on the narratives of these teacher educators, their beliefs and practices a number of identity categories can be delineated.

A considerable number of teacher educators consider professionalism as mainly being about preparing model teachers that are morally upright and that will be aesthetic and ethical exemplars of their pupils. Some of these teacher educators talk less, if not probed, about their disciplines and, where they do, they tend to define themselves more as subject teachers than specialists. Many of those teacher educators that received their initial teacher training in church colleges fall into this category of respondents as well as many of those that have strong Christian identities.

Another category of teacher educators is made up of those that view teacher preparation mainly as involving education on how to teach. Therefore teaching practice is one of the major components of teacher preparation. Further, exposing teacher trainees to a wide array of teaching methods is important. To them teaching subjects are important but they should go together with teaching methodologies. They are convinced that teacher preparation programmes must be designed to produce competent, independent, thinking and effective teachers with just enough relevant subject knowledge.

Another group is that which defines their institutions as settings that have very strong and counter-productive religious and political influences. So concerned they are about these influences that they see themselves flogging a dead horse in their efforts to produce professional and ethical teachers. These typify some of the effects of postcolonial malaise and the postcolonial identities that manifest themselves in many ways in the practices of professionals and in institutional cultures and practices.

The fourth group strongly defines itself in relation to disciplines. While some of these seem to portend the dangers of religion and politics in general, they are convinced that their professional responsibilities are centred on preparing teachers that are strongly grounded in their subject knowledge. Many of these do not display religious and political identities though this does not mean they are necessarily non-religious and apolitical. But at least they seem to have these aspects of their identities well articulated from their professional ones, with the professional (in the form of their disciplines) taking precedence.

The lessons observed revealed that the subjects of specialisation are the most common denominator of all the groups. Regardless of their varying, diverse and polarised beliefs and perceptions about professionalism, all teacher educators do one thing that is common to them all: they teach some subject and impart some form of knowledge that is perceived as significant in teacher preparation. What seems to differentiate the subjects taught is the nature of knowledge underpinned in them – whether it is subject knowledge, pedagogical content knowledge or professional knowledge (see Hartnett and Naish, 1980). These various knowledge types and identities will be pursued further in Chapter Six and Seven.

University of Cape Town

Chapter Five

Teacher Educators and their Professional Identities An Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter defines the teacher educators involved in this investigation in relation to six descriptors of work location, gender, qualifications, professional experience, religious affiliation and nationality. The chapter further analyses the responses of the Lesotho teacher educators on the question of how far their professional identities reflect the articulation between their responsibilities as autonomous subjects on the one hand, and their societal obligations as citizens on the other. Most of the analysis in this chapter is based on the quantitative data collected by means of questionnaires, but the analysis also integrates the interview data wherever relevant and necessary. All the data was collected in Lesotho during the years 2001, 2002 and the first part of 2003.

The analysis will concentrate on identifying the various professional identities of the teacher educators. These identities will be defined, described and their various features delineated by integrating the relevant qualitative data. **Through their description and the delineation of their features, the societal and civic domains of the professionalism of the teacher educators will be identified.** In the final analysis the most dominant and representative of these professional identities will be isolated for further analysis, interpretation and discussion throughout the entire study. A number of different data presentation and analysis approaches are used in this chapter. These include the use of frequency tables and percentages, bar graphs as well as narratives by the research subjects. Through these approaches, teacher educators' responses regarding their self-definitions are delineated and interpreted. Various theoretical positions are then invoked to bear on the interpretation of these responses. Central to this analysis are the following questions that are subsumed in the research question as shown in Chapter One:

- What professional identities define the teacher educators in Lesotho?
- Which of these identities best define the teacher educators as subjects and which define them as citizens?

The first section of this chapter focuses on the description of the respondents. **This description covers the sample size (for Methodology Chapter???)**, the proportions of respondents by the six descriptors stated above. The major source of these descriptors is the international literature on higher education and specifically teacher education. We begin below by explaining the significance of each of these descriptors in relation to the literature.

People's identities are shaped by and pursued within institutions (Kopstein and Lichbach, 2000:10). Further, teacher educators in university settings operate within cultures of scholarship, academic norms and intellectual life (cf. Harman, 1989). Nash (1993) also observed the significance of institutional values vis-à-vis the work of teacher educators. Based on these and other theoretical positions and the reality relating to differences in the institutional contexts of teacher education and teacher educators in Lesotho, I assumed that *work location* as an institutional factor would be an important descriptor in this study. Work location represents both the physical and social space in which teacher educators operate. Social space relates to where and how one is positioned in relation to others (cf. Coldron and Smith, 1999). This relational positioning is important in defining identity, Coldron and Smith assert. Work location also encompasses "the whole set of practices and traditions, on the basis of which choices are made..." and the landscape in which the teacher educators are located (ibid.: 714).

In relation to *gender*, Ducharme (1994) notes that the teaching ranks in the elementary schools in the United States of America remain largely female while those who prepare teachers are predominantly male. Lanier and Little (1994) also report smaller representation of female than male professors in colleges and departments of education. Various AACTE Studies (1989, 1990) note differing professional engagements between male and female teacher educators in the United States of America. With these kind of assertions in mind, it seemed potentially important to interrogate the significance of and the differences based on gender in the teacher educators' professional self-perceptions in Lesotho.

Another variable is that of *age*. Schuttenberg et al (see Wittrock, 1986:6011) and Ducharme and Agne (1989) note differences in the publishing (scholarly) performance between younger and older teacher educators. According to them, younger teacher educators tended to be more productive and

engaged than their older counterparts. Apart from these studies, personal experience in teacher education and the pilot study results related to this investigation, pointed to the need to investigate the role and influence of age in the teacher educators' practices and professional self-perceptions. It seemed that while younger teacher educators are more interested in career related professional matters such as further studies, publishing for promotion purposes, the older ones concentrated on personal matters of the status of their employment. **They are at this stage haunted by approaching retirement???** In relation to *experience or length of service* of teacher educators, Ducharme and Agne (1989) have noted some differences in the scholarly performance between new faculty and the longer serving ones. This could also be tied in with the career related and promotion ambitions of the younger teacher educators vis-à-vis their older counterparts.

I considered *rank and qualification* as important **variables???** based on the observation that class and rank origins of teacher educators are important determinants of who will be teacher educators and how they will perform as teacher educators (Lanier and Little, 1986; Wittrock, 1986).

Some of the descriptors stated above will further be used in the next chapter to relate to and classify the responses to the main research question so that we are able to identify the teacher educators' self-perceptions and definitions in relation to these descriptive **variables???**. This classification will serve the purpose of identifying and describing the various professional identities of the respondents. Before we get to this other chapter, the next section of this chapter presents the empirical results relating to the teacher educators' perceptions and definitions according to various professional categories and professional values.

5.2 Description of Respondents

One of the objectives of this study is to identify the Lesotho teacher educators' professional identities based on their perceptions of professionalism and self-definitions as professionals. **and their personal and professional characteristics???** **The development of this typology is the focus of the next chapter. For now, it is their characteristics that this section focuses on. There are 65 respondents that this analysis deals with. These respondents are part of a total population of 90**

teacher educators that were sampled from the two teacher preparation institutions in Lesotho (To revisit???).

Of the 65 respondents, 67.7% are college-based relative to 32.3% that are university-based as shown in Table 2 below. This difference is consistent with the overall numbers of the teacher educator population in the two institutions. The college, being specifically and exclusively a teacher preparation institution, has more students in training as teachers and more teacher educators than the university Faculty of Education that is part of a bigger institution that prepares professionals in a whole range of disciplines. Further, while the college prepares teachers mainly for primary and secondary schools that have a higher population of learners nationally, the Faculty of Education of the National University of Lesotho prepares teachers mainly for the secondary and high schools that have a lower population of learners. In 1995, there were 378,011 primary school learners and 66,454 secondary/high school learners (Ministry of Education, Planning Unit & Statistics, May 1997:vi).

Table 1: Respondents according to Work Location

Work location	Frequency	% N=65
College	44	67.7
University	21	32.3

In relation to gender (Table 2), there were slightly more female teacher educators (54%) than male ones (46%). Although the gap between the number of female respondents and male ones is small, nationally there are many more females than males in the whole population of Basotho. This gap is maintained in the lower rungs of the education system where in the primary and secondary schools there are many more females than males.

Table 2: Respondents according to Gender

Gender	Frequency	% N=65
Male	30	46
Female	35	54

In terms of the nationality of respondents (Table 3), the majority (86%) are Basotho while 14% are expatriates constituted as follows: three Germans, two Nigerians, two Ghanaians, one British and one Ugandan. Most of these expatriates are located in the college while three are in the university. This may be an interesting feature when we consider the fact that internationally universities tend to be cosmopolitan in their staffing and character. But in Lesotho, judging by these figures, the college could be described as being more cosmopolitan than the Faculty of Education of the National University of Lesotho. It is worth noting though that these figures just refer to the Faculty of Education and not the entire university, which might have more expatriates. But it is also important to note as a side issue that the university is currently engaged in what it refers to as ‘transformation’, which among other things involves employing Basotho as much as possible.

Table 3 Respondents by Nationality

Nationality	Frequency	% N=65
Basotho	56	86
Expatriates	9	14

With respect to the religious affiliation of the respondents, the majority (43%) are Catholics, 23% Evangelical, 17% are Anglican, 8% had no religious affiliation, while 9% are affiliated to ‘Other’ religious groups such as the Presbyterian Church. None of the respondents belong to the Methodist Church which has a big following in neighbouring South Africa, and which also has a considerable number of schools in Lesotho after the three bigger churches stated above.

These figures are consistent with the national religious scenario which is dominated by Catholics, Evangelicals and Anglicans, respectively. Important to note also is that, these three churches own a large majority of primary and secondary schools in Lesotho, distributed in the order stated above. In the same vein, the representation and influence of these three churches in national education decision-making structures and forums, is higher than that of the other church groups. These three are also represented in the two institutions, especially in the college where such representation is

formal. It is worth emphasising though that there is no official requirement and any overt practical evidence, despite popular claims, that the teacher educators in the two institutions have been selected and employed on the basis of their religious affiliation.

Table 5: Respondents according to Religious Affiliation

Religious Affiliation	Frequency	% N=65
Anglican	11	17
Catholic	28	43
Evangelical	15	23
Methodist	None	None
None	5	8
Other	6	9

Regarding the professional ranks of the respondents, the bulk of them (52.3%) are lecturers while 23.2% are assistant lecturers. Senior lecturers constitute 18.5% of the total. There is one professor, one teaching assistant, and three administrators. The three administrators comprise two college Assistant Directors and one Deputy Dean in the Faculty of Education.

Table 6: Respondents according to Professional Rank

Professional Rank	Frequency	% N=65
Teaching Assistant	1	1.5
Assistant Lecturer	15	23.2
Lecturer	34	52.3
Senior Lecturer	12	18.5
Professor	1	1.5
Other	3	5

To a large extent these professional ranks are, among other factors, related to the professional qualifications and experiences of the respondents. With regard to professional qualifications, 49% of the respondents hold Masters degrees, 11% are Ph.D holders, 37% hold Bachelors qualifications and another 3% hold 'Other' qualifications such as undergraduate diplomas. In general, about 52% of the respondents have internationally competitive and recognised qualifications (Masters and Ph.D) for this level of education (tertiary level). Nearly all the Bachelors degree holders are college-based respondents while all the Ph.D holders are in the university Faculty of Education.

Of interest in relation to these qualifications is that all of the Ph.D holders, except one, are in the Science Education Department, covering Mathematics Education and Science Education. The Foundations have no Ph.D holders, while the Language and Social Education Department (covering English and Sesotho Education, Business Education, Geography Education and Social Studies Education) have only one Ph.D. holder. This disparity reflects, among other factors, the national emphasis on Mathematics and Science Education at nearly all levels of the education system as reflected in the Ministry of Education Sector Development Plan (1991/92 – 1995/96, p.95). As a result of this emphasis it is possible that study opportunities and bursaries could have been more easily available than for other subjects.

Table 7: Respondents according to Qualifications

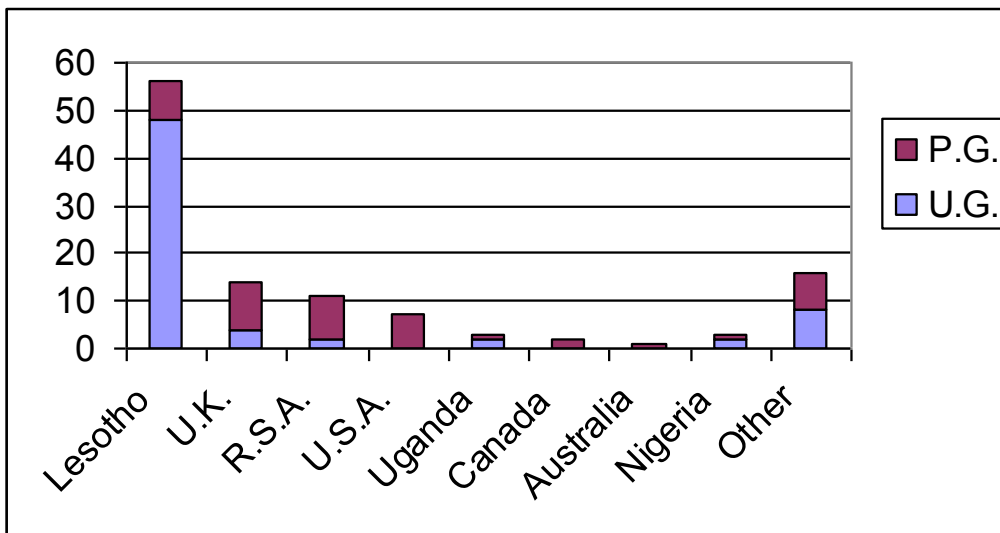
Qualification	Frequency	% N=65
Bachelors degrees	24	37
Masters degrees	32	49
Ph.D	7	11
Other	2	3

In relation to where the respondents obtained their qualifications (both undergraduate and postgraduate) (Fig.2), the majority (73.8%) got their undergraduate qualifications in Lesotho while postgraduate qualifications were obtained in Lesotho by only 12% of the respondents. The United Kingdom provided 6.15% of undergraduate qualifications and 15.38% of the postgraduate qualifications. South Africa has the third biggest contribution with 3% undergraduate and 13.84% postgraduate qualifications. While none of the respondents obtained undergraduate education in the United States of America, 10.76% had their postgraduate qualifications from there. Uganda, Canada, Australia and Nigeria each have either one or two educated in them. There are also those who have had their education in ‘Other’ countries, such as Botswana, Malawi, Swaziland and others. This category covers 12% for undergraduate education and 12% for the postgraduate education of some of the respondents.

Most teacher educators operating in the two institutions in Lesotho obtained their undergraduate professional education in Lesotho. In respect of postgraduate qualifications, most respondents studied in institutions from various parts of the world. It may be a healthy state of affairs to have

such diversity in the staff and staffing of teacher preparation institutions in Lesotho in terms of professional qualifications. Potentially and under normal circumstances, the amount of complementarity of knowledge and expertise seems fairly rich in terms of ensuring good quality of teachers turned out. It will be of interest later in the study to see how this heterogeneity and diversity and the possible richness of professional knowledge and expertise that these bring might have influenced the professional self-perceptions, definitions and values of these teacher educators.

Fig. 1: Respondents according to place where Qualifications were obtained



Respondents were also asked to indicate how long they had served as teacher educators in their institutions. As Table 8 below shows, 50% had served their institutions for six years and less, with 17 of them in the 4-6 years range, 11 in the 1-3 years range, and only four had served for less than one year. Respondents that had between 7-15 years' experience constituted 34.4% of the total while 15.6% had served between 16-25 years. It could be argued, therefore, that most of the respondents had served their institutions as teacher educators for sufficiently long periods to have developed strong senses of their own professional identities as teacher educators in general, and in their institutions in Lesotho in particular. Furthermore, considering that most people join teacher education from schools where they would have been teachers, most of the respondents in this study had long left school teaching to become teacher educators so that it might be reasonably fair to say they had become 'insiders' in teacher education. They had become familiar enough with the field to be able to provide experience-based views and practice-based perceptions and understandings of their professionalism as well as those of their areas of professional operation.

Table 8: Respondents according to Length of Service as Teacher Educators in Lesotho.

Length of service	Frequency	% N=64*
6 years and below	32	50
7-15 years	22	34.4
16-25 years	10	15.6

* 1 respondent is missing (did not indicate length of service).

In general, the majority of the subjects of this study based in the two public teacher education institutions are male and female Basotho teacher educators. Most are in the productive age groups (the 30s and 40s) and had served as teacher educators long enough to provide reliable data about notions of professionalism and professional identity as teacher educators. Further, considering the significance of the church in education in Lesotho, all the three main churches in Lesotho and others are well represented in the study population.

Significant also in understanding the construction of professional identities could be the education and the qualifications of subjects. The subjects in this study represented a variety of professional qualifications, from the lowest to the highest, consistent with trends in comparable institutions in the Southern African region. The fact that these respondents have been educated in various parts of the world (developed and developing) could have advantages as stated above, but it could also be significant in relation to the variety of influences it might have had on the respondents' notions of their professionalism.

5.3 Teacher educators' self-definitions and beliefs about their professionalism.

This section of the study provides an analysis of the professional and non-professional categories that respondents believe best represent who they are. Eight of these categories were provided for respondents to select and rank order in accordance with their beliefs and perceptions about their own professionalism as teacher educators. The scale of 1-8 was provided to represent the eight categories that were to be rank ordered.

5.3.1 Description of the professional categories provided to respondents for ranking:

Question 2, Section B of the questionnaire (henceforth referred to as B6) sought to establish the beliefs and perceptions of the respondents about their identities as professionals. They had to select, from among various categories provided, the response that most appropriately represented who they are. These categories were selected and provided in an attempt to represent the respondents' sense of professionalism in its private and public or subject–citizen dimensions. This selection was premised on the social psychological assumption that there is an individual-society dualism that exists in all human beings (Henriques et al, 1984). Ahluwalia (2001), talking about this in relation to Africa, argues that individuals in postcolonial conditions have multiple identities in which their private subjecthood and public citizenship is dichotomised. Based on the notion therefore that respondents possess multiple identities, I assumed that many of them, if not all, would select more than one professional category as that which best represented their professional identities. This assumption was premised on the observation made by Haywood and Mac an Ghail (1997: 267) that “what constitutes identity is a range of subject positions that cannot be contained within a singular category.”

‘Representation’ is used in this study in the sense developed by Stuart Hall (1997). It refers to the use of language signs or words to stand for what teacher educators believe about themselves as professionals. In this study various categories or titles around which the professionalism and professional identities of teacher educators might be being constructed are provided. These teacher educators were to rank order these titles in accordance with their beliefs and perceptions of how far they represent (or elicit images and concepts) of who they are as professionals. In this case I use representation in a constructionist sense.

Hall (1997:24-25) posits that there are three approaches to representation – the reflective, the intentional and the constructionist. The *reflective approach* suggests that language reflects a meaning that already exists out there in the world of people and events. On the other hand it is *intentional* in so far as it uses language to express only what the speaker or writer wants to say – his/her personally intended meaning. It is *constructionist* to the extent that it refers to processes by which meaning gets

constructed in and through language. Although the professional titles or categories provided for ranking by the teacher educators may have their reflective and intentional meanings, my assumption is that each of the teacher educators uses each title in ways that may be specific to themselves, and in relation to how each of them as individual professionals construct their professional meanings and worlds. In this sense, the titles are taken to be discursive, each being a vehicle for meaning making and development, and each signifying individuals' beliefs about their professional practices and conduct.

Both in lay and professional (or academic) circles, various descriptors are used to refer to or represent professionals in tertiary institutions, especially those in teacher education. They are called teacher educators or teacher trainers or teacher educators and trainers as the case may be depending on the categorisers' notions of these professionals' work. For the purposes of this study I chose the 'teacher educator' descriptor as that which was the most commonly used (cf Raina, 1995). Judge (1993) observes, however, that the term 'teacher educator' has little international intelligibility. Another descriptor is that of "teacher". Most, if not all, teacher educators have first and foremost had their professional education as 'teachers'. They would have become teacher educators via their education and experiences as teachers. Therefore, many are likely to feel better defined as teachers, I believed (Weber, 1990; also cf. Stone et al., 2002). It was on this basis that this descriptor was selected.

Professionals in tertiary education institutions, regardless of the units in which they work, are generally referred to as academics, researchers and scholars (Nixon, 2001; Henkel, 2000). Nixon (1996:7-8) observes that university teachers now constitute a divided profession. As a result, they are viewed in various ways as teachers, academic workers and researchers, among other labels. While the first of these three categories (academics) is more general, the latter two are more specific, expressing the intrinsic values and expectations of research and publication from these professionals and the established tradition of research and publication in these institutions from their Western roots (cf. Harman, 1989:491). On these bases I selected these descriptors as possible representations of these teacher educators' professionalism.

Teacher educators teach a particular school subject or a discipline in their teacher preparation practices. As a result, I assumed they were likely to define themselves in relation to such subjects and disciplines. Academic and professional literature testifies to this. In their studies of teacher educators in France, The United States of America and the United Kingdom, Judge et al (1994: 134) found that

[T]he teachers of teachers wrestle with a twofold problem of identity. One is a question of allegiance: in many cases, it is their basic disciplines, rather than the training of teachers itself, which commands their loyalty. This is true of teachers of foundation courses, whose primary interest is in the sociology, psychology, history, or philosophy of education. To them, the real teachers are those who teach the method courses, but the latter in their turn tend to identify more readily with the school subject of their expertise.

Harman (1989) also notes that academics in professional schools in Australia think of themselves more in terms of their own specialities. Nixon (1996) also refers to university academics as subject specialists. I therefore used the descriptor ‘subject specialist’ as a possible way in which respondents would define themselves.

Apart from the fact that professionals are providing a service of preparing teachers, they have personal (private) needs and families to look after. These may have a bearing on how they define themselves as professionals and their professional conduct. As such they are paid for their services and they have contracts on the basis of which they provide these services. They can therefore be called ‘employees or workers’. These labels resonate well with the notion of university teachers as “*a new proletariat*” (Nixon, *ibid.*: 8). Furthermore, there is increasing evidence in various parts of the world that professionals (or teachers) have been proletarianised, especially as neo-liberalism and its purposes take their toll and the academic and professional workplaces get fragmented and reconstructed (see Nixon, 1996, Nixon et al., 2001, Hargreaves, 1994).

As stated earlier, these teacher educators provide a service not only to those they educate and train, but also to the nation by educating its teachers and children’s teachers. It is a service that the nation or taxpayers pay for, and one for which the service providers or professionals have to be

accountable. In this sense there seems to be a public or societal orientation in the work of teacher educators; hence the category ‘citizen’ in the questionnaire for selection and ranking. But also most teacher educators in Lesotho teacher preparation institutions are citizens of Lesotho. Some of them therefore could feel they are in these institutions by virtue of their rights and statuses as citizens. Also influential in my selection of this category was the need to get an early indication (as a basis for later analysis and discussion) of how significant citizenship or external, societal orientation (Bottery and Wright, 1996) was in the professional self-perception and perhaps practices of these teacher educators, for, as Rose (1996:347) argues, there is a mutual co-existence of individual responsibility and community obligation in the subjects of government. The citizen category was brought in because in the main, citizen identities were central to this investigation, but also because there are arguments in the literature, which suggest that citizenship should not be part of the professional landscape. Shils (1977) strongly argues for the separation of the academic from the political. Arguing along the same lines as Shils, are Polanyi (1962) and Lobkowitz (1984).

As stated in Chapter One of this study and earlier in this chapter, the church is a very significant institution in the Basotho’s private and public life. It is also very significant in the education sector. Many Basotho are Christians. These Christian identities permeate various sectors of society. It is therefore possible, I assumed, that there are teacher educators that might define themselves in relation to their Christian beliefs and orientations; hence the inclusion of the category ‘church representative’. This is notwithstanding the fact that at least in the college, as far as I know from personal experience, there are those teacher educators that are there on the basis of their church affiliations. There are three of these each representing the Catholic, the Evangelical and the Anglican churches – the three churches that own the majority of primary and secondary schools. These churches also owned all the teacher training colleges before they were nationalised and amalgamated into one college in 1975.

5.3.2 Respondents’ ranking of the descriptors in the professional domain

According to Table 9, a whole range of professional categories best define various respondents. As such, the phenomenon of multiple identities is discernible from these responses. This will however be considered and discussed later. For now, I concentrate on the categories that best represent who

the respondents believe they are as professionals. These categories define who these teacher educators are as autonomous subjects. It is possible though that in defining their subjective professional identities, they will subsume or imply their citizen identities, for, this study utilises both the deductive and the inductive analysis of the data to identify the subject and citizen identities of the teacher educators in Lesotho. Where the subject and citizen identities emerge from the data, they will be identified for later discussion.

5.3.2.1 Teacher Educators as teachers

According to Table 9, the ‘teacher educator’ category describes 95.34% of the respondents’ professional identities. It however best describes the identities of 67.69% of the respondents. Based on this response pattern we could therefore refer to these respondents as teacher educators. Only two respondents (3%) believed that this category was the weakest representation of who they are. One respondent did not select this category at all.

With respect to the ‘teacher’ category, 73.83% of the respondents believed it was a strong representation of their professional identities while 38.46% perceived it as the best representation of such identities. Otherwise, 7.67% of the respondents perceived it as the weakest or least important representation of who they are. Nine respondents (13.8%) did not select and rank order this category at all. These, we can assume, did not in any way perceive themselves as teachers.

In pursuing the identity of ‘a teacher’ through interviewing some of these teacher educators, it became more apparent what being a teacher meant for these subjects. What emerged from the interviews were differentiated, unstable and multiple versions of what being a teacher meant to these teacher educators. Based on their differentiated and unstable nature, these identities portray a teacher educator as *an amorphous professional*. This ambivalent nature is expressed in the multiple notions of what being a teacher means. These are a teacher as a role model, a teacher as a pastoral care giver, a teacher as a counsellor, a teacher as a surrogate parent, a teacher as a facilitator of learning, a teacher as a learner which were delineated from the self-definitions of these subjects. Based on this multiplicity of the teacher identity, Stronach et al. (2002:116) have argued that “there is no such a

thing as a teacher...” with a substantial stable, definitive and essential core of identity. One of the interviewees said this about her colleagues and herself as teachers

That’s part of the truth. And, yes I think ...I take that as part of what they are. Yes, they are right.

They are teachers. It’s part of the truth, but it has to be laced with two things I’ve said before.

You are a teacher who is also the parent of your students, who is also the priest of your students ...

something in-between there (Interviewee #2).

What emerges from this interviewee’s definition is the notion of in-betweenness, which is very central to cultural identity (Bhabha, 1996). In the case of this interviewee it indicates the fluidity and instability in what being a teacher means in a non-essentialist sense.

Another interviewee identified himself as a counsellor and a role model. But it is also worthwhile to note that he is a teacher educator by virtue of his position as a “teacher by profession” as he himself says. Also significant could be the use of the pronoun ‘my’, in “my students” which could be interpreted as an indication of passion and affinity with the students that this interviewee teaches. “I am er ... sort of a counsellor for my students. I have counselled a lot of them. I believe that as a teacher educator or as a teacher by profession, I am a model to the students I’m teaching” (Interviewee #4).

The foregoing versions of what being a teacher means provide a general picture of the perceptions the teacher educators interviewed have about themselves as teachers. It is also important to note that Interviewee #4 is also able to tell us (perhaps unawares) by using the phrase “...as a teacher by profession...”, that the teacher professional label could also be used by others even if they are not teachers by profession. These, according to this interviewee, are excluded from the teaching profession. Further, another useful view was that “teaching is a dynamic field because every now and then we...we are dealing with a new brand of students or pupils and our ...our...our approaches definitely won’t be the same.” (Interviewee # 2). This is a useful view that probably helps to explain the usefulness of the multiplicity and fluidity of the teacher educators’ ‘teacher’ identity. This fluidity probably helps them to cope with this perceived dynamism in teaching. However, this in-between-ness, it seems, cannot be defined in terms of internal-external representation. But rather it is

the straddling that is internal to the autonomous professional domains of teacher educators' subjectivities.

Yet another interviewee, apparently influenced by her 'Psychology' discipline, the subject she teaches as a teacher educator, defines herself as being a teacher in various ways such as knowledge specialist, researcher, and most importantly as human developer. It is also important that being a teacher educator is also a job for her as in "I take my job..." This is interpretable as a personal (private) dimension to this interviewee's professionalism.

I think to me being a teacher ... I define myself as a teacher because I believe I go beyond just imparting knowledge. I go beyond doing research, and I take my job ... what I do being to develop a person in toto...that's what being a teacher is about. It is to develop this person 'kaofela' (a Sesotho translation of holistically): psychologically, emotionally and otherwise (Interviewee #7).

What seems to be prominent in the identities of these teacher educators as teacher is the fact that they define themselves in a manner that implicates one of their central responsibilities of serving students. Their teacher identities do not seem to explicitly reflect civic motivations to produce teachers who will improve Lesotho in any way though we know that in the end teachers produced will serve Lesotho and Basotho. But this is not prominently there in these teacher educators' self-definitions as teachers.

5.3.2.2 Teacher educators as subject specialists

The 'subject specialist' category is another popular professional category in terms of which 73.83% of teacher educators define themselves. Of these, 40% perceive this category as the best representation of their professional identities. This category is perceived by 6.07% of the respondents as the weakest representation of who they are. The rest, about 16.9% variably consider it important. Only two respondents (3.07%) did not select this category. That is, they do not perceive and define themselves as subject specialists.

