COMMUNITY, SELF and IDENTITY

educating South African university students for citizenship

Edited by

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Foreword

THE QUESTION OF HOW TO BUILD CITIZENSHIP through education has received worldwide attention and has been of particular interest to South Africa after the transition to democracy. In 2000 a report by the Ministerial Working Group on Values in Education highlighted six qualities that the education system should actively promote: equity, tolerance, multilingualism, openness, accountability and social honour. The Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy subsequently identified a number of strategies for 'instilling democratic values in young South Africans in the learning environment'.

More specifically in higher education, 'Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education', which was adopted in 1997, proposes that higher education should contribute to 'the socialisation of enlightened, responsible and constructively critical citizens'. It further states that higher education should encourage 'the development of a reflective capacity and a willingness to review and renew prevailing ideas, policies and practices based on a commitment to the common good'. One of the goals identified in this White Paper is also the production of

> graduates with the skills and competencies that build the foundations for lifelong learning, including critical, analytical, problem-solving and communication skills, as well as the ability to deal with change and diversity, in particular, the tolerance of different views and ideas.

As we have come to learn, reaching these goals is easier said than done, although the ideals remain important. The recent Declaration of the Stakeholder Summit on Higher Education Transformation, which was convened by the Minister of Higher Education and Training, recommended the need for 'a curriculum orientated towards social relevance and which supports students to become socially engaged citizens and leaders'. The agenda, which was set post-1994, therefore remains

substantially unchanged; what we now need is more evidence of practical attempts to realise the goals.

This is all the more important given that discrimination on the basis of gender, ethnicity and national origin is still so evident on South African campuses. This emerged sharply from the findings of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions under the chairmanship of Professor Crain Soudien, which was established to investigate and advise on discrimination in higher education following the deplorable incident at the University of the Free State in which a small number of white male students living in a university residence were party to the shocking abuse of domestic workers in one of the residences.

Many of the activities that contribute to reaching the goals of higher education for responsible citizenship fall under the broad umbrella of 'social responsiveness' or 'community engagement', and many institutions have embraced these terms. These interventions include formal service learning components of academic programmes, especially in areas such as the health sciences, and voluntary initiatives often ably run by student organisations. The lasting and sometimes even life-changing impact on students who have participated in such initiatives should not be underestimated.

It has often been difficult to obtain resources for such activities and programmes in already financially stretched institutions and the work has tended to be seen as peripheral to the primary functions of these institutions. In this regard there are now some encouraging signs. Greater acknowledgement of this area of work has come in the form of the inclusion of social responsiveness in the institutional audit criteria of the Higher Education Quality Committee and funding support from, among others, the National Research Foundation through a new funding stream. A number of universities are also paying far greater attention than in the past to the social responsiveness agenda through the adoption of formal policies and programmes, including the use of social responsiveness criteria in staff promotion policies.

However, a major challenge to our moving forward on the basis of experience of the implementation of innovative programmes is that many such programmes are not well documented. On the one hand, therefore, we have a number of carefully thought out policy documents and public statements about the need for citizenship education, but, on the other hand, we know relatively little of the nuts and bolts of what is at stake in the development of appropriate programmes. For us to learn from such programmes, we urgently need to know more about the theory underpinning them, the details of implementation, the challenges faced, and – difficult though this is to determine – some assessment of the impact on students themselves and on their development. In short, we have enough broad policy statements; what we

now need are detailed and self-critical descriptions and appraisals of actual projects. We need these case studies to be written in some detail so that we can learn from practice. This is what the present book is about.

The aim of this book is at first glance very modest and small scale: it tells the story of one small project, examining many aspects of it from a range of perspectives. The contributors are careful not to claim too much for their work, but it is important not to underestimate the significance of this document. It represents one of the first detailed accounts of a project that attempts to address crucial citizenship issues in South Africa, and the reporting serves as a challenge and model to other similar initiatives.

Key to the Community, Self and Identity project are features we indeed need to know more about in South Africa. The project is interdisciplinary, interprofessional, and interinstitutional. It is innovative, ambitious and far reaching, and the first of its kind in South Africa that we have the opportunity to learn from. It is a collaboration between like-minded colleagues at the University of the Western Cape and Stellenbosch University, two universities with very different histories and institutional cultures. For most of the participating students it offered the first opportunity to interact with peers across the divides of race, class, language and institution. The project also cuts across academic disciplinary boundaries in the health and welfare sector, adding yet more complexity.

The aim of the project is to provide an opportunity for students to study the concepts of community, self and identity. However, the use of a 'pedagogy of discomfort', which is explicit in moving students away from the familiar and safe, points to broader objectives that are not purely academic. Implicit in this approach is the hope of stimulating young people from diverse backgrounds and experiences to better understand their own and, in turn, one another's worlds. This exploration of self, identity and community may lead some students to make a greater investment, both personally and professionally, in strengthening democracy and building a society that is more caring and equitable.

I encourage anybody interested in grappling with the complexities of training for citizenship in higher education to read this book. However, its chapters raise as many questions as they answer. And key among these questions is the extent to which the lessons learned from this project can be applied to other contexts, and how.

Does the approach, we need to ask, lend itself to other disciplines? To what extent is the methodology tied to the health and 'caring' disciplines and professions? What role does gender play in the willingness or otherwise of students to participate actively? Do the students, particularly across the two institutions, maintain contact with one another and, if so, what is the nature of any ongoing or intermittent contact? What is the impact of the project on the participating staff

and the demands it has made on them? Are there any lessons for the professional development of academic and support staff of higher education institutions?

At the heart of the matter is the extent to which we can provide experiences that change the way in which students view their role as transformatory agents in society. This book goes some way to answering this question, but it does not – nor does it pretend to – answer the question in full, particularly given the challenges of over-full curricula and the host of other needs that students (many of whom are ill prepared for higher education) may have. But the book is an important start. It needs to be read carefully, debated and engaged with. It will have achieved its considerable potential if it serves as the start rather than the end point of a debate about what we can do on the ground to realise some of the goals that we have set for higher education in South Africa.

Nasima Badsha
Chief Executive: Cape Higher Education Consortium

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Each chapter is the responsibility of its author(s) and the book is the responsibility of the editors; no part of it represents the views of any organisation or funder.

Abbreviations and acronyms

ADC	Academic Development Centre
ANC	African National Congress
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CSI	Community, Self and Identity
DoBE	Department of Basic Education
DoE	Department of Education
GIS	geographic information system
HEI	higher education institution
NACI	National Advisory Council on Innovation
NRF	National Research Foundation
PLA	participatory learning and action
PoD	pedagogy of discomfort
PSoC	psychological sense of community
Report of the Ministerial Committee	*Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions*
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SALC	Self-Access Learning Centre
Sanpad	South Africa Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development
SU	Stellenbosch University
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UWC	University of the Western Cape

Editors' introduction

Brenda Leibowitz, Leslie Swartz, Vivienne Bozalek, Ronelle Carolissen, Lindsey Nicholls and Poul Rohleder

IN EVERY ERA THERE ARE COMPELLING REASONS why education has an important role to play in the enhancement and transformation of society. In our era, urgent issues with which education needs to engage are struggles for democracy, the global economic crisis, global warming and environmental sustainability. In addition to these international recurring points of crisis, which affect South Africa as much as they do other parts of the world, there are a host of challenges stemming from our apartheid past, which continue to plague our society. Two particular challenges pertain to inequality and social division. On the one hand, they hamper the work of higher education, but, on the other hand, they also provide a challenge and motivation for higher education in South Africa to do something extraordinary, to contribute towards a solution or amelioration of social conditions as they stand. We argue, therefore, that higher education matters now as much as ever, and that educators can contribute to the development of our society and our graduates.

But what kind of graduates should higher education produce? At one time, issues of identity and citizenship were seen as incidental to most higher education activities. Currently, theorists in the field of higher education worldwide understand that it is part of the role of the university to prepare graduates to play a role in a rapidly changing and globalising world – a role that goes beyond the application of narrowly understood technical skills. Increasing international discussion of what constitute the generic attributes focuses not only on attributes that make learning happen, but also on attitudinal and personal attributes that may be as important (Barrie 2004; 2006; 2007). According to Barnett (2007: 6), in an age of uncertainty 'ontology triumphs epistemology', thus our will to learn and think critically – how we behave, feel and think – is more important in this age than simply what we know, not that the latter is not significant. Attributes such as compassion, criticality and a sense of responsibility are necessary for individuals to contribute towards civic reconciliation and transformation in South Africa (Waghid 2005; 2009). Furthermore, do graduates, for example, have the interpersonal flexibility and

confidence to handle new forms of complexity in their social and working lives, and to interact with people from a variety of backgrounds? Do graduates have the emotional insight and imagination to discern the viewpoints of others, to work in a productive team, to lead where necessary and to contribute skills as required to respond to enduring problems?

Attention to graduate attributes cannot be a meaningful pursuit in isolation of a broader transformative project in which the role of the institution itself remains crucial. This is implicit in studies such as the *Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions* (DOE 2008). The role of the academic within this, as a role model and reflexive and critical lifelong learner, is crucial. Educators are also influenced by the vestiges and effects of the apartheid past, such as unacknowledged racism, victimhood, guilt or defensiveness (Jansen 2009). In this book we do not pay attention specifically to the role of the institution, although we acknowledge its importance. Our focus is on a critical 'pedagogy of discomfort' (Boler & Zembylas 2003), which we believe is able to unlock dialogue on difference and identity among students, but we argue that this pedagogy is not possible if the educators involved are not themselves undergoing a learning experience that involves learning, vulnerability and discomfort (Leibowitz et al. 2010). We go one step further to argue that a pedagogy of discomfort in higher education is supported by inquiry, or the scholarship of teaching and learning, that is itself critical (Leibowitz 2011) and 'discomforting'. A psychological/psychoanalytic perspective allows us to consider that the process of learning not only requires us to tolerate and think about discomforting emotions, but recognises that these difficult feelings arise when we are faced with issues of difference and otherness. Integral to learning something new is the capacity and opportunity to interrogate one's assumptions about the other. This is not easy to do when we are confronted with the consequences of a shared painful and inhumane past. Our intention in producing this book is to share the findings of this journey of discovery of the team and individuals associated with the team with the broader teaching and learning community.

The CSI project

The Community, Self and Identity (CSI) project was a pedagogic design initiative underpinned by a scholarship of teaching and learning research approach. By this we mean research on teaching and learning within the disciplines by teachers (Boyer 1990; Chalmers 2011) and as critical friends (Kreber 2002). The project was designed and developed by a team at two universities in the Western Cape,

South Africa and implemented across three disciplines: social work, psychology and occupational therapy. A combination of participatory techniques (including the innovative use of drawing and the arts as media of teaching and learning) and the increasingly important e-learning tools such as discussion fora and chatrooms on an online learning platform was used. The module was designed to assist students in the social service professions to interrogate their own identities and histories, and make links between these and their future work as professionals. It was implemented for three consecutive years with students in their fourth year of study. The research underpinning the initiative focused on multiple aspects of the project, as is evident from the chapters in this volume.

The research and curriculum development team set itself the following goals:

- to analyse how institutional, social and biographical differences influence students' engagement with one another and with dominant disciplinary constructs, and in so doing to create new ways to extend agency, critical reflexivity, and understanding of civic responsibility for students and instructors;
- to investigate the value of particular innovative curricular activities in the social service and health professions involving students in face-to-face and e-learning modes of instruction; and
- to analyse the challenges and potential in transdisciplinary and interinstitutional curriculum development.

Among the outcomes it anticipated achieving were:

- the establishment of a model for transdisciplinary and interinstitutional curriculum development in the health and social sciences in southern African higher education contexts;
- the establishment of a normative and theoretical framework for engaging in curriculum renewal using the following theoretical approaches: participatory action learning; collaborative learning; social justice perspectives, including the human capabilities approach; political ethics of care; psychoanalytic theory on understanding emotions and fantasy in conscious and unconscious processes; and deconstructionist approaches towards language, learning and culture;
- guidelines for transdisciplinary, collaborative, and interinstitutional teaching and research endeavours;
- collaborative relationships between lecturers in three disciplines at the University of the Western Cape and Stellenbosch University, leading to further curriculum development, common conceptual frameworks and research outputs; and

- improved course curricula in at least two universities in three professional academic departments (social work, psychology and occupational therapy) by:
  - transdisciplinary blended learning (face-to-face encounters and e-learning);
  - interrogating one's assumptions about people and professions through combining experiential learning and exposure to critical theoretical texts on community, self and identity;
  - participatory learning and action techniques;
  - reflective assignments;
  - collaborative learning/group work;
  - the use of students' knowledges to inform the curriculum; and
  - accessing students' subjugated knowledges to inform the curriculum in relation to issues of social justice and the ethic of care.

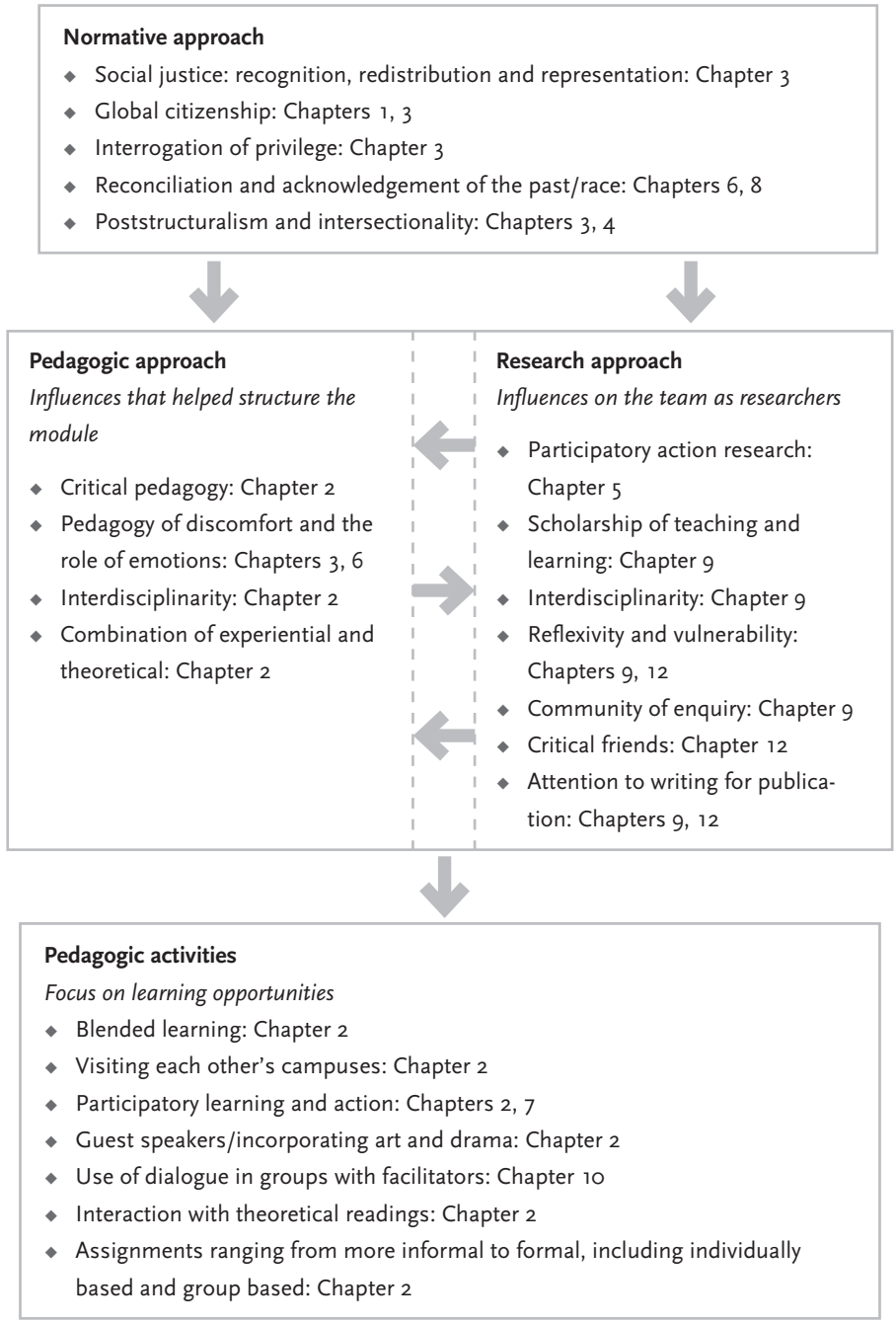
This book is a reflection on the project and what it has achieved, and provides a means of sharing this achievement and the findings with a broader teaching and research community.

The CS1 model

As we stated in our research aims, the project team hoped to share its findings via 'a model for transdisciplinary and interinstitutional curriculum development in the health and social sciences in Southern African higher education contexts'. The chapters in this volume elucidate various aspects of the model, which is summarised in Figure 1. The model shows how the values and normative influences informed both the pedagogic and research approach, which then influenced each other. These approaches gave rise to the pedagogic activities chosen for the module. This did not happen in a once-off, step-by-step way. There was a constant feeding of insights and ideas from the analysis into action, and back into the analysis. This is what we mean when we refer in Chapter 9 to educational research aiming to transform both theory and practice (Kemmis & McTaggart 2005) by combining research goals with action goals (Healy 2000).

The research covered a broader terrain than that suggested in this model. Readers can follow this up by reading papers that we have published in journals. These are indicated in the various reference lists at the end of the chapters.

FIGURE 1 *Model for curriculum development for citizenship in higher education*



Sustainability

'Since you believe this work to be so important', one may ask of the team members and editors of this book, 'why has it not continued after the three years of implementation?' The answer is twofold. At the practical level, two of the team members left South Africa and a third moved out of the department in which she was working. But at the level of principle, we hoped to have more of an influence on other academics at our universities and elsewhere, hence the production of this book. For this reason the remaining members of the team formed a new collaboration with two additional colleagues to offer a short course for academics on pedagogic methods to engage students on issues of citizenship, social difference and inclusion. At the time of writing this introduction, the short course has been offered twice and has proved to be complex and challenging. Some of the difficulties have arisen because it requires working with postgraduates who have already begun to engage theoretically with issues of difference, and there is not always the institutional support to interrogate the assumptions that have been encoded in the new post-apartheid narratives (for example, the Rainbow Nation). This process requires time and an emotional commitment by all (both students and teachers) to review and reflect on their current identities in relation to one another.

The book's contents

Part 1

Part 1 presents the background to the research. *Chapter 1* presents a description of what we mean by global citizenship. It provides a broad outline of contemporary South African society and explains why we feel there is a gap and thus a critical need for a project such as the CSI project to enhance global citizenship. *Chapter 2* provides a brief description of the curriculum intervention and an outline of the key approaches, broadly based on social justice and critical pedagogy, which informed the design of the module and the analysis of the data generated by the project. The key theoretical influences on the project are described in *Chapter 3*, which presents the theoretical influences in three sections: those informing the original design, those that we adopted while working with the data and sources for future analysis. This is broadly in line with the more inductive, iterative and grounded approach to the research. *Chapter 4* is an analytic discussion of two key concepts in the CSI module: community and identity. The tensions and key issues in this discussion are illustrated with extracts from the students' writing on the CSI course.

Part 2

The second part of the volume focuses on the outcome and findings emanating from the project. *Chapter 5* outlines the research design and the key data sources utilised to analyse the outcome of the project. The chapter focuses on student responses, collected both during and at the end of the module, as well as during a longitudinal study with a more limited group of students. It provides a sense of general satisfaction, with some critique and some suggestions for how the module could have been improved. *Chapter 6* is written from a more specifically psychoanalytic perspective. With reference to student writing, it discusses the damage caused by the apartheid past and the damage that continues to be done when the effects of the past are denied. It concludes with the reminder that only through acknowledging hurt, shame and anger can we move forward. *Chapters 7* and *8* explore the use of participatory learning and action techniques, and the pedagogic potential that these techniques contain. Further, these two chapters, based on differing disciplinary and theoretical perspectives, show the potential such visual techniques have for educators to explore notions such as community and self that students from various socioeconomic backgrounds bring to their learning contexts.

Part 3

The third part explores the valuable role that partners can play in a curriculum design and research project. *Chapter 9* describes in detail the composition of the team and members' motivation for being part of the project. It describes the research and design processes, and reflects on the key success factors of the team as a community of inquiry. *Chapter 10*, written by four of the facilitators, describes their experience of being part of the module. It presents how the four facilitators understood their roles and what aspects of the pedagogic approach they found to be useful. *Chapter 11* is a reflection, written by the provider of the multimedia support, on his role in the module. He explains why he made various recording decisions over the three years and – perhaps more importantly – how his own understanding of issues of difference and inclusion developed over the three years. In *Chapter 12* the three critical friends describe themselves and their role in the project. They share what they did and how they contributed, and reflect on key concepts such as that of a devil's advocate, reflexivity and a community of inquiry.

Close

Megan Boler, the author of the closing chapter, has been somewhat of a mentor to the CS1 project ever since we discovered her and Michalinos Zembylas's discussion

of a pedagogy of discomfort. In this chapter she reflects on her past experiences, her visits to sharply divided societies and the relevance of the notion of a pedagogy of discomfort. She shares her own understanding of how to adopt this approach in the classroom, and how challenging this is for students and teachers.

Style and nomenclature

The project was led by a team with varied disciplinary backgrounds: occupational therapy, psychology, social work, and teaching and learning in higher education. The broader network that supported the project, including the critical friends and facilitators, was even more diverse. We have tried to keep a variety of contributions and writing styles in this collection, as we believe that this diversity is central to the intellectual project we have embarked on.

The volume also contains numerous references to race, especially to 'black' and 'white'. We are aware that this is regarded as problematic for many, including some of the authors in this book. We are also aware that race-based classifications are founded on an erroneous view of humanity and difference. However, insofar as South Africa remains profoundly influenced by the iniquitous raced-based policies of its past, these terms reflect difference in how many individuals learn, live and communicate.

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Part 1
Background

1

Understanding the challenges of the South African higher education landscape

Brenda Leibowitz

AS HAS BEEN POINTED OUT in the foreword to this book, higher education institutions in South Africa are expected to contribute to the social and economic wellbeing of our society. In this chapter the challenges facing higher education that impede the execution of this task – and render it even more urgent – are examined. A cursory definition of the term 'citizenship' is provided before the pressing macro and micro influences on teaching and learning in South African settings are presented. The chapter concludes with a set of questions about how to teach for citizenship and thus establishes the rationale for the Community, Self and Identity project.

Citizenship in the South African context

Implicit in the various policy documents referred to in the foreword is the call to prepare students to exercise civic responsibility within a diverse South African society and to contribute to the development of what the Department of Education calls 'a common sense of nationhood' (DoE 2001: sec. 2.6). In the light of the ongoing challenges that our society faces in requiring South Africans to live side by side with citizens from other countries in economic or political difficulty, one might want to talk rather of a common sense of citizenship or cosmopolitanism instead of 'nationhood'. According to Appiah (2006), cosmopolitanism implies respect for the dignity and human rights of people in other parts of the world while remaining accountable to those in close proximity. We do not need to forego love and loyalty to those close to us, but we should 'work to make all human beings part of our community of dialogue and concern, showing respect for the human wherever it occurs, and allowing that respect to constrain our national or local politics' (Nussbaum 1997: 61).

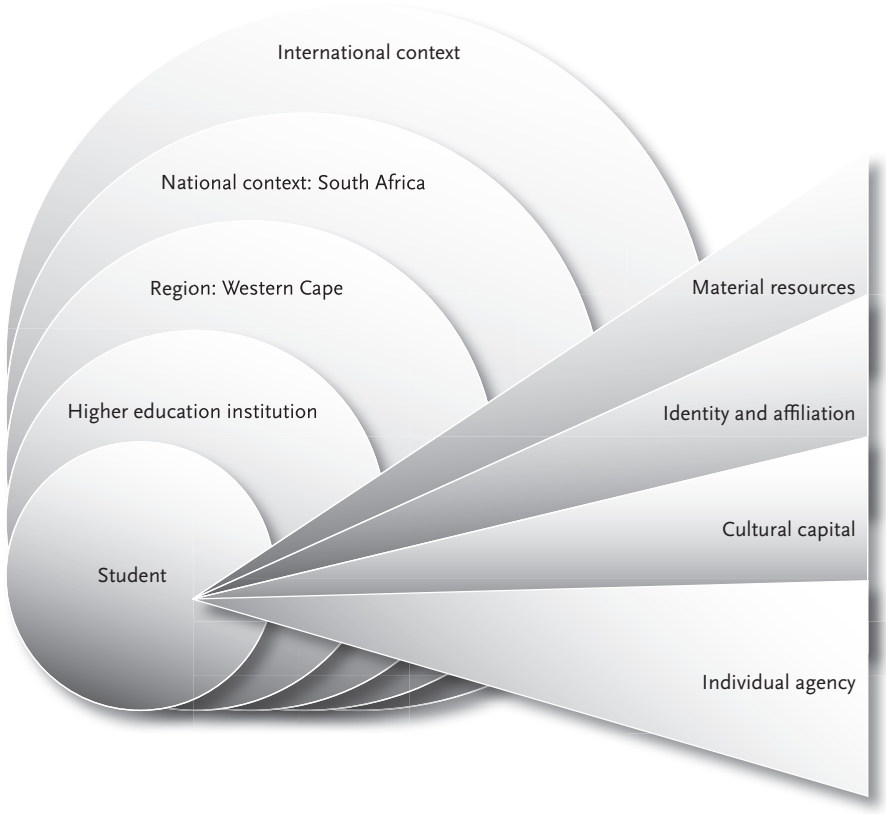
The term 'citizenship' is used here to refer rather loosely to what is contained in the policy documents referred to above. Citizenship denotes a sense of responsibility to those within the borders of our nation state as well as beyond. Graduate attributes contributing to a sense of citizenship could be loosely divided into two interrelated categories: qualities of being and relating, such as knowledge of the other, ethicality or empathy; and qualities of becoming, which are more process and learning oriented, such as risk taking, criticality and reflexivity.

There is evidently a chasm to be traversed between the present reality and the vision and mission of higher education as presented in the various policy documents alluded to above, as has been pointed out by Carriem (2003) and the Council on Higher Education (CHE 2004). The following sections present a broad sweep of the kinds of challenges influencing the ability of higher education to generate the kind of citizens that South African policy documents call for.

Educational influences on students

The challenges facing higher education can be considered as a series of concentric circles (see Figure 1.1). The outermost circle reflects the international context, with its inequitable distribution of material resources, power relations and structural racism. The second circle reflects South Africa, which is the largest economy on the African continent, but remains a developing nation. The third circle reflects the provincial and geographical locations, whether rural or urban, that are at varying degrees of proximity to economic activity. The fourth circle reflects the higher education institution. Each institution is influenced by varying degrees of resourcing and cultural capital, and varied historical legacies. Within the institution itself lies the fifth circle denoting individual students, who are affected by their access to material resources, sense of identity and belonging or affiliation to the university and its ethos, educational biography, and cultural capital. Interlinked with the influences of structure and power relations is individual agency, which plays a complex but significant role in learning and success (Mann 2008; Walker 2006). It is important to note that agency itself is bound up in a complex and at times limiting way with conditions related to social circumstances, as has been pointed out by Bernstein (1996) and, with specific reference to youth growing up in post-apartheid South Africa, by Bray et al. (2010). The various influences on the ability of South African universities to realise their goals are described in more detail below.

Figure 1.1 *Educational influences on South African students*



The national level

A significant challenge to higher education in South Africa is funding. According to Scott (2009), pressure on the system is created due to the fact that funding for public higher education in South Africa is comparatively lower than countries at a similar stage of economic development. Expenditure on higher education in South Africa is 2.7 per cent, as opposed to 3.3 per cent for the rest of the world (NACI 2006). There has been an increase in participation rates over the last three to four decades without a real increase in funding to the sector at the same rate in real terms. The mergers of 36 higher education institutions into 21 in the post-apartheid era also required attention and additional funding by the then-national Department of Education. In the short term the mergers could arguably have focused attention on operational matters rather than issues such as improving conditions for teaching and learning.

The institutional level

Material inequality, segregation and sociohistorical factors influence the potential of higher education institutions to facilitate the development of citizenship. Institutions find themselves funded and resourced to varying degrees (CHE 2006). An example of differential provision of resources across institutions is expenditure on information communication technology (Czerniewicz et al. 2007). This is a result of the unequal government spending in the apartheid era; varied levels of financial support from alumni, donors and corporations, caused in part by public perceptions of these institutions; variations in the sophistication of methods used by funding units to procure funds; and varying amounts of funds generated through research outputs and fees collected from students. Institutions are resourced to varying degrees due to their geographical location, for example, whether they are situated within the hub of economic and cultural activity in large metropolitan areas or whether they are situated in rural areas with few surrounding amenities. Institutions are also influenced by their historical legacies and in many cases by their links to schools erected in the apartheid era.

The appropriateness of an institution's mission and vision would also influence the manner in which it contributes to the education of its students as citizens. Examples from mission statements show some universities as aiming to serve the surrounding community and encourage lifelong learning, some as aiming to be the most pre-eminent research-led university in South Africa and many as claiming to serve 'Africa' or the region. The ability and commitment to implement an institution's mission will vary according to the availability of funds, political will and the stability of management. The social and political history of an institution also has an impact on the developing identity and sense of connectedness of students. Examples of political legacy might be, for example, the University of Fort Hare or the University of the Western Cape, which pride themselves on their post-1970s left-wing ethos and contribution to the struggle against apartheid, or Stellenbosch University, which is grappling with how to transform in the wake of its pro-apartheid stance pre-1994. The University of Cape Town and Rhodes University present a more diverse and liberal ethos, but retain a strongly English influence derived from the colonial era, such that it is no surprise that Higgens (2007: 107, citing Steyn & Van Zyl 2001) writes that '"whiteness" stands at the unacknowledged core of UCT's institutional culture'. According to the *Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions* (hereafter *Report of the Ministerial Committee*) (DoE 2008), a factor hindering the academic progress of African students at historically white Afrikaans universities is a policy in favour of Afrikaans and English bilingualism. These policies are also derived from the histories of these universities, rooted in the apartheid past.[1]

The social makeup of an institution influences how it prepares its graduates. While some institutions remain more homogeneous in terms of class, race and culture, others have become mixed. In the latter case, internal segregation often persists, again to varying degrees. In South Africa, the primary social category assumed to determine recognition is that of race. This is evident in most of the sources cited in this chapter. It is worth noting, however, that according to Soudien (2008), experience of race has taken an attenuated form and is increasingly being sublimated by aspirations towards class and status. Recent work on desegregation and contact in South Africa in particular suggests that the question of creating new university environments that embrace and encourage diversity is far more complex than well-intentioned policy documents may imply (Dixon & Durrheim 2003; Rohleder et al. 2007; Swartz et al. 2008).

Thus, each institution is a conglomerate of historical, financial, cultural and geographic factors that influence its ability to teach for citizenship. One institution might be more effective in encouraging students to learn to deal with difference or to develop multilingualism, while another might be more highly resourced materially and able to facilitate students' technical skills. It would be fair to say at a general level that inequity remains a feature of the system and that universities in South Africa all have a considerable path to travel in learning how to equip students to live and work with issues of difference, whether based on class, gender, race or language. The *Report of the Ministerial Committee* (DoE 2008: 3) notes:

> While there are good practices that were developed at some of the institutions, which might serve as models for change in the country, no one must underestimate the difficulties that still exist. There is virtually no institution that is *not* in need of serious change or transformation.

This report states that there is a 'disjuncture between policies on transformation at most of these universities, due to a lack of consensus and/or of a common understanding of what these policies actually involve' (DoE 2008: 14). The disjuncture between policies and practice also occurs because racialised thinking and discrimination are embedded in the thinking of most, if not all South Africans and are constituted through the daily practices of staff and students that unconsciously perpetuate the historical practices of a segregated past. Reporting on her research with medical students at the University of Cape Town, Erasmus (2006) concludes that staff and students still work with essentialised notions of race and suggests that this presents a challenge when working towards transformation. Jansen (2008: 21) argues as follows:

> One of the reasons we have made such little progress in resolving race and racism in society and in schools is our ironic insistence at reifying the them/us duality even as progressives decry the way in which racists and racially-minded people 'Other' black persons.

Walker's (2005) study on black and white students at an historically privileged university demonstrates how racialised identities are transformed and reproduced in one South African institution. She shows that while the institution might admit black students, it also subtly excludes them. Cross and Johnson (2008) report on the tension caused at the University of the Witwatersrand by students from advantaged and disadvantaged backgrounds experiencing campus life differently, which, they argue, may well have an impact on students' ability to study successfully. Thaver (2006) uses Said's concept of 'the home' to distinguish between students' feeling at home or included, as opposed to those who feel excluded and hence estranged from the culture of the university and from learning in the institution. Not feeling 'at home' can be the case for academics as well as students. Mabokela (2000: 111) states that at the universities of Cape Town and Stellenbosch 'black academics expressed feelings of alienation and institutional culture that some perceived as hostile'. Jansen (2005) used his experience as a dean at the University of Pretoria to demonstrate how race and gender continue to affect those at leadership levels.

Robus and Macleod (2006: 478) maintain that racism occurs at the level of the institution and that this is interwoven into everyday talk: 'we saw how institutional spaces are persistently reconstrued in terms of racialised identities which, together with discourses of "white excellence/black failure" and international standards, set institutions up in differentiated terms'. This is much like the situation in the United States, as described by Van Deventer (2007: 587) and other critical race theorists, who argue that performance of 'people of color' is measured against a universal standard of 'whiteness', where lack of access to higher education institutions is accompanied by 'societal lock in discrimination' (Morfin et al. 2006: 261). The point is that racism is a structural phenomenon as well as a cultural and personal one, so that it influences the distribution of material and educational resources and how institutions function in imperceptible ways. Institutional racist practices are reinvented all the time and mutate so that they become at some levels intangible and inconspicuous, but still continue to have a significant impact on people's working lives.

It is fair to say that the institution at which they study plays a role in the capacity of students or groups of students to achieve the graduate outcomes that could facilitate their role as global citizens in the twenty-first century.

The individual level

Students' academic achievement and their ability to develop as global graduate citizens are influenced by several key elements: financial and material support, their prior education, cultural capital, and aspects of identity. These four sets of influences still tend to co-occur in relation to race, class and language in South Africa

(Alexander 1997), and to geographical location, especially rural versus urban origins (Jones et al. 2008).

Financial and material support

South Africa remains among the group of countries with the highest Gini coefficients[2] in the world (UNDP 2008). According to Letseka and Maile (2008: 8),

> on average, 70% of the families of the higher education drop-outs surveyed were in the category 'low economic status'. Black (African) families were particularly poor, with some parents and guardians earning less than R1 600 a month.

Financial inequity among South African students remains a crucial factor influencing teaching for citizenship. At the level of the individual student, material resources and funds remain an issue, where the inability to pay fees or lack of funds for food and residential accommodation has led to disruption in the form of student protests. Issues of distribution extend to acquisition of material resources such as computers or textbooks. These artefacts play an important role in students' acquisition of skills and discourses through situated practices (Leibowitz 2009). While the former Department of Education took steps to remedy financial inequality by providing students with bursaries via the National Student Finacial Aid Scheme, this scheme is not sufficient to cover all the costs of a student (CHE 2006) and students do not always get the bursaries in time to cover application fees.

Prior education

Prior education is a key factor influencing how students learn and continue to learn, as has been demonstrated with regard to the acquisition of academic literacy in South African settings by, for example, Boughey (2000), Leibowitz (2004) and Paxton (2007). By the time students have reached their final year of school, participation rates have already been influenced by the low matriculation rates across the country. According to Shindler (2008) in a cohort study for the period 1992–2003, only 30 per cent of the original cohort was enrolled in the 12th and final year of school. In 2004, 70.7 per cent of matriculants passed, with only 17.9 per cent gaining an endorsement to enter university. Thus the pool of students able to gain access to higher education is exceedingly small.

This inequality is maintained as students enter university, qualify and become academics. In 2004, 61 per cent of students were black, 6 per cent Indian, 6 per cent coloured and 25 per cent white (Breier & Mabizela 2008). However, Scott (2009) shows how participation in higher education for 20–24-year-olds differs according to race. For whites, 60 per cent of the total white population were in higher education; for Indians, 51 per cent; for coloureds, 12 per cent; and for blacks,

12 per cent. Participation among academic and research personnel differs according to race too, where, for example in 2007, 39 per cent of all instruction and research staff at public higher institutions in South Africa were black. At historically white institutions the figure was at 30 per cent or below (DoE 2007). Statistics based on cohort studies may allow the reader to believe that the situation will be different for the generations presently at school. However, reports on the annual national assessment results of the Department of Basic Education in 2011 revealed that Grade 6 students achieved an average of 28 per cent in literacy and 30 per cent in maths (DoBE 2011), suggesting that the challenges we face are set to remain with us for many years to come. The skewed participation of students and even academic staff according to race is accompanied by a skewed output, also according to race, where, for example, white students were three times more likely than black students to graduate in the 'hard science' fields such as engineering or commerce (SAIRR 2006). A five-year cohort study conducted by Scott et al. (2007) showed that across the classification of education study matter fields, graduation rates for bachelor's degrees within the regulation three years for whites ranged between 43 per cent and 52 per cent, whereas for black students it ranged between 11 per cent and 13 per cent. Participation and success differ according to class as well, but this is not demonstrable with the kinds of statistics collected presently in South Africa. Furthermore, how class interlinks with generational access to higher education and how this in turn links to 'institutional knowledge' and success has not received much attention in the literature, despite its significance.

Skewed participation is also evident in the employment patterns of students graduating from university. In a study on the employability of over 2 000 graduates in South Africa, Moleke (2005: 3) found that 'although Africans were concentrated in fields of study with lower employment "prospects", a comparison within the study fields indicated that their white counterparts had better prospects'.