As Interviewee #7 above has indirectly indicated, as a teacher, she is also a knowledge-giver, (in “I go beyond imparting knowledge”) and a researcher, (in “I go beyond doing research”). Based on these we are able to say she is also a ‘subject specialist’ as a result of this she is able to give or impart knowledge. Furthermore, from the self-definitions of a number of these interviewees, being a subject specialist is inseparable from being a teacher. Hence, some of them define themselves as subject teachers. Others, in defining themselves as subject specialists tie in the notion of being ‘methodologists’ or method master. This seems to resonate with the contested notion of ‘pedagogical content knowledge’ (Shulman 1987), which seems to define the nature of knowledge teacher educators have or define themselves in relation to as this interviewee shows. “A teacher has to be a teacher as a subject specialist ...and also as a method master of the subject that she teaches. You have to be a specialist on the content of what you teach, and also on ‘the how to teach it’. Then you’re a balanced person” (Interviewee #2).

Another interviewee also described herself as both subject specialist and a methodologist. She described herself in terms of her subject she teaches, but she also tied in this the issue of ‘how to teach’ that subject.

Q. Are you also a subject specialist?

A. Yes ...I am.

Q. What do you mean by that?

A. I mean a subject which I’ve learnt the content of and how to teach it (Interviewee #3).

For some of the teacher educators their identity as methodologists seems to be imbedded in their subject specialist identities. What seems to emerge strongly is its intersubjectivity with the teacher identity and the ‘methodologist’ identity as is shown above. Another interesting feature is that this identity seems to be contested. On the one hand there is a strong sense among these teacher educators as subject specialists. On the other, there is another strong sense that these teacher educators do not perceive this as a proper representation of their identities. This second group prefers to be referred to as subject teachers rather than subject specialists, the preference that seems to differentiate ‘expert teachers in a subject area from subject area experts’ (Cockran, DeRuiter and King 1988:263). This divergence of perceptions is interesting as it seems to remind us of challenges and questions about teaching as a profession if it does not have its own knowledge base or esoteric

knowledge base as others would put it (See Shulman, 1986; Eraut, 1994). Others like Tom and Valli (1990) talk about professional knowledge. It is not the purpose of this study to enter into these debates about the knowledge base credibility of teacher education. These debates are merely highlighted in order to help us understand why teacher educators seem to differ so much in their perceptions of whether they are subject specialists or not. Their differences highlight the existing divergence of views in the professional literature.

One of the interviewees who seemed confused by the subject specialist label expressed her confusion thus

To say I'm a specialist, probably we use this term ...like that (loosely) not meaning, not actually meaning what the term means, not actually being what the term means. It is true I can teach both English Language and Literature, and produce somebody who can do that too, but that... that doesn't mean I am a specialist in this particular field (Interviewee # 9).

Asked how she would then comfortably define herself, she said

I may not be able to come up with a term ... what I would call myself could simply be an English teacher. We have done bits and pieces of this field ...that have not been fully-fledged to ... to ... to confidently say I'm a subject specialist (Interviewee # 9).

Another interviewee who expressed this sentiment put it

I cannot define myself as a subject specialist. May be it's because of how my ...my system of education ...how I climbed the ladder. I have been teaching Science in the secondary schools. I did science subjects up to Diploma. I changed, did Education subjects. Even so, I cannot say I am a specialist in Education subjects because there are so many branches of Education. I have done a little bit of Sociology, little bit of Special Education, a little bit of Philosophy, a little bit of Psychology, a little bit of Curriculum Studies, and my dissertation in Masters, it's ... I'm sort of a mixture between Special Education and Curriculum Studies. So, I cannot really say I'm a subject specialist (Interviewee # 10).

All in all, there are teacher educators that define themselves as subject specialists and those that define themselves as subject teachers. The only point of convergence seems to be the fact that embedded in this subject specialist or subject teacher identity is the identity of a methodologist, which expresses how the subject is to be taught. What seems to determine whether one would define oneself as a subject specialist or subject teacher is their perception of their education as teacher

educators, or the career path as Interviewee # 10 above puts it. This view is also supported by what Interviewee # 6 below says about her education.

I would definitely do that (define myself as a subject specialist) because, apart from the fact that I have done Education courses, but here I teach Social Studies which I did up to Masters level. My masters is not in education, it is in that subject.

This splitting of ways and differences are captured in Lanier and Little's (1986) findings that

Identifying primarily with their disciplines, the professors teaching foundation courses to prospective teachers (e.g. the psychology, sociology, history, or philosophy of education) tend to deny their teacher education role and identify those who teach methods courses and supervise teaching as the real teacher educators. But most professors teaching methods courses would disagree. Identifying with the school subjects of their expertise, they tend to consider themselves science educators or mathematics educators or reading educators, and point to those who coordinate or supervise student teachers as the real teacher educators.

Whatever the case is, teacher educators define themselves as subject specialists or subject teachers or methodologists to denote their professionalism as autonomous subjects. In defining themselves as specialists or subject teachers the motivation and purpose are professional – to serve students and produce teachers that they are employed to produce. These sorts of self-definitions reflect these teacher educators' responsibilities. Inherent in them, hopefully, is the fact that the teacher produced will serve the country and nation. But the teacher educators themselves do not tell us this. As such it does not seem to be an inherently significant part of what they do and who they define themselves as, what seems clearly reflected is their self-definition as autonomous subjects having a professional responsibility to educate teachers.

5.3.2.3 Teacher educators as academics

The category 'academic' is generally used to represent teachers or professionals in higher education institutions (see Harman, 1989, Henkel, 2000, Nixon, 2001, 1996, Yankah, 1995). Although it was included in the questionnaire as a separate category for teacher educators to rank order in terms of how they perceived it to represent them as professionals, it is a generic identity in which is

embedded other identities such as ‘researcher’ and ‘scholar’, among others (see Henkel, 2000, Nixon et al., 2001). It is in this conflated sense that these identities are dealt with in this analysis. This is how they presented themselves in interviews, with more emphasis on the ‘researcher’ identity that in practice teacher educators associated themselves with. Further, for purposes of this study, the researcher identity aspect of the academic life and practices of teacher educators will be emphasised because of its close relationship with what being professional means in general, which is researching in order to improve professional practice, among other reasons (cf. Kerr, 1994).

The ‘academic’ category is a strong representation of the professionalism of 73.8% of the respondents and the best representation of 32.3% of these respondents’ professionalism. Only one respondent (1.5%) consider it the weakest representation while 20% perceive it as a fair representation of their professionalism.

With respect to the ‘researcher/scholar’ category, there are 66.14% of the respondents that consider it a strong representation of their professionalism. Of these, 18.46% perceive it as the best representation of their identity as professionals. While 26.14% perceive it as a fair representation, one respondent perceived it as the weakest representation of their professional identities. Four respondents (6.15%) did not select it; that is, it probably means that they do not in any way perceive it as a representation of their identities as professionals.

According to Table 9 (a) below, over 60% of the teacher educators define themselves strongly as researchers. According to these percentages, it could be said that the teacher educators involved in this study perceive research as an important component of their professionalism. Research seems to be one of the defining values of these teacher educators’ practices. However, interviewing some of these teacher educators revealed that research is not as strong in practice, or, in fact there is little evidence of its existence in practice. As a result, an analysis of these interviews results in various categories in which these teacher educators as researchers could be placed. As I use these categories based on my own engagement with and interpretation of the interview transcripts, I take caution in the fact that “interpretations never produce a final moment of absolute truth. Instead interpretations are always followed by other interpretations, in an endless chain” (Hall, 1997: 42).

For purposes of this analysis and interpretation, the researcher identity categories identified are as follows

- (a) Real researchers
- (b) Convert researchers
- (c) Aspirant Researchers
- (d) Researchers as institutionally defined

Real researchers:

Wenger (1998:151) has argued that “who we are lies in the way we live ... not just in what we think or say about ourselves, though that is of course part (but only part) of the way we live....” Based on this, real researchers are, first and foremost, the teacher educators who perceived and defined themselves as researchers in their responses to the questionnaire. Furthermore, they were more convincing in their stories and there was evidence of research work in practice. Their colleagues testify to the respondents’ research involvement even without being prompted to do so. For instance, asked about her involvement in research and the extent to which this was an institution-wide practice, one interviewee had this to say:

There are some ... when you listen to their presentations, you’ll really see they’re researching...
Take (*Dr. Anonymous*) for instance. He does continuous research on (his subject). He does continuous research ... at classroom and school level...(Interviewee # 3).

Some of these real researchers were, unsolicited, proudly willing and able to show research-based articles or papers they had written, or, evidence that they were active members of the Lesotho Research Association. These were taken as convincing pieces of evidence that respondents were in fact researchers in practice, or involved in some research.

Furthermore, interview responses of those I identify as ‘real researchers’ are more direct, confident and more convincing. One of these interviewees said “...I’m not seeing people doing research ... Let me say relevant research because they’re supposed to research on ‘teacher education’ and ‘teaching’. But you don’t see that happening...really.” (Interviewee #3)

In relation to herself, this interviewee went on to say “I teach through research”. She then went on to show me her paper and said, “I’m going to publish this paper now. I’m through ... it’s part of my scholarship. I want to publish it.”

Another interviewee in the category of ‘real researchers’ said

... I would define myself as a researcher because ...er...experience...research is experience to me. Therefore it informs what I do ...er ...to me research does not only happen like outside ... outside of the classroom. Even in the classroom as I teach or lecture I ... there is a lot of data coming out ...and ...it’s part and parcel of my teaching”. (Interviewee # 7).

In her out of class activities this interviewee is involved in research activities.

Other interviewees such as Interviewee # 11 defined his research identity as part and parcel of his teacher identity. His definition of himself goes like

I would call myself a lecturer to differentiate myself officially from a teacher. And if you asked me how I operate ...may be getting into that hardened trend, I would say I am an action-researcher, or I would call myself something closer to teacher-researcher”.

He later on said

sometimes I call myself that to show that I do it in action. It’s part of my work, it’s the process through which I teach. When you find me teaching you’ll find me teaching as a researcher, asking students to tell me how I teach, you’ll find me trying to get how they, themselves teach, also discouraging them from relying too much on existing theories and asking them to test these theories. That is my conception of who I am as a researcher.

At the same time this respondent was critical of scholarship expectations placed on teacher educators, indicating the problem of teaching loads. But even more interesting in relation to this position on publications was his perspective on the purpose of research. “I can’t see how a researcher ...(pause)...you are researching and you are publishing rather than you are researching and using it

in your teaching” (Interviewee # 11). This category accounted for 31% of the 16 teacher educators interviewed.

Convert Researchers:

This category is made up of all teacher educators who defined themselves strongly as researchers (60% of the entire research population), including those that we have just analysed above. However, this analysis differentiates those who just believe in ‘research as important’ in their work, and those who have this belief but also do research in practice. It is those who believe in the value of research and yet do not do research that I refer to as ‘converts’ to denote this belief in the value of research. So it is a belief that is not followed by practice.

Interviews that characterise and identify these ‘believers in research’ are interesting and show how much understanding and potential for research there is among the teacher educators. One of them put it as follows, “We as teachers must engage in action-research all the way from the level of primary school teacher to the university level. As a teacher educator, you are a teacher ... you should be a researcher” (Interviewee # 2).

He went on to argue that “...research is really part and parcel of teacher education.” Yet another interviewee was forthright in indicating that she was not a researcher and that others in her institution were also not researchers. She said, “I am not. The majority are not. Researcher and scholar ... and I want to underline scholar ... high-handed, not down-to-earth.”

Another one put her point of view thus, “I don’t see how you can operate being a teacher educator without research ... because there are so many challenges in teacher education.” In relation to whether she actually does research herself, this is very revealing, “... but may be most of us we do research when we are at the university... You have to get a certificate and then after that we file and forget “ (Interviewee # 5).

According to most interviewees there is no doubt that research is very important and should be an integral part of teacher education. However, reasons such as work-loads and lack of facilities

hindered most from being involved in research. There are those, on the other hand, who argue that work-loads are not abnormal; they do not hinder research work. One interviewee pointed out that despite her and others' non-involvement in research, she wished to see herself involved in the near future. She said, "...it is not up to standard yet. We are struggling and hoping that in the near future we should be able to do so" (Interviewee # 9). In hoping that in the near future they would be engaged in research, this respondent expresses her wish or desire, with her sentence more or less in the subjunctive mood. Werbner (2001) uses the term 'subjunctive' or 'subjunctivity' to express a subjectivity that is based on desire. This brings us to another category of 'researchers as desire'. In Bernstein's (1996) language this identity as desire or future-oriented identity as Interviewee # 9 can be described, is 're-centring' identity or prospective identity. Sachs (2001) describes prospective identities as essentially future orientated, and their narrative resources ground the construction of these identities in the future. These are briefly described below.

Aspirant Researchers:

Not many respondents defined themselves according to this classification. However, a few that did, expressed their wish or desire in various ways indicating their awareness of the fact that there is much information that remains unused to inform teaching teacher education. Such wealth of information is available according to some in both the Teaching Practice Preparation (TPP) and Teaching Practice (TP) as well as in micro-teaching and teaching itself.

One interviewee expressed her desire thus, "I'm a researcher. For example, I will just (inaudible) information on the research I want to make about the effects of 'Management by Crisis.'" (Interviewee # 5). This interviewee represents typical responses I received. On the one hand, she defines herself as a researcher. On the other, she states that she intends doing research. It is in these kinds of contradictions that the identities of many of these teacher educators seem to be located.

Researchers as institutionally defined:

Some teacher educators define themselves as researchers, it seems, because that is what is expected of them by their institutions. In other cases they call themselves researchers because that is one of the labels or job titles given to them by their institutions as part of their job descriptions.

One interviewee put it, “I’m also an academic. I’m an academic because members of this institution are academics ... because of that I am also an academic. And er ... again I’m a researcher also” (Interviewee # 4). This other response is also instructive in telling us why some respondents define themselves as researchers

I don’t think they’re expressing an obligation. I think they are expressing an understanding, but not that they are actually doing it. They are saying that is how they are defined. Let us take NUL ... we are expected to teach, research and do community service. May be if there’s another duty, it is administration. So, when you ask me who I define myself as, I have already been told who I am. So they say they are researchers, not really to say they do in fact research. I think they mean that is how they are defined (Interviewee # 11).

Table 9(a): Respondents according to their ranking of professional categories

Rank Order	Teacher %		Teacher Educator %		Researcher/Scholar %		Academic %		Subject Specialist %	
1	2	3.07	1	1.5	1	1.5	-	-	2	3.07
2	3	4.6	1	1.5	-	-	1	1.5	2	3.07
3	1	1.5	-	-	2	3.07	2	3.07	6	9.23
4	1	1.5	-	-	6	9.23	5	7.69	2	3.07
5	1	1.5	-	-	9	13.84	6	9.23	3	4.6
6	8	12.3	4	6.15	11	16.92	14	21.5	6	9.23
7	15	23.07	14	21.5	20	30.76	13	20	16	24.6
8	25	38.46	44	67.69	12	18.46	21	32.3	26	40
Total	56	86%	64	98.34%	61	93.78%	62	95.29%	63	96.87%

All the five categories just discussed above are, for purposes of this study, in the private professional domain of these teacher educators’ professional lives and practices. They represent them as individual, autonomous subjects. The categories according to which these teacher educators define themselves as shown in Table 9(a) can also be illustrated graphically (as shown in **Fig.2** below) to illuminate the varying strengths attached to each by these teacher educators.

The five categories tell us how far teacher educators in Lesotho define themselves as professionals. They tell us what these teacher educators believe it means for them to be called teacher educators and what it involves. But this analysis does not tell us what these teacher educators' understandings and beliefs of their professionalism are. It is to these that the next sections of the analysis turn. After this analysis we will turn to the values that seem to inform these understandings and beliefs.

5.4 Respondents ranking of non-professional categories:

For purposes of this study to identify the professionalism of the teacher educators in Lesotho as it reflects these teacher educators' obligations as citizens and thus to identify their citizen identity, some non-professional, society related categories were selected and provided for selection and ranking by these teacher educators. These categories, I hoped, would help tell us how far teacher educators find other aspects that are not necessarily professional, important in their professionalism and professional activities. These categories as stated earlier are the 'employee/worker' category, the 'citizen' category and the 'church' category. The selection of these categories was based on both the personal experience and in some cases the theoretical reasons. The use of the employee category was based on the fact that teachers and teacher educators are in their institutions first and foremost to work for themselves and their families. In the discharge of their professional responsibilities, however, the professional factors tend to overshadow the private and personal reasons.

5.4.1 Teacher educators as employees

The 'employee/worker' category according to Table 9(b), is a strong representation of the professional orientation of 41.53% of the respondents, and the best representation of the professionalism of 16.92% of these respondents. While this category is the weakest representation of the professionalism of 15.38% of the respondents, 29.2% perceive it as a fair representation of who they are as professionals. Nine of the respondents (13.8%) did not select this category, thereby probably indicating that they did not perceive it as representing who they are professionally.

Just as it is not a strong identity for most teacher educators in Lesotho, this category did not come out strongly in the interviews with these respondents. In fact in some cases it was dismissed as a category that should not even be thought about as this interviewee indicated. This interviewee, whom I wish to classify with a few others like her as *a disenchanted professional*, had just complained about a high staff turnover in the college as a problem that made it difficult for those who had stayed behind to see progress because new staff were always coming in all the time. Based on this, I wanted to know whether she did not consider this turnover as a natural consequence of labour mobility, to which she responded in an irritated and agitated manner.

I want to underline labour mobility. I underline that because ...er...my...my understanding of a teacher educator is someone who actually feels for the students that he's teaching, somebody who doesn't say myself first. And we have got...we call ourselves labour force here, then we're out of place here (**with emphasis**). So I...I...I feel that if people take teacher education as another job ...(pause)...we still have a long way to go before we can produce ...er...competent teachers. (Interviewee # 2)

I then asked this interviewee whether she was not the only one who thought as she did about herself as not being an employee. She then said “according to my observation, a lot of those people who do teacher education at the NUL or here take themselves as just employees”. Apart from what this interviewee said, the employee category did not come out strong enough in the interviews except from four of the seventeen teacher educators interviewed. Ironically though, in response to one of the open-ended questions in the questionnaire (Question 8, Part C) the employee identity came out quite strongly as Table 9(b) below shows. Asked what it is that motivates them on a regular basis to perform their professional duties, these teacher educators stated a number of factors at the top of which were student-related factors immediately followed by employment related factors as the table below shows. So, the employee identity of these teacher educators seemed to emerge inductively from the data rather than explicitly and deductively. The reason for this surreptitious-like stating of their employee identity is hard to tell. However, it is common practice for some people in professional circles not to want to appear as if they are too interested in pay than service. It is generally seen as unprofessional to emphasise employee status.

5.4.2 Teacher educators as citizens

The 'citizen' category is a strong representation of the professional orientation of 33.8% of the respondents. It is the best representation of the professionalism of 24.6% of these. On the other hand, another 24.6% of the respondents perceive it as the weakest representation of who they are as professionals while 26.2% perceive it as a fair representation. Ten respondents (15.4%) did not select this category probably indicating that they did not perceive themselves this way.

This is another category that did not emerge strongly in the interviews. Even where the subjects were asked to say whether they defined themselves as citizens and what they meant, if they did, their responses were very vague. Sometimes this citizenship was confused with nationality. However, in response to various other questions (in the interviews and questionnaire) there was much that came out inductively about these teacher educators' citizen identity. Table 9(b) below also shows this. Therefore, for purposes of this study, I decided to let this identity emerge in the course of the analysis of responses to these various questions. This identity is central to this study because it is one of the two core identities that the study hopes to delineate from the self-definitions and beliefs and understandings about professionalism among the teacher educators in Lesotho.

5.4.3 Teacher educators as representatives of their churches

Finally, a very small percentage of the teacher educators (12.3%) perceived themselves strongly as 'church representatives'. Of this number, only three respondents (4.6%) perceived the 'church representative' category as the best representation of who they were professionally. A majority of the teacher educators (53.8%) perceived this category as the least important representation of who they were in their professional work and practices while ten respondents (15.4%) did not select this category, 18.4% however perceived it as a fair representation of their professionalism.

This category was the lowest in priority for most teacher educators and both in the interviews and the questionnaire responses, it did not generate much response. However, wherever it did, however sparingly, it was stated in highly emotive terms. On the other hand other respondents preferred not to talk about it at all. Even the most outspoken respondents on other topics were just numb, if not irritated, when asked about their religious identities. In fact one of the respondents, a long serving and experienced teacher educator who was also actively involved in a number of national initiatives

in education, would not even state her religious affiliation in the questionnaire. This was the only question she left unanswered. Perhaps the reason for this apparent lack of interest or reluctance to be drawn into discussions around the church and religion, was the fact that the issue of the church is highly political and emotional. It has tended to create much animosity and divisions in Lesotho and many of the teacher educators resolved not to talk about it. But for a few who had something to say, Section 4.4.3 below provides some useful responses expressing the attitude of some of the respondents to the church, and how it may have affected the subjectivities of a number of professionals and their professional practices.

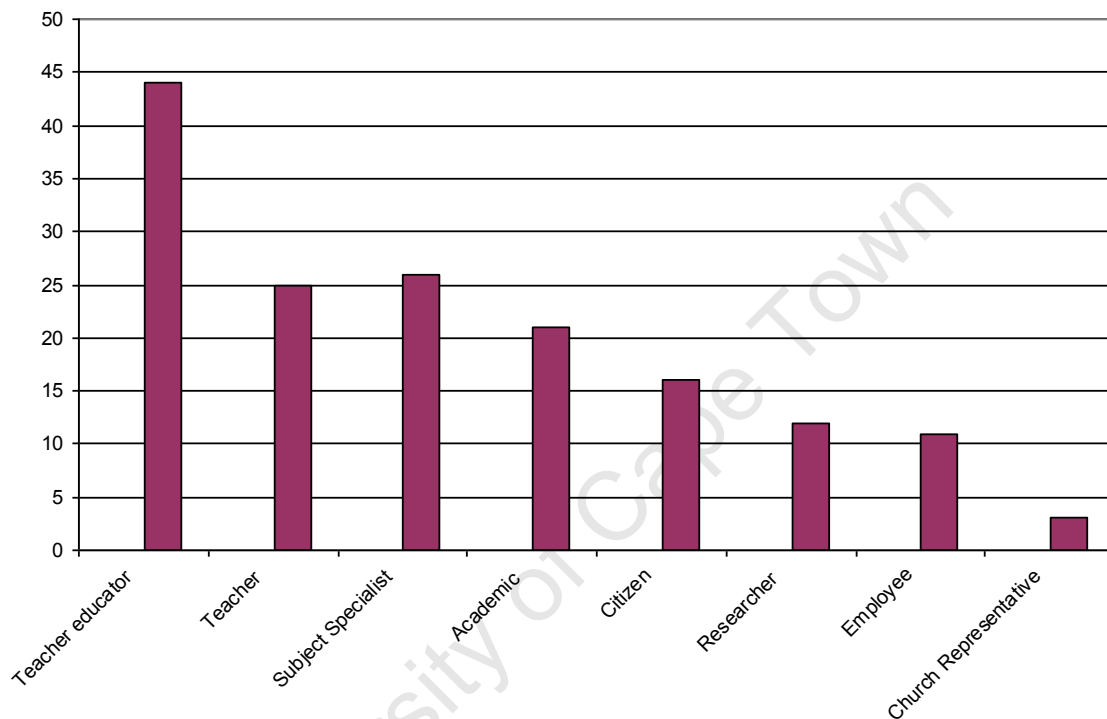
Table 9(b): Respondents ranking of non-professional categories:

Value	Employee/ Worker		Citizen		Church Representative	
		%		%		%
2	5	7.69	7	10.76	29	44.6
2	5	7.69	9	13.84	6	9.23
3	9	13.84	5	7.69	3	4.6
4	3	4.6	6	9.23	3	4.6
5	7	10.76	6	9.23	6	9.23
6	11	16.92	3	4.6	4	6.15
7	5	7.69	3	4.6	1	1.5
8	11	16.92	16	24.6	3	4.6
Total	56	86.11%	55	84.55%	55	84.51%

Based on the above analysis of the non-professional categories, it seems clear that although there are some teacher educators that define themselves in terms of the employee, citizen and church categories, they are very few. It may therefore seem quite necessary to concentrate on the teacher educators' definitions according to professional categories in Table 9(a). Based on the analysis of these professional categories we will, hopefully delineate both the subject and the citizen identities of these teacher educators. Put together, the rankings of the professional and the non-professional categories as best representations of all the respondents' professional identities are graphically shown below. It is worth-noting that the graphs only show the number of teacher educators

(respondents) who ranked the various categories that best represent who they are. These are categories ranked at the highest scale of 8.

Fig. 2: Respondents' ranking of professional and non-professional categories representing their Professionalism.



5.5 Teacher educators' beliefs and perceptions about being professional

Various questions in the questionnaire as well in the interviews sought to elicit these teacher educators' responses that would describe what their beliefs and understandings of their professionalism were (see for example, Section B, Question 7 in the questionnaire). Question 7 provided seven statements that teacher educators were required to rank order. These statements were selected in such a way that they represented the internal and external dimensions of professionalism. In answering them respondents would at the same time be indicating the extent to which their professionalism was reflective of their subject and citizen identities. Some statements sought to measure the extent to which teacher educators believed their professionalism was about looking after

the professional and or academic interests of their students. Others sought to elicit responses that would indicate the extent to which teacher educators believed in active involvement in research and publication and or active involvement in the improvement of teaching and learning in schools. Others elicited responses on these teacher educators' allegiance – whether to the profession, to the colleagues, the institution versus the state. Yet another directly sought to find out the extent to which they believed in professional/academic freedom, especially from the state, as significant in their professionalism.

All these internal and external issues are significant in the academic/professional literature on professionalism and the work of professionals. On the professional/academic divide in teacher education there are suggestions that the work of teacher educators is perceived as being less academic in character and more vocational (see Harman 1989). Harman, for example, provided evidence in the context of professional schools in Australia that their work was seen as being more anchored in vocational rather than academic values. Hopkins and Reid (1985:2) have demonstrated that teacher education lacks credibility as an academic discipline and as a result, it is unanchored in university settings (Rhoades 1990) and paradoxical (Goodlad 1999). Darling-Hammond (1989), Shulman (1987) and Taylor (1994) have written about the professional status of the work of teacher educators and teacher education.

Middlehurst, R. and Barnett, R. C. (1994) argue that for professionals to be innovative they need academic freedom and autonomy. The significance of autonomy and academic freedom is widely supported in the literature (see Clark 1983; Becher 1994 and others in Chapter two of this study). The significance of research and the actual involvement of teacher educators in research, and the teacher educators' involvement in schools are issues that have also been widely documented. To a large extent the literature shows how significant these issues are and yet how disappointing the performance of teacher educators is in relation to them (Hall 1985; Hopkins and Reid 1985; Ross 1990 and others). The allegiances and accountabilities of teacher educators are also issues of significance in the literature. The work of Becher, Eraut and Knight (1981) shows what the various constituencies for teacher education and teacher educators are. Also see Kogan (1986) on this.

5.5.1 Respondents' ranking of statements expressing beliefs about professionalism

The teacher educators' ranking of the seven statements demonstrates that the majority (86%) very strongly perceive their professionalism to involve devoting more of their efforts and resources to meeting the *professional needs and interests* of students. By comparison, only 68% strongly perceive professionalism to involve devoting efforts and resources to the *academic needs and interests* of their students. Furthermore, also very important in the professionalism of these teacher educators, judging by their rating of these seven statements, is that they believe their professionalism means that they have to be *actively involved in the improvement of teaching quality in schools*. This is ranked very highly by 82% of the respondents. The active involvement of teacher educators in the improvement of teaching quality in schools is one the practices that I specifically wished to gather evidence of. Yet such evidence seemed hard to establish because most teacher educators, especially at the university, could only be found on campus when they had some teaching to do. If you were looking for them you would only know of their whereabouts if they were teaching or had gone to observe students on teaching practice, for, these were the only activities that are apparently institutionally scheduled. As a result, it was always not easy to know where people were. Otherwise, you were asked to telephone them at their homes. In the same vein, whenever any lecturer in the college was not on campus, you would be told that they were either at home or in town. In no time would you be told they were out in schools or on some research visit. Neither did any of them tell me they had been out in schools or on some research project.

When they were specifically interviewed on their active involvement in schools a number of responses were quite revealing and illuminating. They seemed to indicate how weak this area of the teacher educators' professional practices was. One respondent had this to say about his active involvement with schools:

I was involved in ensuring that we produce quality teachers. But ...I don't want claim that I was actively involved because i...i...if I was actively involved up to now I cannot produce even a single piece of work ...research in the field of education in our schools, research on the challenges faced by the trainees when they get into the field, and how we should actually respond to that with a view to actually meeting those challenges. I haven't done that. Most of us haven't done that. (Interviewee # 1).

Another, obviously talking about her teaching practice visits as well as visiting students of her colleagues said, “I’m trying...(laughs). Really I’m actively involved. I used to go to their schools to observe them teaching, trying to help them improve on their teaching. That one I have done”. (Interviewee # 5)

These teacher educators continued to indicate the nature of their professionalism by ranking very highly ranking the statement that they believed in *conducting their activities free of politics and purely on professional/academic grounds*. This is perceived as very important by 71% of these teacher educators. This statement compares well with statement seven in Table 9(c) below. These will later be put together and compared. Perhaps related and supportive of their active involvement in schools’ improvement is the belief that their professionalism is about *active involvement in research and publication*, which is perceived as very important by 63% of these respondents. The belief is that this research, it seems, is utilitarian and not value-free as statement six in Table 9(c) shows. This will be discussed together later. Furthermore, though not very high in their professional priorities, yet significant, is the belief that their *productivity as professionals depends on the amount of professional freedom* they enjoy. This belief is very strongly supported by 51% of the teacher educators. The low priority given to issues of professional freedom seems to correlate with the ranking of the statement suggesting that as professionals they owe their allegiance to their profession, professional colleagues, their institutions and not the state. The majority of the respondents accord this the lowest priority; for, it is perceived as very important by only 38.5% of the respondents. This is the lowest ranked of all the seven statements. It could be argued though that this statement was too loaded to elicit reliable responses from the teacher educators. This could be a fair assessment of this statement. However, the significance of its ranking becomes consistent across other better-worded statements carrying the same meaning as will be shown in the sections that follow, especially Table 9(c) below.

From the analysis of the seven statements, it seems that the majority of teacher educators that were involved in this study strongly perceived their professionalism to involve the following, stated in order of importance from the most popular to the least popular:

(a) devoting more resources and effort to the students’ professional needs and interests (86%);

- (b) being actively involved in the improvement of teaching quality in schools (82%);
- (c) conducting activities free of politics and purely on professional/academic grounds (71%);
- (d) looking after the academic needs and interests of students (68%);
- (e) being actively involved in research and publication (63%);
- (f) professional productivity depending on the amount of professional freedom enjoyed (51%);
- (g) allegiance being owed to the profession, professional colleagues, institutions and not the state (38.9%).

According to this analysis, there is a strong sense among most teacher educators that professionalism constitutes service to their students. This service oriented professionalism resonates with what is critically, and perhaps cynically, referred to as the folk epistemology of professionalism (Pels, 1999). Furthermore, there is a very strong belief and understanding among the teacher educators that their professionalism has to do with improvement of teaching quality in schools. This view strengthens the service-oriented nature of their professionalism as demonstrated above.

Beyer and Zeichner (1987: 231) view with disdain and criticism what they call ‘technocratic rationality’ which characterises the professionalism of teacher educators. Technocratic rationality, according to Beyer and Zeichner, serves to encourage acquiescence and conformity to the status quo both in schooling and society. It is concerned with the technical application of knowledge to attain given, and unquestioned, ends. As such teacher education, according to them, is a political and ideological activity. The view exists among many scholars on professionalism that service-oriented professionalism, which tends to reflect this technocratic rationality, is merely ideological and self-serving (Freidson, 1994; Frost, 2001). This service-oriented professionalism, on the other hand, finds favour with another group of scholars on professionalism such as Eraut (1994). These theoretical positions will be pursued in detail in the later chapters. For now, we continue to analyse and identify teacher educators’ perceptions of their professionalism.

What the above analysis seems to indicate in relation to the extent to which the teacher educators’ perceptions of their professionalism reflect their subject and citizen identities, is that there is a very strong reflection of teacher educators’ subject identities in statements a, c, d, f, g, and their citizen

identities in statements (b) and to some extent (e). Therefore the weighting these teacher educators have given to these statements reflects the weighting they give to these identities.

5.5.2 Factors motivating respondents' performance of their professional duties

One of the open-ended questions in the questionnaire (Question 8, Part C) sought to find out from the teacher educators what it is that motivates them on a regular basis to perform their duties as teacher educators. The purpose of this question was to identify the value-orientation of these teacher educators' professionalism. An analysis of this question reveals strongly the service-oriented view of professionalism among most of these teacher educators. Responses to this open ended-question varied in the amount of detail that was provided. While some were made up of detailed paragraphs outlining the respondents' responses others consisted of just one or two sentences. Methodologically, all responses were extracted from the questionnaire and written on separate sheets of paper where they were read several times and reduced to various manageable chunks or statements. The statements were then compared and sorted out in terms of similarities and differences, what Miles and Huberman (1994) call 'pattern codes'. Each category of statements was labelled according to the themes that they portrayed. The result of this analysis is reflected in Table 9(b) below.

According to this table, it appears that a number of factors motivate teacher educators in the two public institutions in Lesotho to perform their professional duties. Student-factors are the most important for the majority of them. Salary and conditions are the second most important motivating factors. The third most important categories of factors are collegial factors, professional factors and service oriented factors. Academic and institutional factors are the least popular motivators. All these factors are shown in Table 9(b) below in detail.

A combination of factors motivates these teacher educators' performance of their professional responsibilities. The most important of these are professional, service-oriented factors as demonstrated by the high rating of student factors. These are followed by personal employment-

related factors. The majority of the remaining factors are professional, with a fraction constituting societal factors. Based on the information on this table, it seems reasonable to suggest that the majority of these motivating factors are classifiable into responsibilities of teacher educators as professionals or as autonomous subjects. The remainder, those classified under civic factors represent these teacher educators' citizenship domain.

In terms of the research question to this study, it seems clear from this table that these teacher educators' beliefs about professionalism reflect both their subject and civic dimensions, with the subjective more prevalent. It is worth noting though that this interpretation is only based on what the teacher educators have told us. It is not based on the teacher educators' practices in their institutions. These will soon become part of this analysis and interpretation when we include interview and observation responses and data below.

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Table 9(b) Factors Motivating Respondents on a Regular basis to perform their Professional duties as Teacher Educators.

RESPONSE CATEGORY	FACTOR CLASSIFICATION	FREQUENCY
1. Freedom to work in a manner suited to my students. 2. Need to be students' role model. 3. Students performance, success and development 4. Motivated and high quality students. 5. Challenges from interacting with students. 6. Observing and feeling appreciated by students 7. Moral obligation to students.	Student -Factors	2 1 11 9 2 1 2 N=28
1. Positive environment of committed and supporting colleagues. 2. Appreciating and supporting seniors and administrators.	Collegial	6 4 N=10
1. Presence of transparency 2. Recognition of effort by institution. 3. Absence of favouritism. 4. Good management. 5. Institutional needs, goals and objectives.	Institutional	2 3 1 1 1 N=8
1. Availability of teaching facilities and resources. 2. Sufficient technical support.	Teaching Resources	4 1 N=5
1. Current changes in teacher education. 2. Love of the teaching profession. 3. Personal desire to grow professionally 4. Self-motivation as a teacher educator. 5. Producing quality teachers.	Professional	1 4 1 3 1 N=10
1. Institutional academic progress. 2. Changes and developments in the discipline and research agendas. 3. Results (performance) in subject.	Academic	2 4 2 N=8
1. Acceptable salaries. 2. Working conditions. 3. Benefits 4. Job satisfaction.	Salary and Conditions	10 5 4 4 N=23
1. Need for educational improvement in the country. 2. Concern for the education of Basotho children. 3. Ministry of Education policy. 4. Working with other stakeholders in education.	Civic	4 4 1 1 N=10

5.5.3 Respondents' attitude to the professionalism/society relationship

Section C, Question 7 of the questionnaire required respondents to indicate how far they agreed or disagreed with statements that expressed the professionalism/society relationship. The question was couched in the frame of the Likert five-point scale. Seven statements expressing this relationship were provided for respondents to indicate the strength of their agreement or disagreement with each.

The purpose of this question was to identify the teacher educators' attitude to the professionalism-public relationship. This relationship is a subject of controversy in the literature as shown in Chapter Two earlier. But it is also an aspect that is of interest to this investigation. Responses to this question will be compared with responses to other questions that may be expressing this relationship. These responses will be correlated in the next chapter with the respondents' personal and professional characteristics and professional identities earlier analysed earlier.

The seven statements are constructed around the key words and phrases that follow: knowledge creation, church, service orientation, professional responsibilities vis-à-vis citizen obligations, academic freedom and independence (expressing the autonomy/accountability tensions). The major source of these words and phrases is the academic and professional debates in the literature around professionalism, autonomy and accountability. The church factor was included because of its significance in the public affairs of Lesotho and its people.

Table 9(c) below presents the analysis of the responses to the seven statements referred to above. According to this analysis, 69.2% of the respondents strongly agreed with the suggestion that their professionalism is about service to Basotho. Those who agreed with this suggestion constitute 19% of the total while 3.2% strongly disagreed and the same percentage disagreed. Only 6.2% were neutral. In general, 88.2% of the teacher educators positively perceived one of their professional duties as being service to Basotho society while 6.2% perceived it differently.

In relation to the idea that their professional responsibilities and citizen obligations are inextricably linked, and shape their practices, 52.3% of the teacher educators were in strong agreement and

29.2% just in agreement. Eleven percent (11%) were neutral while 31% strongly disagreed, with another 3.1% just disagreeing. From these responses, 82% of the teacher educators positively perceived their professional responsibilities and citizen obligations as being inextricably linked and shaping and guiding their professional practices. Only 6.2% disagreed with this notion.

On the other hand, in relation to the third statement, “there is no way I can do my professional work freely and effectively if I am officially required to be accountable for it,” 54% of the respondents strongly disagreed while 20% just disagreed. Only one respondent (1.5%) strongly agreed with the statement while 11% just agreed; 12.3% remained neutral. Overall, 74% of the respondents perceived official requirements for accountability as positive, and not likely to affect their free and effective performance of their professional work. A few respondents (13%) perceived such requirements negatively, with a potential of affecting their professional freedom and effectiveness.

The fourth statement suggested that teacher educators could not serve Basotho well unless they were guided by the policies of the Ministry of Education. Responses to this statement indicate an interesting ambivalence. While 15.4% of the respondents strongly agreed with this statement, 14% of them strongly disagreed. On the other hand, 25% just agreed while another 25% just disagree. Nineteen percent (19%) of these respondents were neutral. In general, 40.4% of the respondents were in agreement with the notion that they required the Ministry of Education policies to be able to serve Basotho well. But nearly the same percentage (39%) was in disagreement with this notion. These responses could be interpreted to suggest that although the Ministry of Education policies might be useful in guiding the practices of these teacher educators, they were not necessarily an absolute requirement. Clearly, many of the teacher educators believe they are able to serve the Basotho well without such policies.

Statement five also produced some ambivalent responses. Asked whether professionalism meant that they had to be sensitive to the values and needs of the churches that owned schools in Lesotho, 9.2% strongly agreed while 20% just agreed. On the other hand, 29.2% strongly disagreed while 6.2% just disagreed. Thus, while 29.2% agreed, 35.4% disagreed. Although more teacher educators did not perceive their professionalism as entailing sensitivity to the values and needs of churches that own

schools, they were not a strong majority. However, it is also significant that quite a high percentage of respondents (31%) preferred to remain neutral on this issue.

This percentage of neutral respondents (31%) might be interpreted in a number of ways as shown below.

(a) It probably suggests that both the professionalism of these teacher educators and their churches are important. Therefore they are ambivalent about the significance of one or the other, and therefore prefer to remain neutral.

(b) It might suggest that these teacher educators believe they have to be sensitive to the values and needs of the schools in Lesotho (most of these happen to be owned by churches though) and not necessarily the values and needs of churches that own schools. Therefore the statement does not quite address their sentiment in relation to church schools and not churches that own schools.

(c) The issue of the church in education in Lesotho is very significant. The education of the majority of the Basotho was provided by the church schools or was supported by churches through their bursaries. On the other hand, the issue of the church in education in Lesotho is so sensitive politically that many respondents preferred to remain neutral in their response. This political sensitivity was evident in the manner in which many outspoken and highly charged respondents during interviews, would be brief, cautious, and non-committal when asked questions relating to the church. However, some interviewees did openly show this sensitivity in their responses.

One interviewee said:

I think that one...is just caused by...er...the politics of religion because education is also political in this country. When you look at the churches and how they started in Lesotho, there was a lot of hatred between the Catholic Church and the LEC to the extent that wherever we are in a meeting and we want to nominate or appoint somebody to be our leader and so forth, sometimes we caucus first to know which church the potential appointee belongs to. Actually religion plays a vital role in our jobs. (Interviewee # 3)

Another interviewee said, “So, since I came to this college, I hate...I hate...I hate this em...political, religious affiliations because they have affected the progress of this college. (Interviewee # 10)

It, therefore, could be argued that responses such as these indicate why many respondents might have preferred to remain neutral on the issue of the church and their professionalism. Therefore, based on these three interviewee responses and what we know from Chapter One, it could be said that there is much, it seems, that is ‘unspoken’ about the power of the church in the professionalism of the teacher educators in Lesotho.

In relation to statement six that their ‘professionalism is about disinterested engagement in knowledge creation’, only 2 respondents (3.1%) strongly agreed. No respondent just agreed with this statement. The majority (62%) strongly disagreed with the statement and 19% just disagreed while 9.2% were neutral. Therefore, 81% of the teacher educators disagreed with the notion of their professionalism as involving disinterested engagement in knowledge creation.

In other words, to these respondents, creation of knowledge (through research) is not value-free. It is utilitarian and related to some particular need in society. It is not creation of knowledge for its own sake. Lanier and Little (1986: 535) suggest in the context of the United States that this utilitarian view of knowledge among teacher educators may be due to the fact that a disproportionately large number come from lower middle-class backgrounds where they are likely to have obtained “conformist orientations and utilitarian views of knowledge from their experiences at home, educational opportunities in school, and restrictive conditions of work as teachers before coming to higher education”. While this may be a useful assertion with a lot of truth in it, especially as it relates to class, which conjures up images of poverty and economic limitations, it is very controversial, especially if applied unquestioningly and unproblematized to conditions of developing countries such as Lesotho. However, in Lesotho, this utilitarian view of knowledge may be caused by the fact that there are considerable financial resource requirements attached to research. Such resources are unfortunately very limited and limiting in Lesotho. They have to be obtained from donors who tend to want some utilitarian justification whenever such resources are requested. This is probably one reason why such a high percentage of these teacher educators do not perceive the creation of knowledge as a disinterested process. Another reason for this response could be that teacher

education is a more vocational than academic activity as Harman (1989) indicates. It is a practice-based and practice-focussed professional activity as the literature and many of the interviewees indicate. As a result, knowledge creation or research would tend to be practice-based and practice-focussed.

Finally, statement seven is more of a rewording of statements 2, 3 and 4. In this case again there is some ambivalence in the responses of teacher educators. Asked to indicate how strongly they perceived their professionalism as entailing freedom and independence from any form of external influence by the state and its agencies, 19% of the respondents strongly agreed and another 19% just agreed. On the other hand, 14% strongly disagreed while 28% just agreed, and 15.4% were neutral. Overall, 38% of the teacher educators perceived their professionalism as entailing freedom and independence from external, state influence. But 42% did not perceive it this way. This 42% probably mean that as professionals, they are not free and independent from state influence or influence by state agencies because, in fact, this is so. But they could also be implying that at a philosophical level, there is no such thing as freedom and independence from the influence of the state or its agencies in the work of professionals such as themselves. There is much testimony to the fact that the subject in non-western societies is 'dependent', and "unable to pursue its own goals independently of the goals of a group or community" (Sokefeld, 1999: 418).

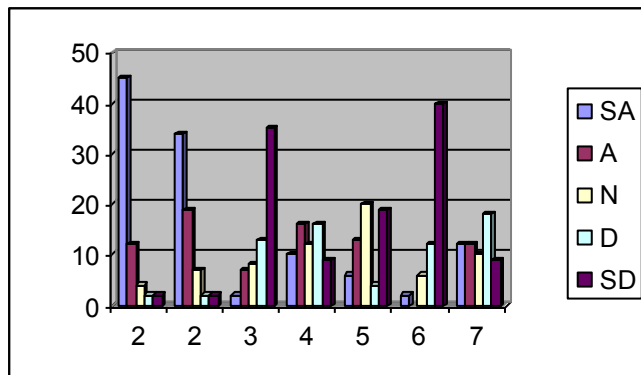
Table 9(c): Respondents rating of statements reflecting professionalism/society relationship. (Percentages in brackets)

Statements	SA	A	N	D	SD	Total
1. My Professionalism means I have a duty to serve Basotho society.	45 (69.2)	12 (19)	4 (6.2)	2 (3.1)	2 (3.1)	65
2. My Professional responsibilities and obligations as a citizen are two sides of the same coin.	34 (52.3)	19 (29.2)	7 (11)	2 (3.1)	2 (3.1)	64
3. I cannot do my professional work freely and effectively if officially required to be accountable for it.	1 (1.5)	7 (11)	8 (12.3)	13 (20)	35 (54)	64
4. I need Ministry of Education policies to be able to serve Basotho well.	10 (15.4)	16 (25)	12 (19)	16 (25)	9 (14)	63
5. Professionalism to me means sensitivity to the values and needs of churches that own schools in Lesotho.	6 (9.2)	13 (20)	20 (31)	4 (6.2)	19 (29.2)	62
6. My professionalism is about disinterested knowledge creation.	2 (3.2)	- -	6 (9.2)	12 (19)	40 (62)	60
7. My professionalism entails freedom and independence from influence by the state and its agencies.	12 (19)	12 (19)	10 (15.4)	18 (28)	9 (14)	61

Note: SA = Strongly Agree; A= Agree; N= Neutral; D= Disagree; SD= Strongly Disagree.

The general trend emanating from the responses above appears to be that there is a very strong sense of external and altruistic orientation in the professionalism and professional identities of these teacher educators. However, there appears to be a stronger inclination to private-oriented professionalism that represents these teacher educators' autonomous subjectivity. **Fig. 3** below demonstrates these professionalism/society relationships graphically.

Fig. 3 Respondents' attitudes to Professionalism/society relationship



5.6 Values that shape and guide the teacher educators' professionalism

5.6.1

In Sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 above, the teacher educators' perceptions and definitions of their professionalism were analysed and discussed. From this analysis and discussion we have been able to place these teacher educators according to answers to various private professional categories, and public non-professional categories that define their professionalism. Based on these categories a large number of these teacher educators perceive and define themselves, in varying degrees of strength, professionally as teachers, subject specialists, academics, including researchers and scholars. From this analysis we have established general professional categories in terms of which these teacher educators perceive and define their professionalism. We have rather indirectly been able to inductively delineate some values that are critical ingredients of these teacher educators' professionalism. As Section 4.4.2 above and Tables 9(b) and 9(c) above show, inherent in these teacher educators' perceptions and belief about professionalism, are a number of subjective and civic values. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

In the remaining section of this chapter, we identify the values that inform and shape these teacher educators' self-perceptions, definitions and practices. The values that we identify in this section are not ones stated above that emerged inductively from the responses to other questions, but it is values that were directly investigated through specific questions. The identification of these values is significant to the research question. It will also be significant later for correlation with each of the professional categories identified so that we are able to delineate the values that influence teacher

educators to perceive and define themselves as teachers or subjects specialists or any of the categories above. In this section, it is these values that we turn to and identify.

The significance of values in the study of identities has been documented. Jeffrey Weeks (1990) argues that “each of us lives with a variety of potentially contradictory identities, which battle within us for allegiance.... Which of them we focus on, bring to the fore, identify with, depends on a host of factors. At the centre, however, are the values we share or wish to share with others” (p.88).

In his analysis and discussion of professional identity in the context of restructuring of higher education in Britain, Nixon (1996) also indicates the significance of values as anchors of professionalism or claims to professionalism.

Six categories of values that I assumed would be significant determiners of the Lesotho teacher educators’ professionalism and professional practices were identified and provided in the questionnaire for rank ordering by the teacher educators. Section B, Question 5 (henceforth referred to as B5) provided these value categories. These were selected and provided to represent the private and public spheres of the teacher educators’ professionalism.

The categories were selected on the basis of my professional experience, the pilot study results and the literature. These categories were ‘my discipline (subject)’, ‘my institutional regulations’, ‘my students’, ‘Basotho values’, ‘my church values’, and ‘my clan and kinship obligations’.

Academic literature testifies to the significance and power of ‘disciplines’ in the lives and practices of professionals in higher education (Becher, 1994, Clark , 1988, Kerr, 1994). On this basis it seemed there was a strong case for believing that professionals such as teacher educators would associate themselves as professionals and their professionalism with their disciplines. On the other hand, both the literature and personal experience pointed to the significance of institutional contexts or factors in influencing, guiding and shaping the professionalism and professional lives and practices of professionals such as teacher educators.

In tandem with the two factors above is the significance of ‘students’. Teacher educators are in their institutions to teach students. Their professionalism and professional practices are geared to the needs and aspirations of their students, and in that sense students wield a powerful influence in the teacher educators’ professional lives and conduct, I assumed.

Professionals do not work in isolation. They operate within societal contexts (apart from the institutional ones) that have norms and values that they might have grown up in and/or that they might have to uphold and develop. As Hamberger and Moore (1997: 308) argue, teacher educators can only operate effectively morally and ethically within any culture if they know what the values are in that culture. And since it is teacher educators in Lesotho that are a subject of this study, Lesotho and Basotho values could be significant to our understanding of these teacher educators.

Our families and societal institutions that we are part of, are significant in shaping who we are and who we become. This assertion resonates with the suggestion that the construction of the self is dependent upon the social context (Capozza and Brown, 2000). Castells (2000) also demonstrates the significance of the cultural, the social and the political contexts in the construction of identity. One of these societal institutions or contexts that is quite omnipresent in the lives of Basotho and that cannot be ignored in any sociological and political study is the church. For these reasons, ‘my clan and kinship obligations’, denoting family, and the ‘church’, were provided for selection and rank ordering by the teacher educators to show how far they perceived them as important in shaping their professionalism and professional practices.

5.6.2 Teacher educators’ ranking of professional values

The majority of teacher educators (89.2%) perceived their ‘disciplines’ as wielding a strong influence in their professional lives and professionalism. Of these, 86.2% believed their ‘disciplines’ are most important in shaping their professionalism as teacher educators. Only six respondents (9.2%) believe their ‘disciplines’ were least important in shaping their professionalism.

These response patterns seem to be consistent with the fact that a majority (73.8%) of respondents in 4.3.2.2 earlier (p.12) strongly perceived and defined themselves as subject specialists. This

consistency is further maintained in relation to Question C4H in response to which 60% of the respondents felt strongly accountable to their disciplines or subjects of specialisation, and 40% of these respondents felt most accountable to their subjects of specialisation.

In response to an open-ended question (Question C5) in the questionnaire, one of the respondents had this to say about his discipline “I am an exponent of my discipline. I have to keep high standards in that discipline. My future and life depend on it. I shape it and it shapes me.”

Another respondent said this about the culture in her discipline (Sesotho Language), “the culture is such that I feel I need to be accountable and this brings satisfaction to me”.

Students are also a very strong influence in shaping the professionalism of teacher educators in Lesotho. A majority (87.64%) perceived their students as a strong influence in their professionalism. Of these, 72.26% believed students were most important in shaping their professionalism while five respondents (7.67%) believe students were the least important.

In response to Question B6 analysed and discussed earlier, 73.83% of respondents strongly perceived and defined themselves professionally as teachers while five respondents (7.67%) perceived the ‘teacher’ category as the weakest representation of their professionalism. Interestingly, the number of respondents that believe ‘students’ were least important in shaping their professionalism was exactly the same as that of respondents who perceived the ‘teacher’ category as the least important representation of their professionalism. This consistency seemed to suggest a direct relationship between the two variables in the professional lives and practices of these teacher educators.

This relationship and consistency are maintained in the responses to Question C4C where most teacher educators (78.46%) felt strongly accountable to their students. Further still, a large percentage of them (49.23%) felt most accountable to their students.

In response to Question C5 in the questionnaire, about 68% of respondents considered students the most significant sector to which they felt strongly accountable. To them students were their core

business and clients; therefore, “they have every right to expect the best from me and to meet their educational needs as the clients of the institution for which I work”, one respondent said.

Another one put it, “if there were no students, I would not be here. These are the people who rely on me for their well-being, their educational advancement and development – MY CLIENTS” (emphasis in the original).

The teacher educators’ institutional context is also strong in shaping their professionalism. As the responses show, 66.2% perceived their ‘institutional regulations’ as strongly influential in shaping their professionalism. And of these, 49.2% perceived their institutional regulations as most important in shaping their professionalism as teacher educators. However, some 16.91% of the respondents considered their institutional regulations least important to them.

The significance of the institutional context is maintained even in responses to Question C4C where the majority (92.3%) felt strongly accountable to their institutions. Referring to disciplines and institutions, Menand (1996) argues that the institutional sense of belonging to a disciplinary tradition is being replaced by a sense of belonging to an institution. “The significance of ‘the meltdown’ ... is not epistemological or political. It is, much more banally, administrative” (Cited in Nixon et al., 2001: 235). Of these, 61.5% felt most accountable to their institutions. The responses just discussed are shown in Table 10 (a) below.

Accountability to institution was selected as the highest preferred by a majority of respondents. This was in response to Question C5 in the questionnaire. Reasons given for this affinity to their institutions were stated in various ways. According to one respondent, “any institution can easily flourish and maintain the highest standards of performance only and when the personnel working for (it)...commit and feel accountable to it”.

Another one said, “It provides a context in which I can accomplish professional, social and national goals. I am directly in contact with most of its goals. I should accomplish its mission”.

Table 10(a): Teacher educators' ranking of values in the professional domain

Rank Order	Discipline/ Subject of specialisation	%	Institutional Regulations	%	Students	%
1	4	6.15	7	10.76	2	3.07
2	2	3.07	4	6.15	3	4.6
3	-	-	5	7.69	-	-
4	1	1.5	5	7.69	2	3.07
5	2	3.05	11	16.9	10	15.38
6	56	86.15	32	49.23	47	72.3
Total	65		64		64	

In summary, all the three professional-oriented factors in Table 10(a) above are very important values that shape the professionalism of the teacher educators in Lesotho. They were also most important in shaping the professional lives and practices of the majority of the teacher educators.

There are also societal-oriented factors such as 'Basotho values', 'church values' and the 'clan and kinship obligations'. The section that follows analyses and discusses these other values in relation to how they feature in the teacher educators' professionalism.

5.6.3 Teacher educators' ranking of values in the societal domain

In relation to the importance of Basotho values in shaping their professionalism, 55.35% of teacher educators perceived them as very important. However, only 26% perceived and ranked these values as most important in shaping their professionalism while five respondents (7.67%) perceive them as least important. This seems to suggest that the importance of Basotho values in the professional lives and practices of most of the teacher educators is weak. This seems so considering the fact that 27.65% perceived and ranked these values as neither very important nor least important. Why we have these response patterns is not immediately evident from these responses. It is also not clear whether the lower percentages in relation to the importance of this variable are due to the presence of expatriate, non-Basotho teacher educators in the sample is also not immediately clear from these responses. This will be addressed in the next chapter when the relationships between the personal and professional characteristics of the respondents are correlated with these responses.

The low ranking of Basotho values seems consistent with the low ranking of the 'citizen' category as a representation of the teacher educators' professionalism, for only 24.6% of these teacher educators ranked the citizen category as the best representation of who they were as professionals, and another 24.6% perceived and ranked it as a least important representation of their professionalism. Based on these responses, it could be said that just as only 24.6% of the respondents strongly perceived and defined themselves as citizens, the same percentage of these respondents perceived and rank Basotho values as most important in shaping their professionalism as teacher educators. Whether the responses in both cases are provided by the same respondents, will become clear in the next chapter as explained above.

Church values are perceived and ranked as having a strong influence by 32.25% of the respondents. Of these respondents, 21.5% perceive and rank them as most important in their professional lives and practices. On the other hand, 26.1% perceive and rank these values as least important. These values are less important to 27.7% of these teacher educators

The importance of church values in shaping the professionalism of teacher educators cannot be said to be strong considering that only 21.5% of the respondents perceived and ranked them as very important while only 13.8% perceived and ranked them as most important. By the same token, only 12.3% strongly perceived and defined their professionalism in terms of their church representation while 4.6% considered this category the best representation of who they are as professionals.

The importance of 'clan and kinship obligations' was perceived as strong by 23.2% of the respondents. On the other hand, only 16.9% of these perceived this factor as most important in shaping their professionalism. The majority (40%) perceived and ranked them as least important in shaping their professionalism.

Finally, though no other variable means the same thing as 'clan and kinship obligations', the employee/worker variable in B6D could be seen as expressing one of these obligations as they relate to personal and family obligations of the respondents. In this context, while 23.2% of the teacher educators consider their clan and kinship obligations as strong in shaping their professionalism and 16.9% considering them as most important, this is consistent with the fact that only 16.9% of the

respondents to Question B6D perceived the employee/worker category as the best representation of who they are. Who these respondents with common responses to these two related questions are, will be considered in the next chapter.

Table 10(b): Teacher educators' ranking of values in the societal domain

Rank Order	Basotho		Church		Clan & Kinship Obligations	
	Values	%	Values	%	Values	%
1	3	4.6	11	16.9	18	27.69
2	2	3.07	6	9.2	8	12.3
3	4	6.15	8	12.3	10	15.38
4	14	21.5	10	15.38	4	6.15
5	15	23.07	7	10.76	4	6.15
6	21	32.3	14	21.5	11	16.9
Total	59		56		55	

Therefore, while society and some of its institutions such as the church and family are important in shaping the professionalism of some teacher educators, their importance is low to a large percentage of these teacher educators. This is in sharp contrast with the significance of the professional values such as these teacher educators' 'disciplines', 'students' and 'institutional regulations', on the one hand, and their self-perceptions and definitions as teachers, subject specialists and academics, researchers and scholars, on the other, according to the majority of these respondents.

While these relationships seem to suggest that both the professional and societal factors are important in the lives and professional practices of these teacher educators, the professional (intrinsic) factors take centre stage in these relationships. This seems to suggest that these teacher educators are first and foremost autonomous professionals. Their professionalism is central to them as teacher educators. It is only through it, and perhaps as a result of it, that the external values and factors become important in the professional lives and practices of these teacher educators. This pattern seems to be consistent with Locke's argument that "the basic units of human associations are individuals endowed with autonomous agency ..." (cited in Gobetti, 1992:68). In other words, the individual's capability to act autonomously in the private sphere is the precondition and springboard for public action via self-regulation and self-restraint (ibid.: 99). This claim is also contained in

Mill's notion of the individual's liberty as "the only unfailing and permanent source of improvement (Mill, 1945:86).