This inequitable participation in higher education is to a degree the result of unequal prior educational opportunities. Bray et al. (2010) maintain that attempts at reform and increases in expenditure for schooling post-apartheid have not been accompanied by equally improved outcomes, for reasons that are complex, deep and extensive. Morrow (2007) reflects on the macro influences on schooling in contemporary South Africa, that is the social, economic and cultural influences on schooling that render it less than 'systematic', despite the progressive education policies that have been gazetted since 1994. He maintains that race, ethnicity, language and class cohere as factors at school level to hinder students from what are known as 'educationally disadvantaged' backgrounds from gaining 'epistemological access' once they reach university. This term was popularised by Morrow in the 1990s (and captured in his 2007 collection of essays) to denote gaining access

to knowledge and the processes by which students may become academically successful.

Thus far the discussion has focused on problems, ignoring the immense efforts made by students and their families to succeed educationally. We should also take note of the attempts made by lecturers, university administrators and the Department of Higher Education and Training to put structures in place in order to facilitate educational success. The department has put large sums of money into extended degree programmes at South African universities. Yet the challenges persist. Despite the existence of these programmes and other initiatives to facilitate equity since the 1980s and despite some significant successes in this regard, this has not led to dramatic increases in the number of black students from working-class schools entering university and passing with ease. The *Report of the Ministerial Committee* notes that the success of these programmes has varied and that in some cases they have entrenched racial differences (DoE 2008). Most of the attempts have been oriented towards making students more 'ready' to study in the academy and less towards repositioning the academy to teach differently. According to Volbrecht and Boughey (2004), in academic development in South Africa there has been a tendency to administer support to the student rather than to attempt to influence change at the level of the institution. A central dilemma raised by Morrow (2007), and one that is pertinent to the task of democratising learning, is: How do we ensure equity of opportunity when higher education is essentially discriminatory? Assessment, if it is to have any credibility, has to discriminate between those who have mastered the practices that render students certifiable as professionals or candidates for further study. It would also seem that the will to use assessment in a more transformatory way is resisted in the practices of universities. For example, while many universities have developed policies to advance the recognition of prior learning and experience, very few use these policies for the benefit of mature students who lack formal learning rather than for the credentialing of students with alternative study options.

Cultural capital

As Bernstein (1996), Bourdieu et al. (1994), Gee (1990), Street (2001) and others have made abundantly clear, the accepted rules of academic discourse – and thus the keys to knowledge and power – are distinctly middle class in origin. A dimension that is not found in the classic texts on cultural capital, but which is of particular relevance in the South African higher education setting, is that of home/main versus second or additional language. In this country, the majority of young people are educated at school via the medium of a language – sometime Afrikaans, but mostly English – that is not their home language. Various writers from South Africa (Boughey 2002; Leibowitz 2005) and internationally (Hornberger & Chick

2001; Lankshear et al. 1997) have shown how proficiency in the language of learning is an important component of the social class-related discourse that students acquire, which has so strong an impact on their academic progress at university.

A key argument among writers from a sociocultural paradigm is for educational institutions to recognise and harness the discourses or funds of knowledge that students bring to institutions of learning (Ivanič et al. 2009). Yet the disjuncture between what students bring to the academy and what the academy values remains stark. Bozalek's (2004) study of the teaching of social work at the University of the Western Cape demonstrated that the curriculum and texts assumed a store of knowledge and set of experiences that was out of sync with the lived realities of the students studying social work, and thus out of sync with the communities in which the students would work as professionals. Referring to Sánchez-Casal and Macdonald (2002), she termed these stores of unvalued knowledge 'subjugated knowledge'.

Other forms of knowledge remain troublesome and require attention in the academy. One of these is the way in which many South Africa students' discourses, assumptions and metaphors acquired in the home, church or other institutions surface in an unmediated way in their academic writing. Boughey (2000) provides an illustration of this from a case at the University of Zululand. Another significant fund of troublesome knowledge identified by Jansen (2009: 258) is what he terms 'indirect knowledge'. This is a received knowledge that students with underlying ideological and emotional attachments to an apartheid past might bring into the classroom. Because of its emotional nature, such knowledge may lead to 'pedagogical explosions' in the classroom. These explosions are often averted rather than dealt with in the classroom, further hindering the development of a pedagogy towards citizenship.

A final problem with knowledge in the academy is that the geographical and psychological segregation of so many young South Africans leads to limited ranges of experience in many areas. This limitation implies that what is taught at university remains abstract and theoretical for students. The *Report of the Ministerial Committee* concludes that 'the transformation of what is taught and learnt in institutions constitutes one of the most difficult challenges this sector is facing' (DoE 2008: 21). It refers to the approaches towards knowledge common in higher education as 'decontextualised'.

Identity

A fourth dimension impacting on the ability of higher education to foster citizenship is that of how individuals relate to one another, are perceived by one another, or feel themselves to be perceived by the other – and in this case have identities 'ascribed' to them by others (Lee & Anderson 2009). There is a common belief with

regard to learning in general (Gee 2001; 2004; Wenger 1998) and with reference to higher education in particular (Mann 2008) that feeling oneself to be an insider, welcomed or organically linked with a community, encourages successful learning. Wortham (2006: 23) writes that social identification and academic learning are 'inextricable and depend on each other'. However, he argues that these connections are 'complex' and 'contingent' (Wortham 2006: 290). Indeed, there is evidence to show that while there might be a link between the two, one should guard against assuming a one-to-one causal relationship and guard against essentialising students or lecturers on the basis of one or another social category such as race or class (Leibowitz 2009). Put simply, biography, and perceptions of self and the other will have an influence on the acquisition of knowledge and the final outcome as a graduate. How these perceptions and relations are managed remains a source of concern.

How do we teach to foster citizenship?

How do we teach to foster citizenship? South African educators posit various solutions. Cross and Johnson (2008) suggest that mediation is required so that students who bond with other students with whom they have something in common may link with those who are different via the development of shared spaces. McKinney (2007) calls for the deconstructing of essentialist notions of race and culture in the classroom. Leibowitz et al. (2005) argue for the need for greater openness and dialogue among students and staff across positions of difference.

Jansen (2009: 264) is one of many writers who call for the 'disrupting' of our settled ways of knowing. He also writes about the importance of listening, empathy, the acknowledgement of brokenness and 'the importance of hope' (Jansen 2009: 271). The *Report of the Ministerial Committee* cites the University of Fort Hare's Grounding Programme as an example of good practice in instituting a common and compulsory first-year course for all students in South Africa, Africa and the world. This is a stand-alone module that is taught to all students at Fort Hare in order to encourage citizenship. The report also suggests a more 'infused' approach. However, to what extent lecturers are able to teach for citizenship when they are themselves products of such a divided and unequal past (Steyn 2006) and 'carriers of troubled knowledge' (Jansen 2009: 258) is questionable. Bozalek (2004) argues that those at the centre are rarely conscious of their own privileges. Jansen (2009: 259) cautions lecturers against rushing towards judgement and a self-righteous stance, as this would prevent 'self-scrutiny and at least acknowledgement of one's own demons as critical educator, thereby opening up possibilities for personal transformation in the engaged classroom'. An important step is for educators to

practice reflexivity: Sayed and Soudien (2003: 17) call for a closer 'conscious and self-conscious consideration of identity and role', of who is doing the including and excluding, and who is choosing to do so. One of the reasons why teaching for citizenship is so difficult is that the lecturers are as much imbricated in settled communicative patterns as the students. With reference to her work on critical literacy, McKinney shows how difficult it is to use existing texts to engage students in explorations about the past and present, arguing that such texts often have the effect of fixing students' identities for them, and may easily lead to 'entrapment, accusation and despair' (McKinney 2004: 72).

Despite the vast literature that has been spawned internationally on diversity, multiculturalism and anti-racism, our understanding of how to intervene in classroom conversations where issues of difference and inequality are being negotiated is very limited. This is especially so in South Africa, where the theoretical trends of other countries have significant value, but are not sufficient to help us plan the way forward. Jansen, for example, is at pains to explain why critical pedagogy is important, but that within what he calls 'postconflict situations' (Jansen 2009: 257), it does not enable educators to deal with the complexities of real people in real classrooms who bear what he terms 'troubled knowledge'. Thus we need to ask ourselves, what can we learn from other settings? What strategies do we need to devise for ourselves, given our particular set of social and material relationships? A third and important question is, in going about this task of learning how to teach for citizenship, what good practice can we arrive at and what findings can we record that we can share with the rest of the world?

Notes

1 This is an oversimplification of a more complex matter, which is covered in detail in Balfour (2007), Brink (2006), Giliomee and Schlemmer (2006), and Leibowitz and Van Deventer (2007), among many other writers. Three key perspective on the use of Afrikaans are as follows: it is an example of the positive use of the mother tongue in education; it is an example of safeguarding the rights of Afrikaans speakers and Afrikaans; and it is an example of the exclusion of non-Afrikaans speakers, especially of African-language speakers.

2 The Gini coefficient measures the income distribution of a country. A score of 0 indicates perfect equality of distribution and 1 perfect inequality.

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2

Training South African university students for transformation

Poul Rohleder and Leslie Swartz

THIS CHAPTER PROVIDES A DESCRIPTION of the Community, Self and Identity (CSI) project, a teaching and research project conducted in Cape Town, South Africa. It begins with a description of the project's broad aims and the setting in which it was undertaken, and concludes with a comment on its impact.

Developing a critical identity module in higher education: The CSI project

As a step in trying to bridge some of the divides and inequalities that prevail in higher education in South Africa (see Chapter 1 of this book), educators at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and Stellenbosch University (SU) worked as a research team in developing a shared module for collaborative learning for some of the final-year health services students at the two institutions. The team developed a module named 'Community, Self and Identity', which was a collaborative module for students in the Department of Social Work at UWC and the Department of Psychology at SU, and from the second year, the Department of Occupational Therapy at UWC.

One of the primary aims of this project was to bring students from very different race and class backgrounds and from two universities with opposing political histories together to work with and learn from one another across boundaries such as race, language, class and culture. This project would provide students with what might be a rare opportunity to engage with individuals from backgrounds different to their own – an opportunity that is lacking in these two institutions, which tended to have had, and continue to have, largely homogeneous student populations in terms of racial and class backgrounds.

Uwc has historically been the university for black and coloured students in the Western Cape. Many students come from low- and lower-middle-class

communities. The language of instruction at the university is English, which in many cases is not the home language of the students (many of whom speak Afrikaans or isiXhosa). The university has a history of a strong left-wing political ethos, with instances where students demonstrated against the policies of the apartheid government. With the democratisation of South Africa and drives towards ensuring equality and desegregation, white students in the Western Cape tend to view UWC as the 'third choice' university, following SU or the University of Cape Town, and so the demographics of UWC remain generally similar to what they have been historically.

In contrast, SU has historically been a university for white, generally Afrikaans, middle- and upper-class students. The language of instruction was always Afrikaans, the home language of the majority of its students, although there is an increasing provision of education in both Afrikaans and English. This is not without some controversy (Brink 2006). The university has a strong right-wing political history and many apartheid government ministers were educated there. Although the demographic profile of the student body is changing at SU, it nevertheless remains a predominantly white, privileged and well-resourced university.

Despite being in the same city and only 30 km or so away from one another, students at both universities rarely visit the other campus. So there is a limited sense of post-apartheid integration for the students. The CSI project provided such an opportunity for students to work and learn together across race, class and language barriers. Not only is this important in terms of educating graduates to have a sense of social responsibility and equipping them to contribute towards the transformation of South Africa, but the CSI project also provided students from health service disciplines with a valuable professional learning experience. As is the case for many professionals working in health service, healthcare is usually provided through multidisciplinary teams. In mental healthcare, psychologists often are required to work closely with other professions, such as social workers and occupational therapists. In the profession of clinical psychology, for example, ward teams at psychiatric hospitals comprise psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, occupational therapists, social workers and nurses. Decisions about treatment and therapy are usually made in multidisciplinary team meetings. However, psychology, occupational therapy and social work students rarely have the opportunity to work together in their undergraduate training and do not always get the opportunity to learn about what the other professions do until they have to work together in a work placement. Furthermore, there tends to be a professional hierarchy where psychologists are viewed by themselves and in terms of remuneration as belonging to a higher professional rank than social workers, for example. This may result in rivalry and stereotyping across professions (Barnes et al. 2000; Hean & Dickinson

2005; Mandy et al. 2004), in professionals being critical of the work of others, and in barriers to collaboration.

In addition to having to work with colleagues across barriers of difference, professionals in these disciplines are called upon to work with clients who are usually very different to themselves from different racial, class, language and cultural backgrounds, and with histories of trauma and other difficulties. For the emerging professional, who might not have had a close encounter with such differences before, this can be an emotionally challenging experience (Gibson et al. 2002; Swartz et al. 2002). Thus it was hoped that the CS1 project might allow students to encounter the personal worlds of other students who were different to themselves. As Waghid (2005: 1306) argues, university education should encourage and inspire students to develop a sense of 'responsibility', and a 'responsivity' towards the hardships and suffering of others.

We were inspired by the notion of a 'pedagogy of discomfort' (Boler & Zembylas 2003) in designing the CS1 module. This approach, which invites students to acknowledge and take responsibility for their own roles in relation to others, is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. In order to be able to take responsibility, students are required to have a sense of their own agency (Leibowitz et al. 2010), which is related to broader structural and material forces that impact on and influence one's learning (Walker 2005). Students can only understand who they are in the world in relation to what they are able or allowed to do (Norton 2000). Thus, it was important to recognise how identity is shaped or influenced by the distribution of resources, which in South Africa is highly unequal.

Such an approach to learning responsivity towards others requires both an experiential and a theoretical approach. An experiential learning approach can be an uncomfortable process, which needs to be facilitated in a supportive environment. Furthermore, drawing on Fraser and Honneth's (2003) bivalent view of social justice (see Chapter 3 for more on this view), we needed to recognise how students' identities and learning opportunities were shaped by broader resource structures.

The CS1 students

The CS1 project was run three years in a row as a module for fourth-year social work students at the UWC and honours psychology students at SU. For the social work students, the CS1 module was a compulsory component of their course programme. For psychology students, the module formed part of the community psychology course, which was compulsory for final-year students completing a BPsych degree and optional for those students doing the BA (Honours) in psychology. The demographic differences of the two institutions outlined above were represented

by the student groups taking the CSI module. Table 2.1 provides details of various demographic features of the two students groups during year one.

What is starkly different between these two groups is the fact that there were no black African students among the SU group and no white students among the UWC group. Although a proportion of students in both groups spoke Afrikaans as a first language, the majority of students at UWC spoke other languages (isiXhosa and English) as their first language. The presence of four international psychology students from the Netherlands provided an interesting foreign presence.

In years two and three, the demographics of the student group changed dramatically, for two primary reasons. Firstly, the BPsych degree had been scrapped, so there were no longer any BPsych students. Only students doing their BA (Honours) in psychology could choose community psychology as a subject in their degree, of which the CSI module formed a part. For this reason, there was a significant reduction in the numbers of psychology students enrolled in years two and three. Secondly, in year two the project was expanded to include a third discipline, occupational therapy, at UWC. This was because one of the main aims of the CSI project was to prepare students not only to collaborate across sociopolitical boundaries such as class and race, but, importantly, across disciplines, because this would prepare them for the world of multidisciplinary professional work.

TABLE 2.1 *Description of students in CSI year one (2006)*

Category		SU	UWC
No. of students		45	50
Age	**Range**	21–52 (1 person age unknown)	21–48 (5 persons ages unknown)
	Mean	24.1 yrs	27.4 yrs
Gender	**Female**	38	44
	Male	7	6
Race	**African**	0	19
	Coloured	12	31
	White	33	0
Language	**African**	0	17
	Afrikaans	24	22
	English	17	11
	Dutch	4	0

The result was that in both years the number of UWC students significantly outnumbered the number of SU students. Table 2.2 provides details of the students in years two and three.

As with year one, there was again a difference in the racial demographics of students from the two institutions, although there was a great deal more diversity in year two. In year three, once again there were no black African SU students and no white UWC students among those students who identified themselves as belonging to a particular racial category. Again, there were differences in language, with very few psychology students speaking African languages. The presence of international students (from Europe and other African countries among UWC students in year three) resulted in the inclusion of speakers of other languages.

Table 2.2 *Description of students in CSI years two (2007) and three (2008)*

Category		CSI, year two			CSI, year three		
Discipline		**Psychology (SU)**	**Social work (UWC)**	**Occupational therapy (UWC)**	**Psychology (SU)**	**Social work (UWC)**	**Occupational therapy (UWC)**
No. of students		17	44	44	17	54	22
Age	**Range**	20–52	20–37	20–42	Not known	Not known	Not known
	Mean	27.4 yrs	24.3 yrs	23.5 yrs	Not known	Not known	Not known
Gender	**Female**	12	42	42	17	46	18
	Male	5	2	2	0	8	4
Race	**African**	2	18	10	0	28	8
	Coloured	3	25	29	6	18	11
	White	12	1	4	9	0	0
	Indian	0	0	1	0	0	2
	Not known	0	0	0	2	8	1
Language	**African**	2	18	10	0	23	7
	Afrikaans	5	14	3	7	7	2
	English	7	12	31	8	21	13
	Other	3	0	0	3	3	0

Consent

At the start of each year's CS1 module students were informed about the aims and objectives of the CS1 project and were informed that as well as being a taught and assessed course, it also served as a research project for the team of educators involved in designing the module. Students were informed that they would be asked to give their informed consent for the research team to use the work they had generated during their participation in the CS1 module. This consent was collected at the end of the module so that students had the opportunity to know what their participation had entailed and whether they would like their work, which they had then already produced, to be included for research purposes or not. Most students, barring a handful across all three years, gave their consent for their work to be used. The work of those few students who did not give consent has been excluded from any analysis.

The CS1 curriculum

The CS1 module used a blended learning approach involving a combination of face-to-face learning encounters and online learning (via an e-learning forum developed by UWC). In all three years the module ran for six weeks. An outline of the module activities is presented in Table 2.3.

The module began with an initial face-to-face workshop at UWC, where all students and course facilitators came together and met for the first time. Students were randomly allocated to small working groups containing six or seven students from the two universities and students from the different disciplines. They worked in these small groups for the duration of the module. Each group had a facilitator (some facilitators worked with two groups) who assessed their work and interacted with their groups on the e-learning platform (see Chapter 10 of this book for discussion of facilitators' experiences).

At this workshop students were taught about participation action learning techniques (see Chapter 3 of this book), which would be useful techniques for students to use as professionals when working with marginalised client groups or clients with communication difficulties. As part of their learning about these techniques students were asked to draw a map of their communities and a river of their life trajectories, which they then had to discuss in their groups. This provided them with an exercise in which they could begin to engage with one another on issues of difference (for example, coming from different socioeconomic backgrounds).