Conclusion

The evidence presented in this chapter shows that the teacher educators involved in this study define themselves in various ways as professionals. Table 9(a) (p. 19), shows that a considerable number of these teacher educators variously define themselves as teachers, researchers, academics and subject specialists. According to this table, the subject specialist category is the most popular with these teacher educators. It was selected by about 97% of the respondents as representing them as professionals, and it was ranked very high (between 6 and 8) as representing the professionalism of about 74% of these teacher educators. The next highest is the teacher category, ranked very high (between 6 and 8) by the same percentage as that of subject specialists but selected by only about 86% of the respondents as representing their professionalism; therefore, its popularity among the respondents was lower than that of the 'researcher' and the 'academic' categories. The popularity of the subject specialist category is displayed more clearly in Fig. 2 (p.23) that presents the analysis of the professional and social categories of these respondents' professionalism. The significance of the subject specialist category in the professional lives and practices of these respondents is further demonstrated by its ranking as the most important shaper of the teacher educators' professionalism (see Table 10(a), p. 36). Therefore, based on the result that it is as subject specialists that most of these respondents best define themselves professionally, it is their professional identities as subject specialists that this study will subsequently concentrate on.

Apart from the evidence presented above, the relationship between the professional and the societal dimensions of these teacher educators' professional lives and practices is central to this investigation. Various aspects of the analyses in this chapter have sought to identify and demonstrate this relationship. Table 9(c) (p.32) shows that, in varying degrees of strength, the professionalism and professional identities of these respondents reflect both the internal (private) and the external (public) orientations. This relationship is further presented and displayed in a different format in Fig. 3 (p. 33). Table 10(b) (p. 38) also demonstrates this relationship by showing the strength of the societal dimension in the professionalism of these respondents.

Based on the findings outlined above, the professionalism of the teacher educators in Lesotho that are involved in this study is more strongly anchored in their subjects of specialisation (or disciplines) than in the other professional or social categories. As a result, it is their professional identities as subject specialists that the next chapter and the remainder of this study will concentrate on. This is important because it is in their professional identities as subject specialists that the other identities such as teachers, researchers and academics seem to converge as will be shown later. In other words, subject specialism can be viewed as the core of the professional identities of a majority of the teacher educators. It is also a subject of polarised discussion around professional legitimacy of teacher education in Lesotho. It is a source of most of the criticisms levelled against the teacher educators and their programmes in Lesotho. This study will, however, not deal with these criticisms, as there is not much time and space for them here. Two core aspects intrinsic to subject specialism are of interest to this study and relate the teacher educators' professional identities as subject specialists to other identities. These are the epistemological and social aspects. The former denotes the knowledge base questions and the latter denotes the social aspects such as experts, professionals and intellectuals (see Becher, 1989; Hartnet and Naish, 1980; Henkel, 2000). Furthermore, given that disciplines (subjects of specialisation) are defined in terms of the epistemological and sociological dimensions, they best answer the central question this investigation asks about the professional and societal (autonomy and accountability; subject and citizen) aspects of the professionalism of the teacher educators in Lesotho.

Chapter Six

Exploring the teacher educators' subject and citizen subjectivities

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter we explore the subject and citizen subjectivities of the teacher educators. We introduce this exploration by consolidating and discussing the findings from Chapter Five on teacher educators as subject specialists. Then as part of the exploration of their subject and citizen subjectivities we identify and discuss the representations that they use to define these subjectivities. We then describe the activities and practices that help exemplify their claims. But even as we rely on the discursive claims that they make, we take caution in the fact, as Derrida, influenced by Saussure on language, observed, that "... words are multi-accentual. They always carry echoes of other meanings which they trigger off, despite one's best efforts to close meaning down" (Hall, 1992:288).

6.2 The teacher educators as subject specialists

First of all, in terms of the research question and the evidence from the previous chapters, the teacher educators generally represented themselves as subject specialists in which there is a multiplicity of other identities. The subject specialist identities are not a unitary and homogenous category. They themselves split and get fragmented into various value positions captured in subject experts or subject specialists, subject teachers, generalists, and subject methodologists or method masters, academics and researchers as was shown in the previous chapters.

These multiple identities form an array of subject positions that these educators, on an ongoing basis, straddle or travel, to use Said's notion of 'traveller' (as opposed to that of 'potentate'). The subjects or the disciplines they teach form the point of articulation of these identities. Two aspects of their disciplinary identities – the epistemological (subject matter knowledge) and the sociological (teacher educators as intellectuals, consultants and experts) - are central to the extent to which they will construct the educators variably as subjects and citizens. I also take note of the fact that the teacher educators themselves, through their own engagements, construct their own identities as subjects and citizens.

Our discussion of the subject specialist identities of the educators will focus on three of these identities to which all others are embedded. These are subject experts (subject specialists),

subject specialists/methodologists and subject teachers/generalists. And, we will begin with last category, followed by the second and so on in this discussion.

The subject teachers or the generalists represent weak and ambivalent professional identities of subject specialists. They perceive themselves as teachers, not surprisingly given the career path of virtually all teacher educators as beginning with school level teaching. They begin as teachers and rise up to various levels and those who become teacher educators in colleges or universities rise further as they progress academically, as their research profiles improve and they become scholars and ultimately professors. Subject teachers attach significance to more than one discipline or subject as defining their professional identities. This association with many subjects is a result of the training and operational realities of primary school teachers. Primary school teachers in Lesotho tend not to specialise but to do and teach many subjects. It is the nature of their training and operational realities that constructs their identities as generalists or ‘beasts of burden’ (John, 2002).

The teacher educators in this category portray themselves as alienated professionals in their institutions. This is partly because they *cannot confidently define themselves* as subject specialists. It is also because they have views about teacher preparation, which many of those in the other categories do not share. Their professionalism is mainly personal, affective, moral, and aesthetic (concerned with appearances and human values). Modelling good personality traits is apparently more important than disciplinary knowledge. Their emphasis could be defined as very much in line with the advocacy of those professionals and scholars that propose and argue for a reversion to, if not a serious consideration of, ‘values education’ (Lovat and Toomey, 2007).

The subject teachers attach much significance to rendering a service or services to *students*. They perceive themselves as role models of their students. They are pastoral care givers, counsellors, and surrogate parents of their students. As one of these educators (a university-based male) points out about himself “teacher educators should be fully devoted to the teaching/training of *students*. *Students* are a priority.”

Another male college-based educator, too, captures this student-centredness by pointing out that “in my profession, I strongly believe I am a servant, a servant to *my students* who owe to get the best from what I can offer.”

It is mainly the students that matter in the professional roles of these teacher educators. They define and shape their professional identities. They are accountable to these students. The knowledge types that seem to define these teacher educators are syncretic knowledge (a hybrid bits of various knowledge types), knowledge about students as persons and as subjects of socialisation. The public space of citizenship for these teacher educators does not seem to feature in their representations.

The subject teachers share many features with the subject specialists/methodologists. The *subject specialists/methodologists* see both the subject matter and how to teach it as mutually constitutive of their professional identities as teacher educators. They do represent themselves as subject specialists. But they are critical of too much subject knowledge at the expense of producing competent and effective teachers. They are critical of teacher preparation programmes in their institutions for not preparing what they consider to be required teachers. The words of one of the longest serving and more experienced interviewees summarise the mood and feeling among these subject specialists – methodologists. This interviewee is disgruntled about the fact that teacher educators “are not the kind of people who have time to share ideas about the teacher we should produce”. He feels therefore there is too much content teaching, recall and reproduction of such content by the student teachers. He goes on to observe that therefore,

the teacher we produce cannot think, cannot be independent. We have not equipped them with the necessary knowledge and competence.

This interviewee observes that their work fails to empower students to be independent thinkers and learners. As a result they do not become *thinking, critical, competent* and *independent* teachers. (The words in italics are his).

Both the subject teachers and the subject specialists/methodologists go on to suggest that they are strongly motivated in their professional roles and lives by the following, at the centre of which, is the student:

- the examination performance and success of their students;

- motivated and high quality students;
- constant challenges in the interactions with students; and
- their moral obligation to the students

The motivating factors and the student-centredness stated above are intrinsic to the functions of the teacher educators. It is the students, first and foremost, that the educators are employed to serve. In serving them they are performing their roles as employees and subjects¹. These are the identities that seem prominent here. Table 4(b) Appendix E, provides further evidence in this direction. In this table, student-factors and employment-related factors are the most prominent shapers and motivators of these educators' practices and professional identities.

In terms of their accountabilities, these categories of teacher educators as subject specialists have a strong affinity to their students, their institutions and their disciplines (in that order). The words of the male educator below capture the significance of these three factors: the students, the institution and the disciplines/ professional expertise as the major accountabilities for him

As a university employee, I am obliged to recognise the authority of the university and to serve the students, guided by my professional expertise.²

The knowledge types that seem to characterise this category of teacher educators cover the subject matter knowledge, pedagogical knowledge, knowledge about learners and learning styles.

The third discursive category is that of subject specialists or experts. These are the educators whose identifications are centred strongly on their disciplines. Although teaching and service to the students are admittedly their main duty and are important, it is their disciplines that bring them in contact with the students. Their relationship with the students is mainly around the disciplines they teach. From what they tell us, they are motivated in their professional work by the developments and challenges in their disciplines. They are strongly accountable to their disciplines. The detailed knowledge of the subject matter is very important to them.

¹ Even as I point to the fact that what the educators are manifesting here are their identities as subjects, I note and take caution in Chabal and Daloz (1999) that the division between the private and the public in Africa is blurred. Ahluwalia (2001), too, argues that we are subject/citizens, sometimes more subject than citizen and the other times more citizen than subject.

² This respondent periodically gets engaged in the in-service workshops for secondary teachers in the subject he teaches at his institution. These are workshops organised by the Ministry of Education during school vacations. The one I directly witnessed was held at Khali Motel in Maseru in 15-20 January 2006. In this sense, he is one of those educators who demonstrate some external engagements as citizens.

Many of the teacher educators in this category are those that earlier in Chapter 4 were called ‘real researchers’. It has to be borne in mind though that the subject specialists as experts are themselves, too, not unitary. Like the subject teacher identities and others defined above, they have their own discontinuities (Giddens, 1990) and dislocations (Laclau, 1990).

Most of the subject experts, as we have seen in Chapter 5, are male, more experienced and more qualified teacher educators. They have weak, wherever they indicate any, religious affiliations and identities, at least according to their own representations. For them, the teaching profession without the depth of subject knowledge is weak and sterile. Theirs is arcane knowledge with the features of Bernstein’s ‘singulars’. In short, though apparently more complicated, the singulars denote knowledge as sacred, occult and closed off to laity and all those not initiated into it.

Subject experts represent the least circumscribed of the teacher educators by the political and the religious structures of the Basotho society. This may not be surprising if as Harrison (2002) shows, there is an association of science with calm rationality. Eight of the interviewees belong to this category³. Some of these teacher educators (though a minority) also displayed a strong research involvement. Their research and scholar identities are strong. From these identities we get a sense of how important disciplines are in the lives and practices of professionals in that there is less, if any, ambivalence, in their identifications or identificatory discourses. From their identificatory discourses, we can identify and better delineate the subject and citizen subjectivities. Expressing the significance of these methodological issues, Canning and Rose (2002:5) suggest that “[C]itizenship can ... be understood in both discursive and experiential dimensions. As a multi-dimensional discursive framework, citizenship provides the languages, rhetorics, and even the formal categories for claims-making ...”

The knowledge types that are identifiable from the category of teacher educators above are subject matter knowledge. They also seem to possess the knowledge of the local politics of education through which they are able to become consultants. Theirs is knowledge with the technical rationality that Schon (1983) critically writes about.

³ This number of interviewees gets overtaken by the number of all the respondents if we include those that responded to the questionnaire also, especially considering the analysis of their responses to open-ended questions.

Against this background, below we locate these identities institutionally, in relation to gender, experience, educational qualifications, religious affiliation and nationality. In each case we show how important the subject and citizen subjectivities are. It is to these aspects that we turn below.

6.3 Location of subject specialist identities

According to the results presented in Chapter Five, a higher proportion of the college-based teacher educators than that of the university-based ones perceived their disciplines as the most important definers of their identities as professionals. This is a surprising result considering that universities in general are better known as knowledge centres (Clark, 1983) than colleges are. I also note, however, that Harman (1989) argued that Schools of Education or Faculties of Education within universities are more vocational in value orientation than the rest of the university. Nonetheless, professionals in the Faculties of Education, being within university cultures of knowledge creation, would be expected to attach more significance to disciplines than would those in the colleges. Perhaps, that ‘identification is ... identification with an ‘other’, which means identity is never identical to itself’ (Britzman, 1998: 83), explains these findings. Based on this, we are made to at least appreciate (if not understand) the college-based stronger identification as subject specialists. It could also be argued that since university-based teacher educators live and operate within knowledge cultures of the university, they know better what being a subject specialist means and entails. Their representations as subject specialists were therefore likely to be more realistic and reflective of reality than do those of the college-based teacher educators. Another possible explanation could be found in the alienation of teacher educators in universities in general (Rhoades, 1990; Goodlad, 1999), and their alienation in the university in Lesotho as can be deduced from the response provided by Interviewee # 4 to the question of whether he defined himself as a subject specialist or not.

... like for example in Humanities ... these are the people who are teaching our students ...er... teaching subjects. I believe they are subject specialists. And among these lecturers in Humanities, there are those who have not been taught how to teach. They have their subject knowledge, ...the problems are that they don't know the psychology of the child; they don't know the handling of the child. That is why at times there are problems at times [sic]. So, that makes me different from them.

This interviewee sees himself as different from his colleagues in the Faculty of Humanities whom he believes are subject specialists. He positions himself differently from these colleagues and sees himself more as a professional who has been taught how to teach and who knows the psychology of the child rather than just as a subject specialist. We can further deduce from this transcript that some of the university-based teacher educators would tend to define themselves *cautiously* as subject specialists, for they are surrounded by the significant Others who define them otherwise. Respondent # 11 placed much weight on the fact that their institutions also contributed in defining them, so that it was not necessary for them to say who they were for “I have already been told what I am,” he said.

A further reason for this ‘surprising’ response could be found in the fact that a considerable percentage of teacher educators who defined themselves as subject specialists in the college had lower, undergraduate qualifications. Considering that desire or “a move towards Being, a ‘want to be’” (Laclau, 1994: 35) or making value claims (Cascardi, 1992: 7) are significant aspects of identification, acquiring knowledge is a dream of everyone, but it is understandably more of a dream of those with lower qualifications aspiring to obtain higher qualifications. Their representation is a manifestation of reflexivity of the modern subject as a result of which the subject constructs and reconstructs its identity in an endless manner in search of a comfortable anchor. Alaine Ball (1994: 142) suggests that “to say ‘I am’ is in direct antithesis with ‘I am becoming’, or ‘I am in the process of ’ becoming. Therefore, responding to ‘what is’ by an expression of desire could be viewed as a positive indication of the potential for the development of these teacher educators and, as a result, teacher education in Lesotho. That so many teacher educators in the two institutions defined themselves as subject specialists could be seen as a good thing considering the close association of the disciplines and professionalism. This very discursive association of professionalism with the disciplines has an interpellating effect on the teacher educators defining themselves as subject specialists.

The summary of the results presented in Chapter Five also indicated a strong sense of accountability of the teacher educators to their disciplines. A strong sense of accountability to disciplines is an indication of strong attachment to knowledge as a core defining feature of the disciplines. And because Knowledge belongs to those who possess it, accountability to professional colleagues serves to differentiate these teacher educators (knowledge experts)

from laity. It is therefore to those that possess this knowledge that accountability is to be rendered. The institutional location and isolation of these professionals may be significant to this separation from laity though increasingly such a separation has come under attack as the professionals are required to descent from the ivory towers and demonstrate responsible societal action.

6.4 Subject specialists and Gender

According to the findings presented earlier, the majority of male teacher educators as opposed to the female ones defined themselves as subject specialists. They also believed their professionalism had been shaped by their subjects of specialisation (disciplines). But they were less inclined to be accountable to their disciplines than their female counterparts. Although there were more female teacher educators than male ones in the two institutions combined, and despite the fact that the female teacher educators constituted a majority in all other response categories such as the teacher category, researchers, scholars and others, the disciplinary identities were consistently male dominated. There are a number of possible explanations to this response pattern. Let us explore some explanations. The sociological aspects of the disciplines such as expertise and power resulting from knowledge possession could be used to account for this stronger male representation in the disciplines. Each of these factors is discussed below.

It is a generally established fact that “the formation of subjectivity is an historically contingent ... response to a series of transformations that emerged within a pre-existing social sphere of long standing” (Cascardi, 1992:5). The contextual and historical constructedness of identity is very important to this discussion. It helps us to view ‘socialisation’⁴ as an historical and contextual phenomenon. This historically gendered identification is a result of colonial subjugation and stereotyping. It is also contextual in the sense that it places some of the explanations of the social realities we experience in the cultural context of the Basotho as well as our institutional contexts.

⁴ The use of the notion of ‘socialisation’ is not valorised in this study. It is only used here in its usual, familiar explanations. It tends to give the impression of essentialised positioning of the subject; yet as we know now, from post-structural (and postcolonial) perspectives of identity, identities are unstable, and always changing and positioning themselves.

Hogan (2000: 17-18) points out that one of the effects of colonial denigration of indigenous culture was to create a view of indigenous cultures as feminine or effeminate and the metropolitan culture as masculine. This had multiple effects, which manifested themselves in associating working in town in Lesotho or the South African mining towns with masculinity while staying home in the rural areas in Lesotho was associated with effeminacy. In the context of the findings above, to define oneself in terms of the disciplines (subjects of specialisation) is to imply possession of knowledge and expertise. These two aspects of the disciplines guarantee employment for those who possess them, but they also imply possession of power as Foucault shows.

Possession of knowledge and expertise and therefore employment may mean that one is to move to towns where ‘traditionally⁵’ there was employment and in the process one may be transformed into masculinity. Therefore the fact that the majority of the male teacher educators involved in this study in Lesotho represent themselves as subject specialists may not be surprising given the close association between power and knowledge, expertise and employment (see Stehr, 1992; Esland, 1980). Being employed, especially away from home in the rural areas, either in the South African mining centres or of late, in the urban areas of Lesotho, has always been associated with the fulfilment of a man’s socially defined economic role. It has often been seen as being manly and therefore fatherly and fit for marriage, if unmarried.

This stereotype is socially strong, sustained and promoted but controversial⁶. A woman in Sesotho is ‘*Mosali*’, which literally means ‘one who stays behind’, especially in the home. It also has its usual suggestion of the effeminate one. If a man is unemployed and is always at home, he is derogatorily referred to as ‘*Mosali*’. This is considered very demeaning and insulting to a man. Many women, too, despise such a man as not man enough. Some separations in marriage have come as a result of this phenomenon.

⁵ Traditionally is used here to denote what seems to be the residual, usual meaning of ‘as was the case in the past’. I make this note because I am aware of the controversy surrounding the use of this word, brought about by theories of hybridisation and others that ‘tradition’ may not longer be tradition as we used to know it to be.

⁶ According to Machobane and Manyeli (2001) the bachelor status of the French Missionaries who came to Lesotho was an impediment to their communication and work. Among Basotho, they observed, a man was not yet complete unless he was married. Therefore, an unmarried man was not fit to share a serious conversation with those who were married.

Taking a more feminist position, Davies (1996: 669) argues that a historical trajectory of professions reveals professionals not only as “objective, competitive, individualistic and predictable” but also as “scornful of nurturant, expressive and familial styles of personal interaction.” Therefore, a combination of factors (historical, social and cultural) explains why a higher proportion of men than that of women teacher educators in Lesotho defined themselves as subject specialists. As modern subjects, these teacher educators are a hybrid of various foreign-inspired and locally developed stereotypes and ideologies of patriarchy.

Another explanation could be derived from the institutional location or contexts of these teacher educators. Sall (2000) observes that practically every kind of contradiction that exists in societies finds its expression within academia as well. She further argues in relation to the position of women that the struggle for the freedom to find work in academia is as much a struggle taking place within academia itself, as it is a struggle against various kinds of forces located outside academia. In terms of the foregoing references there is supporting evidence in the literature (as well as socially and culturally) to explain the dominance of males in knowledge centres such as higher education as well as to explain why they are more likely to discursively represent themselves as subject specialists than women would.

In relation to accountability, more women than the men would prefer to be accountable to their disciplines than to other sectors. Whether this expresses the stereotypes that portray them as passive, subservient and obedient, or whether it expresses a more genuine commitment to their disciplines, it is not very obvious. Nevertheless, what this tells us is that a higher proportion of female teacher educators than that of the male ones is open to professional scrutiny. The female educators could in relation to this be described as less individualistic in their professional commitments, and having a more open community-oriented attitude and inclination to professionalism.

While for the majority of the female teacher educators, scrutiny and accountability could be useful, to the male ones they could be a threat to their employment, considering the strong relationship between their disciplinary identities and employment. But they could also be a threat to men’s power, for *manhood and power* in Lesotho are perceived as inextricably linked and mutually constitutive. A further explanation of the reasons why more women than men would be accountable might have to do with the individualism associated with being a

man in Sesotho. Generally, a man is portrayed as an inner-directed individual while a woman is other-directed (cf. Modell, 1993). Therefore, the more inner-directed people are the more unlikely they will voluntarily avail themselves to external scrutiny and accountability, it seems.

6.5 Subject specialists and experience

According to the findings, the disciplines are very important definers of the professionalism of the more experienced teacher educators than that of the less experienced ones. This may not be surprising. Through dealing with their disciplines longer, the more experienced educators have come to understand them better; they have come to understand their complexities; and they have internalised their principles and values. Wenger (1998: 151) captures this constant interaction between the professional and his reification (through the disciplines) with practice and the consequent development of identity. He points out that

An identity ... is a layering of events of participation and reification by which one's experience and its social interpretation inform each other. As we encounter our effects of the world and develop our relations with others, these layers build upon each other to produce our identity as a very complex interweaving of participative experience and reificative projections.

Wenger shows us the significance of experience or practical engagement with reality and the incremental results of our practices over time in developing our identities. As a result and in relation to these findings, professional experience and being more professional could be seen as coterminous. This is consistent with the fact that a majority of more experienced teacher educators than the less experienced ones consider their disciplines important in shaping their professionalism. Other factors such as professional experience have shaped their professionalism. As a result, the disciplines are not necessarily the only and most important shapers of their professionalism⁷. This argument is consistent with the fact that more of the less experienced teacher educators consider their professionalism to have been best shaped by

⁷ Interviewee # 8, Music teacher educator and Interviewee # 16, Agricultural Education educator (*interviewed later on in relation to teaching practice*), hold undergraduate, Diploma qualifications. They are some of the most experienced (or longer serving) of the teacher educators with 17 years and 22 years of service respectively. They both have very strong disciplinary identities as their lesson observations showed, and from extended observation of their professional activities. Their citizen identities were identified as some of the strongest. These are some of the most productive professional members of the college. Therefore, it may be argued that 'real, demonstrable experience' as opposed to just 'long service' seems very valuable despite lower qualifications.

their disciplines. The less experienced teacher educators have not yet had the benefit of experience and other factors in the shaping of their disciplinary identities. Therefore their disciplines are so far the only most important shapers of their identities.

Finally, so important are the disciplines in the professionalism of the more experienced respondents, and so internalised are these disciplines and their principles and values that more of these teacher educators than the less experienced ones most prefer to be accountable to them. From this finding, one might venture to suggest that the disciplines and practical experience with them are two critical sides of the professionalism of these more experienced teacher educators. Hoyle and John (1995: 59) support this relationship by pointing out that practical professional "...knowledge is inextricably bound up with the knower and is inseparable from his or her experiences, both personal and professional."

6.6 Subject specialists and qualifications

As demonstrated in the previous section, professional experience is very important in shaping the professionalism of the majority of the more experienced teacher educators. However, experience is not the only important factor. Qualifications could even be more important formatively at an earlier stage of the development of professional identity.

The findings demonstrate that the disciplines are very important in the professionalism of both the undergraduate and postgraduate teacher educators. But while more of the postgraduate qualification holders defined themselves as subject specialists, more of the undergraduate educators believed they were *best* defined by their subject specialist category. The surprise here is that while one might expect more of the more qualified educators to feel they are best defined as the subject specialists, it is the less qualified who are. This could be interpreted as a case of identity defined by desire. It could also be a case of Lacan's 'misrecognition of ourselves' in which the subject forms an illusory or imaginary relationship with that which he/she desires and becomes one with it (see Apple, 1996: 122).

Earlier on we saw how more of the college-based teacher educators than the university-based ones believed they were best defined as subject specialists. Among other reasons, it was explained why it seemed to be more an expression of desire than reality. One of these reasons

was that a considerable percentage of the college-based teacher educators held lower undergraduate qualifications while all the university-based ones held postgraduate qualifications. Therefore, it was highly unlikely that in reality these postgraduate holders did not define themselves as subject specialists. This argument is now corroborated by the fact that it is more of those with lower qualifications that defined themselves as subject specialists. As an expression of desire this shows how the construction of identity is always in the making. What Stuart Hall (1992: 392) says below is very relevant to this discussion.

Practices of representation always implicate the positions from which we speak or write – the positions of enunciation. ...though we speak, so to say ‘In our own name’, of ourselves and from our own experience, nevertheless who speaks, and the subject who is spoken of, are never identical, never exactly in the same place. Identity is not as transparent or unproblematic as we think. Perhaps instead of thinking of identity as an already accomplished fact, which the new cultural practices then represent, we should think, instead, of identity as a production which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside representation.

Based on what Hall tells us above, it is likely that when these undergraduate qualification holders say they are best defined as subject specialists, they mean that they are in the process of being or becoming subject specialists. They are involved in what Mouffe (1992: 11) calls *identification* rather than expressing an identity. They are also expressing what Whyte (2002: 175) calls *subjunctivity* – the mood of possibility, desire, hope and potential. Laclau (1994: 35) makes this point quite effectively when he characterises the subject as an excess of the enunciation, “...as the permanent possibility of one more signifier...” and “... as a stand-in for the subject of lack.” He goes on to define the subject of lack as “an ‘active or productive’ impossibility rather than ‘just’ an impossibility.”

On a different issue, more of the postgraduate holding teacher educators than the undergraduate ones consider their professionalism to have been most shaped by their disciplines. This probably represents reality; for, there is a direct relationship between knowledge and qualifications of holders of such knowledge. In terms of their accountabilities both categories seem to attach similar weight to the significance of accountability to their disciplines. Nearly the same percentage of both groups strongly preferred being accountable to their disciplines. Considering the inextricable link between educational attainment and knowledge acquisition, this strong preference for accountability to disciplines by these teacher educators appears understandable as an expression of professional allegiance and loyalty.

6.7 Subject specialists and religious affiliation

More of the Anglican teacher educators than the Catholic and the Evangelical ones believed their professionalism had been shaped by their disciplines. Further still, more of the Anglicans than those of the other religious groups, most preferred being accountable to their disciplines. Based on these responses, it seems that disciplinary identities are stronger among the Anglicans than the others. What explanations could we advance to explain these patterns? It is these explanations that we attempt below.

One thing clear about the disciplines is their neutrality and the weak association they have with the profane⁸. They could be seen to define the sacred dimension⁹ of professionalism. In this sense, the responses might be seen as a reflection of the lower degree of religious fundamentalism that could be associated with the Anglicans in Lesotho. This is not to say that the Anglicans have lower levels of religious belief, but it rather suggests that religion is not an end in itself to them. It is probably for this reason that they have been less involved in the religious sectarian problems in Lesotho. It is mostly the Evangelical and Catholic Church members that have often been implicated in the sectarian problems in the education sector and in national politics. Both of them come from the same French tradition and were introduced by the French in Lesotho as was stated in Chapter One. They have some commonality in terms of their spatial, social and political origins, at least. Traditionally the Anglicans in Lesotho's education system have been closer to the Evangelicals than they have been to the Catholics. This was demonstrated in Chapter One in relation to teacher training where many of their teachers were officially trained in Morija (the heart of Evangelism). The Anglicans are, however, not very different from the Catholics in relation to religious rituals. Therefore their 'middle-man' status enables them to safely straddle the space between the two bigger churches.

In terms of professional identity, the Anglicans could be seen as more neutral and belonging more to the sacred professional world while the other two bigger religious groups conflate the profane, religious world and the sacred world. We do not need to forget the active role of the

⁸ The profane is used here to refer to the everyday life of all. It refers to the non-technical, non-occult realities of our everyday experiences.

⁹ Cf. Bernstein's characterisation of the 'singulars' of the disciplines that they develop the autonomous and self-sealing 'sacred' identities (see Beck and Young, 2005).

Anglican Church in the liberation struggle in South Africa. We also do not need to forget that in Lesotho they were in the forefront of the attempts to ensure the return of the Basotho who were in exile in the 1980s.

Mouffe (1992: 11) has opined that modern democracy establishes a form of human coexistence that requires that a distinction be made between the public sphere and the private sphere, and the separation between church and state or civil law and religious law. A respect of these ideals “guarantees the defence of pluralism and respect of human freedom.” Yet as was demonstrated in Chapter Two and is demonstrated in the discussion above, the boundary between the professional arena and the religious arena seems blurred for some teacher educators in Lesotho.

6.8 Subject specialists and nationality

The disciplines are very important in defining the professionalism of the majority of both the Basotho and expatriate teacher educators. Although a higher percentage and a majority of Basotho teacher educators overall than that of the expatriates believed their disciplines were *very strong definers* of their professional identities as subject specialists, a higher percentage of the expatriate teacher educators considered their disciplines the *best definers* of their professionalism. A higher percentage (in fact nearly all) of the expatriate teacher educators than that of the Basotho, believed their professionalism had been shaped by their disciplines. But the majority of the Basotho teacher educators preferred to be accountable to their disciplines. A higher percentage of them than that of the expatriates preferred to be accountable to their disciplines than to other sectors.

These results seem to suggest that disciplines do not only define the professional identities of a high percentage of expatriate teacher educators as well as that of the Basotho teacher educators, but they are the best definers of the professional identities of a higher percentage of the expatriates than that of the Basotho. This means that the Basotho teacher educators’ professional identities are not only defined by their disciplines, they are best defined by other discursive formations or categories. Some of these are the teacher, researcher, scholar, academic, citizen, employee and Christian labels (see Questionnaire, Appendix A). Furthermore, a higher percentage of the expatriates believed their professional identities had

been best shaped by their disciplines. This means that other factors, apart from the disciplines had shaped the professionalism of the Basotho teacher educators. In general, a higher percentage of expatriates than that of the Basotho both defined themselves as subject specialists and believed their identities as subject specialists have been shaped by their disciplines.

In general, we know now that it is the majority of the college-based educators that define their professional identities as disciplinary; and it is mostly the male teacher educators whose professional identities are disciplinary in nature. However, it is more of the female teacher educators who are more inclined to being accountable for their performance than their male counterparts. It is also, much surprising but understandable, given the ontological nature of identities as identification, that it is mostly the less qualified who define themselves as subject specialists. It is also more of the expatriate teacher educators than the Basotho ones whose professional identities are disciplinary and more of the Anglicans than their other counterparts whose professional identities are disciplinary.

Noting the foregoing identifications and their explanations, we now explore the teacher educators' subject and citizen subjectivities. We will look for, analyse and discuss the connections between the issues and findings raised in the preceding discussion and the subject and citizen subjectivities of the teacher educators.

6.9 The identifications of the teacher educators as subjects and citizens

The most consistent refrain throughout this study has been that one of the markers of a professional was a bi-dimensional nature of their professional identities. It is his/her commitment to his/her profession. His capacity to perform the services required of him as an intrinsic part of his professional training and service. In Bernstein's terms he is performing the functions that are sacred to his profession. Bernstein also uses the notion of the profane to denote the externalisation of the professional's activities and practices, applying them to the mundane minutiae of everyday life. This internalisation and externalisation on the part of the professionals seems widely acknowledged and documented even if there may not necessarily be a consensus (see Levine, 1992). Almost conveying the same meaning, Mouffe (1992) has written about the articulation of the private and the public. Laclau and Zac (1994) make

reference to the suturing of the subject to its Other, with the two articulating by ‘dialectical reversals’. Edwards (2002:357) argues that the autonomy and freedom of the professionals have “less to do with emancipation and more to do with virtuous, disciplined and responsible autonomy.” Many others make the same argument in their different ways (see Heyning, 2001; Rose and Miller, 1992; Miller and Rose, 1990; Bourdieu, 1989).

Gramsci covers the foregoing arguments by suggesting that

All men ... are intellectuals.... There is no human activity from which every form of intellectual participation can be excluded.... Each man, finally, outside his professional activity, carries on some form of intellectual activity..., he participates in a particular conception of the world, has a conscious line of moral conduct, and therefore contributes to sustain a conception of the world or to modify it, that is to bring into being new modes of thought (cited from Apple and Buras, 2006: 5).

Ahluwalia (2001) and Werbner (2001) also testify to the existence of the suture between subject and citizen subjectivities. According to them, we are all citizen/subjects while Mamdani (1996) says there are citizens and subjects in postcolonial settings.

It is this ontological bi-dimensional nature of the professionalism of the teacher educators that we will explore and discuss in this section. We draw mainly from the evidence presented in the previous chapters to delineate these subject and citizen identities of the educators. Evidence from other sources will also be used wherever appropriate and available to illuminate the issues raised.

The main research question this study is addressing is ‘what professional identities of the teacher educators best reflect the articulation between their responsibilities as autonomous subjects and their obligations as citizens’?

Two earlier chapters on data analysis sought to identify evidence in answer to this research question. This evidence was presented in these earlier chapters, and now we consolidate and discuss this evidence, specifically as it relates to the articulation of subjecthood and citizenship in the self-identifications, activities and practices of the Lesotho teacher educators involved in this investigation. This discussion covers the nature of this articulation and its manifestations. It also covers the nature of subjecthood and citizenship in the context of Lesotho’s postcolonial experience and space.

In response to a number of questions in the questionnaire, a majority of the teacher educators portrayed a separation of their responsibilities as professionals and their obligations as citizens. In response to Question 7, Part B (see Appendix A) teacher educators indicated that their practices as professionals were mainly concerned with addressing the professional and academic needs and interests of their students, on the one hand; but they were also concerned with the improvement of teaching quality in Lesotho schools, on the other. They went on to indicate that for them to perform these professional and societal activities, they required freedom from political interference but that their performance was based on purely professional/academic grounds. In other words they required professional and academic freedom.

For purposes of this investigation, the concern with the professional and academic needs and interests of students was the main professional duty of these teacher educators. This kind of duty reflects their responsibility as autonomous and professional subjects. But, getting actively involved in the improvement of teaching in Lesotho schools is a professional concern with a strong societal (citizen) emphasis. This kind of professional-societal activity is an example of how professionalism and citizenship are sutured and, by dialectical reversals, mutually imbricated.

The analysis of responses to Question 8, Part C on factors that motivated them on a regular basis to perform their duties as teacher educators further isolated the factors that were professional and personal and had to do with the respondents' private world as professionals and employees from those that reflected their citizen subjectivities. (Refer to Table 4(a), page 146 earlier). According to this analysis, the teacher educators were predominantly motivated by student-related factors such as the quality of students, including their performance, success and development. They were also motivated by private and personal factors such as salaries and working conditions. The third category of motivators consisted of citizen and societal factors such as 'concern for the education of Basotho children' and 'the need to improve education in the country'.

The subject and citizen dialectic and separation stated above was further revealed by the analysis of responses to Question 4, Part B that required the respondents to state reasons why

they became teacher educators. Professional reasons such as ‘the love of teaching’, ‘the need to contribute to the success of the profession’ and others were stated. Personal reasons related to employment were also stated. The third category consisted of citizen-oriented reasons such as ‘to improve teaching quality in Lesotho schools’, ‘to contribute to the country’s development’, and ‘the government’s need of teachers’.

Based on the summaries of the results just stated, the professional identities of the teacher educators in this study reflected a mix of professional values, personal values and citizen/societal values. The first of these values was very strongly represented, the societal ones were rather weak. Taken together, the teacher educators in this study discursively seem to reflect a professionalism that is guided by private, professional values that are in direct dialectical relationship with public, societal values. This dialectic is very strongly reflected in the attitude of the teacher educators expressed in response to the Likert statements in the questionnaire. Table 4(d) (p.162) sought to show how strongly the teacher educators perceived their professionalism as entailing a duty to serve the Basotho society. Most of them perceived their professional responsibilities and obligations as citizens to be two sides of the same coin, and they perceived their professionalism as not concerned with disinterested knowledge creation. These are the beliefs, perceptions and attitudes they strongly portrayed in their responses.

A further probing into the beliefs, attitudes and principles stated above revealed a different picture in terms of their practical manifestations. In reality and practice, a majority of the teacher educators are not societally oriented and citizens in their professional practices. They showed weak citizen subjectivities. First of all, the evidence in Chapter Four shows that research was one of the weakest activities of the teacher educators. Most of them were not actually involved in research as they claimed; rather, what was strong was their understanding of the significance of research, and more strongly, their desire to be researchers. But, given that their professionalism was anchored in their disciplines, the absence of research is a cause for concern. The development of disciplines depends on continuous research and knowledge revision and creation through research. Therefore where research is very limited or does not exist there are likely to be problems of relevance with the content of the subjects taught. Moreover, research enables professionals to contribute to national development, to policy change and or development. But where it is weak or does not

exist, such a contribution will be little or non-existent with the result that policies will not be well-grounded in local realities. In relation to these research-related weaknesses, it seems that both the subject and citizen identities of these educators are weak.

A majority of the teacher educators claimed that they had a duty to serve the Basotho on the basis of their expertise as Table 4(d) (p. 162) shows. But no evidence of this service to Basotho was found in this study. For instance, despite their claim that they were actively involved in the improvement of teaching quality in Lesotho schools, the evidence from the interviews and their practices shows that most of them were not as involved as they claimed. Only four interviewees provided plausible evidence of such involvement. One of these four was an expatriate while three were Basotho. Were these claims about the service ethic merely ideological? Why would professionals claim to be doing something that they are, in fact, not doing? The discussion that follows seeks to answer these questions in order to interpret and understand the responses provided by the teacher educators.

One of the most consistent issues in the literature on debates around professionalism is the polarised discussion of professionalism as service-oriented. Some of these debates were presented in Chapter Two. Esland (1980: 218) discussed what he called 'symbols of professionalism'. These are the major ingredients of professionalism. They are those elements which occupations that aspire to professional status, internal control of work practice and higher financial reward, claim to have. Some of these are a service ethic, altruism, professional activity based on specialist knowledge and technique. These are said to represent the ideal of professionalism. Esland goes on to warn that these symbols may be somewhat different in reality and that to "concentrate on the symbols of professionalism at the expense of their relevance to practice would ... be misleading" (p. 219). The responses of most of the teacher educators above reflect these symbols of professionalism rather than the reality of their practices. As a result, Esland views claims of professionalism as marked by mythology; for, all the claims stated above appear to be smokes-screens overshadowing self-interest, self-promotion, and the legitimization of influence and monopoly.

Hargreaves' (2000) critique of the age of professional autonomy in teaching echoes sentiments related to those of Esland. He demonstrates how modernistic models of professionalization helped to enhance the status of teachers in their communities and teacher

educators in the university, but did very little to enhance the professionalism of teaching in terms of the quality of work. Instead, he observed, professionalization and ‘licensed autonomy’ insulated teachers from the community, “and it subordinated teachers’ professional learning to academic agendas, which often had tenuous connections to their practice” (p. 161). These criticisms of professionalism as ideological, commonsensical and merely traits-based are commonplace as stated in Chapter Two (see Frost, 2001; Pels, 1999; Avis, 1996; Freidson, 1994).

Analyses of the responses of the teacher educators generally show that these professionals have both the subject and citizen subjectivities. For instance, in response to the Likert statements in Question B7 earlier, ‘professionalism for me means that I have to be involved in the improvement of teaching quality in Lesotho schools’, 82% of the entire study population of teacher educators strongly agreed that it best defined their professional identities. A further 88% of the respondents strongly perceived their professionalism as having to do with the duty to serve Basotho society, and 82% strongly perceived their professional responsibilities and citizen obligations as two sides of the same coin defining them as professionals. With all these kinds of responses, it would seem that most of the teacher educators in Lesotho’s institutions of teacher preparation are virtuous. Good news indeed! A closer analysis of responses and narratives to more open-ended questions splits these educators into those that are *citizens* and those we may call *desiring citizens* or *citizens-in-the-making* or *virtual citizens*.

Strongly representing citizen inclinations, one of the subject experts, a college-based MBA qualification holding teacher educator responded to the question of what actually motivated him professionally as a teacher educator to perform his duties, said

There is a combination of both intrinsic and extrinsic motivating factors. The *desire* to carry out my duties and responsibilities is one factor. I constantly *wish* to make an effective contribution to the existing store of knowledge, to assist students to do well in their final examinations and at work place. In short, to help them become functional members in society. The extrinsic motivating set is made up as follows: high poverty level/low standard of living; increased crime rate, scarcity of factors of production; rapid technological changes, political instability etc. (Emphases in italics, mine)

The emphasis in the transcript above is intended to show how strongly ‘desire’ features in this educator’s representations of his citizen identities.

Another, a PhD holding university-based Science educator said that key among his motivators as a teacher educator is the “development of critical and effective teachers, development of socially critical teachers, development of teachers with sound knowledge of the subject they teach”.

The preceding responses are a reliving of Gramsci’s beliefs as well as his praxis philosophy as shown earlier. These teacher educators’ subject and citizen identities are made explicit in these discursive representations. They demonstrate commitment to teaching and external engagement, either directly or indirectly through the teachers produced and turned out into society. But this category of professionals with strong subject and citizen identities are few. In saying this I am conscious and aware that “our identities and actions are multiple and complicated; we are positioned in different ways along various axes of power and within a nexus of shifting relations and contexts” (Apple and Buras, 2006:9). This means that the strength of the articulation of these educators’ subject and citizen identities is not necessarily a fixed essence. It is always shifting. It is more manifest today; it is not tomorrow, depending on a host of factors in the ‘structure’ such as the shifting relations of power in play institutionally, nationally and globally.

Most of the respondents, the subject specialists/experts as we have categorised them, *rhetorically* showing the articulation of their subject and citizen identities, are male. Most of them have higher qualifications. Is this scenario what Apple and Buras meant when they said they wanted to show how in education “dominance and subalternity mix and mingle, forming a tangled web of interrelations based on class, race, gender ...’ability’, and local, national, and global affiliations” (p.9)? It seems so; for, there are also some teacher educators, with low qualifications who have the strong articulation of their subject and citizen subjectivities. One of these, a male undergraduate diploma qualification holder said about teacher educators

Ideally teacher education should be in the hands of people who are themselves good teachers – well trained and deeply involved in their work. They should be people of responsibility and dedication to their work that knows no bounds. ...Teacher education should not be left in the hands of young, inexperienced persons, whose lust for luxury is *the only thing* they would want to satisfy. After training in a tertiary institution, new

teacher recruits need constant monitoring in their jobs; seminars and workshops to update their knowledge and skills¹⁰.

Apart from the student factor and the disciplines, the teacher educators believe their institutions are very important in defining and shaping their professional identities and accountabilities. These institutions have employed them. They look after their proletarian interests and aspirations. But they also provide discursive arenas for identity formation, acquisition, rejection and vice-versa in a complex continuous iterative fashion. But some of their accountabilities are intertwined as this educator indicates

I have a professional obligation to serve my clients by giving them quality service. And the top of the scale, I am duty bound to live up to the expectations of my institution... even though I have professional freedoms which I enjoy. At the end of the day I am accountable to my institution.

Based on the preceding discussion of the teacher educators, the discursive formation of teacher education in Lesotho is in the hands of professionals that have a multiplicity of identities and multiple accountabilities. There are those educators with a weak articulation of subject and citizen identities. These tend to be more subject than citizen. Their strong subjectivities are manifestly those of teachers. They are also employees of their institutions and, some of them, church members. This membership is expressed both *overtly in the voices* of some of them, but also *covertly in the silences¹¹ of others* that we made reference to in the earlier chapters. If we recognise the power and hegemony of ideology and how it interpellates the subaltern, the church factor in Lesotho's education has such a powerful ideological and interpellating effect.

The teacher educators described above as having a weak articulation of subject and citizen identities generally exhibit weak epistemological and sociological moorings in their subjectivities as was argued earlier in Chapter Four, page 139. Embedded in this weakness are their weak academic and research identities as was shown in Chapter Four as this female, college-based bachelors degree holding respondent tells us: "a teacher educator in most cases

¹⁰ This teacher educator was later, in October 2005, awarded an Honorary Doctorate by the National University of Lesotho for his contribution to education, especially Music Education. One of his many songs had earlier made news headlines, and was an issue of Cabinet and Parliamentary discussion, as a potential National Anthem to replace the existing one that is perceived to have a lot of colonial undertones.

¹¹ Spivak tells us that the silences of the subaltern are themselves the voices through which they speak (see Apple and Buras, 2006).

should have enough time to engage in research. Which [sic] is not the case now because most of the work done is presently done in the lecture rooms.”

Another, a female university-based educator expresses the same feeling this way

Teachers and teacher educators are not aware of much treasure of research they are sitting on in their classes and offices, in the lessons that they present everyday. Research is important in solving problems that we meet in teaching.

From this transcript, it should be noted how, even the subject identities themselves are represented as weak, if we take the main function of teaching students as defining their subject responsibilities. Part of preparing to teach is doing research of one kind or another. If it is not done teaching will be less challenging. It will be boring as this educator admits.

The following field-note could serve to strengthen arguments that research is weak. Research is a professional activity that spurns both the subject and citizen spheres of the teacher educators.

A Mathematics lecturer (Interviewee #15) is concerned about the status of research involvement of the teacher educators in his institution. He is concerned that research is virtually non-existent in a higher education institution. He is also concerned that his institution annually allocates money for research for him and his colleagues to do research. But every year this money is returned unspent (Field-note, Tuesday, 20th May, 2003).

I present a case below to show how one of the institutions of these educators tried to resolve this weakness and what the results were. This happened in the course of this study.

An Illustrative Case

This case¹² is intended to highlight the activities and practices of the teacher educators that might be able to help delineate their subject and citizen identities. The case happened in one of the institutions involved in this study – the college.

Capacity Building for Teacher Educators

¹² I report on this case because it is now a public matter. It also has a heuristic significance of illustrating key issues around the subject and citizen subjectivities of the teacher educators in this study. I find it ethically easier to report on it than *many others that I unobtrusively observed* but were really ‘private’ and hidden from institutional ‘gaze’ and knowledge. Regulating policies were developed in the two institutions at different times in 2005 and 2006 for staff to officially declare their external consultancy engagements. The policies also required that some of the consultancy income be paid to the institutions. This regulation came about as a result of rampant external consultancy engagements which sacrificed the core subject responsibilities of the teacher educators – teaching, marking, and being available for student support and tutorials.

Low levels of research and public engagement or deployment of expertise in the public among the teacher educators in Lesotho were generally recognised as a problem as the case below illustrates.

In April 2004, a project was launched to improve the capacity of the teacher educators in various skills and professional areas. These were areas of research and consultancy skills, Lifeskills, Special Education and others.

Supported by UNESCO, the project had resources for in-house training of teacher educators in research and consultancy and long-term fellowships for Lifeskills and Special Education, for example. For purposes of this study, we will concentrate on the first two of these areas. Qualified personnel were recruited to train the educators in research and consultancy. The educators with bachelors and those others with postgraduate qualifications but who had little or no research training background enrolled in the basic research training courses. Those other educators who had postgraduate qualifications and prior research training were enrolled in the advanced research and consultancy skills training courses.

These courses were intended to benefit the staff and the college in many ways. The main ones were

- (a) to enhance the capacity of the staff to do research that would, in the main, improve the quality of their teaching, as well as enable them to supervise their students' research projects;
- (b) (i) to provide staff with consultancy skills that would enable them to avail their expertise to the Ministry of Education and Training for the assignments or studies that get required from time to time;
(ii) to enhance the capacity of the college staff with expertise that would contribute to increased institutional revenue collection through its staff as well as increase staff income.

About twenty educators were involved in the basic research training and another twenty were involved in the research and consultancy skills training. The courses ran for about three months each with 4 hours of contact per month. They involved some independent study and assignments. In all these courses interest was high. Lecturers were enrolled based on their own expressions of interest and quotas for each course.

When all the training had been done, a year **later** in 2006/7, staff were promised further research support. They were asked to submit research proposals in areas of their choice. Successful proposal would be funded. Only a few, not more than five, educators submitted their proposals. Only two of the proposals went through because their owners took time to improve on them based on the comments and recommendations of the advisors. Others just did not continue. It was only the two that were ultimately completed. The owners have had support to present their work in international forums: one in Tanzania in 2007 and another in London, this year, 2008.

Consultancy training, however, produced different results. Even before the training was completed, two of the trainees presented a combined proposal for a consultancy assignment with the Ministry of Forestry and Land Reclamation. This Ministry had advertised opportunities for a study co-sponsored with the World Food Programme in Rome to investigate the quality and quantity of forestry education in Lesotho's education system. The proposal of the two educators, both female and Agricultural Education professionals, was accepted. They did the work and successfully completed it. They received some money and their institution received some income. This was an unprecedented achievement for the college and its staff.

Another successfully done and completed study by the college and a selection of staff from both institutions was done in 2006. This was an assessment study of the primary school teachers' training needs in the teaching of Sesotho, English, Mathematics and Science. For the second year running, there was another unprecedented achievement for the college.

What lessons can we draw from these cases about failure and success? Is it that the postcolonial professional subject needs capacitation and support to be able to perform functions in the public arena? Is it that where financial inducements, generally, are made available, the professionals do respond either voluntarily as individuals or as part on an institutional arrangement thereby indicating the significance of intersubjectivity in subject positioning? Does this suggest that where the subjective interests get catered for, there will be success and agentic acts by the postcolonial subject? Does this tell us that the postcolonial subject has ‘agency’ that is strategically and opportunistically positioned for subjective interests?

Through these questions I am expressing observations that the postcolonial subject has agency. However, this is subjectivised and unanchored agency. Since it is subjective agency it is more positioned to serve subjective, and not, societal interests. For it to be domesticated for public service, it needs sponsoring and Foucault’s normalisation, it seems.

Perhaps the observation that ‘individual actors need society as a moral regular for competing agencies’ is correct (Nyamnjoh, 2002: 117). It seems people are able to creatively use their agency and express themselves as agents in some conditions. It looks like some of such conditions include situations where the individuals ‘undomesticated agency’ finds expression as self-enrichment and self-service.

The good news though is that there are those teacher educators with a strong articulation of their subject and citizen identities. Their discursive resources and the signifying practices tell us this. These teacher educators – subjects and citizens in teacher education – do also possess a multiplicity of other identities embedded in their strong disciplinary identities that enable them to traverse the multiple spaces and arenas that they inhabit in Lesotho.

Following the foregoing discussion of the subject and citizen subjectivities in their discursive and practical dimensions, let us for a moment look at the role of knowledge/power dynamics in further constructing these teacher educators as subjects and citizens. We will then conclude this chapter by discussing the nature and the implications of these teacher educators’ subject and citizen subjectivities.

Drawing from Foucault, we know how the power/knowledge relationship is important in constructing identities or subjectivating some and ‘desubjectivating’ others of those involved. As Canning and Rose (2002:6) tell us, the work of Michel Foucault has shown how various social actors of modernity have become “subject to webs of social institutions and their ...specialised disciplinary knowledges.”

6.10 Significance of Power/knowledge Dynamics

There is a mood of contestation that is identifiable from the educators' self-representations as subject specialists/experts, or subject specialists/methodologists, or subject teachers as the case may be. From these contestations, to which we turn presently, we deduce the politics of identity and identification in the discursive formation of teacher education, if not higher education in general, in Lesotho. These contestations are relevant to this discussion because they highlight the nature of identities as decentred (Hall, 1992) and dislocated and characterised by the Lacanian 'lack' and therefore competing for 'centring' in the absence of any master anchoring identities (cf. Hall 1992). But, alas! Such centring is a fantasy in the late-modern times as Giddens (1990), Hall (1992) and others tell us. Hall (1996:4) captures the point being made here about the significance of the identity contestations. He posits that identities

...emerge within the play of specific modalities of power, and thus are more the product of the masking of difference and exclusion, than they are the product of an identical, naturally-constituted unity.

Let us then turn to these decentring contestations. In terms of what being professional means and what their professional identities entail, the subject teachers and subject specialists/experts part ways. They do this by decentring each other as professionals.

The subject teachers believe there is no way one could define oneself as a teacher educator without a consideration of the human values and the aesthetic aspects of their work, which are obtainable from the Educational or Foundations courses. The subject teachers vilify subject specialism for too much emphasis it places on the content for teaching. What they are critical of, is too much content at the expense of (or even the exclusion of) how to teach that content or subject matter. To them methodologies for teaching are central to teacher preparation. According to this category of respondents, school examinations in Lesotho are poor in some subjects such as Mathematics, Science, the languages because they are taught mostly by people who have either weak or no teaching methodologies¹³. One of the respondents said the following in Chapter 5:

X produces lots and lots of specialists in teaching English, in teaching Mathematics, in teaching Science etc. Now, I'm asking: why are students in the high schools doing so poorly in Maths, in Science and in English...?

¹³ For evidence of these accusations refer to Chapter 4, pages 130 – 135 and Chapter 5, pages 196 and 197.

The subject experts, on the contrary, believe that teaching is based on some subject. It is content-based or driven. Therefore a strong subject-matter is very important for the teachers that get prepared. They have to produce teachers with depth of subject knowledge. The experts criticise the subject teachers/methodologists for lack of content and therefore production of teachers who cannot effectively handle and teach their subjects. Earlier on I referred to this as some form of *professional tribalism* after Becher's notion of academic tribes and territories.

These contestations are real and bad. They are bad in so far as they are fragmenting and destabilising to teacher education which is already embattled and decentred in the higher education landscape. They are potentially closing off the possibilities of the reclaiming of respectability to teaching and therefore reprofessionalisation of teaching in general. What should even be more worrying and disconcerting about these contestations is that with knowledge getting commodified, involving a lot of money and competition as exemplified in Slaughter and Leslie's academic capitalism and as Aronowitz observes, we are yet to see and experience more confrontations. Knowledge may end up less informing teaching and learning but serving business purposes. There are already signs of this in Lesotho when we consider the external engagements of the teacher educators with stronger citizen subjectivities. They are more in competitive commissioned studies¹⁴ than they are serving teaching and career development purposes. But perhaps we need to find solace in the fact that fragmentation in so far as it entails heterogeneity, represents potential strength. For, as Laclau argues

...dislocating has positive features. It unhinges the stable identities of the past, but also opens up the possibility of new articulations – the forging of new identities, the production of new subjects, and ... the recomposition of the structure around, particular nodal points of articulation” (see Hall, 1992:279).

These contestations are therefore also real in many ways. They represent some of the very positions from which the teacher educators define, desire, claim and reject their identities. In this sense they represent the existing hegemonic discourse that claims that teaching lacks the

¹⁴ Two studies that took place during 2006 are relevant here. They are the Ministry of Education commissioned teachers' needs assessment studies in relation to the teaching of Sesotho, English, Mathematics and Science. One study was for the primary schools level another for the secondary/high school level. The studies were done by the teacher educators involved in this study, most of whom have a stronger articulation of subject and citizen subjectivities. Reports of these studies are available with the Ministry of Education and Training in Lesotho. I was personally involved in the development of the college proposal though not as a researcher or consultant, but I kept in touch throughout and observed and got involved in deliberations and reporting.

qualities that qualifies occupations into professional status. They also represent the ‘lack’ that drives the nature and content of the teacher educators’ identifications. There is much in-between-ness or ambivalence in the identifications of the teacher educators that define themselves as subject teachers. This ambivalence, it was suggested, represents ‘desire’ or subjunctivity on the basis of which the subject teachers fantasize about and claim various other identities as citizens, researchers and academics even when there are no discursive practices signifying these identities.

The subject experts for their part, too, speak from positions of ‘appropriated’ high moral ground that their colleagues in other faculties, especially in the university, speak from. By doing this they vindicate the discursive blame-finding practices of the colleagues in these other faculties. In this sense the subject experts become foreigners in their own professional discursive formation of teacher education. They have become the very Other that they are often in disagreement with. This is noted as a factor that potentially places (or that contributes to placing) teacher education and teacher educators on an unstable and precarious position that they find themselves in, in the university in Lesotho, and apparently globally as was shown by Goodlad (1999) and others (see Chapter 3 of this study). Disciplines define higher education professionals as Becher (1989) and Nixon (1996) say. Those who define themselves through the disciplines speak a familiar, noticeable and valorised language in higher education. However, for the teacher educators identified with strong disciplinary identities there is, too, “a ‘lack’ of wholeness which [has] to be ‘filled’ from outside...” (Hall, 1992:287). They, too, need to reposition themselves, claim and appropriate other identities as methodologists, which they require, it seems, in the preparation of complete, rounded teachers as the subject methodologists, claim.

One university-based, PhD holding male science education teacher educator aptly summarises the discussion above in his response to the question of what being a teacher educator in Lesotho is like and involves. This is one of the most externally engaged educators, with an expressed articulation of his subject and citizen subjectivities. He says

A good professional in teacher education in Lesotho is one who recognises the political nature of knowledge in terms of its potential to be oppressive rather than emancipatory; and to create a vicious cycle of dependency on those who produce it rather than empower the people of Lesotho.

As we have seen, disciplines have a ‘disciplinary or regulative power’ in the moral conduct of professionals. The educators with strong disciplinary identities are manifestly subjects and citizens. Those with weak disciplinary identities have strong subject but weak citizen identities since their identities split into employees, family members, and church members.

It is worth reminding ourselves that historically, subjects and citizens as Mamdani (1996) demonstrates, developed in conditions of conflict, of difference, as technologies and constructions of inclusion and exclusion. Their colonial binary nature, which is merely referred to here anecdotally as an illustrative point, is a reminder of these origins. Ahluwalia (2001), Werbner (2002) and other postcolonial theorists and writers have cautioned against accepting and valorising these binaries. However, citizens in Mamdani and other various writings on their Western origins did grow or were constructed out of power contestations as representing privileged positions. Harrison (2002:23) shows how science was historically used in France as a gendered social construct equated with masculinity but also how it was used to include and exclude others (especially) women from the realm of citizenship. This was so because science (in our case in this study, knowledge of the disciplines) was associated with calm rationality and public spiritedness which, according to general beliefs and perceptions, women lacked.

The teacher educators with a weak articulation of subject and citizen subjectivities are manifestly strong as subjects¹⁵ (not necessarily stronger) and weak, desiring and fantasizing citizens. Their discursive claims of citizenship with weak signifying practices represent citizenship as a desired ideal, the ‘lack’ that they filled through rhetoric and making unsubstantiated value claims. In Chapter Five, It was shown how this category of teacher educators is constructed through rhetorical claims of citizenship that are not backed up by reality. It seems therefore as Durham (2002) has argued, citizens are subjects. And, as he has

¹⁵ Despite attaching importance to the teaching dimension and methodologies, many of these teacher educators either do not attend teaching practice regularly as scheduled or.... Some are always late for teaching itself. Practically all reports testify to the negligence of TP. The TP Coordinator’s Reports for the college for January, 2005, June, 2005 up to January 2008 have something on lateness, general absence of lecturers or even harassment of students being observed (this fact was also recently confirmed to me in my official capacity by some of the school principals). TP in the college tends to take people away from Maseru, their work station and where families or residences of most teacher educators are. It also takes them away either the whole day or at least three days a week away. Therefore some lecturers do not like it. The reason is that the college has many students that it places in schools. They are placed even in places far away to warrant lecturers spending about two to three days away in schools sometimes. The MUSTER Country Report Two has made reference to the teaching practice challenge (**Refer to pages 103-107**).

argued, "... the subjective nature of citizenship is fraught with uncertainty: it is unequally experienced through the various distributions of power..." (p. 140).