At this workshop the students' drawings were photographed and later uploaded as files onto the e-learning platform. Each group had an online workspace

Table 2.3 *Outline of CSI module activities*

Time frame	Task	Description
First week	First workshop at UWC	◆ Introduction to the project ◆ Training on use of e-learning ◆ Drawings of community maps, lifeline and sharing in groups
Second week	First e-postings from students	Students were required to post a written piece in their working group's discussion forum that reflected on their own drawings made at the first workshop and the drawings of one other student from the other profession, and stated what they had learned about communities in South Africa
Third week	Second e-postings from students	Students were required to post replies to comments made by other students
Fourth week	Second workshop at UWC	◆ Exercise on identity and community work ◆ Input on making presentations ◆ Working in groups on a group project
Ongoing	Group project	The working groups were each required to prepare a PowerPoint presentation on what they had learned about community, self and identity. These were presented at the final workshop
Fifth week	Final workshop held at SU	◆ Presentation of group projects ◆ Guest speaker talking about issues of identity
Sixth week	Short essay paper	Students were required to submit a short essay paper reflecting on their experience of learning in this collaborative group project

that included a discussion forum, a chatroom, and a space where their drawing photographs had been uploaded and could be accessed. Students were to continue working together in their small groups using this online workspace.

After the workshop students were asked to complete a series of small written tasks, which they had to upload in their working group's discussion forum. Other members of the working group could then read one anothers' written pieces and post comments and replies to one another in the discussion forum. These written tasks required students to reflect on their own lives and identities, and to critique the notions of 'community', 'self' and 'identity' in South Africa, as well as engage with critical literature exploring these notions (see Box 2.1).

Box 2.1 *Prescribed readings for the CS1 module*

A number of prescribed and recommended texts were suggested to students on the CS1 module. The following eight texts were prescribed reading:

- Extracts from Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992);
- Christiansen and Townsend (2004);
- Colombo and Senatore (2005);
- Dominelli (2002);
- Lugones (1998);
- Phelan (1996);
- Posel D (2001); and
- Wiesenfeld (1996).

In addition, students were required to work together in their groups in preparing a presentation on what they had learned about community, self and identity, and their future roles as professionals, which were presented to the other students at a final workshop held in Stellenbosch.

One of the aims of the module was that students would engage in dialogue with one another on the issue of race and identity. Many of the prescribed readings for the module included theoretical works around difference and identity, particularly race (see, for example, Anthias & Yuval-Davis 1992; Posel 2001). However, the module did not overtly ask students to focus on particular issues, for example, race and class, as points of difference. We did this because we wanted to see what points of difference, if any, students themselves came to discuss rather than imposing our own assumptions about what we felt were categories of difference that students should identify with. This allowed us to investigate how students talked about and entered into dialogue about issues of difference. We saw, for example, how students tended to stress geographical differences far more easily than other points of difference, most noticeably race, where many students relied on politeness and political correctness (such as a discourse of the 'Rainbow Nation') to (possibly) defend themselves against engaging with their differences at a deeper level (see Leibowitz et al. 2007). Students were relatively silent about other differences, such as religion.

Guest lecturers were invited in all three years to discuss matters of difference and identity in terms of religion, ethnicity and race. In the first year a social psychologist from Israel with many years of experience of peace work involving contact between Arab and Jewish Israelis was invited to speak about issue of identity, difference and conflict. In the same year a dance company involving both able-bodied and disabled dancers gave a performance, introducing another aspect of diversity. In the second year a black South African psychologist was invited to talk about race and identity in South Africa. In addition, poems were used as a point of discussion with

students about issues of race in South Africa. In the final year a South African artist was invited to present and talk about her work on racialised identity to students. It was observed that using these guest speakers and art forms allowed students to engage in some dialogue about issues of race and identity in post-apartheid South Africa, which they may have found difficult to do in the discussion forums in their groups. Feedback collected from students indicated that they had found these moments during the module to be meaningful experiences.

A final task required students to write a reflective essay about their experience of learning during the module. Similar guidelines for writing the essay were provided in all three years. Box 2.2 gives the instructions provided to students for the various CS1 assignments.

Successes and challenges

Given the sensitivity and investment of the project team in the course, it was evaluated extensively and intensively. The evaluation design and results are discussed in Part 2. However, since this chapter provides an overarching description of the project, it concludes with a brief consideration of the successes and challenges of the project.

The CS1 module was short in duration, and although we possibly had hopes that students would have the opportunity to engage with one another on issues of difference at a deep and meaningful level, this did not really occur. However, what it did provide was an opportunity for them to start engaging with issues of difference and recognise the emotional difficulties involved in doing so. For some it challenged the notion of the 'Rainbow Nation' and the idea that we are all 'the same', and raised some consciousness around the reality of persistent differences and inequalities. The CS1 module provided many students with one of the few opportunities to talk (and work collaboratively with) students from very different socioeconomic and racial backgrounds to their own. Students were able to vicariously visit the worlds of 'the other', which few – certainly white students – had done geographically.

The module also provided final-year students with the opportunity to learn about other disciplines and how to work together. This is important, as students from these professions will end up working in environments where multidisciplinary teamwork is an important aspect of their work. By having this opportunity, pre-held assumptions about the various professions, and preconceived ideas about hierarchies and professional rivalry could be challenged to some extent.

The CS1 project is not without its challenges. Firstly, a module of this nature requires many resources. The module required extensive staff involvement, with each small group having a dedicated online facilitator. The CS1 project required

Box 2.2 *CS1 assignments*

Assignment 1: First e-posting

This assignment requires you to critically reflect on your own community map and the works of other students in your working group. For this assignment, you are required to go to the discussion forum in your working group and write to the members of your group by posting a reply to the following topic question:

What did you learn about communities in South Africa from the community maps in your group?

Write to the members of your working group. Maximum 1 000 words. Begin by giving a brief description of your community and then go on to say what you have learned about communities in South Africa by reflecting on what your group shared during the workshop.

Assignment 2: Second e-posting

Once everyone has posted their assignment in the discussion forum, read the comments made by your group members and respond to AT LEAST two students by posting a reply to their comments. These should be students that you do not know and that are from a different profession or institution to your own. Each response should be approximately 250 words. You are encouraged to respond to more than two members if you like and to respond to any comments that a member(s) may have made to you. It may be nice to turn these initial comments into an ongoing discussion!

Group project

For the group project and the individual essay paper you will need to engage with literature on 'community' and 'community work'. From the prescribed texts on community and identity you might want to discuss and share the ideas of two of these texts with your working group in the discussion forum. This will help your group prepare for the group project. From the texts, identify the main points that you found interesting and state why you found it interesting. The points that interest you may be something that you like or dislike, feel challenged by or confused by, or identify with. It is important for each one of you to engage with some of this literature, both for the group project and the individual essay.

For the group project, use PowerPoint to prepare a presentation on the relationship among identity, community and professional practice. The presentation should cover:

1. Notions of community, self and identity
2. Remaining questions, tensions and contradictions for the group
3. Implications of the above for professional practice in social work, occupational therapy and psychology.

You will be assessed on the basis of your presentation and the notes used for it. This is an opportunity for your group to communicate with your fellow students and facilitators. Critical and creative presentations are encouraged.

Your presentations should contain references to the workshops, postings and readings. They should show an understanding of the complexity of the notions of identity, community and the human professions, and should reflect a critical appreciation of different viewpoints. In your presentation ensure that you have considered how raced, gendered and classed histories, and differing experiences and values inform professional identities and practices.

Individual reflective essay

Making use of the literature provided and your personal experience, complete a **short paper (1 500 to 2 000 words)** reflecting critically on what you have learned in this module. In the paper, you should:

1. Discuss how the prescribed texts have influenced your understanding of notions of 'community', 'self' and 'identity'. Have you learned something that differs from your previous understanding of these notions?
2. What have you learned through working together? Looking back on your initial assumptions about institution and discipline, what do you feel has changed?
3. What has been your learning experience? Did you find some of the learning tools, resources and products more useful than others? Give a brief rationale for your opinions. Also comment on the influence, if any, this module might have on your future work.
4. Use a minimum of six references in your essay that have assisted you in thinking critically about community, self and identity. Please use a consistent referencing format throughout.

funding not only to pay for staff involvement, but also for venues and for transporting students to face-to-face workshops. Secondly, we soon realised that there were unequal resources in terms of student access to computers and, thus, the internet. Generally, students from SU, most of whom come from relatively privileged backgrounds, had their own computers and could access the internet and thus the e-learning program at any time. UWC students, however, did not have the same access and had to rely mainly on university computers. We received reports of UWC students having to wait in long queues in order to use university computers and then having to go on to complete sometimes-personal pieces of online writing in crowded computer labs. We addressed this by block booking computer lab time for UWC students on the CSI course. In year three, social work students at UWC were each issued with a laptop computer for their own use, thus eliminating the problem of unequal access.

More than anything, perhaps, the course has provided the opportunity for both students and facilitators to think about issues that, although always present, are not always discussed directly. In Chapter 5 of this book we explore some students' reflections on the course some time after its conclusion; this book is in itself part of our journey as educators in trying to think about how to explore these sensitive issues in a helpful way.

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3

Designing the project: Theoretical approaches

Vivienne Bozalek and Ronelle Carolissen

THIS CHAPTER OUTLINES THE KEY THEORIES that informed the development and design of the Community, Self and Identity (CSI) project and those theories that emanated from the implementation of the project. It charts the theoretical exploration as this occurred in three phases during the project, in parallel to the participatory action research approach adopted by the project team. The chapter concludes with a suggestion for future theoretical explorations in relation to citizenship, privilege and difference.

Progression of the theoretical framework

The CSI project was underpinned by particular theories of social justice and critical pedagogy. As academics working in a post-apartheid landscape, we were conscious of apartheid's legacy of social inequality and its continuing effects on teaching and learning in the higher education sector. In this chapter we share the progression of our theoretical framework, broadly sketching three distinct but related phases of the project – the initiation, implementation and post-implementation phases. The first phase of the project drew on pertinent theories of social justice and difference as well as critical and poststructural theories. These theoretical perspectives informed our motivation for initiating the CSI project and provided a structure for the design of the curriculum. In this way they provided us with the conceptual tools to build the framework for the implementation of the project. During the second phase the project drew on the theoretical influence of the pedagogy of discomfort (POD) on the implementation and analysis of the project. The third phase, during which the project was used to inform other such pedagogic initiatives, was motivated by a consciousness of positionality, social inclusion, and notions such as privilege, responsibility, and the political ethic of care. The sequential structure of this chapter is important theoretically and methodologically as it parallels the iterative process

of doing participatory action research in teaching and learning, where theory is both informing and informed by the process. In order to illustrate how this iterative theory/practice process played out, we include some illustrative quotes from the CS1 project. The quotes which are used are not emblematic of how successful or not the project was, but are a way of bringing the theory 'to life', particularly in the implementation phase of the project, where the POD is foregrounded.

Some of the disciplinary and pedagogic concepts not dealt with in this chapter, for example on communities of practice, are taken up in later chapters. This chapter also focuses on theories incorporated during the post-implementation phase of the project, which we anticipate may be helpful to direct the future trajectories of our work in this area.

Theories informing the initial design of the project

Two types of theories informed the initial design of the project, and these are discussed in detail in the following sections.

Theories of social justice and difference

In this section we discuss Nancy Fraser's trivalent view of social justice and Martha Nussbaum's ideas of justice in relation to education, particularly higher education, and their relevance for the CS1 project.

Traditional theories of social justice address issues of social justice, fairness and equity. While these are central and important concepts for considering issues of privilege and marginality, they are also limiting because they do not address issues of difference, relationality, particularity, otherness and vulnerability. The focus of the CS1 project revolved around relationships between students who are differently positioned across a number of boundaries such as institution, profession, race, class and other social markers. We therefore sought theories of social justice that incorporated the notion of difference, in addition to promoting a concern for equity. Fraser's theory of social justice, for example, is one such theory that incorporates notions of both social equity and difference (Fraser 1997; 2000; 2008; 2009; Fraser & Honneth 2003). Her theory proposes that participatory parity – by which she means being able to interact as equals or peers in social life – should be the goal we should strive for in order to attain social justice. The ability to achieve participatory parity, Fraser maintains, is dependent on equity in the economic, cultural and political realms. These three conditions for equity are dependent on how resources are distributed in society (redistribution), how one's attributes are valued (recognition) and how one is socially included through some kind of political

voice (representivity) (Fraser 2008; 2009). This approach to social justice coincided with our aims in the CSI project to contribute to promoting participatory parity across institutions, disciplines and a number of axes of difference. We aimed to do this by engaging students in relational activities that potentially highlight positions of privilege and oppression, and by providing opportunities for them to reflect on these.

As is elaborated in Chapter 2, the common concerns that we wished to address in our project were the inequities that existed across the higher education institutions (HEIs) resulting from the continuing effects of apartheid in which we were located and the lack of contact between students and lecturers across these institutions (Bozalek et al. 2010). An additional concern was the different ways in which human service professions are valued – in other words, recognised or misrecognised – and the effects that these forms of recognition may have on students' and higher educators' identities. Fraser's perspective of social justice and participatory parity thus informed our self-interrogations as a research and teaching team in meeting and deliberating about the best possible curriculum that would promote participatory parity among students from different HEIs, disciplines, races, classes and gendered histories. It was this focus on participatory parity that informed our chosen methodologies of participatory learning and action (PLA) techniques for students to engage with one another about their differences. These are open-ended, visual interactive methods that stimulate or promote flexible, experiential and in-depth learning by encouraging dialogue. We knew that many of the University of the Western Cape (UWC) social work students were differently placed in relation to academic literacy due to their educationally disadvantaged backgrounds and socioeconomic status (Breier 2010) (for more details of the differences between students at the two universities, see Chapter 2 of this book). To achieve participatory parity across these groups of students and to get them to recognise or value their diverse attributes, we deliberately placed them in small groups where they had to interact with one another and engage with aspects of their past. We chose a visual medium in the form of PLA techniques for students to begin engaging with the issues of community, self and identity so that they would not be able to immediately judge one another in terms of their academic literacy. Furthermore, we knew that PLA techniques had the potential to stimulate dialogue about significant and deep issues in a non-threatening environment (Bozalek & Biersteker 2010).

A further incentive to design this project was our concern about the kind of graduates that were being produced as democratic citizens of a complex world. In spite of its inscription in South African policies, as described in the foreword to this book, however, there has been little engagement with how to embed graduate attributes and the social good in curricula in South African HEIs. We saw the CSI project

as an opportunity to begin to consider how these attributes could be embedded into a cross-institutional and cross-disciplinary curriculum.

Nussbaum's (1997; 2010) writings on social justice provided a conceptual platform for considering how to develop a curriculum that incorporated ideas of difference and citizenship. In particular, she highlights three central capacities that graduates need to develop as democratic citizens. The first is a critical examination of oneself and one's own traditions and taken-for-granted practices. The second is the ability to think beyond one's own locality as an international citizen. The third is a narrative imagination, which involves the ability to reflect a compassionate understanding of otherness and difference. Central to this imagination is the recognition of relationality and one's connectedness to others by virtue of others' *and* one's own human needs and vulnerability (Nussbaum 1997; 2010).

Critical and poststructural theories

In addition to being informed by theories of social justice, we used critical literature in the CSI course to expose students to theoretical tools that would assist them to interrogate commonly held assumptions about community, self and identity. These readings were based on critical and poststructural theories that propose that all forms of knowledge are both political and historical in nature (Foucault 1988). Critical and poststructural theories emphasise the shifting and contextualised nature of knowledge and regard it as important to analyse forms of knowledge in order to destabilise them. This is central to developing new and contextually appropriate knowledge forms.

In our project we were cognisant of the euphemistic and taken-for-granted way in which the concept 'community' is regarded across the professions of social work, psychology and occupational therapy. We wished to alert students to different and more critical views of this concept in particular. In our curriculum design, which required students who were from different social and geographical locations in South Africa to think about their communities by depicting them through drawing maps of their communities, we anticipated that the historical complexity of the concept of community would become more evident. We thought that self-reflection, interaction with one another across difference, historicising the concept of community and exposure to critical literature would assist students to reassess how they viewed community from a larger perspective and develop new perspectives on the concept. By giving them the opportunity to engage with their own experiences of community and discuss this across different social parameters, professions and institutions and then engage with critical literature, we hoped that they would gain access to different ways of thinking about community. By doing this we aimed to denaturalise, deconstruct and problematise the concept

of community through critical texts such as Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992), Colombo and Senatore (2005), Dominelli (2002), Lugones (1998), Phelan (1996) and Wiesenfeld (1996). These texts assisted students to reflect on their own experiences of community and those of their peers. This critical literature also exposed students to interdisciplinary social justice and critical perspectives on community and difference, which were not included in their discipline-specific literature.

Critical theory also has social justice as its end goal and is concerned with foregrounding the views of marginalised or oppressed people. The traditional binary between educators as knowledgeable experts and students' knowledge and experiences as less valuable or hidden is prevalent in the dominant shape of pedagogical encounters. We viewed it as important to include students as co-creators and shared constructors of knowledge during the CS1 course. As co-creators of knowledge, students were able to relate their own experiences to the literature and interrogate their personal experiences of community, self and identity in relation to the relevant political, social and economic historical contexts.

It was important to facilitate an environment where students could confront difference across the boundaries of discipline, institution or social marker. Davidson (2004), one of the core theorists upon whom we drew in the course, proposes that it is only through interdisciplinary collaboration across boundaries that one is able to interrogate and destabilise taken-for-granted assumptions. He calls this the ability to critically reflect on the 'decentring of the academic self'.

Theoretical approaches during project implementation: The pedagogy of discomfort

When reflecting on the project after the first year, we realised that in addition to the theories that had informed the design of the project, we needed to incorporate further theories capable of addressing the processes involved in the implementation of the project.

We needed an analytical framework to understand the different ways in which students engaged across multiplicities of difference in their interactions with one another. One such analytical framework was the PoD (Boler & Zembylas 2003). Drawing on critical theory, the PoD starts from the assumption that hegemony is a process by which socially constructed values and power relations are portrayed as representing the natural order in a commonsense way. Individuals internalise and practise these dominant cultural and political messages and in so doing actively contribute to maintaining the dominant status quo. Members of both marginalised and dominant groups experience discomfort when hegemonic ideas are challenged. Hegemony is likely to prevent individuals from engaging in critical inquiry, thus

occluding a recognition of the effects that institutionalised power relations such as racism, sexism and classism have on all social groups. From this understanding, members of both dominant and marginalised groups need to engage in critical inquiry, because no one escapes hegemony (Boler & Zembylas 2003: 115). For example, both men and women are likely to internalise dominant gendered norms such as the normality of women being responsible for caregiving. Similarly, both black and white people are likely to hold internalised racist assumptions unless these assumptions are directly challenged. For example, a student who participated in the CSI project in year one wrote:

> Because I am 'coloured' I always felt that we did not have a set culture, I found myself sometimes adapting to things I did not want to do, just so that I could fit in. (SU coloured female psychology student, 2006)

The POD is a critical pedagogical approach that aims to disrupt hegemonic taken-for-granted assumptions about social structures and relations. This approach encourages individuals to engage in critical thinking that explores the relations of power inherent in habits, practices and knowledge. Individuals are encouraged to explore the messiness of power relations and avoid neat binaries and stereotypes. Hegemony is a process by which socially constructed values and power relations are portrayed as reflecting the natural order and the commonsense way of doing things. A student on the CSI course in 2008 learned how these socially constructed relations can be contested:

> By really working and engaging with the identity/ies that are imposed on us, we can reshape them as the tools for our liberation. Making the decision to actively ask, challenge, explore and play with what it means for me to be, for example, woman, black, etc. in this life allows these imposed identities to become the very vehicles for the discovery of our own agency and our freedom. (SU white female psychology student, 2008)

Exploring the messiness of power relations is not merely a cognitive exercise, but requires an engagement with emotions. When individuals are confronted by knowledge that contradicts hegemonic beliefs that they hold they may experience discomforting emotions such as guilt, fear, anger and anxiety. In order to incorporate these alternative views, positive emotional labour is necessary. In this way, it becomes possible to reconstruct and expand available discourses and practices through learning:

> Our module felt so far from the realities and talks I have to face back at home that it was easy to talk about transformation, or my preference to view any community as interdependent with other communities, forming a national body of communities. Though I won't be able to keep silent for much longer,

> the cognitive dissonance (only because of my silence) and the emotional fire inside me cannot be contained. (SU white male psychology student, 2006)

The POD framework was useful in a number of ways for our project. Firstly, it provided an analytical tool for us to evaluate and write about the extent to which students' prior assumptions about community, self and identity had changed. Secondly, it represented a pedagogical approach that allowed us to incorporate the importance of emotions for new learning to take place. Emotions, cognitions, ethics and rationality are traditionally viewed as unrelated and distinct processes (Zembylas 2007). In this view emotional disengagement is considered crucial for learning to occur. However, many authors (Nussbaum 1997; 2010; Boler & Zembylas 2003; Zembylas 2007) argue that emotional work is particularly pertinent to issues of difference and should not be viewed as a private and individual experience, but as inherently social. Emotions are, in fact, central in motivating political and social action. Moral anger, for example, should therefore be distinguished from other forms of anger, because it often provides the impetus for opposing injustice (Zembylas 2007). Thus the acknowledgement of emotions in educational encounters foregrounds the importance of students' evaluation of their own positions, embeddedness and participation in their own learning.