Citizenship exists in many forms and shapes as Marshall (1992) and Turner (1993) and many others have shown. But, I argue, citizenship as identity has to be mainly shown through practices and participation, especially by professionals. My view of citizenship is as conceptualised by others such as Durham (2002:140) and Aronowitz (2006:178) who demonstrate the challenges of citizenship for the disenfranchised immigrants all over the world. Aronowitz demonstrates how even those with a formal status as citizens within a nation-state, native born people, "lack the *basic elements* of actual citizenship; they rarely, if ever, participate in the ... institutions of civil society, such as parent-teacher associations, civic organisations, and trade unions" (emphasis in italics, is mine).

I also note the argument that "Africans are both citizens and subject ... sometimes they are more citizen than subject and sometimes more subject than citizen ... they appropriate both in most creative and fascinating ways" (Durham, 2002:140). Following from these arguments, therefore, the teacher educators who demonstrate weak citizen subjectivities, do so as a temporary condition of the weak suturing with their strong subject positions. And, according to Canning and Rose (2002: 6) "(s)ubjectivity captures the complexities of citizenship as both highly individualised and, at the same time, a collectively invoked social identity and subject position." They are ontologically positioned, through their ambivalence and in-between-ness, as technologies of positioning, to find a different, more satisfactory (on their part) point of stronger suture as citizens. Given the complex, temporally and spatially unstable nature of existence in the late-modern times, the ambivalent technologies of positioning are useful as indicators of possibilities for change and adjustment for the teacher educators with weak citizen identities, particularly since many of these hold lower qualifications, with possibilities of upgrading them.

The subject identities of the teacher educators in Lesotho manifest themselves through these educators' self-representations. The observed lessons and the day-to-day activities and practices of these educators helped to illuminate the nature and content of their subject identities. For all of them their subject identities have been manifest in their commitments to the primary duties they perform – the teaching of students. All of them have testified to their commitment to this. Furthermore, the motivations of these educators are centred around the

performance of students in their subjects. They are also, in varying degrees of strength and passion, motivated by the developments in their subjects of specialisation. In relation to subjects of specialisation we now know that these educators part ways. In terms of their accountabilities, the students, their institutions and, for some, the disciplines are important.

Research is key to the work of teacher educators. It enriches the content of their teaching. But we know now that it is mainly those with strong disciplinary identities that do research. Further, teacher education is incomplete without teaching practice. But we have testimonies of how weakly done it is. The MUSTER Study Report Two, too, has testified to these weaknesses in teaching practice. The report states that

On the whole teaching practice is badly planned and poorly managed in that the parties involved do not play their respective roles as fully as it is expected...Tutors too do not have adequate time to provide professional support at the school level. In the end only 15% of students were visited the stipulated four times...(Lefoka and Sebatane, 2003: xi)

Furthermore, Interviewee # 16 (later interviewed specifically on teaching practice) complained very strongly about the lack of seriousness that he observed among the teacher educators about the teaching practice that he helped to coordinate. Further, this field-note might be illuminating in terms of the weaknesses in teaching practice

A longer serving lecturer in Agricultural Education tells me (in front of the Administration Building), with much concern. Tears are noticeable in his eyes as he expresses his concern about laxity caused by the college. He is concerned that the college lets people who abscond from teaching practice go unpunished. He mentions, after probing, three names of staff (I know them to be some of the least committed to their teaching but some of the most vocal on a number of issues) who habitually do not attend teaching practice. He is concerned that the same people are often absent with impunity from teaching. (Field-note, Friday, 15th April, 2005).

From the summary above, it is has to be said that as subjects these teacher educators still do not perform some of the responsibilities that define their subjecthood. They are weak subjects. The ambivalence and in-between-ness referred to earlier signify various possibilities in relation to the commitments of these educators. These are discussed in the next chapter. However, it may suffice to state here that apart from the fact that they signify possibility for change and development, they also tell us that other commitments occupy the educators. These educators are *subjects-in-captivity or subjectivated subjects*. Could it be that we are seeing their private commitments appropriating from the public commitments in subtle and creative ways since the private sphere is moral while the public sphere is amoral as Ekeh

(1975) argued? In terms of Mamdani's analysis, the modern public space has always been a foreign space for the postcolonial subject. It has been a space associated with the state – the foreign, colonial state. It has always been a space for the citizens. The subject responsibilities of the teacher educators are performed in state institutions of teacher preparation – that space that has to be exploited because it is the subject's aggressor. This attitude towards the state is universally prevalent in the day to day lives of many Basotho.

Further, as was stated earlier, the challenges of poverty characterised by lack of, if not inadequate, resources, the large classes and numbers of students to deal with in classes, pose various other challenges. Therefore, it is both personal and professional challenges as well as the systemic and national, postcolonial challenges that beset the discursive formation of teacher education, and the teacher educators in this study, and possibly in Lesotho.

I conclude this chapter by bringing the categorisations of the teacher educators together and discussing their postcolonial nature in relation to Mamdani's citizen and subject thesis. Wherever applicable, Ahluwalia and others are used. The territory of teacher education seems to be filled with dislocations and instabilities in terms of the subjectivities of the teacher educators and their practices as subjects and citizens.

The teacher educators with weak disciplinary identities are an absent presence in higher education, and in teacher education, arguably. They represent the realm of subjects who are in higher education but are not of higher education. They belong elsewhere – to the private realm of their families, the various subterranean subjective interests, the churches and others. They have strong Christian identities. They are containerised subjects, according to Mamdani. Various other, largely subjective, interests seem to define their professional space. As a result, they are ambivalent citizens to the teacher education territory and higher education generally nor, in practice, citizens to the state, Lesotho. For these educators, autonomy may not quite benefit their institutions. They require clearly defined performance standards and accountability requirements.

The subject specialists and methodologists straddle two worlds that they conflate into one. They are border crossers. They are in higher education and partially of it. They could be seen to be in juridical limbo since they are not acculturated enough to be fully citizens in higher education. But they are, it seems, citizens in teacher education. They represent Mamdani's bifurcated subjectivity and spatial in-between-ness with respect to their professional

territories of higher education and teacher education. Their subjectivities are characterised by continuities and discontinuities in so far as they are at some point like the 'other' in higher education through their association with the disciplines at the same time they are not disciplinary enough to be similar to the 'other'. They are different in that sense, thereby destabilising the valorised dominant 'other', the subject experts in teacher education. In Bhabha's parlance, they are a hybrid subaltern group with a figure of difference¹⁶ (Grossberg, 1996: 90) which defines their spatial relation with the dominant 'other', in this case, the subject experts. While they are subjects, they are not fully citizens. They are Ahluwalia's subject citizens.

The subject experts represent the dominant other, at least in terms of their spatial location in higher education. But they seem to be unanchored in the local space of teacher education where they are vilified as irrelevant and not of the discursive formation of teacher education by the subject specialists and methodologists. Their stronger citizen identities that are manifest in their practices are indicative of their citizen subjectivity. But apparently they are weak as subjects where the subject identity represents, among other things, the core business of teaching and teaching practice. In this sense, they too, languish 'in a juridical limbo' in their status as teacher educators (Mamdani, 1996: 19). I will return to the implications of these destabilisations and discontinuities among the teacher educators in the next chapter.

¹⁶ According to Grossberg, *differance* describes a particular constitutive relation of negativity in the marginalised 'other' or the subaltern as a necessary and internal force of destabilisation existing within the identity of the dominant term or 'other'. In this case the subaltern 'other' is necessary for the stability of the dominant 'other', the subject expert, for example. It is this destabilisation that we illustrated in the power/knowledge contestations earlier in this chapter.

Chapter Seven

Bringing the study to a close: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

I use the vocabulary of conclusions and recommendations conscious of the fact that late modernity is characterised by discontinuities and dislocations. Nothing is conclusive. Any recommendation based on today's conclusions or observations is tomorrow decentred. It soon becomes obsolete and has a shaky anchor. Reality is too complex to predict as positivists would have us believe. Reality is always an absent presence. There are as many realities as there are discursive formations. Teacher education as a discursive formation is itself fraught with contradictions and contestations regarding the best way to prepare today's or tomorrow's teachers. Nonetheless, in this chapter we bring this study to a close by concluding in relation to the research questions and the objectives of the study.

I draw on the evidence presented in the preceding chapters to present the conclusions. The first part of the chapter presents the summary of the findings. The second part presents a discussion on the findings in terms of their meanings and implications for teacher education and the teacher educators in Lesotho. The discussion centres on the main issues of concern for this study. These are the teacher educators' professional identities and the articulation of the subject and citizen subjectivities of the teacher educators. The notion of agency and structure in the construction of these subjectivities will be discussed as well as the nature and place of the autonomy and accountability of the teacher educators. In the final sections of the chapter, I present the recommendations and options for consideration as well as the issues for further research.

In the first two chapters of this study the main argument centred on the issues below, which I only present briefly here.

Teacher education and the teacher educators in Lesotho were stated as operating in a country that has various postcolonial trappings. First of all, far from popular rhetoric, Lesotho is a heterogeneous country with various social and political divisions. These divisions have their origins mainly in the country's colonial background of double colonisation¹. For the purposes of this chapter, it is important to state that the education system in Lesotho was a product of sectarian groups. It was designed to serve sectarian interests; consequently, it has been very unstable and self-serving historically. A culture of public accountability was never entrenched by the state since the colonial state only had disinterested and distant involvement in educational matters as was demonstrated in Chapter One.

Notwithstanding this shaky governance background in the educational arena, a policy of granting institutional autonomy to the Lesotho College of Education and the teacher educators was developed and implemented in Lesotho. Autonomy was motivated by the perceptions of poor performance of the college over the years since it was established in 1975. Therefore, for better performance, autonomy would provide answers. The college would be freed from the shackles of civil service bureaucratic control, and thereby perform better. Unfortunately, the civil service shackles are not the only ones. Various socio-political and economic structures and personal factors themselves circumscribe the agency of the education professionals. Therefore, the belief that the college and its professionals would perform better if they were autonomous from the state was unreasonable, unrealistic and doubtful in the context of the sectarian nature of the education system and its professionals. I further suggested that the beliefs about autonomy were uninformed and built on tenuous foundations. They had not been based on the understanding of the teacher educators as professionals and the cultural resources they possess to be good performers; and what beliefs and values are inherent in their professionalism, and what their predispositions, motivations as professionals are. I also suggested that clarity about the notion and practice of autonomy was weak. I also argued that without clear requirements for accountability and a clearly defined system of

¹ The view of Lesotho's colonial experience as 'double colonisation' has not been raised anywhere in the past, as far as I am aware. It is fresh observation and argument raised in this study. The literature I have read on Lesotho's history, cited in this study, does not raise this issue or observation.

accountability, autonomy would not be in the best interest of teacher education. The postcolonial subject is the subject of government. He/she needs moral regulation.

I therefore argued that it was against the understanding of the nature of the professionalism and the professional identities of the teacher educators that we would be in a better position to judge the potential utility of autonomy. Furthermore, it was against this understanding that governance policies including accountability arrangements of teacher education would be informed, designed and better placed. With this in mind, we now turn to the main findings and conclusions of the study.

7.2 The Professional Identities of the Teacher Educators

The main question that this study sought to answer was: what professional identities of the teacher educators in Lesotho best reflected the articulation between their responsibilities as autonomous subjects and their obligations as citizens? The second part of this question was: how do these subject responsibilities and citizen obligations manifest themselves in the self-representations and practices of the teacher educators?

According to the findings presented in Chapters Four, Five and Six, the teacher educators in Lesotho operate in multiple arenas and have a multiplicity of professional identities characteristic of postcolonial subjects as Ahluwalia (2001) makes us aware. Alongside their multiple identities, they have multiple accountabilities. As modern subjects, these teacher educators represent themselves in various ways as teachers, subject specialists, researchers, academics and scholars, employees and for some, as church members. They are accountable, in the main, to their students, their disciplines, their institutions, and themselves as professionals. The first two of these identities constitute the majority of these teacher educators. From the analysis of these identities of the teacher educators, we identified at least six key arenas that they owe allegiances to: their families and homes, their profession, their subjects of specialisation (disciplines), their students, employers (the institutions and the Ministry of Education), and churches for some.

These multiple arenas and the accountabilities result in a complex array of professional perceptions and beliefs about the best ways to prepare teachers. There are beliefs and perceptions of professionalism that are grounded in the values of learning and the student-educator relations. There are also those beliefs and perceptions of professionalism that are based on both the values of learning and the promotion of growth of the learner through nurturing and pastoral care. Jostling in the same space are the beliefs and perceptions of professionalism that are moral and aesthetic. These are grounded in the Christian values of morality and production of Christian teachers that should guide the students *properly, morally*. There are the beliefs and perceptions of citizenship that are inherent in the professional values and the practices of some of the teacher educators.

For purposes of this study and the research question in particular, not all these identities were pursued. Only the ones that best represented the professionalism of the majority of the teacher educators as well as best representing the articulation of their subject and citizen subjectivities were selected. These were the subject specialist (disciplinary) identities as explained in Chapters four, five and six. Below we discuss and conclude on these findings.

7.3 Teacher educators' professional identities as discipline-based and constructed by the disciplines

The disciplines represent the professional identities of the majority of the teacher educators. Nearly 74% of these educators strongly defined themselves as subject specialists, and 40% of these believed these were the best representations of their identities. Furthermore, the analysis of the data shows that the disciplines are the anchors for the other identities. It is to these disciplinary identities that the other identities are sutured. The disciplinary identities of these teacher educators subsume their identities as teachers, as academics, and as researchers. In this sense they have an epistemic element. But they also have a social dimension to them such as experts and consultants as was explained at the end of Chapter Five. Durkheim (1957 version) has also shown that man

has both the rational and the social natures. The disciplines are the best means for understanding professionalism (Henkel, 2000; Macdonald, 1995; Freidson, 1986; and Goldstein 1984).

The disciplinary identities of the teacher educators are inherently multiple. Their analysis produced a multiple of other identities that represented various other subject positions sutured to the disciplines to varying degrees of strength. Three various value positions represent the professional beliefs, values and motivations that separate one educator or category of educators from the others. These positions include *subject matter experts*, *subject specialists and methodologists*, and *subject teachers or generalists*. This means therefore that apart from the various other identities which themselves are inherently multiple, the teacher educators in Lesotho discursively represent themselves as stated above. Let us now turn to each of these identities and discuss their meanings and implications for teacher education in Lesotho.

An analysis of the three categories of the teacher educators above seems to indicate various knowledge types that define their professional identities. Each of these knowledge types influences the educators' perceptions, beliefs, values and practices of teacher preparation. It also appears to determine the strength and the nature of the articulation of their subject and citizen subjectivities. The various knowledge types, it seems, also responsabilize (Kivinen and Renne, 2000) the teacher educators along various paths and ways of preparing teachers and serving. It is through such responsabilization that the individual teacher educators become their own governors and regulators of their conduct (cf. Woods, 2003).

The educators with weaker knowledge types, the subject teachers, have a syncretic knowledge type (a mix of weak bits of knowledge types from various subjects), moral and aesthetics knowledge (knowledge about behaviour, discipline and appearances), and knowledge about students. They straddle the professional and religious spaces with all the dangers this might entail. The educators in the second group, the subject

specialist/methodologists have requisite subject matter knowledge, knowledge of pedagogy, knowledge of the curriculum, and knowledge about students and learning. Their concern is production of teachers that they think schools require. The subject experts, for their part, have deep subject matter knowledge, some knowledge of the students, knowledge of the politics of the external education terrain and knowledge of consumers through which they become consultants. They are knowledge entrepreneurs, so to speak, who possess Turner's technical rationality.

From the categorisation above, there are as many knowledge types, it seems, as there are arenas or constituencies to serve. There does not seem any more to be the knowledge types of the kind that Bernstein classified as 'singulars' or those that could be defined as having the 'inner integrity' of the type that Polanyi (1962) took pride in as the basis for and the citadel of the Republic of Science. It seems nothing in late-modernity exists in its earlier, pristine form. Everything, perhaps as part of global mutual imbrication and constitution, is hybrid. Hybridity, as Homi Bhabha would tell us, seems to be the order that defines culture as knowledge, ways of knowing, as well as the subjectivity of the knower.

In terms of the purpose of this study and the research question, we know that the teacher educators with strong disciplinary identities (the subject experts) tend to show the articulation of *some* subject responsibilities with citizen obligations. Their higher level of civility, gives them some local autonomy but external dependence that Mamdani (1996: 60-61) describes. This local autonomy produces its own local despotism or hegemonies which may result in *laissez faire*. Their citizen practices seem to be predicated more on financial gain than on application of knowledge as intellectuals. This issue, however, requires further investigation since there is not enough evidence to prove it conclusively. While there is nothing wrong with financial advancements, it is worrying that these educators are hardly heard, their voices are not there, where and when things do not go well in education as in the examples stated earlier in Lesotho. Theirs is endorsement and uncritical confirmation of policies from which as a result even the state does not gain – at least if there is something to gain from criticism. In describing indirect rule, Mamdani

indicated how, under the guise of autonomy, it created “a capacity to implement central directives with one to absorb local shocks” (p.60). These citizen actions in paid assignments seem to mirror this observation of Mamdani’s.

There is a need to investigate and know about the disciplines in the teacher education space in Lesotho and how they need to be conceptualised or reconceptualised, if necessary, to place teacher educators on a more anchored spatial and psychic position (not in an essentialist sense) as professionals, and to contribute to the professionalisation of teaching and teacher education.

As a heterogeneous group of professionals, at least in their variously defined disciplinary identities, the teacher educators involved in this study (as was earlier observed in Chapter Four) comprised those with weak epistemological moorings. There were those that straddled the epistemological and the procedural or methodological fields, and those that had a strong epistemological anchor. The diversity among the teacher educators could be one of the major sources of criticism of teacher educators as professionals and teacher education as a discursive professional field. Becher (1981) views disciplines as cultural phenomena embodied in collections of like-minded people, each with their own codes of conduct, sets of values and distinctive intellectual tasks. With this view in mind, teacher education in Lesotho is apparently manned by various categories of educators with differing personal codes of conduct, values and intellectual resources. This diversity betrays the whole notion of like-mindedness which Becher believes should exist at least among professionals in the same discursive formation such as teacher education.

However, with our understanding of how identity and identification work, Becher’s notion of professions may not necessarily apply here. Different specialisations and knowledge types hail people in different, hopefully desirable and necessary directions in the complex realities of the late-modern times. Moore’s Mode One and Mode Two knowledges mean that there are different discursive knowledge formations in terms of which professionals define themselves. Therefore, heterogeneity is ontological to professional subjectivity, especially in postcolonial settings. This reality makes

transformation, improvement and constant bettering possible through positioning or subjectivization (Rasmussen, 2006). This happens as subjectivization disrupts and destabilizes existing positions of comfort, thereby creating other heterogeneities. It seems to me therefore that the heterogeneity or diversity among the teacher educators contains possibilities for a better teacher education; for it represents, I believe, “the proliferation of identifications as a means to exceed – as opposed to return to – the self” (Rasmussen, 2006:85). Semetsky (2006:14) has also argued that subjectivation is invention and creation of new possibilities of life that enable the subject to explore other territories.

But heterogeneity may raise fears and possibilities of anarchy. To minimise the possibilities of anarchy and uncontrollable conduct in these circumstances of diversity, there is, I believe, a need for what has elsewhere has been called heteronormalisation² of the conduct. This normalisation along heterogeneous directions and possibilities is necessary in Lesotho’s context where the conflation of religion, partisan politics and education is a longstanding historical reality that has caused many dislocations. This is also evident in the representations and subjectivities of the teacher educators with weak disciplinary identities. Heteronormalisation that I equate with Foucault’s vocabulary of normalisation or governmentality seems relevant because it appears to be an appropriate *modus vivendi*³ for survival and positioning in the heterogeneity that exists as a postcolonial malaise (both ethical and deviant) in Lesotho. And, it accommodates normalisation, as a project and process, along various, I suggest, acceptable and ethical value positions, if there can be broad agreement on such positions.

² I note that this notion is used in ‘Queer theory’ in relation to AIDS, various perversions, gay and lesbian forms of life (see Rasmussen, 2006). Nonetheless, since it may appear counter-intuitive to celebrate diversity within the professional terrain such as that of this study when there should be containment within acceptable, confined norms, the notion of heteronormalisation could be imported to denote such containment within heterogeneously defined and acceptable limits without at the same time dislocating heterogeneity and its inherent possibilities. I use it to also mean we need to promote heteronomy more than we do autonomy. We need autonomy within heteronymous conditions.

³ I use this phrase from Alain Touraine (2000) who has used it in suggesting that best ways and means of living together have to be devised within this complex world of dislocations and unpredictable spectacles.

The divisions into specialists/experts, specialists-methodologists, subject teachers or generalists need to be managed, and through intersubjective discursive means, be harnessed for the development of teacher education in Lesotho. If this is not done, it seems to me they may result in dislocations in undesirable directions. We earlier on in Chapter Six described the intense contestations within the discursive formation of teacher education itself around the disciplines and their significance in teacher preparation. I also demonstrated how each of the categories gets defined in Mamdani's parlance and analysis. This is a challenge for teacher educator development and education, governance and accountability. We will later return to this issue and suggest possible directions for regulative policy.

7.4 Continuities and Discontinuities: The gendered nature of the disciplinary and citizen identities of the teacher educators

From the evidence presented in Chapter Five and Six, a higher proportion of the male teacher educators compared to that of their female counterparts represented themselves as subject specialists. They also believed that their subjects of specialisation had strongly been responsible for shaping their identities as subject specialists. Many of them are, however, less prepared than their female counterparts to be accountable to their disciplines for their professional practices. In the previous chapter, I argued that this reluctance in relation to accountability reflects the socio-cultural and political realities of the men vis-à-vis the women in Lesotho with women perceived as more obedient and conforming. The gendered identities are a consequence of extant beliefs and practices and the post-colonial experience of Basotho that position men differently from the women in relation to power and other resources.

While the subject specialist identities are male gendered, the citizen identities are female gendered although the difference may not be significant enough to help us draw conclusions. According to the findings, a slightly higher percentage of female educators (83%) than that of their male counterparts (80%) represented themselves as citizens. At

the same time, on a counter-intuitive level, a higher proportion of these females went on to indicate that they were sensitive to the needs and values of the churches that own schools in Lesotho. It is also quite instructive to note that quite a high percentage (about 37%) of the male educators remained neutral on this issue of the churches.

Since a majority of males define themselves strongly in terms of their disciplines, it would logically seem that it is these males that would, in their majority, discursively define themselves as citizens given the association of the disciplines with the social and epistemological. However, it is more of the female teacher educators that discursively construct their identities as those of citizens. This conundrum seems to represent the continuities and discontinuities that appear to define the terrain of teacher education in Lesotho. It is a terrain marked by twists and turns that defy the logic that has been valorised as a defining feature of knowledge. Perhaps the observation expressed by one of the expatriate teacher educators involved in this study paints a true picture of these findings here. This college-based male educator made the following comments which are relevant to this issue of gender:

But it is gratifying to note that women are more devoted, committed and have totally embraced education more than men here in Lesotho. We should thank God for that. Dr. E.K. Aggrey of Ghana said: 'If you educate a man, you educate an individual. But if you educate a woman, you educate the entire nation.' You can cogitate over this statement with regards to what it means to Lesotho as a nation. The future is bright. The women will in turn ensure that their children become well educated.

That it is more female than male teacher educators that have expressed values and practices of citizenship deconstructs the generally accepted view that citizenship is the terrain of male subjects. But the findings further show that this citizenship is less discipline-based. More female educators have indicated more inclinations to accountability than their male counterparts. While this is good and is in keeping with their citizen identities, it is worrying given the positive way in which more of the females than the males view the need for them to be sensitive to the needs and values of the churches that own schools in Lesotho, and also given the fact that it is more of the females that define themselves in terms of their church membership as was shown in

Chapter Four. Perhaps Durban's (2002: 139) observation that '... nowhere are the uncertainties of modernity so pronounced as in citizenship, in the contradictions of the moral nature of civic action', better expresses the contradictions we are seeing in female gendered citizenship which, at the same time, is anchored in uncertain and unstable subjective interests. Lauren Berlant has also argued that 'practices of citizenship involve both public-sphere narratives and concrete experiences of quotidian life that do not cohere or harmonize' (cited in Canning and Rose, 2000: 7).

More of the educators that expressed stronger subjective and private interests in their work as professionals are the female teacher educators. Some of their responses that signify these subjective interests⁴ are presented briefly here. In responding to a question on what it is that motivates her professional activities as a teacher educator, one university-based female teacher educator had this to say:

Nothing motivates me – salaries are still very low. This is why several teacher educators in this institution are engaged in their own personal projects- aim to get extra money [sic].

Furthermore, the same educator had this to say in relation to her accountabilities: "as a professional I know what I must do. I am an expert in my area; therefore I am accountable to myself".

A different, college-based female educator expressed similar sentiments in relation to what her motivations as a professional were

Apart from the desperation and the quest for education I see among my students, especially under the conditions which they are learning as well as the challenges I meet as a professional, there is nothing motivating. I only see demotivation especially from the Ministry and my institution both from which I am an employee [sic].

The demotivation of this teacher educator was in the delays in implementing autonomy for the college. Earlier I indicated that the legislation granting the college autonomy was

⁴ In describing the challenges facing the National University of Lesotho, Mahao (2003) the University's Pro-Vice Chancellor then, told a conference in Accra, Ghana, on Improving Tertiary Education in Sub-Saharan Africa that 'Subjective factors have also had direct bearing on the institution's ability to rise to the challenges of the time' (p. 1).

passed by Parliament in 1997, but autonomy was officially implemented in 2002. Many of the educators had been given the impression that the autonomy of the college would bring better conditions of service in terms of remuneration and benefits. Most teacher educators were therefore in a hurry for it. But both the Ministry of Education and the college management were therefore being blamed for the delays.

Male citizenship seems to be more discursive and rhetorical and less expressed in practice. That is their citizenship is more in theory than it is observable in practice. Where the male teacher educators had expressed their citizen subjectivities, they did so quite strongly, more strongly than the female educators did as examples of transcripts in Chapter Six show. The males' citizen subjectivities appear to be individualised and less domesticated. That of the female teacher educators is both discursive and expressed in practice. It is intersubjectively expressed in communities of practice as was illustrated in the illustrative case presented earlier in Chapter Six. Most citizen practices that were observed and are reported in this study involved more female teacher educators than the male ones. Is it because the female educators are more interested in money as some of them show above? The practices reported here involved payment for performance. The challenge of the female citizenship is that its very openness is its weakness. It is less anchored in the normalising disciplines as that of their male counterparts. It is interlinked with the private self-interest and the religious interests. It is indeterminate, circumscribed and therefore less agentic. At the end of this chapter, suggestions are made on possible ways of regulating the conduct of the teacher educators in Lesotho.

7.5 The Practices and Nature of Citizenship

Some further practices in which these teacher educator citizens were witnessed as being engaged in, which express their citizen subjectivities include the following:

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- (a) Membership of subject panels of the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC);

(b) In-service or continuing professional development seminars and workshops for teachers;

© Engaging in institutional external projects such as the university Induction Programme;

(d) Consultancies, especially in commissioned studies of the Ministry of Education and Training (MOET) or some other Ministries or departments of government, local and international organisations.

We briefly describe these activities below. These brief descriptions are important because we will subsequently use them to describe and qualify the nature of civic engagement of most, if not all, of the teacher educators.

Membership of Subject Panels

The teacher educators were members of the subject panels of the NCDC. The involvement of most of these teacher educators is not their personal or professional choice. This is not to say if they had personal or professional choices they would not have been members. Far from it; they are in these panels as nominees and representatives of their institutions.

In-service seminars and workshops for teachers

Most of these educators are involved in the seminars and workshops for the continuing professional development needs of serving teachers. However, nearly all of these activities are organised, sponsored and directed by the MOET through its inspectorate or field services sections, the NCDC or some donors. The World Bank and UNICEF periodically sponsor and organise these activities for teachers in specific areas of policy need or challenge such as Multi-grade teaching, early childhood education and others. Teacher educators get invited in these as facilitators in specific areas of their expertise. Often their engagement earns them some income. It is quite right that these workshops are run by the teacher educators. This is not in question here.

The teacher education institutions also do arrange and hold workshops for teachers in specific areas. For instance, the university Science Education Department has been running Induction Programmes for newly qualified teachers of secondary and high schools. The college usually holds workshops for cooperating teachers and principals of schools that host its students for teaching practice. It is the educators that plan and run these workshops.

Consultancies

Some of the teacher educators regularly get involved in consultancy work as individuals or as collectives. They tender for and get engaged in consultancies sponsored by MOET, UNICEF, UNESCO, and the World Bank. Studies such as the Forestry Education studies of the Ministry of Forestry and Land Reclamation, the Breakthrough to Literacy (BTL)

study, the teacher motivation study, the Sesotho, English, Mathematics and Science teachers' training needs assessment studies, are some of the most recent (between 2004 and 2006) in which some of the teacher educators in both institutions were involved.

The practices of the teacher educators in the examples above demonstrate their citizenship. The common threat to all of these external practices is that they are situated in areas of 'current' education or public policy interest. They are of relevance to the interests and priorities of the sponsors. The teacher educators, without doubt, have to be involved in studies such as these. These studies inform education policy and determine policy discourse and direction. They are also important in informing teacher education programmes and courses as well as the content for teaching.