The POD also aims to expand opportunities for both educators and students to name their own identities, practices and new ways of being in the world. This can allow people to engage in new kinds of relationships with others who are perceived as different, as a student on the course in year one wrote:

> The stage was set for an epic battle of conflicting notions and underlying racism, everyone seemed to be on the defensive. However, this was not the case. We started discussing our notions and found that many of our points, views and ideas coincided. Within five minutes, the atmosphere changed from defensive to concerted and creative. This allowed each of us to understand and accept others points of views and realize that the river of racism, previously vs. currently disadvantage and personal pride, could be bridged, and it was easier than [we] first thought. (SU white male psychology student, 2006)

The POD makes reference to three models of difference (Boler & Zembylas 2003). These models have been a useful analytical tool for students and educators of the CSI project. The first is termed the celebration or tolerance model, which promotes benign multiculturalism and fails to address power relations. An example of this would be instances where students are asked to share traditional cuisines with each other, thus romanticising and exoticising particular cultural practices. The second model – the denial/sameness model – views all people as the same, thus erasing

possibilities of dealing with power relationships inherent in difference. This model therefore reinforces assimilation to dominant cultural practices and allows those who are privileged to decide when difference is applicable. In the CSI project, one student said: 'The community should not be based on the colour of the people living there … because things are changing we can't base things on race.'

The third model – the natural response/biological model of difference – suggests that all difference and fears thereof are innate and natural. This is demonstrated by the comment of another student on the project: 'I think that discrimination will always be part of our human nature.'

Hegemony prevents people from engaging in critical inquiry and recognising how institutionalised power relations such as racism and sexism affect everybody. The POD enables individuals to engage in critical thinking to explore habits, practices, knowledge and power relations. We are encouraged to explore the messiness of power relations and the avoidance of neat binaries and stereotypes. In order to reconstruct and expand available discourses and practices through learning, it is necessary to engage in positive emotional labour. This refers to students and educators moving outside their comfort zones and embracing ambiguity. Positive emotional labour also expands opportunities for both educators and students to name their own identities, practices and new ways of being in the world. This can allow people to engage in new kinds of relationships with others who are perceived as different. The following quote provides a good illustration of the learning process that the POD may elicit in students. In the excerpt, a coloured male student is able to reflect on the discomfort and self-conflict he experienced in reflecting on how his internalised racism impacted on the way in which he interacted with his peers:

> The profound effects of former, not necessarily academic experiences later occurred to me, that is, previous exchanges with family, friends, classmates, lecturers, 'Coloured', Black, and White people, engendered and inadvertently influenced the way I related to my group members. For example, when speaking with Black group members, I tended to unwittingly speak louder, slower, and acted overly amicably towards them, patronizingly explaining what I'd meant by what I may have said; where the complete antithesis was true when engaging White group members, which in retrospect I deeply regret doing but struggled to avoid.

The same student reported how the 'river of life' PLA technique also had an evocative effect on him. He experienced ambivalence in deliberating on the extent to which he was prepared to be open and make himself vulnerable in a group of unknown peers. The extract shows both how he tries to make sense of his thoughts and emotions, and the uncomfortable dissonance that arises from this process:

> The exercise led to the arrival of some unexpected realizations, which were not always pleasant, and then I was torn between choosing to share these experiences with group members or not. And even though the latter part of the exercise caused great ambivalence (i.e. 'Do I honestly share the true meanings of my drawings with these strangers and risk judgment?' [which I tried to do as far as possible], or 'Do I withhold the very personal bits?'), it felt absolutely necessary to as far as possible share my depictions with my group members. Finally, being bundled into a group with strangers from diverse cultures, disciplines, races, ethnicity, and socioeconomic backgrounds was anxiety-provoking to say the least, and quite invasive considering that we were expected to share quite personal experiences with these strangers. (UWC coloured male social work student, 2007)

Like the above student, some white students who were conscious of and embarrassed by their positions of privilege were fearful of rejection by their black peers. Because they anticipated rejection, they were surprised when their stories were heard with acceptance and compassion. The POD suggests that the dialogue central to these encounters enables the disruption and reframing of commonly held and unexplored emotions and assumptions:

> I was extremely aware as I was sharing the picture of the well resourced context in which I live. Not only is my own background privileged, but so is the community in which I have chosen to live. Talking about the relative abundance of resources in my community evoked feelings of guilt. My picture was in very stark contrast to those of most of my group members who come largely from communities where 'not-enough-ness' is the norm. What was so humbling was that their responses and questions were accepting, respectful and in no way indicting. (SU white female psychology student, 2006)

The quote above is emblematic in that it is one of the many expressions of guilt and shame that more students who were able to recognise their privilege expressed in their reflective essays. The POD does not explicitly reflect on guilt and shame; however writers such as Zembylas (2008) in his later work and Young (2011) deal with these concepts in more depth from a political/structural rather than an intrapsychic or individualistic perspective. This leads us to consider potential theoretical approaches that we consider to be fruitful for future conceptualisations, analyses and different ways of using the CSI project for innovative pedagogical practices.

Potential theoretical approaches for the future of the project

After implementing three iterations of the CSI course with students across two HEIs and several disciplines, we could theoretically extend the discussion on privilege. Many of the students' drawings and essays referred to their differential positions in relation to privilege and oppression. Their encounters with one another, using the PLA techniques in particular, provided a catalyst for exploration and dialogue about their different positionalities. It is also important to explore and encourage narratives of privilege, as narratives of oppression (among both marginalised and privileged individuals) are generally first to surface. Pease (2010) argues for a complex conceptualisation of privilege in relation to positionalities. He argues against essentialised group-based or individual categories of identities. People occupy multiple identities, which means that those who are privileged also have some form of oppression and vice versa. Tronto (1993) suggests that unless those who hold privileged positions are confronted by their situation they will continue to remain unaware of their privileges and expect to be serviced by the marginalised other. The uncritical acceptance of social relations of domination and oppression thus remain. She argues that those in privileged positions must become aware of marginality and their own privilege. This is an important prerequisite for the practice of responsibility, as opposed to having unending feelings of guilt (Young 2011), as was so commonly expressed by privileged students in our course. In the CSI course all who hold positions of privilege had the possibility to explore these positionalities by being confronted with their experiences of structural inequality and marginality and challenged through dialoguing with others. However, Pease (2010) argues that the right to dialogue is not given, but needs to be earned.

Much has been written about marginality (Hill Collins 1991; 1999; hooks 1984; Ladson-Billings & Donnor 2008; Mohanty 1991; 2003; Smith 1999; Spivak 1988), which we used to inform the conceptual foundations about this project. Even though at the start of the project we recognised the process of undoing privilege as an important component of our work, many of our publications have not concentrated enough on this aspect. We are conscious that it too was an initial motivating rationale for our project as part of the broader social justice and critical perspective. This broad framework did not, however, specifically examine the notion of privilege and responsibility from a theoretical and philosophical perspective. We see this in-depth focus as central to future reflections on the project, using theories such those developed by Chambers (2004), Pease (2010), Tronto (1993) and Young (2011).

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4

Community and identity: A theoretical review

Ronelle Carolissen and Poul Rohleder

THIS CHAPTER HIGHLIGHTS SOME of the theoretical perspectives on community and identity that were important in locating the concept of community in the project. It provides examples from the writing of students in the Community, Self and Identity (CSI) project over the three years in order to illustrate issues associated with these perspectives.

Introduction

'Community', 'identity' and 'community identity' are complex concepts with multiple meanings. Everybody – from laypersons to scholars – 'knows' what these concepts mean, yet they are subject to multiple overt and implicit interpretations that impact on everyday professional practices. In South Africa, as in Britain (Dominelli 2002) and the United States (Hill Collins 2010), interpretations of and practices with regard to 'community' are coloured by particularly racial, class and gendered euphemisms (Carolissen & Swartz 2009). It is in this context that the CSI project team thought it important to engage human-service-profession students in a learning experience where dialogue about community and identity becomes the core of the experience. If students and teachers are not able to engage flexibly with these discussions in their work, we as educators are likely to produce students who may not be prepared for a world of practice in a context of diversity. Some of the published works of the CSI project have focused on notions of community and identity in student writing (Rohleder et al. 2007; 2008). A full list of texts provided to students on the course dealing with community and identity is provided in Chapter 2 of this book.

Notions of community and identity

Multiple meanings of community exist (Stephens 2007), and it is perhaps important at this point to review them and illustrate the plurality of meanings, the historical and temporal fluidity of the concept, and the incorporation of individual and interpersonal components of community. In this regard it is important to highlight functionalist and postmodern perspectives of community, because they centrally shape the way in which difference – a notion that is core to the CS1 project – is viewed.

Colombo and Senatore (2005) suggest that community identity has been constructed within either a functionalist or discursive perspective. Within the functionalist perspective communities are objectively defined geographical entities or organisations. Thus, in functionalist approaches communities are fixed and constant over time. Much of the research in health psychology would, for example, exist within a community of place (Stephens 2007), such as research investigating the community determinants of health with a focus on specific geographical areas (for example, low-income communities versus high-income communities). For many of us this may be our understanding of community, that is, as referring to the area in which we live: our neighbourhood. Initially, many students in the CS1 project held this view of community, as reflected in a statement by a coloured student from the University of the Western Cape (UWC): 'People in my group had similar ideas of what a community was, that it was an area with physical boundaries in which we lived.'

In practice, communities of place in the CS1 project were both real and virtual. The first exercise of the project required students to draw a map of their communities and to share this within their groups (see Chapters 7 and 8 in this book for examples of these community maps). Later writing exercises in the module required students to interrogate the notion of community, drawing on their personal experience (see Chapter 2 for an outline of the course requirements). As expected, students discussed community predominantly in terms of place, their neighbourhoods and the geographical features of the area. However, in the students' sharing of their personal experiences, there was a meeting of different communities of places. Through the voices of others, students had a chance to visit communities they had little experience of previously. As one white psychology student at Stellenbosch University (SU) wrote:

> For me, who grew up in a very privileged and protected neighbourhood, it was a big learning curve to see the needs of Western Cape's less privileged communities through the eyes of people that are more exposed to these communities.

Similarly, a coloured student studying occupational therapy at UWC wrote the following about her experience of sharing drawings with other students in the working groups:

> I found it greatly beneficial to making us aware of the realities of different communities in South Africa and the difficulties people are experiencing. Sometimes living in our sheltered environment allows us to not have to face these factors, this made me learn a lot about myself and the fact that I as a health worker should be aware of what is happening in our communities. I felt that these activities along with the time we were allowed to reflect in our groups gave us the greatest time to learn.

Another understanding of community, the notion of a psychological sense of community (PSoC) is also incorporated into the functionalist perspective, even though it involves more relational than geographical concepts of community (Puddifoot 1995). McMillan and Chavis (1986: 9) define a PSoC as the feeling experienced by groups where members have a feeling of belonging, a sense of mattering to one another, and 'a shared faith that members' needs will be met through their commitment to be together'. The reason for its incorporation in the functionalist perspective is that the bonds that are formed in terms of a PSoC are usually dependent on a pre-existing community. Since McMillan and Chavis (1986) introduced the concept of a PSoC, it has been and remains a popular construction of community within psychology (Fisher & Sonn 1999). Some of the students on the module could make a distinction between a community of place and a PSoC, as reflected by the following quote from a female student from UWC:

> As a child you are not left with the choice of your community. It is basically forced upon you by your parent or guardian. However as an adult you have the right and freedom of choice to move to a community where you have similarities, things in common and the support which you feel you need, this in turn brings out the aspect of self and identity.

Although the concept of a PSoC has been reworked from its exclusive individual focus to include place identities (Long & Perkins 2007), Phelan's (1996) distinction between communities of place and communities of choice is useful in this context, where communities of choice share some similarities with the concept of a PSoC. The notion of choice in communities is important because it provides some space for agency, which is excluded in realist notions of community.

The main concern about functionalist perspectives of community is the distinction between community identity and social identities such as gender, racial or sexual identity. However, Colombo and Senatore (2005) correctly suggest that community identity is a subsidiary of social identity. In the context of South Africa,

with its history of apartheid, community of place is marked by social identities, such as race, as a result of enforced geographical segregation. Despite the removal of the legal and political barriers to social integration under apartheid, both informal and formal segregation continues to be practised (Dixon & Durrheim 2003; Durrheim 2005).

The embeddedness of community identity – and social identities in the forms of race and class in students' experience in the CSI project – illustrates Colombo and Senatore's (2005) view. The CSI project was a meeting of two very particular communities of place *and* institutional social identities – the two universities. Even though universities are ostensibly geographical entities, their histories and cultures weave political histories and meanings directly related to apartheid terminology into their fabrics (Posel 2001). This is also reflected in comments made by two students from the third year of the project. One coloured male student describes how he chose to study at UWC because of the racial demographic of the university student body: 'For many years, SU predominantly consisted of white students and UWC had generally African and coloured students. This had an effect on deciding which institution I would select for my tertiary training when I was in matric.'

A black female UWC student reflects on the differing reputation of the two universities, which she perceives to be as a result of race: 'In Cape Town I think our university has been ranked the lowest because of its location and the races that come to it. It's called the university for the previously disadvantaged.'

Anecdotal reports of students' experiences of visiting each other's campuses during the modules suggest that they were surprised and impressed by the differences between the universities. Some of the facilitators, for example, noticed how students from UWC were amazed by the resources available at SU, particularly the shopping centre, which includes the student union (complete with cinema, restaurants and shops). These reports mirrored the socioeconomic differences in the lives of the students and between the two tertiary spaces. The resources at SU were symbolic of an extremely privileged community. One coloured social work student wrote the following about the SU students when reflecting on her community map:

> Viewing this community map the difference between affluent and poor is evident. The visiting students had very little things to change in their communities. The things they want to change link more to the enhancement of their personal comfort. The gap that apartheid created between the different races, inclusive of the unequal distribution of wealth and resources, was evident in the different community maps. The visiting students had many resources and recreational activities in their communities where the social work student presented poorer communities with no recreational

> activities. Also what was evident was the accessibility of the resources to the more affluent communities and the lack thereof to the poorer communities.

A further concern about community identity from a functionalist perspective is its realist basis (Stephens 2007) and the implication of a fixed, objective and, at times, ahistorical entity that exists outside individual agency. This notion of community is dependent on similarity and therefore homogeneity, to the exclusion of difference (Hill Collins 2010; Wiesenfeld 1996). If all the people from the same geographical community are painted with the same brush, it provides a platform for stereotypical understandings of communities and the identities of individuals who live there, as reflected in the following comment by a coloured male student from UWC:

> In today's world people identify you from the community from which you come. I heard just the other day a group of friends stating that people who come from Mitchell's Plain are all gangsters and live in a very dangerous area, which is a generalization because not all people from Mitchell's Plain are like that, which just shows you how people identify you from the community you come from, because they believe that you share the same interests, which to a certain extent is also wrong.

When homogeneity defines communities, difference that inevitably exists is often denied. The argument that communities may therefore act as both inclusionary and exclusionary entities remains the basis for one of the most vociferous critiques of the notion of community (Wiesenfeld 1996; Young 1990).

In contrast to the fairly structured understandings of community espoused by functional approaches, postmodern perspectives of community and community identity have emphasised subjectivity and intersubjectivity, the historical and temporal embeddedness of the individual in the construction of community identity, and the fluidity and shifting nature of this identity. Community is seen as socially constructed and dependent on a relational dynamic between the individual and society. This view has been elaborated from different postmodern traditions, such as social representations theory (Howarth 2001; Stephens 2007), intersubjectivity (Cronick 2002), discursive positions (Colombo & Senatore 2005) and feminism (Mayo 1994; Phelan 1996). Some of the texts highlighting the various traditions were prescribed in the CS1 module and encouraged a more nuanced way of thinking about community among the students. These texts also encouraged investigation of the relationship between individual and community identities. A female UWC student wrote:

> Before this course no one has ever challenged me to think of a community other than one which is defined by a geographic boundary. That is something that was remarkable about this course, it challenged us to think critically

> about what we see, think and do every day and why we do things and what has influenced us. Never before did I realize how much where I came from influenced the person I have become and how my context has shaped me and my perspective of the world around me. It has made me re-evaluate why I made certain choices in my life and where I am at right now and how much external factors such as socioeconomic conditions impacted [on me].

Thus, even though functionalist approaches to community were most prevalent, some students were able to incorporate more fluid and complex ways of seeing community. This was important, because we intended an interrogation of concepts of community to extend into their interrogation of their selves and identities too. Like many postmodern thinkers, we hold the view that notions of community, self and identity are inseparable. We now turn to a brief review of the relationship between identity and community and change, and how it was reflected in the module.

Identity and community

Identity is viewed as a complex, contested and fluid concept, and can be viewed as individual and interpersonal, social and political (Howard 2000; Stryker & Burke 2000). There is disagreement between postmodern thinkers who accept the term 'community' as an integral part of the self and those who reject 'community' as a helpful term in constructing identity. In addition there are individualistic constructions of identity where social change is not considered to be a central outcome of conceptualisation, while the outcome for both positions in postmodern thinking, whether inclusive or exclusive of community, is social justice (a concern with anti-oppressive practices). In the postmodern approach routes to social justice are conceptually different and dependent on specific philosophical orientations (Fraser & Nicholson 1990). In an attempt to understand perspectives on community, self and identity more broadly it is important to consider these arguments.