The educators' involvement in the activities and studies just described raises concerns that are of relevance to professionalism and professional identity. For some of these consultancy studies, the design, methodologies and various parameters are pre-defined by the sponsor. The consultant just has to fit into these pre-determined parameters. Otherwise his/her or their proposals will not be successful. Even where the consultants are free to design and determine their methodologies, the proposals have to be vetted and approved by the 'significant other'. In many cases, most of the 'other' who vet and approve these proposals, in Lesotho, are not themselves researchers. They have neither experience nor training in research. Many are the 'significant other' who are not predisposed to critical and descending voices. They also vet the findings. Therefore these studies tend to confirm existing views and legitimate existing discursive positions. Foucault's work is useful in helping us understand the significance of discourse in relation to power. Discourse gives considerable weight to questions of power since it is power, rather than the facts about reality, that make things true (cited in Hall, 1992:293).

These pros and cons of the signifying practices and activities of the teacher educators' citizenship, raise questions around the nature of their subjectivities as citizens. I wish to suggest in relation to these signifying practices that they portray the teacher educators as *subjectivised professionals* whose citizen activities and practices are subject to and

determined by the agendas of the more hegemonic ‘other’. It is the ‘other’s’ prompts and triggers that ‘hail’ the teacher educators into consultants and externally engaged experts and intellectuals of the kind Gramsci described earlier in Chapter Six. In this case these teacher educators are *subject citizens*.⁵ They are citizens with little agency. I prefer to qualify their agency as ‘little’ because a lot of indications are that all subjects have some agency. It is the nature and location of that agency that may be a problem. The teacher educators discussed above are more of *conformist* than constructivist citizens. They are guest citizens in the public spaces described above. Soon they will recede to their subject positions. But this too, it seems, is the nature of subjectivity as presence and absence at various times. No subjectivity is an essence, it seems; there is always a beyond, the present space. That beyond is never reached (cf. Bhabha, 1994).

The teacher educators demonstrating the values and practices of citizenship are the kind that the discursive formation of teacher education in Lesotho requires, not necessarily the nature of their citizenship but citizenship as potential for contributing to national educational development. But, I also note that the biggest challenge for subjects in postcolonial Lesotho is that the liberal and apparently most dominant form of citizenship is grounded in individuation and democracy. Individuation as a requirement for agency is not an ontological feature of postcolonial subjectivity. It is not an ontological existential phenomenon in Lesotho. This does not mean that individuals and individuality do not exist in postcolonial settings. But, rather, individualism in the form of what Werbner (2001) calls ‘undomesticated agency’ in a more or less narcissistic sense is what I am referring to as part of individuation. On individuation, Canning and Rose (2002: 6) have opined that “...subjectivity captures the complexities of citizenship as both highly individualised and, at the same time, a collectively invoked social activity and subject position.” In terms of this view, citizenship requires the individualism that agency is made of. Yet it is demonstrable in social activities. This suggests that citizenship subjectivity is also *intersubjective*.

⁵ The subject citizens that I am referring to here are different from Ahluwalia’s post-structural subject/citizens or citizen/subjects that reflect an articulation or discursive positioning or identification. They represent subjugated or subjectivised citizenship, which is circumscribed and anchored in little agency.

Many of the teacher educators' citizen activities stated earlier are best done in a collectivity. But they also heavily involve the 'other' as demonstrated. For these reasons I agree that citizen subjectivity expresses itself in intersubjectivity which in turn strengthens it. Writing about the postcolonial individuals, Werbner (2001: 117 – 118) observed that "... individuals maximise their interests best when these are pursued in recognition and respect for conviviality and interconnected with others and in community with collective interests." The notion of intersubjectivity is important as it entails possibilities and the potential that exist to promote more ethical conduct and citizenship practices among the teacher educators in Lesotho.

Democracy is one of the enabling, promoting and defining features of citizenship. But democracy is an absent presence in the postcolonies. Colonisation and postcolonial subjection, by design, as Mandani has also shown, did not allow democracy to develop and get entrenched. At the same time, citizenship seems to have historically developed in the colonial subjection of the 'other' and in the conditions of revolution or in struggles between the coloniser and the colonised. It develops in condition where civil society exists and is vibrant (see Mbembe, 2001, Comaroff and Comaroff, 1999). The Habermasian notion of discursive democracy (see Delanty, 2000:40) encourages democracy that is developed through the discursive means and the legitimation of the voice of the other as exemplified by the CODESA talks in the early 1990s in South Africa. Democracy and citizenship develop in the conditions in which the voice of the 'other' gets legitimised and influential, it seems. This means that democracy and citizenship are mutually constitutive. At the same time, citizenship is an epiphenomenon of the discursive values and practices that are embedded in democracy and the agency of subjects. These conditions have not been experienced by many postcolonial, emerging democracies such as Lesotho. They still have to be learnt, legitimated and promoted.

Citizenship does not seem to come naturally. It is promoted and learnt (Halisi et al, 1998). It is earned and sustained. It is demanded and fought for. Lesotho has not had this trajectory. For these reasons, its citizens emerge from positions of weak, 'lacking'

agency. Their citizenship is strongly intersubjective citizenship. It is grounded in the promotion, legitimation and support by the 'other'. It is dependent and contingent citizenship. How relevant and applicable then are the discussions and policies of autonomy with or without accountability of the teacher educators in conditions just described in Lesotho? We address this question later in this chapter.

The notion and practice of citizenship in postcolonial settings and conditions such as those in Lesotho are complex and controversial. Citizenship, democracy and accountability are coterminous with each other, it seems. Where democracy does not exist or is perceived not to exist, citizenship in the liberal sense is misplaced. In the postcolonies where there are a multiple of subjugating and decentring factors in the public arena, citizenship with its anchor in the agency of the subjects is not realistic. Miller 2000: 6) points to this complexity here

The problem of citizenship and pluralism is easy to state but very difficult to solve. Its premise is the cultural fragmentation of modern states. Members of these states are in the process of adopting an ever more disparate set of personal identities, as evidenced by their ethnic affiliations, their religious allegiances, their views of personal morality.

Furthermore, the postcolonial conditions of poverty and economic deprivation; the resulting perpetual dependency on the former colonial 'other' in the West, challenge citizenship claims. They challenge the agency of the professionals in such conditions. These are probably some of the reasons why the external practices of the teacher educator subject citizens are manifest where the agendas for external engagement are determined by the 'other' as well as where, and mainly where, it seems, money is to be earned for such engagement. This factor makes education amenable to penetration by commercial interests such as those described by Aronowitz and Lesly and Slaughter. It opens education up to the 'anarchy of the market place' and lack of moral regulation (see Turner, 1992: xxxii, preface to Professional Ethics and Civic Morals).

With the preceding discussion in mind, it seems the articulation of subject and citizen subjectivities is a complex phenomenon. It is difficult to ascertain a priori, and to sustain.

It is contingent and dependent on various hailing factors and prompts by the other as the case cited earlier and other examples of practices have shown. One is either strongly subject at some point, and tenuously, if at all, citizen, at the same time or at another point. Or they are strongly citizen and weakly or otherwise subject at the same time or another. These subject positions, as we have come to learn, are continuously shifting and changing. In the case cited earlier, the teacher educators were strongly citizens but their subject activities were seriously compromised. Teaching, marking and other teaching related duties, the very primary responsibilities of these 'autonomous' subjects, were poorly done or sacrificed in preference for external engagement which carried additional payment for these professionals.

In theory and in principle most teacher educators involved in this study display an articulation between their professional commitments and responsibilities as autonomous subjects and societal activities and obligations as citizens. In practice, however, evidence shows that their private professional commitments are both weak and disappointing (bordering on unethical conduct) while their external or societal responsibilities and obligations are just either completely neglected or sparingly performed despite claims of external engagement by a majority of them. This field-note is illustrative of this point.

Two lady lecturers, one in Science education (Biology) another in Agricultural Education, I observed over time as some of the most involved in research and consultancies with teams of researchers sometimes from the World Bank, sometimes from German Development Service. But their teaching work is seriously compromised. The December 2005 end-year examination results delay to be published because these two, among a few other educators, delayed to finish their marking and to submit their scores. (Field-note, Thursday, 27th January, 2005)

Most of the teacher educators with strong disciplinary identities reflect the articulation of the private, professional responsibilities and the public, societal ones.

It seems the knowledge bases of teacher education and the nature of the teacher education disciplines in Lesotho need further investigation. This study only went as far as identifying the disciplines as the anchors of the professional identities of the teacher educators as well as identifying and analysing the various categories of the disciplines in

relation to their relationships with the professionalism of the teacher educators. The power/knowledge contests that seem to exist need to be investigated and understood in relation to the extent to which they dislocate the subjectivities or even interpellate the other, especially the subaltern other.

The foregoing discussion leads us to the question of how relevant and applicable the discussions and controversies on autonomy and accountability in higher education are. How relevant are they to the Lesotho situation given the discussion above? The next part of this chapter concludes on these issues. But before we do that, let us for a moment look at the religious affiliations factor that we have said is important and has the potential of affecting the agency of the professional subjects in Lesotho. This should tie in well with the subsequent discussion of autonomy and accountability.

7.6 The Noise in Silence: Professionalism and Religious Affiliation

One of the issues made in the literature is the need to separate professionalism from the religious and partisan agendas, or even to separate the secular from the sacred in public professional affairs. In the first place, this is a very difficult expectation it seems. The practicality of this requirement in Lesotho where historically the two have been conjoined is doubtful, I argued at the beginning of this investigation. Although the issues of religious affiliation and partisan politics may be prevalent in the professional world and activities of many teacher educators, and to some extent, institution-wide in both institutions, they are quite subtle and subterranean. They can be detected and sensed in the silences and the voicelessness of the teacher educators when it comes to discussing these matters.

The portent in the silence and reluctance of the teacher educators to be drawn on the issue of the churches in education or religious affiliation is what remains to be deeply investigated and understood. But it is, it seems, a very difficult matter to get into. It requires bravery and a high level of investigative expertise and tact. The researcher's own

subjective realities and experiences are important in investigating this issue. My own subjective reality of growing in and knowing the sensitivity of religious affiliations in Lesotho had an effect on me. I was overly conscious and cautious in investigating this matter. Such cautiousness could easily affect the respondents, if sensed. Be that as it may, the findings are discussed here in their very nature.

As has been indicated in the previous analyses chapters, the teacher educators identified with weaker and indeterminate disciplinary identities conflated the professional and religious values, beliefs and practices in their discursive self-representations. They have weak disciplinary identities and a professionalism that is morally based. At the same time they are the only ones that very strongly discussed the issue of religion and politics as endemic in the education system, including teacher education in Lesotho, while most others shunned any mention, let alone discussion, of this issue. Nearly all of the teacher educators with weaker disciplinary identities feel alienated in their institutions which, it seems, are too secular as some of the respondents have shown in their beliefs, perceptions and wishes but have also failed to produce the kinds of teachers they believe are required. One of the respondents in this category told me how proud she was that she had been trained in the church teacher training colleges where she says "...we were *really* trained." This educator is supported in her views by another one who says she was also fortunate to have been trained in the church training colleges.

What seems to be getting clearer as one of the findings is that there are obviously two religious groupings of teacher educators. There are the Catholics and Evangelicals as one group and the Anglicans as another group. The latter have stronger disciplinary identities as well as citizen identities even if it is at least stated more in their discursive representations than it is in practice. This group is historically associated with the English colonists and the English Missionaries. The former group is made up of a mix of educators with weak disciplinary identities and weak citizen identities and that of those with stronger disciplinary identities and citizen identities. This group is historically associated with the French Missionaries. Although the evidence is not conclusive, the

indication of these separations is there. These examples are illustrative of the fracturing or bifurcation of the type Mamdani (1996) has written about. Though the strongly religious group does not constitute the majority of the teacher educators, it consists of a considerable enough number (5 /15 interviewees) to be a cause for concern. These are those that were able to talk and discuss the religious and church related issues. The rest were either vague, silent or hated any discussion of religious affiliation.

It is good that there are these silences around the issue of religious affiliation. This is so because some of them may be silent because of their ethics. We in education in Lesotho know that it is unethical to mix education, partisan politics and religious affiliation given the history of their inclusion and exclusion. The ethics I am talking about here are personal and professional ethics. Nothing in the official documents such as the Lesotho Education Act (1995) which is now being revised, addresses the ethics of mixing religion, politics and education. However, it is worrying to have the kind of voicelessness that there is from people that discursively define themselves as academics and researchers. This also means that in the curriculum of teacher preparation⁶ this history of sectarianism and its dangers is not being taught. Or should it? I wish to argue that to avoid the truth about what the history of sectarianism has done to the education sector and the nation is to be unethical. It has to be discussed and taught in order to avoid it in the future. But I know that this is easier said than done, not in Lesotho. This is treading on dangerous terrain.

The foregoing discussion leads us to a discussion on autonomy and accountability. I earlier suggested that autonomy for the teacher educators without a clearly defined framework and requirements for accountability might open teacher education up to the various conflicting interests in the public arena.

⁶ Some of the courses taught at the university include: EDF 201-3 Foundations of Education. This course seems to cover such areas as the 'History of formal education; its philosophical and sociological foundations; educational systems - pre-colonial, colonial and contemporary systems in Africa. I see no way these courses can be taught without the content of religion, education and politics in Lesotho. EDF 411-3 Education and Society, too, covers 'Analysis of the Lesotho education system'. In all these there can be no

7.7 Autonomy and Accountability of Teacher Educator Subjects and Citizens

Drawing from the earlier discussion on citizenship, democracy and the agency of the subjects, I wish to begin this section by presenting a further argument. My observation and argument are that the autonomy of the professional subjects (paradoxical as it sounds) is not a pre-existing, given status. It is to be earned and legitimated by the professionals through their own discursive practices. The state can only present or create favourable or unfavourable conditions and context for autonomy. Autonomy is like citizenship which is not a pre-given and pre-existing reality. It is earned, learnt, promoted and legitimated by the subjects and the state.

Autonomy without a clearly defined framework of accountability in teacher education is a reproduction, and a return to, the colonial regulatory system. It is a postcolonial regulatory design. It was shown in Chapter One how the colonial/ postcolonial⁷ and post-independence states kept an arms-length involvement in education. As a result, the education sector in Lesotho has never learnt to be accountable to the state. The churches have been the dominant institution in education. Any attempt by the state to intervene in education is often seen as intrusion as the 1995 case discussed in the first chapter demonstrated. Mamdani (1996) has shown how, under indirect rule, local autonomy without local accountability but external dependence on central authority was problematic. It created local hegemonies (he uses the phrase, decentralized despotism) and laissez faire. This state of affairs needs to be avoided in Lesotho to ensure improved performance of the teacher educators as subjects and citizens.

Based on the foregoing arguments depending on how they are perceived, it is a paradox that in Lesotho we talk about the government, through its parliament, granting autonomy

teaching of the history of education in Lesotho without the challenges of the conflation of religion, partisan politics and education, I suggest.

⁷ Postcolonialism is a complex notion. Various authors have shown this. But in this study the understanding of this notion is that which has been described by Loomba (1998) in which postcolonialism begins with the first encounter with the Western coloniser to the period beyond, including the present period that has been described as neo-colonial.

to the college without defining the nature and content of that autonomy. Institutional autonomy, agreed, it was granted. It is there officially. This does not mean it is there in practice as designed and required. The two need to be separated as even the literature on autonomy in Chapter Two does show. The real test, I argue, is in the agency of the professional subjects and citizens in the institution. If institutional autonomy in Lesotho was premised on the desire to improve the performance of the college, what the government actually did was to level the playing fields for such performance to take place. It was to create the conditions and the environment in which the professional subjects should operate professionally and more effectively. Institutional autonomy of, and in itself will not guarantee improved performance.

It was suggested in Chapter One that the local university was autonomous in the 1980s. In spite of this, it is still marred with problems and accusations of poor performance as anecdotal evidence shows and as the 2002-2007 strategic plan document and Mahao (2003) demonstrate. Some of its practices are often in the public domain⁸ for the reasons apparently related to power-relations and struggles as well as subjective interests among the institutional professionals.

We also noted in Chapter Two that the history of autonomy and academic freedom in higher education and states is long and filled with controversies. We also noted how the neo-liberal policies of accountability alongside autonomy in higher education are also marked by vociferous controversies in the academic literature. Most of these controversies seem to be more concentrated in the Anglo-American context than they are in continental Europe. In fact, in many continental European higher education systems, the state is stronger in steering higher education as Neave (1989) shows. In Lesotho and some of the African, and apparently developing countries, it is the Anglo-American neo-liberal policies that are hailing institutions and academics into these controversies.

⁸ During 2006 much time was spent by both the academic staff and non-academic staff on Radio Lesotho at different times castigating the university Vice-Chancellor of the time for what they called corrupt practices and under-mining of the integrity of these staff. The same thing happened before the Vice Chancellor of the years 1999, 2000 as well as the one earlier were forced to resign.

Be that as it may, the notions of autonomy and accountability are quite complex. Autonomy itself is not a monolithic and straight-forward notion. It has to be conceived in its substantive (substantive autonomy) and procedural (procedural autonomy) dimensions. The former relates to the actual business of the curriculum, teaching and learning. The latter is concerned with matters of institutional procedures of recruitment, budgeting and procurement (Berdhal, 1990; Berdhal and Millett, 1991 and Neave and Van Vught, 1991). Both or one of these dimensions of autonomy could exist in an institution. It is both these dimensions that were meant to exist in the two institutions in Lesotho.⁹

The main challenges to the autonomy of the institutions include the various subjective interests of the teacher educators. Some of these seem to be associated with religious affiliation according to this study. Others are personal, derived from the very agency of the subjects to make choices of what to do and what not to do as in the cases discussed earlier of teaching practice, research and general neglect of a number of subject responsibilities. Unfortunately, in their choices, the victim is that foreign hostile public realm¹⁰ that must, at all costs, be exploited. This is how the postcolonial public realm, in terms of Mamdani's and Ahluwalia's theses has been presented and promoted to the postcolonial subject citizen. A carefully and clearly defined system of accountability will have to be designed and implemented.

⁹ The college autonomy legislation (the Lesotho College of Education Act, 1997) is more or less a carbon copy of the university one. The university one, however, has much more complexity and other areas that are not covered in the college one. The college act was consciously developed on the basis of the university legislation. Its problems in the university do from time to time surface in the college.

¹⁰ According to Mamdani, the public sphere of the state has always been associated with the coloniser and citizenship. It has always been a foreign and hostile space to the colonised. That is a postcolonial residual attitude that lingers on even today.

7.8 Ideology, Ambivalence and Desire in Identification: Agency and Structure in the teacher educators' discursive representations and practices

People's representations of themselves reflect the interplay of a complex of interlocking factors. The evidence presented in the analysis chapters, especially in Chapter Four, is that most of the teacher educators are researchers, academics and scholars. But these identities are hardly reflected in the activities of these teacher educators. Many of them represented themselves as they did because, I suggest, it is part of their job descriptions to teach, research and provide services. In their institutions the teacher educators are expected to be and are called researchers, academics and scholars. As a result they adopt these labels that are predefined and invest themselves with them – the workings of Althusser's interpellation. Furthermore, in a number of cases, references were made to the identities of the teacher educators as works of desire rather than reflections of fact. Many of these teacher educators, in defining themselves as researchers have shown strong desires to be researchers rather than the fact that they are researchers.

The teacher educators represent themselves in ideological and rhetorical discourses as researchers and as citizens. But in reality their signifying practices reveal a different picture of 'lack'. Their 'lack' is located in their subaltern and subjectivated statuses 'inter-professionally' in their relations with the significant 'other' in higher education. Teacher education and teacher educators are unanchored in higher education settings globally, it seems (Goodlad, 1999). They are also intra-professionally situated in the dislocations signified by their discursive representations as subject specialists and as researchers as was demonstrated in Chapter Four. The interplay of power/knowledge intra-professionally is unsettling for many of them. It could be more unsettling than that between the teacher educators and their colleagues in other faculties in the university.

Grossberg (1996:91-92) uses Homi Bhabha's notion of hybridity to explain what he calls three images of "border existence of subaltern identities." In terms of his description, an in-between space is a space occupied by the subaltern. It is the 'third space'. This third space gets collapsed into the liminal space, the border itself where the subaltern is

located. The subaltern subject therefore exists as a unique hybrid that may constitute, but it is neither, the third space nor the liminal. It is somewhere in-between constantly crossing borders of uncertain and multiple subjectivities.

In Homi Bhabha's (1994) analysis, ambivalence or in-between-ness is a result of the existence of this third space, the liminal, as a temporary location of identity (also see Grossberg, 1996). It is in this imagined and real, and perhaps ideal but protean, liminal space which, in their ambivalent and amorphous identifications the teacher educators are groping to find anchor as professionals. But since reality in late modernity is temporary (both spatially and temporally), it is always changing; the anchor, the third space of comfort, is evasive and always being sought after. It is in this space where creativity, the quest for knowledge and change are located. For the teacher educators and teacher education in Lesotho, it is in the liminal and amorphous identifications that the potential lies.

A related finding to those stated above is that many of the teacher educators' self-representations are constructed through ambivalence, lack and desire. Ambivalence as indeterminacy and what Semetsky (2006:6) may be capturing as 'a zone of indetermination, of indiscernibility' represents one of the techniques of subjectivity that constructed the teacher educators' professional identities. Many teacher educators' representations of themselves are characterised by ambivalence. In their self-definitions, they are amorphous, vague, unstable and shifting. But they are more so in relation to their representations as researchers, academics, scholars and citizens. I address this through what appears to be what ambivalence is and what it signifies or even portends.

Ambivalence, in common parlance, represents a position of weakness, of lack of anchor in some competence and expertise. It could also be lack of confidence. In our common use and experience, it is a phenomenon that has to be supplanted as it portends failure or inaction. However, in psychoanalysis, it appears to represent potential, and possibility. It is a subjunctive mood of possibility representing identity as positioning – an attempt to look for and find various accommodations in something better, more satisfactory, perhaps

ideal. But that ideal is protean. It therefore requires constant negotiation of new avenues and territories.

Ambivalence, it seems, takes many forms. It is in our ability to identify, locate and understand these forms that we stand to gain or lose from its expression in the plane of discursivity. The various forms it can take are described and discussed below and their implications for teacher education in Lesotho considered.

The discursive formation of teacher education is complex and controversial. Teaching (and learning) likewise is complex, varied and context-related. They are both premised on sets of beliefs, values and philosophical orientations. The professionals in these formations have their own beliefs, values and orientations drawn from the pre-existing ones as well as from their own experiences as teachers and as teacher educators. These professionals agree with some and disagree with the others of these values, beliefs and orientations. These discursive variations produce their followers and non-followers. They produce their own non-aligning and aligning individuals. The individuals that traverse or are nomads (to use Semetsky's metaphor) in these variations have to cross varying territories or borders. These border-crossings result in ambivalence. Therefore we can have discursive ambivalence that develops from the continuities and discontinuities of the discursive formation of teacher education or teaching. Semetsky (2006:95-96) aptly captures this categorisation of ambivalence through what he calls a 'smooth space of theory' as "a place of disjunction and discomfort, because that is where different subjectivities, informed by their beliefs and experiences, meet."

This category of ambivalence could be productive and transformative since it produces possibilities for change as the ambivalent subjects rethink and reassess their own subjectivities as the 'knowers' and get into unexplored territories that produce other subjectivities, Semetsky observes.

There is, it seems, another kind of ambivalence that is epistemic in nature. It is slightly different from the one above in that it is a result of, not continuities and discontinuities in

the formation of teacher education, but it is psychic. It is grounded in the subjectivity of 'unsureness' about the technical, epistemic aspects of one's work or discipline. It could be a result of lower levels of education and disciplinary competence. It is therefore ambivalence resulting from the nature and level of education and training and the consequent lack of confidence.

The third ambivalence could be ethical in nature. It borders on 'silence' and the intention to hide or not reveal a known fact or truth about a phenomenon. For instance, where subjects know that they themselves or their colleagues are not performing as they should on account of some private or other unethical causes, they are inclined not to reveal this especially if it could cost their colleagues their jobs. But such hiding of the truth results in an 'internal battle' between the truth intending to reveal itself and the subject's intention to suppress it through other discourses of made-up truths. The discourse of such made-up truths is shaky, unanchored and therefore ambivalent. This could be called disciplining, normalising or regulative ambivalence grounded in self-scrutiny. It is ambivalence as what Rose (1996:144-145) has called 'new technologies of the conduct of conduct'. It seems to be in this ambivalence where reflexivity as a technique of self-reflection and internal accountability are located.

There can also be ambivalence resulting from the subaltern status of a subject. A multiplicity of subjections and accountabilities each making their value claims produces a psychic split in the subject. A fragmented subjectivity that is torn between these multiplicities and therefore attempting all the time to position itself in relation to each of these multiple value claims is an ambivalent subject. Power relations could produce this ambivalence. The teacher educators with weak disciplinary identities discussed earlier portray this kind of ambivalence in relation to their representations as subject specialists. They are torn between their teacher, subject teacher, aspirant researcher, employee, and religious identities, for example, as was shown in the previous chapters.

Three of these categories of ambivalence: the first, the second and the last one appear to be the most dominant or most recurring among the teacher educators in this study. All of

them are transformative in nature since they have an element of ‘lack’ and ‘desire’ about them that requires positioning and becoming-other and not ‘the other’ along what Semetsky has called ‘a plane of immanence’(p.6). And this seems to represent the new subject that is a hybrid of ‘self’ and ‘the other’ producing a different ‘other’. It is for this reason that the ‘in-between-ness’ that the teacher educators position themselves through in their representations as teachers, subject specialists, researchers and academics as well as subjects and citizens is a rich field of transformative possibilities for these professionals. This in-between-ness has to be understood and exploited as an indication of desire for becoming ‘other’, a better other.

It is in these spaces of ambivalence, desire and lack in a more useful and transformative manner that the professionalism of the teacher educators is located. Lesotho needs to consider the possibilities and potential embedded in the autonomy and accountability of the teacher educators and teacher education. These possibilities are discussed as part of the recommendations later in the remaining sections of this chapter.

7.9 Recapturing the key findings

In general therefore, the key findings include these that I outline below. Identities are multiple. What looks like a single identity, embeds a multiplicity of other identities. Therefore, ‘being’ is a ‘social jungle’ (Gergen, 1991) that we navigate through for meaning and anchor in an endless manner. Hence, identification best represents what identities really are.

The multiple professional identities of the teacher educators are anchored in their disciplines. It is therefore on their disciplinary identities that this study concentrated. The weaker the disciplinary attachment, the findings seem to indicate, the more likely the subjective interests will find their way into the professional-ness of the teacher educators.

The findings indicate that the disciplines are male gendered. The disciplines with the knowledge they entail have some association with power according to Foucault (1972).

He argues that ‘... not only is knowledge a form of power, but power is implicated in the questions of whether and in what circumstances knowledge is to be applied’ (Foucault, 1977a: 27). There is also some association of disciplines with academic individualism (Dill, 1998). These associations seem to reflect reality as we perceive it in popular and academic circles in relation to men and power. They also, in relation to further findings in this study, indicate why male teacher educators are less inclined to be accountable in comparison with their female counterparts.

The disjuncture between theory and practice in teacher education has been identified as strongly prevalent. It is obvious in the manner in which even the teacher educators’ notions of the kinds of relationships that they and their institutions should have or forge with schools are weak, confused and expressed in ambivalent language. The only relationship the teacher educators and apparently their institutions have with schools is through teaching practice placements of their students. This is a weakness of professionalism if we define it in terms of the relationship between the professional and clients. It is a challenge to the relevance of teacher preparation. The subject identities of the teacher educators are weak here. The issues of best (and bad) practices that should inform teacher preparation require collaboration between teacher preparation and schools. I agree with Lewin (2004: 12) that there is need for integrating public propositional knowledge available in colleges with the contextual and situated knowledge of specific classrooms and pupils.

A further finding is that the teacher educators’ subjectivities are intersubjective in nature. It is in their intersubjectivities that their citizen actions and practices were located. As a result, I argued that the nature of the citizenship the teacher educators exhibited is conformist citizenship. They are subject citizens and subjectivated subjects, I earlier argued. This finding is potentially heuristic in indicating the directions in which governance and accountability system might be determined and structured.

A finding related to the preceding one is that it is mainly the female teacher educators that demonstrated, in their actions and practices, citizenship. This, I suggested, appears

counter-intuitive given the associations between the disciplines, power and citizenship, and their male gendered locatedness. However, according to the findings, it appears that male citizenship is strongly expressed as rhetoric than reality. It is therefore more ideological, it seems. That of the females is weakly expressed in their discursive representations but stronger in practice. In fact, the citizenship was ranked strongly and in response to open-ended questions in the questionnaire it was further expressed more strongly by the male teacher educators than their female counterparts. The strong female citizenship appears to represent a deconstruction of the established fact in the literature about citizenship as a male sphere. Or, are we seeing what has been criticised as 'masculinisation of women' that is seen as a grave danger facing modern civilisation (Canning and Rose, 2000: 175)? Or is it the 'feminisation' of the male sphere through postcolonial modernisation?

In relation to the female citizenship and its conformist nature, there appears to be some connection with the French model of citizenship that requires further investigation. According to Leca (1992: 18), cited in Mouffe (1992), citizenship in France is based on an ensemble of moral qualities that are called 'civisme'. In French public opinion, it seems, social morality is given more importance than political morality. Leca goes on to suggest that

qualities of conformity are considered more central to social morality than the qualities of participation. Devotion to one's country ... declines in all social classes and in all age groups, especially the young. The only civic quality that is hegemonic is participation in voting... (p.18).

The relationship between the French citizenship and what has been called the conformist citizenship in Lesotho seems quite portentous. Much of what Leca tells us mirrors what happens in Lesotho. Political citizenship as participation is consistently, over the years, vociferously expressed in and around elections in Lesotho. It is in and around election times since the first post-independence elections that instability, violence and militancy, and political consciousness have been experienced in Lesotho. Taking the elections of 1970, 1998 and 2007, the experiences stated above have been consistent. From 1970

there were never elections until 1993. How far are these apparent similarities real? I wonder! How far are they, for Lesotho, a postcolonial reality given its French-British connections with the French in education which has a lasting effect on subjectivities, and the British in the economy and politics, which are fields of exclusion also constructing subjectivities? This appears to be an interesting and complex area that could not be covered within the limited scope of this study. It therefore warrants further investigation. It is interesting in its apparent indication of how education could be strongly related with developing citizen subjectivities.