Individual and interpersonal notions of identity, like community, are often used synonymously and euphemistically to imply race or culture. For example, when white students avoid talking about race (McKinney 2004) they will instead refer to black people as 'people from different cultures or different communities' rather than name race. In contemporary South African society students' avoidance strategies also concur with popular notions of colour blindness, where similarity as opposed to difference is emphasised. The idea of community as a euphemism for race is acknowledged by a female SU student:

> Today still the term [community] is used as a euphemism for race. For example the coloured community of Morningside or the white community of Durbanville. These generic categories connoted by the term community serve to perpetuate the idea that each separate entity can and should develop as a separate community and not as a whole.

Phelan (1996), like Sen (2006), suggests that the notion of identity is itself an illusion, because singular notions of identity exclude co-existing identities, rendering the notion of identity as reductionist and incapable of incorporating agency into identity discussions. This is an important recognition and can be developed by distinguishing between identities and identification.

In any society people are typically given many identity labels – such as coloured, student, Roman Catholic, politically conservative – over which they have little control, but they may also adopt identity labels to anchor self-descriptions and practices. It is these externally ascribed labels that are usually referred to as identities, whereas identification refers to the process whereby individuals, groups or communities actively integrate and enact their identities. The latter group owns their identity descriptions as a core part of who they are, whereas ascribed identities are not always owned by individuals and may in fact be actively rejected. Identifications, like identities, are context specific, are negotiated and shift over time when individuals choose to adopt identities, either unwittingly or as a political act. This process is constantly negotiated through factors such as dialogue, and social and political change that construct, reconstruct and enact identities through language. In the following extract a male student from UWC said the following about his group interaction during the CSI module:

> Personally, the biggest inhibitor was not my unfamiliarity with the people at my table, but rather their race. For example, when we were required to share our illustrations of our communities with fellow group members, I constantly felt that I was being pitied for being a coloured person, and stating that I lived in a coloured community on the Cape Flats, particularly by the white students. This feeling was bolstered by responses such as 'I respect a person for saying they live on the Cape Flats'.

The student also felt like he was expected as a coloured person to say that 'life is a constant struggle where I come from', which is not necessarily true.

In this extract the primary identification for the student is the racial descriptor 'coloured' and his community of place. When acting in terms of these identities, he feels inhibited to speak in the group based on the responses he receives in the group. The notion of identification is important in counteracting the perceived static nature of identitarian approaches.

In the context of identities and identification and the recognition of multiple co-existing and integrated identities, the notion of intersectionality is important in constructing a more nuanced understanding of identities (Anthias 2011). The notion of intersectionality was coined in critical race theory by Crenshaw in 1989 (cited in Cole 2009). This approach aimed to address the ways in which the experiences of black women (and those with multiple marginalised identities) typically fall between the cracks when anti-racism or feminism is discussed. This approach moves away from focusing on singular forms of oppression such as gender or racial oppression. It argues for an integrated approach to considering multiple intersecting oppressions such as race, gender, class, disability and the relationships among these oppressions (Cole 2009).

Intersectionality highlights the fact that it is often paradoxical to name communities as 'communities of common purpose' as they may include internal differences and may incorporate members who experience exclusion from communities on the basis of other salient aspects of their identities. The student community represented this idea in all its complexity. The following quote illustrates the idea of intersectionality well. In a written exchange a white female student from SU and a coloured female student from UWC discussed issues of community. The UWC student responded thus:

> The way I defined a community was very broad and I honestly did not consider the definition to be broad. One of my group members defined the term 'community' and then went further to say that because she is Afrikaans she belongs to the Afrikaans community and because she is Christian she belongs to the Christian community. I was absolutely astonished because I did not think like that. Her definition made me consider I am Afrikaans and Christian, so does that mean we can say that we belong to the same community even if she lives in Stellenbosch and I live in Strandfontein?

The above student suggests that she may speak Afrikaans and share a similar faith, but that her class and racialised position are fundamentally different from the white student's. She uses the names of residential areas to symbolise the racial and class divides because property in Strandfontein, a historically coloured residential area, is substantially less valuable than in the historically white (and expensive) residential suburbs of Stellenbosch. It is debatable whether the emotion that accompanies her response is surprise or indignation, yet her insights do allow her to expand her view of community. This quote also illustrates the shift that occurred for many students from viewing community as a fixed geographical entity to also viewing it as having sociopolitical connotations.

Change in community and identities

When considering alternatives to normative conceptions of community and identity, Phelan (1996) rejects the possibility that social justice is central to community and identity, and conceptualises a societal continuum from communitarian, to identitarian, to social justice approaches. Her conceptualisation in terms of stages, she argues, allows for progression from static views of community to ones that embody possibilities for social action and change. Similarly, Young (1990) dismisses the notion of community and argues for a more flexible politics of difference. In her conception of social justice, the representation and affirmation of difference are important. This means that her politics of difference includes a diversity of people affirmed by others. However, social justice and community are not mutually exclusive for Lugones (1998), who distinguishes between communities of place and communities of choice within a politics of resistance and liberation. Communities of place usually include the school, church or country of residence, whereas communities of choice provide alternative spaces from within which reflection on identity and self can take place – the 'breathing space' to which Phelan (1996) refers. For Lugones, no artificial distinction exists between these two notions of community. Community itself becomes an emancipatory space within which the self can practise resistance by envisioning and creating alternative meanings to oppressive ones. She draws on the work of hooks (1984), who similarly argues that marginality as victimhood can be reframed from within an emancipatory framework as a position of power.

This view is developed by Hill Collins (2010), who argues that community can be a powerful construct in creating relational thinking (our interdependence on others) and helping people to deal with change in a world where change is constantly occurring. It can also help people to negotiate boundaries and harness political change. It is often the space to which marginalised identities such as women, the poor and blackness are relegated, but it is also the space in which affirmation, political expression and identification occur, enabling ideas of political action to germinate in people's everyday experience. This in itself makes community a powerful place in which to challenge power relations. Identity, like community, has thus not remained within only an individual, interactional or social space. It also reflects a significantly politicised character.

Conclusion

In a country like South Africa, with its history of racialised oppression, 'community' came to represent politically and ideologically defined notions of difference. Political

and legal barriers enforced the segregation of communities – both geographical communities and community related to socially constructed identities. One could say that this was a functionalist notion of community – the function being who belonged where. In order to continue moving forward in breaking down these historical, and the continuing formal and informal boundaries requires an interrogation of 'identity' and 'community', with the recognition of their historical context, nuances and fluidity.

By exposing students to critical literature on community and identity we hoped to provide them with some tools to evaluate commonsense and taken-for-granted views of these concepts. This approach to the CS1 module can be viewed as a political pedagogical act in a specific learning community that aims to interrupt hegemonic practices and encourage students to imagine alternative ways of seeing. This can be seen in the following reflection by a white SU student:

> Like [student's name], many people who spoke at the workshop and I, we all like the following: 'we all do have problems in our own communities.' What if we put it this way – we all do have opportunities in our own communities. Which one sounds the best? The point is that the statement which emphasises 'problems' as a commonality, sounds truer than the one about opportunities. WHY??? The answer just might help us to start living with more (social) responsibility.

In looking at notions of 'identity' and 'community' from a personal, reflective perspective, students on the CS1 course could not only explore different theoretical conceptions of what is meant by these concepts, but, more importantly, could begin to consider issues of power and politics, and the recognition and affirmation of difference, and have a more creative sense of what forms of 'community' and what kinds of 'identities' may be possible.

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Part 2

Outcomes and findings

5

Student experiences of the CSI module

Ronelle Carolissen

THIS CHAPTER REFLECTS ON student experiences of the Community, Self and Identity (CSI) module. It provides an account of the forms of data collection used by the module designers and focuses on students' responses as captured in a longitudinal study. The chapter presents indications of the challenges inherent in implementing a module of this nature, and the opportunities and benefits it provides for students. It concludes with a reflection on the data-gathering methods used.

Research design

The project was a form of action research in that it responded to a problem, as indicated in Chapters 1 and 2, and posed a solution that it became necessary to review and refine. The collection of data on the student experience was both formative and summative – formative in that data collected from the beginning of the first pilot allowed the module design team to monitor the students' experience of the module as it was implemented and make changes as it proceeded. The research also had a summative element in that it allowed the design team to decide whether the approach used was appropriate to achieving the aims we set ourselves and therefore whether it should be recommended to educationalists in other higher education settings.

Two kinds of data were collected: the first kind were broadly descriptive. Examples of this are demographic data about students who took the module (see Chapter 2) or how many students recorded enjoying the module – the latter being information typically found in the student feedback forms. The second kind, collected mainly from the writings of students on the module, in systematic interviews and Google Chat groups after the module was completed, allowed the team to explore the processes as described by students in more detail. By analysing this

qualitative data in conjunction with the theory, we were able to reach new understandings about how students think about and negotiate issues of difference.

An important aspect of the research design was the longitudinal and retrospective component. We found ourselves asking: What impact do modules have on students once they have graduated? Do they find the learning content and processes in the modules that they experienced valuable when they enter their work environments? Do the modules that we design and implement have the lasting impacts on students that we as educators, or institutions of higher education, hope to engender? It is these questions that prompted the CS1 team to design a longitudinal evaluation of the CS1 module in 2009.

The questions above are important for a number of reasons. Firstly, in the context of social justice education, where we plan to create opportunities for students to practise skills for citizenship in an increasingly complex world (Barnett 2004), such as the capacity for reflexivity and democratic dialogue (Boler 1999; Boler & Zembylas 2003; Cross & Johnson 2006), it is important to know what students internalise about modules. In the evaluation context, the timing of evaluation is particularly important. Evaluations conducted a few months or years after the module has been completed may neutralise experiences of euphoria or disgust about modules, as opposed to completing a module evaluation immediately at the end of a particular module. Students who are distanced from the project are able to think about the work from the position of a graduate who is engaging in postgraduate studies or working. This distance situates them in a reflexive space different from the immediacy of a very demanding module. Despite the qualitative differences that may occur in the timing of evaluations, most module evaluations are done immediately after the modules have been completed, with few evaluations taken once students have completed the modules and graduated (Kernahan & Davis 2007). These methodological issues, as well as a curiosity about our students' thinking as human service professionals, led us to design the longitudinal retrospective evaluation.

Data collection and interpretation

Data from the following sources were collected and analysed during and after the implementation of the CS1 module:

1. *Data per student per module*. This included data produced by approximately 95 students per year for three years during which approximately 95 per cent of students each year gave written consent to use their work. This included:
   - all drawings created by students during the three contact sessions;

- all written assignments and PowerPoint presentations, using a variety of genres, including conversational, reflective and traditionally literature-based genres, which were stored on the electronic learning management system; and
- feedback forms after each workshop and after the module as a whole (thus, four forms per student).

2. *Specific events, for example a video-taped debriefing session with focus groups each year and participation in a focus group after the first year in a public colloquium on the module*. This discussion was also transcribed. A group from the first year of the module also presented a paper at a national educational conference, which was published as Rohleder et al. (2007).
3. *The moderation on an assessment each year by an academic from a different university*. Her useful reports were included in the data gathered for the evaluation of the module.
4. *A longitudinal study conducted two to three years after students took the module*, comprising:
   - a quantitative online survey completed by 23 students (8 per cent of the total sample);
   - 18 face-to-face interviews with individual students; and
   - two online synchronous chatgroups facilitated by an external facilitator using Google Chat as a discussion group forum, with three and four students, respectively.

Data were interpreted by both individuals and team members in groups or pairs. They were interpreted both quantitatively and qualitatively, depending on the line of inquiry. For the most part, for the qualitative analysis an interpretive approach was followed (Holstein & Gubrium 2005; Kelly 2006; Smith et al. 2010; Terre Blanche et al. 2006). The steps of analysis were familiarisation with and immersion in the data, inducing themes from the data, and encoding and elaboration of the data, followed by interpretation and checking (Smith et al. 2010; Terre Blanche et al. 2006).

Findings

Students were generally very positive in their feedback regarding the module. In all three years students were given an evaluation questionnaire at the end of the module. The questionnaire included the following three questions:

1. Would you recommend repeating the idea of learning with students from another university?

2. Would you recommend repeating the idea of learning with students from another discipline?
3. Would you recommend using a mix of workshops and electronic communication?

In all three years the large majority (over 90 per cent) of students responded positively to the first two questions. Students were a little less enthusiastic about the use of blended learning (workshops and electronic communication) – 80 per cent responded positively to this question in 2006, with a higher percentage in 2007 and 2008, citing associated frustration with the use of electronic communication as a key factor. In the longitudinal study students remembered the module and all but two students thought that it still had an immediate positive impact on their current work. Students commented on a unique experience in the CS1 module by comparing it to other modules:

> I thought it was a fantastic module. It was experiential and felt very real. At the same time it was challenging intellectually and theoretically. I thought it was such a refreshing change from how modules are usually offered. (Google group 1, participant 3, University of the Western Cape [UWC], female social work student, 2008)[1]

In the longitudinal study students devoted a substantial amount of attention to implementational features of the module, thus demonstrating the extent to which their learning about how to think about and negotiate issues of difference was bound up with pedagogic and design features. Some students identified the integration between theory and practice, and especially the experiential component of learning, as most important for them. In the extract below the student also suggests that the module continued to stimulate her thinking after she had completed it and that she regrets not engaging more actively in the module. This implies that for this student much of the intellectual and emotional processing of the module material took place after she had completed the module:

> I still think of the theory, the theoretical component. I think of the interaction. But more so I think about how I would have done things differently in the module. So it's very positive because I think the module in a way stimulated my thinking to look at community, self and identity differently and more personally. So I still find myself thinking about it and reflecting on some of the discussions in the group. It's unfortunate that we had the discussions in the group so infrequently. If I were to do it over I would like to have more contact because I know that it can benefit me, so I would be chatting in the chatrooms and forums more. (Participant 5, UWC, female coloured social work student, 2006)

Not all students appreciated the link between theory and practice, however:

> It was more about the interaction, the conversations that we had and the collaboration between all parties involved…this was more IMPORTANT than the theory of the CSI project…the content (theory) was for me not as important as the practical part…the collaboration and the interaction was much more informative. (Participant 18, Stellenbosch University (SU), female white psychology student, 2008)

While many students appreciated the online communication, others saw this as highly challenging:

> Electronically and technology based [work] was a BIG challenge, especially by posting things…that was very hectic. At UWC, not everyone have internet, and the poor students at UWC most of them don't even have a computer. (Participant 2, UWC, female coloured occupational therapy student, 2007)

This sentiment refers to the unequal access to computers identified during the first year of the module. Even though social work students were issued with laptops from 2007 onwards (the year when occupational therapists joined the module), the student refers to students from UWC as having inadequate access to computers. This is an issue that immediately has the potential to draw racial and class fault lines in terms of technological resources in the CSI community, as it has in Africa and globally (Curran 2001; Yusuf-Kahlil et al. 2007).

Further concerns about the internet included the technological challenges of online work, especially when students were meant to work in groups:

> With CSI, you constantly had to interact with internet and email…this was very difficult…especially with groupwork. You had to respond to another person's work and then you are on the website but…then the website suddenly closes, or the module work can't be seen. This was very frustrating and then I could not do a response…it was in my head and then (with the crash) one would lose it. (Participant 6, UWC, female coloured social work student, 2007)

It is interesting that students mentioned the challenges of online work but, unlike in previous evaluations (Rohleder et al. 2008), in the longitudinal study positive evaluations of online work were absent when they were not specifically probed for. One of the few ways in which to circumvent challenges based on e-learning is to combine online with face-to-face learning (Sweeney et al. 2004), as the CSI module has done. There is always an element of risk involved in doing online learning, because even the most meticulously planned module can be jeopardised by

unanticipated technological problems, like the extensive power cuts experienced in Cape Town when the module was offered in 2006.

An issue that received much attention in the longitudinal study was the placement of the module in the curriculum, namely in the fourth year. This issue is very significant for interdisciplinary modules, taken by students doing tightly structured professional programmes and less structured foundational- or liberal arts-type programmes. Social work and occupational therapy students thought that the module was inappropriately placed in the final year, when their course was already overloaded with practical placements:

> In the 4th year it was done in the first semester. It was very difficult to juggle it at that time … because our whole 4th year you are busy with your block work case studies, assignments, reports and still have to come to lectures to do their work and that was crazy. (Participant 2, UWC, female coloured occupational therapy student, 2007)

All students interviewed thought that this module should be implemented at a level earlier than fourth year. It is interesting that many of them thought that the module should be implemented at third-year level:

> Bringing it in the 4th year I think it's a bit too late because you could have used it to gain more experience of community, self and identity. It would have been more efficient from the 3rd year. By the time you [are] figuring it out whether it works or not – it's too late … Yes, it would have been more beneficial I think for me, [be]cause you see, I'm a person who don't grasp things that quick, immediately by thinking of it, and then go practice it. So you see by the time I figured that out – it was 3–4 weeks down the line. But then again the other disadvantage – the 3rd years might not be ready. They might have the module and it will [be] past their heads [that is, beyond their ability to benefit from it]. (Participant 1, UWC, male coloured occupational therapy student, 2007)

The general sense that this module should be implemented at third-year level therefore arose because fourth-year students suggested that at third-year level students would have more time for integration and reflection when doing the module. Further reasons for its inclusion at third-year level were, however, that students would be mature enough to benefit from the module and that there would be fewer competing demands from practical placements. The time allocated to the module was also experienced as challenging:

> I think the module should just be designed to be over a longer period. This module was about 6 or 7 weeks, right, so we had written work every week. I think with a module like this, there must be time to pause, there must be

> time for reflection, there must be time for discussion. So it has to be over a longer period. You know, initially, when you meet your group members for the first time there is all that politeness and so you're going to keep everything very polite because this is an academic module, you want the mark. That's how I approached it initially . . . maybe include more of the interaction, where you've got to talk to each other . . . If those things are included then we'll soon pass through all that politeness and get down to our real issues and address those. (Participant 5, UWC, female coloured social work student, 2006)

This student names a number of challenges related to time. When the module is short, little time is available for reflection, processing and internalisation. She also suggests that because the time allocated to the module is so short, it enables students to maintain a facade of politeness without ever really engaging with difference. She, for example, maintained politeness and was able to do so as a result of the limited time, precisely because she wanted to secure a good mark for the module. This sentiment of maintaining politeness by avoiding discussion of perceived emotionally difficult topics such as race was echoed throughout the course by some students, course designers and facilitators. We felt that the silences that occurred at times when trying to negotiate the difficult emotional terrain of race and to some extent sexual orientation created silences that initially hampered the process of students getting to know one another. They would use perceived synonyms for 'race' such as 'culture' or 'class' and showed emotional reservations about using apartheid-coined race categories. This phenomenon appears to be common locally (McKinney 2004; 2007) and internationally (Nelson et al. 2007) and is discussed in detail in some of our other publications (Leibowitz et al. 2007; Rohleder et al. 2007).

One participant suggested lengthening the module to facilitate some form of debriefing:

> There should also be room for debriefing, some of the students may have discussed things which were very personal, and support was not provided to them and then [they were] left with feelings having to deal with them alone. (Google group 1, participant 3, UWC, female social work student, 2008)

It was very striking how in the longitudinal study students were able to give constructive and mature feedback about challenging experiences in the module. Many of them talked about challenges, but immediately provided possible solutions for the problems they raised. This could have been because of their increased maturity, their distance from the module and the opportunity they had had for further reflection. The way in which they provided critical feedback is perhaps also

a skill, which the dialogue in the CS1 module contributed to shaping, even though it was not explicitly planned for initially. The most common recommendations included implementing the module earlier in the curriculum, that it should be implemented in all health and social sciences courses, and that the length of the module should be increased.

The recommendation that filtered through the interviews most consistently was that the module should be offered to all health sciences and social service disciplines:

> I would say yes, to all different health sciences, especially doctors. In the sense, that – I know it's community based and they hardly work in the community – because I came from the hospital environment – the doctors – they don't necessarily understand the patients' culture – medically they understand what's wrong yes, but culturally they don't really know, where the patient is from or at. (Participant 2, UWC, female coloured occupational therapy student, 2007)

Value of the module for the students

What, then, did students believe they gained from the various iterations of the module? Students in the longitudinal study commented on the value of exploring difference in relation to professions:

> CS1 is a very integral module that should be provided not only to Social Work, Psychology or OT students but I think it should be integrated holistically not just in that three professions because it's vital that multidisciplinary teams should work together, so that we can demolish the barriers between different career paths so that superiority or discrimination amongst or against other professions be demolished and overcome and I think by interacting with different multidisciplinary teams is the perfect way and I think CS1 is taking that first step in improving that barrier amongst professions. (Participant 9, UWC, female coloured social work student, 2008)

The power relations that exist between professions (Barnes et al. 2000; Mandy et al. 2004) are highlighted in this quote. The student, by naming the CS1 as the 'first module' (in her experience) to address interprofessional barriers, levels the implicit critique that these power relations are seldom addressed in teaching and learning.

Other comments hinted at the value of getting students to explore differences that evoke difficult emotions and so are usually avoided:

> I think the Community, Self and Identity project is one that in a way forces you to think deeply about issues that you usually skirt around and so, you

> know, I think we deliver services as part of diverse populations/diverse groups to diverse populations. And so it's very important to talk about that because it raises issues of diversity and sensitizes us to it. (Participant 5, UWC, female coloured occupational therapy student, 2006)

In the context of the CSI module this could have referred to race and religious difference and, to some extent, sexual orientation (see Rohleder et al. 2007). The above quotes suggest a general response to the module, but more personal responses were also provided that related to personal growth as a result of students' participation in the CSI module. A student commented that she became acutely aware of her own positionality in the face of others' difference and that exposure to others brought some understanding of 'the other':

> I think the fact that I realised my reality is not necessarily someone else's reality: the CSI module forced me to think about that and my past experiences are not necessarily the same as someone else's – particularly other race groups – and so, my perceptions are influenced by my past experiences which are not really the realities of the other people. So I've become more aware of that, you know, more aware of what I bring and where I'm positioned. (Participant 5, UWC, female coloured social work student, 2006)

Another student talked about how challenging but valuable the module was, because she felt a responsibility to be honest with herself (and others) in the CSI community. She revealed aspects of her own identity that she had usually concealed in many other learning contexts:

> Those of us who have learnt to think about things . . . must take responsibility and be honest about who 'I' or he or she is. It will confront you and make you think about who you are and other important and deeper things. The whole CSI module was an extremely challenging project, not just for me, but for all of us, because I had to learn how to cope with being gay and with other student opinions about it, and an understanding of it. Through this challenge when I talked about myself I needed to learn how to cope with student reactions to my sexual orientation. Even though I had accepted myself and know who I am, it was still a challenge because the group was so diverse. (Participant 13, SU, female white psychology student, 2006)

This student also raises the importance of dialogue (Cross & Johnson 2006) and recognition from others (Fraser 2000; Fraser & Honneth 2003) in the context of a community to facilitate deepened acceptance of herself.

Yet another student suggested that for her the concrete engagement with her own stereotypes about 'the other' through the CSI module helped to challenge some

of her preconceived views that were informed by her whiteness and her middle-class position:

> The other thing is yes, especially our Stellenbosch students, especially those of us with a richer and white background. I come from a white Free State [family]…and am walking around with different…perhaps wrong perceptions – and here comes the CSI project and it helps you to get a broader picture and to see things differently and approach things differently. (Participant 18, SU, female white psychology student, 2008)

Even though this white middle-class student appears to have been able to gain more insights about her own positionality (and privilege) than other South African research suggests is usually the case via classroom interventions (McKinney 2004; 2007), others experienced shifts, but nonetheless still found it difficult to acknowledge the privilege of whiteness:

> It had an impact at the time in terms of my struggle with trying to find a notion of community that resonated with myself in terms of my past experiences and it also brought up issues for me in terms of identity: I'm like, who or what am I after being here so long? It also opened up to me how other people identify themselves specifically in terms of colour…if someone asks me what you are, I don't say I'm a white person. (Participant 18, SU, female white psychology student, 2006)

This student also raises the issue of how others (usually black people) foreground race as an identity signifier, something that she as a white person chooses not to do. Some authors consider never having to draw attention to whiteness to be an indicator of white privilege. In this view whiteness is considered the norm and all views and practices flow from this position, because whiteness is the point of departure (Green et al. 2007; Taylor et al. 2009).

Yet another student thought about her own personal development from the perspective of spatial location:

> I thought a lot about my identity and what had shaped it and I thought a lot about Apartheid and its impact on me and other students. I do find myself often thinking about space and how that affects so much of who we are and how we experience life and opportunities. I work with people and individually…and understanding their community where they are coming from, their different cultures, beliefs and their values it just makes my work easy, helpful and valuable to all my clients. And it also gives me my identity as I know where I belong as well as learning to accept people individually. (Google group 2, participant 2, UWC, female occupational therapy student, 2008)

This student comments on the groundedness – the sense of belonging – that she derived from the CS1 module. This allowed her the opportunity to think about herself in relation to others and to find herself anchored in her understanding of community. It is this sense of belonging that unites all these students' experiences of difference and that hooks (2009) argues is core to caring and inclusive communities.

Reflection on the value of the module

Is it possible to provide a summative comment on the value of the module and its impact on the 282 students who took it? The responses provided in the student feedback forms during and immediately after the module each year were overwhelmingly positive. A positive, but more sober view is generated from the in-depth analyses of the data generated by the assignments and post-module data collection activities. In Leibowitz et al. (2010), for example, we conclude that while all the students in the pilot learned something about difference, for many this remained superficial. A smaller group became decentred or disconcerted and had further questions, while a minority reached the point of being able to integrate this learning experience deeply with their own understanding of the world, and to see the clear connections between this module and what they would be able to think or do in relation to their future professional lives. What one can certainly say on the basis of the longitudinal study is that the module made a deep and lasting impression on some students. One can also conclude that the teaching approach based on a pedagogy of discomfort, as outlined in Chapter 3 of this book, is a productive format for supporting students to think about and negotiate issues of difference in a deeply divided society.

Reflections on the research design

From the varied data collection activities undertaken, three key lessons emerge. The first pertains to the use of the electronic platform for all assignments, which allowed for immediate and accurate access to all written assignments. The drawings done by students as part of the participatory learning and action activities in the first workshop were photographed and loaded onto the learning management system, to be read by other students in their groups of six. The assignments required students to communicate with one another and the facilitators using a variety of genres, including conversational, reflective and more traditional literature-based stances, that allowed the team to analyse the negotiations around difference in terms of a

greater variety of communicative modes. Finally, putting the data on a learning management system allowed a larger group of individuals access to the data, without compromising ethics, since any individual required permission and a password to access the system. In this way the external moderator of the module assessment was able to interact with the data and was further drawn in to co-write Chapter 7 of this book.

A second lesson concerned the value of a collaborative approach to evaluation. This approach allowed the team to debate and offer various opinions as to why certain activities did or did not work. The team served as a supportive buffer, preventing any one presenter from feeling bruised or defensive if any strategy did not work out as planned, since all activities were co-planned. By analysing the data together and from various disciplinary perspectives we also prevented one another from engaging in false optimism about the module and what it could achieve.

The third lesson is that retrospective and longitudinal tracking of an initiative is both necessary and difficult to undertake. It is perhaps not surprising that little longitudinal research exists on retrospective student experiences of modules (Kernahan & Davis 2007). When conducting this research, three logistical challenges to conducting it became evident. It was very difficult to locate participants, because many of them had graduated and left the Western Cape. Many occupational therapists and social workers especially had relocated to other parts of the country where they found employment. Their cell phone numbers were the only contact information we had and these had often changed by the time we tried to contact them. When ex-CS1 students were found they were spread across the Cape Peninsula and the fieldworker had to travel distances of more than 30 minutes drive to interview them. When interviewed, ex-CS1 students could only provide limited time to the interviewer (most interviews lasted 30–45 minutes), because many were interviewed during their lunchtimes or after work when they were rushing to go home. Despite these challenges, student feedback was thoughtful and insightful.

From the retrospective study itself there were a number of areas of feedback that coincided with previous evaluations and some that were new, given students' reflexive distance. For example, throughout all the evaluations, students commented on the challenges of online learning. The insights that they provided about the time frame and timing of the module were not new; however, some of the reasons they provided were new. Even though they had previously mentioned that the module was too short and was inappropriately placed in fourth year, on reflection they could provide thoughtful recommendations for improvement. They thought that the module should be offered to third years, because they could have benefited from the additional time for integration and reflection during the course and not after completing their degrees. Students also regretted having little time to process and integrate learning from the module during the module.

Students' overwhelmingly positive experience of the CSI module remained even one to three years after doing the module. The fact that students recommended that the length of the module should be increased and that it should be extended to all health and social service training suggests that the module continued to have an impact and immediacy for students long after they had completed it. It engaged students in dialogue that elicited emotions and enabled them to continue to process experiences and gain additional insights as they engaged in postgraduate studies and their new working environments. Even though retrospective evaluations are methodologically challenging and time consuming, this evaluation suggests that important insights can be gleaned from such longitudinal evaluations. It also provides a much-needed glimpse into how the capacities that we as higher educators wish to develop in students are realised beyond the lifespan of the modules we teach.

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Note

1 All quotes provide information on university, discipline, gender, race and year in which the course was attended. Race is not known for discussions in the Google Chat groups.

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6

‘Apartheid was your past, not mine’

Lindsey Nicholls, Poul Rohleder, Vivienne Bozalek, Ronelle Carolissen, Brenda Leibowitz and Leslie Swartz

THIS CHAPTER PRESENTS AN ANALYSIS of the data from the Community, Self and Identity (CSI) project from a psychoanalytic point of view. With reference to participating students’ writing, it discusses the damage caused by the apartheid past and the damage that continues to be done when the effects of the past are denied. It concludes with the reminder that only through acknowledging hurt, shame and anger can we move forward.

Introduction

In the 1960s Jane Elliot conducted classroom-based lessons that aimed to emphasise the destructive process of prejudice and stereotyping (BBC 2003). Elliot would divide the class into two groups, those labelled as having ‘brown eyes’ and those labelled as having ‘blue eyes’ (for a critique of this educational technique, see Erickson 2005). In 1989 one of the authors of this chapter sat in on a lesson at a secondary school in Cape Town, South Africa (then in the last years of the apartheid regime) in which the guidance teacher drew on Elliot’s work and physically divided the class into two groups – those with brown eyes and those with blue eyes.[1] The brown-eyed group were told that there was scientific evidence that proved that brown-eyed pupils were more intelligent, more mature and more responsible citizens than blue-eyed learners. The blue-eyed group were told they were considered less able to learn because of their irresponsible behaviour and immature attitude to school work.

It was a powerful class teaching session and some students were visibly upset at the lambasting they were given when they argued their case for believing that they belonged to a different group. This dynamic was quickly taken up by the student members of the different groups, and one brown-eyed pupil attempted to cross to the blue-eyed group – saying he did not think they were different or ‘inferior’ to his brown-eyed group, but he was quickly told by them that they did

not want him to join them; they said they felt patronised by what they termed 'his gesture'.

At the end of the 'lesson', when the teacher had explained to the whole class (as a form of debriefing) that he was doing an experiential exercise with them to encourage them to think about racism and prejudice, the young male brown-eyed student who had attempted to join the blue-eyed group said, 'But sir, I already knew about these things, why did I have to *feel it*?'

Similar issues have arisen in the context of our course. During the first implementation of the course (2006) it became apparent that students were reluctant to name race as a point of difference, focusing on other differences such as professional discipline or 'culture'. In some cases students went as far as glossing over actual differences by using a 'we are all the same' discourse. This was unexpected and somewhat confusing for the CS1 course designers, because we recognised the need for such an exchange and had to give careful consideration as to how to create and facilitate a space in which dialogue on issues of race and racism could take place. In doing so we needed to consider the emotional experience of engaging with issues of difference; and in particular for the purposes of this chapter, difference in terms of the social constructions of race as they had been lived by participants and facilitators. This lived experience was the most difficult to access, because it was either denied or hidden by the rhetoric of sameness; for example, a student, when asked how he saw the 'others' in his group, said: 'We are all brothers who have had different mothers'.

Background to the project

At this point in the chapter it may be useful to contextualise some of these events by giving a background to racial classification in South Africa during apartheid and in the post-apartheid period. It had been 16 years since the new South African government under the leadership of Nelson Mandela began to make the changes to the legacy of the previous National Party, which had entrenched the ideology (and practice) of white supremacy through the use of structures and policies in all aspects of life: law, education, land ownership, job allocation and the right to vote. Where people lived, what jobs they could expect to do, which educational institutions they could enter and which health facilities were available to them were all 'colour (that is, race group) coded'. These rules were extended to whom people could have sex with and marry: in terms of the Immorality Act (1950) and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act (1949), it became unlawful for a white person to have sex with or marry someone who came from another classified race group.

A survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council in February 1984 revealed that the vast majority of white South Africans were in favour of the exclusion of black South Africans from the political system, and from white schools, residential areas and public amenities. Even the more obvious forms of racist legislation, such as the Immorality Act and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, were supported by 60 per cent of the white population in 1985 (Theissen & Hamber 1998: 8–9).

Although these instruments of apartheid were dismantled many years previously by the ANC government, they continued to have a subconscious effect on how the students at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and Stellenbosch University (SU) felt about the institutions they had applied to and how they viewed each other.

Race rules

Under the Population Registration Act of 1950 South African people were classified into different racial categories. These classifications established only four racial identities: white, African (or black), coloured and Indian. Chinese people were considered 'coloured'. These racial groupings were used to reinforce positions of privilege (for example, in terms of schools, work opportunities and entrance to universities) and areas of home ownership or accommodation. Although no discernible racial categories are currently used to dictate where a person may live, work or study, the legacy of the past affects many people in how they feel about going into a 'white' suburb or 'black' township, or applying to an educational institution that was previously associated with white privilege or black disadvantage.

Posel (2001) has highlighted how the previous use of racial classifications now haunts the initiatives that are being taken to redress the imbalances from the unjust past, for example, the use of 'positive discrimination' and 'affirmative action' in work opportunities and student recruitment. In her article, which was on the reading list for the course, Posel states that these initiatives are resorting to the same illegitimate (nonsensical) classifications of race to identify suitable candidates for posts or increase equity profiles in organisations. The past race classifications therefore continue to disturb the present.

One of the more insidious and subconscious features of this divisive racial classification was its creation of discrimination and prejudice among African groups through mechanisms of internalised oppression (Alleyne 2005). The apartheid classifications did not recognise the clear cultural differences among members of a labelled group: black people were not a homogeneous group – they could belong to different tribes/ethnic groups, for example, Xhosa or Zulu, or could have come

from neighbouring countries, for example, the Shona people from Zimbabwe or the Tswana people from Botswana. Through various policies and other measures, apartheid did emphasise the 'tribal' in a divisive way, for example, the creation of the so-called 'homelands', where black people were allocated land that they could own and farm. This allocation of land for the country's black citizens was extremely divisive: not only was 80 per cent of the population allocated to less than 13 per cent of the land, much of it in the least arable parts of South Africa, but this policy was justified in terms of people living with their 'own kind'. This lack of recognition of the economic inequities of the 'homeland development' policy occurred alongside allocating these areas of land to diverse groups of people (often through a process of forced removals from their established communities), resulting in a noxious mixture of people who were forced to establish business, agricultural and home spaces in places that had not been part of their history. The rise of Zulu nationalism and its consequent conflict with ANC supporters prior to the 1994 elections was seen to arise from these mendacious policies (Taylor 1991).

The homelands were often far from the work opportunities that were part of the growing economy of the country, for example, the gold mines, where the majority of the labour force needed to mine the gold were black men. This created the ghettos of mine hostel dwellers that divided families, with the men living on the city limits in single-room hostels, and their wives and children in impoverished rural homelands many miles away. In addition, the different groups that lived in the homelands experienced conflict when one group was given (or gained) political and/or economic power over another. The system was built on a lie:

> Poor land quality, weak political legitimacy, and financial dependency on the central state have characterized QwaQwa [a homeland] since its founding and illustrate the concocted nature of the ethnic state in South Africa. The apartheid ideology of territorial integrity and uniform ethnic composition attempted to camouflage the reality of a labor reserve economy. (Pickles & Woods 1992: 639)

Many of the subtle divisions (and the resulting conflict) between the groups allocated to the homelands, which were created through the awarding of political and/or economic privilege by the nationalist government, were often not recognised by those living there or the second generation of these homeland citizens, that is, the black students who attended the CSI course. Price (1986), in a politically astute article, comments on how the homelands (known as 'bantustans') failed to fulfil their role of removing blacks from the white-controlled cities:

> The implementation of Apartheid policy, however, has not gone altogether according to plan. Firstly, the migration of Africans from the rural areas to the towns has continued despite the strict influx control laws . . . The

> bantustans are severely overcrowded since, although Africans form almost 80 per cent of the population, the bantustans constitute only 13 per cent of South Africa and exclude all the wealthy industrial and mining regions. Furthermore, despite promises by the government to the contrary, the bantustans have not been 'developed' so that they could sustain their populations. At the same time, the demand for Black labour in the 'White' economy has grown rapidly. Consequently, the urban Black population has enlarged rather than shrunk. (Price 1986: 159)

The coloured community was divided into Afrikaans- and English-speaking factions (where the English speakers were often seen as a more sophisticated and politically astute group), while among Indians there was separation between Muslims and Hindus. With these separations a further division took place where 'coloured' people who were Muslim identified themselves (and still do) as Cape Malay Muslims. The 'separate but equal' philosophy of the apartheid government created a deep and lasting suspicion of the 'other', particularly when that 'other' derived benefits from belonging to a particular group (for example, coloureds could live within the Cape Town metropolis, but blacks were not allowed to own land there).[2] Whites also had subtle class divisions within their given group identity, for example, between English- and Afrikaans-speaking people or between religious groups (for example, Jews and fundamentalist Christian groups).

The CS1 project leaders and facilitators had all lived this history and belonged to the different identity divisions that had been created by race, language, religion, sexuality and gender, and they anticipated that the students would be fairly aware of these differences – socially, politically and/or emotionally. It was confusing and troubling to the project leaders that the students seemed unaware or unconcerned about the recent past, as if there was a collusive silence or denial about the legacy that affected them all.