Another key finding is that the agency of the postcolonial subjects is quite complex. It is a slippery phenomenon in that it is there at some point; it is not there at another. It is weak at some point and strong at another. It appears to be a circumscribed phenomenon that is absent and present. This seems to suggest that identity construction is not linear. The teacher educators' identities are constructed and deconstructed for them by a multiple of factors in their locales. But they also have some capacity to reject, construct and deconstruct their own identities as was seen in their choices to become consultants, to serve subjective interests by engaging in and demonstrating citizenship identities and values where pay and money rewards were offered, to under-serve teaching practice, to be less engaged in research despite efforts to capacitate them. These connections need to be investigated further in terms of their wider applicability among the teacher educators. This study was not intended to generalise about the findings; therefore, this finding cannot be said to be widely applicable. But it is a very important finding that is worth following up. It has the potential of giving direction to teacher education regulatory policies in Lesotho.

Against the background of these findings, what options and possibilities are there in Lesotho for most of these teacher educators to fill their 'lack' and satisfy their 'desires', and for a better and more transformative teacher education? It is to these options and possibilities that we turn below.

7.10 Options and Possibilities

A lot of useful work has already been done in Lesotho on how to improve teacher education. Suggestions abound on the weaknesses and solutions of teaching practice (Hopkins, 1996; Sugrue, 2002, Lefoka and Sebatane, 2002), on governance issues in teacher education (Sebatane, 1993), on various knowledge types, weaknesses and possibilities (Sugrue, 2002; Lewin, 2004). In this regard a lot of raw material exists for improvement. This study will not re-invent the wheel. What is lacking in all this potentially useful work is the knowledge and understandings of teacher educators' subjectivities. There has always been a need to interrogate the deeper sense of the teacher educators' professionalism, their professional beliefs and values, their professional identities, the nature of their agency and the structures that form the context of their work. It is this gap that this study sought to fill. Unless this gap is filled, performance and improvement will remain illusive, I argue.

In relation to the points made in the preceding paragraph, this study has been informed by the approaches and options such as those made widely in the literature. Fullan (1992) has repeatedly argued for the participation, in change, by those that the change will affect or who will implement it. In the same vein, Kosnik and Beck (2005: 209) have observed that

Most teacher educators have a deep understanding of the issues and excellent suggestions on how to improve teacher education. Yet they are often absent from the decision-making table, which ... is a *missing link* in teacher education renewal. Wide-scale solutions with far-reaching impact will remain elusive until teacher educators are more fully and respectfully involved in the discourse (emphasis in the original).

The options and possibilities suggested in the following sub-section of this chapter are based on the principles and beliefs expressed by Kosnik and Beck above.

As stated earlier, autonomy is a status that has to be earned and promoted by those it is intended to benefit. In Lesotho, these are mainly the teacher educators themselves. It

cannot be given to them by the state. The state can only avoid direct steering. The absence of a national policy on teacher education is both a problem and an opportunity. Its absence is confirmed by these words of one of the teacher educators involved in this study, “In Lesotho, I am not familiar with or aware a formal document that officially guides my practices”. Another educator observed as follows

What dominates the teaching profession in Lesotho today are trade unions followed by subject associations and in the absence of a council for teachers that registers, sets, monitors standards for teachers as well as to make sure that teachers adhere to ethical and professional standards throughout their teaching life.

The absence of such a policy is also a problem given the history of *laissez faire* and non-accountability in Lesotho’s education system as was argued in Chapter One. It is also a problem given the sectarian history of the education system and various subjective interests that over the years have been immanent with being a teacher in Lesotho.

But it is also an opportunity for the two institutions to develop cultures of collaboration, of peer work and develop within and between institutions communities of teacher education practice. In the absence of systemic steering, these institutions have the opportunity to develop these discursive practices on their own terms without compulsion, probably informed by a common professional vision. They are within 35 kilometres of each other as well as 30 minutes of each other depending on the technologies deployed. Earlier on in this study we witnessed testimonies of absence of collaboration and peer cultures among the teacher educators along the lines suggested by this educator: “teacher educators should have an association in which they will share professional practices.”

Another one also has this to say “there is a certain morality and expectations about the teaching profession that gets passed on between teacher educators when they are together.” The need for these cultures of collaboration were stated in the MUSTER Study Two Report cited earlier.

Therefore, even before we can think of systemic control or governance of teacher education that is steered by the state through the Ministry of Education and Training, this

study proposes a review, reconceptualisation and development of inter- and intra-institutional and professional mechanisms of regulation and control. The college is affiliated to the university. But the affiliation has mainly concentrated on the procedural matters of curriculum and programme approval and approval of examination results. The college engages external examiners for the substantive matters of the curriculum and teaching. The external reports are never shared and discussed by the two institutions. The plane of professional discursivity (cf. Semetsky, 2006) is untapped and undeveloped between these institutions despite the long affiliation relationship. It is here that we should start in developing teacher education and teacher educators in Lesotho, I propose. Any systemic regulation of teacher education will be best informed by these inter and intra-institutional practices. That way systemic regulation will strengthen and capacitate rather than interpellate, direct, control and socialise the teacher educators and their institutions into the dominant cultural and national norms. In this regard Bates (2007:138) warns against “regulation by markets (and their proxy organization – the nation state) or subservience to partisan communities” but rather through enlisting “in the service of the personal Subject and its freedom...”. It is this approach that I propose.

In support of the proposal for intra-institutional and intra-professional collaboration, Bates (2007:135) advises policy makers through citing Gray (2000:2) that

nearly all societies today contain several ways of life, with many people belonging to more than one. The liberal ideal of toleration which looks to a rational consensus on the best way of life was born in societies divided on the claims of a single way of life. It cannot show us how to live in societies that harbour many ways of life.

Therefore to live in societies described here as harbouring many forms of life, Gray (2000) goes on to propose the need to reach “a *modus vivendi* that accepts there are many forms of life in which humans can flourish and constructing institutions that allow for such”(cited in Bates, 2007:135).

In line with Gray, I propose a kind of regulative and accountability mechanism that recognises the potential in intra- and inter-professional/institutional collaboration and

community building. It should recognise the existence of diversity or heterogeneity that was identified among the teacher educators earlier in this chapter. It should recognise such heterogeneity as something not necessarily to supplant. Such a model of regulation and accountability would be based on the fact that the construction of the teacher educators' subjectivity is through intersubjectivity as the findings have shown. Further, the proposed model should recognise that the existence of heterogeneity means that what Durkheim called the 'conscience collective' has either declined or taken other forms through the mutual constitution and hybridisation that took place through postcolonial experiences. While such a model may borrow from and be strengthened by those from other locations elsewhere, it should be informed by the local conditions and realities. Some of these realities include the intersubjective nature of the construction of the teacher educators' subject and citizen subjectivities as well as confirmed by the extant African cosmic view versus that of the liberals that emphasized the bond between individuals and the community. It abhorred individualism while also having a place for individuality (Machobane and Manyeli, 2001). And, the maxim that says (cited from Mbiti, 1970: 141) "I am because we are, and since we are, therefore I am" is relevant to this proposal (see Machobane and Manyeli, 2001:14).

Based on the findings, it is 'transformative and educative accountability' that appears best suited for the discursive formation of teacher education and the teacher educators in Lesotho. This model of accountability emphasizes more answerability for processes than the products. It is based on a belief in setting 'basic' parameters (minimum standards) for performance and building relevant communities of practice that enhance capacities and increase understanding and confidence. It is based on the principle that there are multiple realities of the best ways of performing. These realities are embedded in the individual teacher educators' subjectivities. This model of accountability should not, as its emphasis, priority and driving concern, be demand-driven, seeking to find whether the results have been achieved – product accountability. The teacher educators' subjectivities constructed through ambivalence, lack and desire require supportive and transformative accountability through intra-professional efforts in communities of practice.

The proposals above are made against the conclusion we make that the postcolonial subject is circumscribed in mind and in structures. This subject is not a free agent capable of much autonomous action. The fact that despite their knowledge of and positive attitude to their societal responsibilities, most of these teacher educators do not in practice go beyond their institutions or classes or private professional domain to service or collaborate with schools, is a problem and challenge to professionalism and the notion of untrammelled autonomy. It is a challenge to governmentality and internal accountability. While the significance of internal accountability should not be down-played, it is to be noted that its meaning, usefulness and applicability cannot be accepted as universally unproblematic. Lesotho's teacher education system is a product of a colonial and postcolonial history of non-accountability and the tensions between politics and religion, the state and the churches. As a result, there is "... laxity in the education and training profession. People don't seem to care any more..." Interviewee # 7 observed.

Institutional autonomy seems to have a lot of good about it. But in post-colonial settings where education professionals have weak agency, institutional autonomy could be abused or meaningless. It could open institutions up for various subjective and counter-productive interests. This argument was raised in Chapters Six and Seven. There is therefore a need for institutional autonomy that is complemented with systemic regulation that normalises the practices of the professionals in desired directions and that carefully and consultatively sets clearly defined accountability requirements. Various models of autonomy exist in various parts of the Western World. This is brought about by the fact that the circumstances of countries differ. Post-colonial circumstances also prescribe approaches to governance of institutions. This study recommends a model of autonomy that takes into account the multiple and fragmented publics that the institutions serve, that recognises the weak agency of the subjects as well as the potential that there is in intersubjectivity.

The majority of the teacher educators are an 'absent presence' in the public arena in terms of the performance of their citizen obligations. This study has further demonstrated that citizenship as subjectivity among the teacher educators is an absent presence in Lesotho.

It has also been argued that the same applies to democracy since citizenship is the epiphenomenon of democracy. The problem therefore is that with this weakness the teacher educators' role requires strong civic virtue if these professionals are to make meaningful contributions to education and development of citizens. The challenge is that there is need for more deliberate effort on the part of the state to develop citizenship values in Lesotho. Citizenship education both in the formal and non-formal education sectors and through the various organs of society could make a difference. But the state might have to take a proactive role. This should be so despite the fact that the post-colonial state is itself a creation of colonisation and lacks the necessary capacity to implement its own programmes.

That professionals are responsabilized enough to govern themselves and to govern their own conduct without external oversight is unrealistic in post-colonial conditions such as those in Lesotho. Too many of these professionals have 'little agency' within an education system and national context that has a number of circumscribing and constraining factors to the conduct of professionals. A universalistic conception of autonomy can be misleading and detracting from the particularities of individual countries' circumstances (cf. Enslin, 1999). Autonomy has to be contextually and politically defined as Neave (1988) cautions. By the same token, whether accountability is inimical to professional autonomy or not, is an idea that should be taken and debated in relation to the location and circumstances of the varying countries. A different, more nuanced and specific debate is required in Lesotho on the meaning, scope and utility of autonomy and its relationship with accountability in teacher education along the lines suggested in the notion of 'endogenization' (Cloete and Muller, 1998: 526). That is, accountability, too, will need to be contextualised, defined and practised in accordance with Lesotho's circumstances.

The role of professionals, the teacher educators themselves and others, as drivers of autonomy and players in the regulative practices and accountability processes has to be properly defined and located. This remains a challenge that has to be faced by those

charged with the responsibilities of preparing teachers and managing and facilitating such preparation. The process will have to begin with informal forums of reflection and debate, within communities of practice, around challenges in teacher education in Lesotho. Informal forums have a better appeal than formal and structured ones especially in the formative stages of the project to review and improve practices. Informal forums have a feel of equal partners sharing issues of common interest with everyone having the freedom, as a colleague and an equal to express views, observations and concerns, and what directions need to be taken. It is this approach that I am comfortable with to begin the process. It is on this note that I end this research journey in order to begin another and many others.

In bringing closure to this journey, I wish to indicate that Mamdani's binary presentation of postcolonial subject and citizen subjectivities, for which he has been criticized, had a formative appeal and effect on me. As a subject brought up in postcolonial settings of inclusion and exclusion and dualisms, binaries have constructed my view of reality. If Mamdani had intended that his thesis would provoke, it had that effect on me. It knocked into my world-view sensibilities. My decision to pursue his line of argument is one testimony to this. However, my later encounters with Ahluwalia and then later, other post-structural and postcolonial theorists, had another, different effect on me. I became a subject torn between the two discursive views of reality. Perhaps this is what *positioning* is all about. I have been interpellated by both world views. One tries to fix, anchor and essentialise me into the established and hegemonic positions of comfort. The other, through its tendency to resist and uncouple, tries to unfix, de-essentialise and position me on new terrains of unending travails of knowing and knowledge. I therefore remain ambivalent in the liminal spaces of possibility and desire to enter into these planes of discursivity.

It seems to me that we deconstruct in order to construct. We break down to the smallest units of analysis in order to understand the bigger picture. We unpack in order to dig into the depths of the hidden in the whole. I doubt if the post-structural critique would have had the same effect on me and I would have been able to negotiate my desired entry into

its world if I had not had the first encounter with, and got captivated by the familiar, structural and binary construction that Mamdani's thesis is based on. It is on these binaries that my own world view and reality was constructed, experienced and lived. It is, however, out of these binaries and through my own postcolonial experiences and lens that I wish and 'desire' to view and experience the late-modern world. Old habits die hard, though.

7.11 Implications of the Study for further Research and Practice in Lesotho

Throughout this chapter, implications of this study for research and policy have been indicated. In section 7.10 above, possible policy options have been presented. In this section of the chapter I briefly indicate the implications of the study for further research.

There is need for more broad-based research into the professional identities of teacher educators (and teachers) in Lesotho. This study was confined to the teacher educators who participated in the research. It cannot be generalised to all. Throughout this study there are indications that the disciplines, gender, religious affiliation are significant in the construction of teacher educators' professional identities in Lesotho. A deeper understanding of the individual significance of these descriptors is needed so that we are better able to understand what the potential ingredients for improved teacher education programmes might be.

Furthermore, there is much evidence in the literature on teacher education as cited in Chapter Two that there is no consensus around what the knowledge-base for teacher education is or should be. In this study the significance of subjects of specialisations (disciplines) in the professionalism of the teacher educators was indicated. This means understanding the knowledge bases of teacher education is important. There is need to contribute to the discussion and to complement the work of Shulman (1986) especially from the post-colonial settings such as Lesotho.

The notion of intersubjectivity requires further exploration and identification in the practices of teacher educators. It was demonstrated earlier in this chapter that a number of teacher educators are able to express themselves better in their professional practices in intersubjective circumstances. This notion seems to have a heuristic significance and potential in the empowering of teacher educators, perhaps other professionals in postcolonial conditions such as those in Lesotho.

There are indications in this study, though more research is needed, that market values and practices are able to set in in the practices of teacher educators if there are no clear requirements for accountability. According to the evidence presented earlier, though this needs further investigation, teacher educators with strong research involvement tend to use their strength in research not necessarily for advancing teaching but for subjective interests. Consultancy work for financial gain takes precedence over teaching and research for developing teacher education. The illustrative case cited earlier in this chapter has shown how this comes about. Consultancy work can be very useful for the individuals, their institutions and education policy. But it has to be regulated professionally.

The argument I raise in this study that Lesotho has experienced double colonisation has not been fully developed. It will have to be investigated and clarified further. The argument contains a lot of material that has a potential for a better understanding of the post-colonial subjectivities of Basotho and their professionals as well as the socio-political problems that this 'doubleness' creates.

There is need to further explore how the knowledge and understandings of the church and state literature and theories of the post-colonial state could be utilised to harmonise the relations between the churches and the state in Lesotho on educational policies. The two institutions need each other for the benefit of all citizens. The churches have a long history of positive contribution to the development of Basotho; the state cannot do everything by itself. It needs various society organisations for support and independent contribution.

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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

Instructions:

This questionnaire is in three parts. Part A deals with the respondent's background information, Part B with internal (personal) professional values and practices while Part C concentrates on the external (public/civic) values and practices as well as general questions on your beliefs and perceptions about professionalism.

You will be required to respond to questions in different ways in this questionnaire.

1. All questions with boxes require a tick (✓) in the appropriate boxes.
2. For rank ordering questions, you will be required to circle the numbers that best represent your responses or that are applicable to you.
3. For open-ended questions you are required to write your answers in the spaces provided. Please feel free to use additional writing paper if you require more space for your answers.

My contact telephone numbers: 785277 or 8781010

Questionnaire ID No.

QUESTIONNAIRE

PART A

Please tick () in the applicable boxes. Ignore boxes in the margins.

Your work location: College University

**For Use
by
Researcher**

1. Please indicate your current professional rank.

A. Teaching Assistant

1.

B. Assistant Lecturer

C. Lecturer

D. Senior Lecturer

E. Associate Professor

F. Professor

G. Other

(Please specify).....

2. What is your current appointment status?

A. Permanent and Pensionable

B. Temporary

2.

CL. On Contract: =Local

CE. =Expatriate

D. On probation

E. Other

(Please specify).....

3. Do you hold any of these administrative positions in your institution?

A. Faculty Tutor

B. Head of Department

3.

C. Assistant Director

D. Other

(Please specify).....

4. Gender:

Male

Female

4.

5. Indicate your age range below:

- A. 20 - 25 years
- B. 26 – 30 years
- B. 31 – 35 years
- C. 36 – 40 years
- D. 41 – 45 years
- E. 46 – 50 years
- F. 51 – 55 years
- G. 56 – 60 years
- H. 61 – 65 years
- I. Over 65 years

5.

6. Marital Status:

- A. Married
- B. Single
- C. Widowed
- D. Divorced
- E. Separated

6.

7. Nationality:

- A. Mosotho
- B. British
- C. American
- D. Ghanaian
- E. Nigerian
- F. Ugandan
- G. German
- H. Indian
- I. Other

7.

(Please specify)

8. Religious Affiliation:

- A. Anglican
- B. Catholic
- C. L.E.C.
- D. Methodist
- E. None
- F. Other

(Please specify).....

9. Please state your highest academic qualification:

- A. BA
- B. BA with Education
- C. B.ED
- D. BA + PGCE
- E. B ED (Honours)
- F. MA
- G. M Ed.
- H. M Phil
- I. Ph D
- J. D Ed
- K. Other (Please specify).....

10. Where did you obtain your under-graduate and post-graduate education?

Tick (✓) in the appropriate box(es) for your responses.

	Undergraduate	Post-graduate
Lesotho	A1 <input type="checkbox"/>	A2 <input type="checkbox"/>
South Africa	B1 <input type="checkbox"/>	B2 <input type="checkbox"/>
Uganda	C1 <input type="checkbox"/>	C2 <input type="checkbox"/>
United Kingdom	D1 <input type="checkbox"/>	D2 <input type="checkbox"/>
U.S.A.	E1 <input type="checkbox"/>	E2 <input type="checkbox"/>
Canada	F1 <input type="checkbox"/>	F2 <input type="checkbox"/>
Australia	G1 <input type="checkbox"/>	G2 <input type="checkbox"/>
Nigeria	H1 <input type="checkbox"/>	H2 <input type="checkbox"/>
India	I1 <input type="checkbox"/>	I2 <input type="checkbox"/>
Other <input type="checkbox"/> (Please specify).....		

11. Please State your discipline (e.g. Psychology, Sociology of Education , Science Education etc.)

PART B

1. Please state the length of your service as a teacher educator in **this** institution.

- A. Below 1 year 1.
- B. 1 – 3 years
- C. 4 – 6 years
- D. 7- 10 years
- E. 11 – 15 years
- F. 16 – 20 years
- G. 21 – 25 years
- H. Over 25 years

2. Have you worked in any other teacher education institution before? 2

Yes No

3. If yes, state the institution (and country) in which you worked before.

(write your answers below)

Institution(s).....

Country/Countries.....
 Length of service as teacher educator (in each case).....

4. Please explain why you chose to become a teacher educator.

5. Which of these do you consider most important in shaping your professionalism as a teacher educator? **Rank order them according to their importance to you from 1 for the least important to 7 for the most important.**

	<u>Circle one number per row</u>						
A. My discipline (subject)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B. My institutional regulations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C. My students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
D. Basotho values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
E. My church values	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
F. My clan and kinship obligations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Which of the following best represent who you are professionally in the work that you do in your institution? Please rank order your responses from 1= **for the lowest in rank to 8= for the highest in rank by circling the appropriate number.**

	<u>Circle one number per row</u>							
A. A teacher	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
B. A teacher educator	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
C. A researcher/scholar	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
D. An employee/worker	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
E. An academic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
F. A subject (discipline) specialist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
G. A citizen	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
H. a representative of my church	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8



7. Which of these statements best define you and your practices as a professional in Lesotho. Please place them in order of priority by circling them from 1 to 7 with 1 representing lowest in priority and 7, highest in priority. **Circle only one number per statement.**

- (i) As a professional I devote more resources and effort to my students' professional needs and interests. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- (ii) As a professional I strongly believe in active involvement in research and publication. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- (iii) As a professional in Lesotho, I owe my allegiance to my Profession, professional colleagues and my institution and not the state. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- (iv) My professionalism mainly has to do with looking after the academic needs and interests of my students. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- (v) Professionalism for me means that I have to be actively involved in the improvement of teaching quality in Lesotho schools. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- (vi) My productivity as a professional depends on the amount of professional freedom I enjoy. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
- (vii) As a professional, I believe in conducting my activities free of Politics and purely on professional/academic grounds. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Which of the following do you consider important to you in your current job as a teacher educator in Lesotho?

(Please rank order them by circling as 1 for the least important; 7 for the most important). Circle as many as applicable.

	<u>Circle one number per row</u>						
A. The professional status the job carries with it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B. The academic freedom I enjoy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C. A relatively good salary and benefits.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
D. Good teaching and learning facilities.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
E. The privilege of serving Basotho.....	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
F. The freedom to engage in personal projects	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
G. Appreciation of my job by Ministry of Education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

PART C

1. Which of the following sections do you work closely and professionally with, in your professional job? Please indicate the importance of your association with your chosen sectors by **circling 1 for the least important, and 7 for the most important** to you.

	<u>Circle one number per row</u>						
A. Teachers associations	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
B. Ministry of Education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
C. National Curriculum Development Center	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
D. Teaching Service Department	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
E. Teaching Service Commission	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
F. Church schools secretariats	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
G. Batsoali Thutong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Please explain why it is important that you should work with the sectors you have chosen in (1) above.

3. Do you believe professionals (such as teachers, teacher educators and others like you) should be officially accountable for their work?

Yes No

NB. If your response to this question is (No), please proceed to question 6.

4. To whom are you most accountable to as a teacher educator? **Please indicate the importance of your accountability by circling 1 for the least important, and 8 for the most important among the following options.**

	<u>Circle one number per row</u>							
A. My institution	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
B. Myself as a professional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
C. My students	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
D. Ministry of Education	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
E. The Teachers' Association	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
F. School Proprietors	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
G. Batsoali Thutong	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
H. The discipline I belong to (e.g. Maths, Psychology etc)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

5. Please state reasons for your top three preferences in 4 above.

6. **If your response to 3 above in (No)**, please explain why you should not be officially required to be accountable for your professional work.

7. How far is each of the following statements a true reflection of you as a Teacher educator and a professional in Lesotho?

(Circle the appropriate number to indicate if you Agree, Disagree or otherwise with each statement).

		Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree
1.	Professionalism for me means that I have a duty, apart from teaching, to serve Basotho on the basis of my expertise.	1	2	3	4	5
2.	My professional responsibilities and my Obligations as a citizen are two sides of the same coin; both shape my practices as a teacher educator in Lesotho.	1	2	3	4	5
3.	There is no way I can do my professional work freely and effectively if I am officially required to be accountable for it.	1	2	3	4	5
4.	As a professional, I ca not serve Basotho well unless I am guided by the Ministry of Education policies.	1	2	3	4	5
5.	professionalism for me means that I have to be sensitive to the values and needs of the churches that own schools in Lesotho.	1	2	3	4	5
6.	My professionalism is about disinterested engagement in knowledge creation.	1	2	3	4	5
7.	Professionalism for me entails freedom and independence from any form of external influence by the state and its agencies.	1	2	3	4	5

8. What factors would you motivate you on a regular basis to perform your professional duties as a teacher educator in Lesotho?
9. What in your experience as a teacher educator guides and directs your professional practices in Lesotho?
10. Could you make any other comments on whether there is, in your belief, any difference between being a good professional in teacher education in Lesotho as opposed to anywhere else in the world?

Thank you very much for taking your valuable time to answer this questionnaire.

Appendix B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

- A. Name/ID of Interviewee:
 - B. Place of Interview:
 - C. Date of Interview
 - D. Time and duration of interview:
 - E. Prof. Rank of Interviewee:
1. How long have you worked as a teacher educator in Lesotho (or elsewhere)?
 2. How is it like to be a teacher educator in Lesotho?
 3. (i) What sort of things, apart from teaching, are you professionally concerned and actually engaged in as a teacher educator?
(ii) What about your colleagues (other teacher educators)?
 4. How far does each of these define you as a teacher educator, and under what circumstances are you each of these?
 - (a) Teacher
 - (b) Academic
 - (c) Subject specialist
 - (d) Researcher/scholar
 - (e) church representative
 - (f) employee
 - (g) citizen
 5. How as a teacher educator are you actively involved in the improvement of teaching quality in Lesotho schools?
 6. Do you think the church should be an important factor in teacher education in Lesotho? Why/why not?
 7. Their opinion on whether teacher education and teacher educators (they themselves) need any form of external direction and regulation. Whom by?
 8. At the end of every interview, each interviewee to say who he/she is that I have been talking to (in terms of professionalism, beliefs, values etc.)?

Appendix C

Observation Protocols

1. Date and time of observation?
2. Place?
3. Time and duration of lesson?
4. Educator involved?
5. What subject and topic is taught?
6. Is the lesson knowledge-focussed or a methodology lesson or both?
7. What activities of the students and those of the educator are key to the lesson, and what do they tell about the educators' professional beliefs , values and approaches to teaching?
8. What roles does the educator assume in the course of the lesson that could indicate or portray his/her various professional identities? For example, does the educator portray teacher, subject expert, subject specialist, methodologist identities?
9. What examples of being a teacher, academic, subject specialist, methodologist are identifiable from the lesson?
10. Any other comments/notes:

Appendix D

Table 4: Respondents according to Religious Affiliation

Religious Affiliation	Frequency	% N=65
Anglican	11	17
Catholic	28	43
Evangelical	15	23
Methodist	None	None
None	5	8
Other	6	9

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Appendix E

Table 5(b) Factors Motivating Respondents on a Regular basis to perform their Professional duties as Teacher Educators.

RESPONSE CATEGORY	FACTOR CLASSIFICATION	FREQUENCY
1. Freedom to work in a manner suited to my students. 2. Need to be students' role model. 3. Students performance, success and development 4. Motivated and high quality students. 5. Challenges from interacting with students. 6. Observing and feeling appreciated by students 7. Moral obligation to students.	Student -Factors	2 1 11 9 2 1 2 N=28
1. Positive environment of committed and supporting colleagues. 2. Appreciating and supporting seniors and administrators.	Collegial	6 4 N=10
1. Presence of transparency 2. Recognition of effort by institution. 3. Absence of favouritism. 4. Good management. 5. Institutional needs, goals and objectives.	Institutional	2 3 1 1 1 N=8
1. Availability of teaching facilities and resources. 2. Sufficient technical support.	Teaching Resources	4 1 N=5
1. Current changes in teacher education. 2. Love of the teaching profession. 3. Personal desire to grow professionally 4. Self-motivation as a teacher educator. 5. Producing quality teachers.	Professional	1 4 1 3 1 N=10
1. Institutional academic progress. 2. Changes and developments in the discipline and research agendas. 3. Results (performance) in subject.	Academic	2 4 2 N=8
2. Acceptable salaries. 2. Working conditions. 3. Benefits 4. Job satisfaction.	Salary and Conditions	10 5 4 4 N=23
2. Need for educational improvement in the country. 2. Concern for the education of Basotho children. 3. Ministry of Education policy. 4. Working with other stakeholders in education.	Civic	4 4 1 1 N=10

Appendix F

Table 5.8: Teacher Educators' Involvement in Schools

Descriptor	Rankings						
	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
<u>Work Location</u>							
College	33 (75)	3 (6.8)	–	1 (2.27)	–	1 (2.27)	1 (2.27)
University	16 (76.19)	1 (4.76)	2 (9.5)	–	1 (4.76)	–	–
<u>Gender</u>							
Male	22 (73.3)	2 (6.66)	2 (6.66)	–	–	–	–
Female	27 (77)	2 (5.7)	–	1 (2.85)	1 (2.85)	1 (2.85)	1 (2.85)
<u>Nationality</u>							
Basotho	42 (75)	3 (5.35)	1 (1.78)	1 (1.78)	1 (1.78)	1 (1.78)	1 (1.78)
Expatriate	7 (77.77)	1 (11.1)	1 (11.1)	–	–	–	–
<u>Qualification</u>							
Undergraduate	13 (65)	2 (10)	–	1 (5)	–	1 (5)	1 (5)
Postgraduate	36 (80)	2 (4.4)	2 (4.4)	–	1 (2.2)	–	–
<u>Religious Affiliation</u>							
Anglican	10 (90.9)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Catholic	20 (74.07)	2 (7.4)	1 (3.7)	1 (3.7)	1 (3.7)	1 (3.7)	1 (3.7)
Evangelical	11 (73.3)	1 (6.66)	–	–	–	–	–
None	3 (60)	–	1 (20)	–	–	–	–
Other	4 (66.66)	1 (16.66)	–	–	–	–	–
<u>Professional Experience</u>							
6 yrs and below	24 (72.7)	3 (9.09)	1 (3.03)	1 (3.03)	–	1 (3.03)	1 (3.03)
Over 6 years	24 (78)	1 (3.1)	1 (3.1)	–	1 (3.1)	–	–

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