A psychoanalytic lens on our data

Several research products have arisen from this project focusing on different aspects of the project, for example, the use of participatory learning and action techniques in exploring power and privilege (Bozalek & Biersteker 2009) or the meaning of community work in a post-apartheid South Africa (Rohleder et al. 2007). The emphasis of this chapter is on the marked dismissal by the majority of student groups (and some facilitators) of the political history of the country and its inevitable negative effect on interracial interaction. There appeared to be an unconscious denial of the obvious ongoing inequities that we (as a research team)

were more than familiar with. This denial led us to consider two linked concerns: that there was a form of implicit agreement (or complicity) between black and white student groups to avoid the topic of racial difference, and that this was being echoed in the discomfort facilitators experienced in addressing the topic with one another and the student groups.

We realised that we needed to train the facilitators to work with these difficult emotions by providing a 'safe' space for them to explore their experiences and feelings in relation to these issues. The week-long facilitator training, where black and white staff spoke a great deal about themselves, was an emotionally intense and painful encounter with 'otherness'. We realised that, like the story of the guidance class that begins this chapter, we were asking the CSI students to 'feel it' in order to understand the course content and one another. Some very challenging feelings had to be acknowledged, including fear, guilt, grief, betrayal, shame and rage. This chapter focuses specifically on the emotional process of engaging with the topic of race, racism and apartheid, both as a past and an ongoing trauma.

Psychoanalytic reflections

Lindsey Nicholls had been away from South Africa for eight post-apartheid years of freedom. When she first began teaching at UWC in 2005 she found the separation of race groups in the lecture rooms (coloured, Muslim, white and black students all sat separately from one another) puzzling and distressing. She had imagined that in the time she had been away the different racial groups would mix more freely on campus and in classroom settings, especially at a university that had a history of struggle against oppression. She had asked a group of coloured and black UWC students about their view of the white students in the class, who seemed to be studiously avoided by the coloured/black students. They replied that the white students were 'ineffectual' because they were failed 'whites'; that is, they had failed to get into a white institution (implying that was the only logical reason they would have been at UWC). This 'knowledge' of their 'failure' to get into other (white) universities had never been openly discussed (and/or confirmed) in the class, but had been unquestioningly assumed as the truth by the coloured/black students.

The CSI design team believed that by inviting students from the different courses and universities to meet and work together on the linked concepts of community, self and identity there would be a chance to interrogate the notions of superiority and inferiority, which had been implicitly linked to profession, gender and race, through a personal engagement with the 'other'. We hoped that encouraging students to discuss and reflect on the relational and emotional legacy of their South African history would allow them to consider the impact of the past

on their view of themselves and one another. This 'uncovering' of their history may have highlighted the hidden shame of white students and silent transgenerational trauma of coloured/black students' oppression from the past (Alleyne 2005). It was through this at times uncomfortable and deeply disquieting realisation that the lived history of oppression was part of all the students' lives that made it possible for them to comprehend the morally complex educational material that was part of the course.

The damage of difference

At the start of the course (before the students met one another) we wanted to explore how the students felt about their institutions, professional courses and their view of the 'other' (institution and/or professional group). In a web-based assignment we invited students to say why they had chosen their profession and their university, and what they knew about other professional groups and/or universities. Although some students were cautious in expressing their beliefs, a few described their views about themselves and how this had affected their choice of institution. Below, a coloured male student describes how he had chosen to study at UWC because he may have (implicitly) believed he would not be accepted by SU:

> For many years, SU predominantly consisted of white students and UWC generally had African and coloured students. This had an effect on deciding which institution I will select for my tertiary training when I was in matric.

A black female UWC student said:

> In Cape Town I think our university has been ranked the lowest because of its location and the races that come to it. It's called the university for the previously disadvantaged.

Staff at UWC made an 'inhouse' joke that reflected their sense of being in a 'lesser' university. This joke goes that before the new (ANC) government came into power, UWC was the 'University of the Left', but with the recent exodus of senior black academics who were offered high-profile positions in the previously white universities (by implication, to raise their staffs' racial profile), UWC staff felt that UWC had become the 'University of the Leftovers'.

The members of the research team were conscious that students may not be aware of the psychological processes and/or defences they used to position themselves in relation to the 'other'. The examples above illustrate that coloured/black UWC students believed they were attending an inferior institution. We wondered if these students thought they were less able than white students and/or if they did not expect to be welcomed into a 'white' university like SU. The students seemed to be

demonstrating a form of internalised racial oppression – a view of the self that can lack a 'reflexive identity' (Alleyne 2005: 294), that is, it is an identity that unconsciously identifies with certain aspects of a history that reinforce the inferiority of that group:

> [Internalised oppression]…is the process of absorbing the values and beliefs of the oppressor and coming to believe that the stereotypes and misinformation about one's group is true (or partly true). Such a process can lead to low self-esteem, self-hate, the disowning of one's group, and other complex defensive behaviours in relation to one's group. (Alleyne 2005: 295)

Students who studied at UWC stated that they would find themselves comparing their results with students in their class who came from other racial groups. A black female student from UWC said that in her class of mixed racial groups she often felt she was from the 'low marks group':

> Looking at the UWC community, whenever we have marks at the notice board after a test I tend to want to know who got the high mark, not necessar[il]y interested in the name of the person but the race, my friends and I tend to make our little statistics about which race gets high marks in class. So we tend to identify ourselves as blacks that always get low marks.

Denial of the past: 'Apartheid wasn't in my time'

Events in the 2007 seminar discussion groups and the meetings with facilitators drew our attention to statements by staff and students that apartheid was over, belonged in the past and no longer had an effect on the 'students of today'. We began to fear that it was 'old fashioned' to talk about the 'bad old days' and we wondered if it was our (somewhat narcissistic or self-absorbed) desire for release from the guilt, shame and suffering of the past that had made us 'force' the younger students to reflect on their racial identities. Our enthusiasm for the course and the opportunities it presented for students from very different backgrounds to meet and talk may have been in part a manic (albeit reparative) defence against the damage done to interracial relationships in the past. A 'manic defence' is a Kleinian psychoanalytic term (Segal 1988) that describes a person's unconscious wish to 'make good' or 'make better'. It is an attempt to repair a situation, but it lacks acknowledgement of the damage previously done. This means that the person does not own their guilt or their culpability for participating in a situation that caused past hurt/damage. This manic reparation can at times perpetuate the hurts from the past because the 'do gooders' become enraged when their efforts are not rewarded. Klein distinguishes this type of 'manic' reparation from 'true' reparation, which can only occur when

the person acknowledges their part in the hurt and seeks to find a way to repair the situation in order to alleviate some of the suffering.

Many of the CSI students said that the past did not affect them, because it had not been *their* past. Black/coloured students would say they had been born after the dismantling of apartheid and that they did not think it had affected them. Sometimes they would look bored and disinterested if past injustices were mentioned or their opinions were sought on the past. One black male UWC student wrote in response to a group member's description of their black 'township' community:

> Most families in South Africa are still affected by the laws and policies of the apartheid government. In your essay you mentioned that women were not allowed to visit their husbands, this had an impact to many families during that time and most families were separated and children lost their fathers because of the Act that you mentioned [Group Areas Act]. People, even today, are still recovering from what the past did to them and when you turn on your television or your radio you will hear about the families that are seeking help in order to find *amathambo ezihlobo ezafa kudala* [skeleton bones of their long lost family members] so that they can bury them with [the] respect and dignity they deserve. When hearing about the history of our communities it sounds like elderly people are just telling us *iintsomi*[3] (made-up stories) whereas they suffered and they also sacrificed a lot in order for us to enjoy this freedom today.

A coloured female UWC student from the 2007 course stated:

> I agree that in the past it was only blacks and coloureds, which was also classified as blacks in those days[,] that [were] discriminated [against] and marginalised. However, we as the new generation should not allow the past to shape our present and future. The manner in which the whites are also being oppressed within the new South Africa, is that when a white individual for example say[s] something or accidentally move[s] in front of a black person unconsciously in a queue, the black person would also for example discriminate and make use of the past experience, by verbally attacking the person.

A white female student from SU, in response to an attempt to start a web-based discussion about the burden of guilt that many white South Africans carry, said:

> I am a proud South African white person and I feel no guilt or shame. The guilt might come from people who feel they were a part of the suppression – these people (due to their age alone) would not be in our CSI class. So why then do some white people feel shame at the mention of South Africa's

> history? Is perhaps because they themselves weren't part of the freedom struggle? This is ridiculous as (again due to age) they would not have been able to act. Perhaps they are feeling guilt that their parents were not more active in the struggle against oppression? Why then do white South Africans feel guilty for not taking a stand against the oppression when black people who also didn't take a personal stand against oppression feel pride in the new South Africa?

We felt that, while students were not necessarily avoiding the topic of their racial identities and differences, they were defending themselves against the significance of it in present day South Africa, perhaps in an attempt to protect themselves from the complex and painful feelings that lay below the surface. We also realised that among the facilitators there was a mirrored discomfort in openly discussing matters of racial difference with the students and, like the students, some believed that the past no longer affected the present and that they were 'colour blind' (that is, not seeing the racial group of the other).

In reality, however, the damage and losses from the past are profound, resulting in a 'void' – that is, not something that once had been (like a relationship that had been betrayed or denied), but something that had never been. Straker (2004) uses the term 'unending grief' to describe the difficulty that black and white groups encounter when beginning to uncover the past's legacy of discrimination and deprivation in present times. Straker, like Zembylas (2009), uses the notion of an unresolved mourning (melancholia) that can never recover and never be truly understood or known (experienced) by the witness (other). Zembylas states that there are certain narratives (or experiences that people have had) that should never be turned into 'another (digestible) historical narrative': 'We are urged to confront the indigestible materiality of the suffering . . . loss, suffering and mourning become the springboard of our solidarity with the inconsolable demand of the bereaved' (Zembylas 2009: 231).

These experiences cannot be 'made better' or 'resolved', but if a group can disrupt the silence that keeps the grief at bay, they can be acknowledged. We realised that there were no 'quick fixes', easy answers or counterbalancing rhetoric to fill this void. We, as the facilitators and research team, needed to sit and struggle with it and with one another.

In struggling with it, the research team began to realise that the difficulty of 'naming race' as a painful and powerful part of all our identities in South Africa (see Swartz 2007) was a form of unconscious denial. Although there was recognition of other (perhaps safer) categories of difference (for example, geographical distribution, religion and age), discussions of racial difference were avoided. We felt it was important to find ways to communicate about racial difference without

essentialising and imposing our assumptions on students. To facilitate such communication we became more active in finding strategies to support students in exploring their racial identities in the module – through engaging in the facilitator training course mentioned earlier. This course was run by two external consultants (an Israeli woman and a Palestinian man) from the Peace Village in Israel (see Halabi 2000 for a discussion on this work). We also invited guest speakers and artists to present their work and experience of racialised identities and issues of difference, thus providing multiple ways of talking about race.

If we (the facilitators and invited speakers) could talk about race and the process of racialisation that we had all been part of, then maybe the students could voice their own experiences. We needed to provide a way of undertaking this painful task, not through the use of a safe, 'professional' silence: we needed to share with them what had been on our minds and in our hearts.

Containing spaces: The past in the present

From past courses we found that the use of metaphor through poetry and visual arts was especially effective in engaging students. However, they remained wary of talking directly about themselves. After the facilitators had undertaken the week-long training course they became more aware of their emotional responses to the issue of race and 'othering', and were better able to provide real understanding and containment for the students. As a result, the reflection process in the groups began to deepen as students became more able to speak about their past hurts and fears.

This offer of containment by the facilitators and the explicit presentations about race (for example, Berni Searle's work) seemed to provoke a shift in the 2008 students, who were more able to explore their racial identity in relation to the past and one another. Students moved beyond their comfort zone (that is, their previously held assumptions) and considered how their view of themselves and the 'other' had been influenced by their personal histories and the courses they studied. A coloured UWC female student wrote of how she was able to consider herself as equal to (neither more right nor better than) the other:

> My background and upbringing has resulted in a certain way of thinking, and although I do not believe that this is wrong, I do believe that CS1 has exposed me to many people with different backgrounds and views and taught me how to consider their views as seriously as I consider my own.

Some students wrote of how their past experience of discrimination had made them more committed to working in a just and socially conscious way with all the people of South Africa. A black female UWC student described a painful rejection in her

childhood by a white family who had 'adopted' her and how this had made her more aware of other people and more determined to be fair and kind:

> I was staying with the [English-speaking] white family where my mother was working and she was not staying with them, why they chose me I do not know. During my stay it was difficult… I have to live with someone who would say you cannot use some of the plates or spoons in my house and the other food was not for me but them. You ate what you were given by them only… Yes it was bad, but I also learnt that I would like to do something good about my life so that my children won't have to experience the same situation as I did… Looking at us as today you can still see that we are still living fruits of the Apartheid Government. Some of us even hate each other or [are] afraid to talk to the people of colour because of the past. As health practitioners we need to take what is good about living in South Africa, not to blame, but to use those experiences to grow.

What this student was saying is echoed in Zembylas's (2009) account of the possibility of an ethically reflexive future for a person when past hurts can be 'known' by those who have been part of the history of a country, such as South Africa. These past histories should not be ignored or denied, because it is by knowing them that positive changes can occur.

Conclusion

Talking about race is never easy, and perhaps it should never be easy. Treacher (2001: 325) speaks of discussing matters of race and ethnicity as being on 'uncertain and shaky ground… [and, she adds, it is perhaps] the only place to be'. Finding words that do not reinforce the divide and perpetuate the damage from the past are hard to locate or say. But to be silent about these matters would be worse. What is important – and the most challenging part – is to listen and bear witness to the pain that apartheid has caused in people's lives while at the same time reflecting on one's own position and experience of this past.

As South Africans we believe we do share a deep loss – that of one another and the ideal of a just world, and as Straker (2004) and Swartz (2007) write, it is this loss that is the unending grief, the unbearable sorrow and the legacy of our past. But it was (and is) only through engaging with our painful past that we can be present to and for each other. As Angelou (1993) reflects:

> History, despite its wrenching pain,
> Cannot be unlived, and if faced with courage,
> Need not be lived again.

Notes

1 The government school was in an affluent, predominantly white suburb and although the class was made up of male and female students, all were white.
2 The 'Coloured Labour Preference Policy' created tensions between coloured and African/black groups that still has an impact today.
3 '*Iintsomi*' are traditional tales that are part of folklore.

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7

Interpreting drawings: Reading the racialised politics of space

Poul Rohleder and Lucia Thesen

THE COMMUNITY, SELF AND IDENTITY (CSI) project made use of participatory learning and action (PLA) techniques as an initial exercise to engage students in dialogue with one another in small working groups. This chapter explores the usefulness of using the visual PLA techniques, not only in teaching, but also as a research method. The chapter discusses social semiotic approaches to analysing and interpreting the PLA drawings. Using community maps produced by the CSI students as examples, it then explores some of the depictions of communities in post-apartheid South Africa, looking particularly at the racialised depictions of space.

Using drawings as a method to engage students about difference

In thinking about the development of the CSI module, it was felt that drawing could provide a means to facilitate students who had come from different disciplinary, racial and socioeconomic backgrounds to start talking to one another about their emerging professional identities. It was thought that by using drawing as a method, some of the immediate language barriers that existed among students could be broken down. The long history of language and ethnic division, linked to the joint legacies of apartheid and colonialism, still plays out in South African universities. Language barriers are exacerbated by the semiotic medium of writing, which is deeply implicated in students' different experiences of schooling. As a first generation black student at a South African university has said, 'With writing you can never come from your home' (in Nomdo 2006: 199). By using drawings we hoped to offer a medium of communication in which most students could participate as equals. As will be shown later in this chapter, using drawing as an alternative medium of communication does create new possibilities for interpretation, but drawings, like writing, are also marked by sociocultural context in significant ways.

In the first implementation of the CSI module three drawing exercises were used. In the first students were asked to draw a map of their communities, and to identify and depict the various resources in their communities, as well as the resources or problems in their communities that they felt needed to be addressed. Once they completed this drawing, the students were then asked to talk about what they had drawn to the rest of the members of their working groups. The second exercise required each student to represent their life journey as a river, leading up to their decision to study their chosen discipline. Finally, as a means to engage students in thinking about their future, students were asked to make a drawing of their future professional selves and the qualities they would like to have in that role. For this third drawing students seemed to make quite standard depictions of a professional self, with most representing an empathic and compassionate good listener. In the second and third year of running the course it was decided only to use the first two drawing exercises – the community map and the river of life – because these drawings seemed to depict greater differences and points for discussion. Alternative exercises were developed to encourage students to think about their future professional selves.

This chapter focuses on the community maps, because they provided both literal and symbolic representations of the post-apartheid landscape, and many of the issues raised in the river of life map (for example, poverty) were issues depicted on the maps.

Drawings as data for analysis: Approaches and issues

PLA is a collection of research approaches developed initially by Robert Chambers (for example, 1997) that make use of visual methods such as drawings to engage communities in action to identify needs. A PLA approach regards participants as experts in their own lives and aims to engage participants in developing forms of action on needs, using methods that promote equity and give voice to otherwise marginalised people (Cornwall & Jewkes 1995). When developing the CSI project we considered PLA techniques to be a useful pedagogical tool to engage students in dialogue about the notions of community, self and identity, because it would provide a medium in which all students could participate at an equal level. It was thought that students with different language and schooling histories would have differing levels of academic literacy skills. To initially engage in written interaction with one another would disadvantage students from less privileged backgrounds, thus entrenching some of the barriers that exist between the two institutions (Bozalek & Biersteker 2010). Furthermore, as noted above, written interaction would be affected by the language differences that exist between students from the two institutions. In

addition, in using PLA techniques, students were invited to reflect critically on their own social positioning in relation to others and to the resources available to them. Sharing stories in relation to their drawings allowed students to critically reflect on and compare their own understanding of social issues.

The use of visual material in qualitative research has become increasingly popular (Reavey & Johnson 2008). In qualitative research the focus of interest and analysis is on participants' meaning making and individual experience. It is usually assumed that it is through words that this meaning is conveyed. Words provide researchers with data that are immediately recognised and the interpretation of which is clearer and more objective (Reavey & Johnson 2008). However, individuals do not only express their experience in words and speech, but also '*experience and view* their world in material space' (Reavey & Johnson 2008: 299). Nonetheless, visual material is often not included in analysis because the validity of any interpretation is open to question, as it is not always matched to the participant's own verbal interpretation and explanation of the image (Lynn & Lea 2005). In addition, in language-centric institutions such as schools and universities, we have typically not been exposed to ways of reading images as complex signs (Kress 1997; Kress & Van Leeuwen 1996).

In South Africa, researchers such as Stein (2000; 2008) and Archer (2006) have drawn on the work of Kress and others to challenge this language dominance in education and offered some resources to this end. As Stein (2000) argues, language often lets us down, because it cannot express the full arc of human experience. These researchers work within a social semiotic approach to meaning making that seems to offer productive resources for the CSI project. Social semiotics is above all a form of inquiry (Van Leeuwen 2005) that is derived from the work of Halliday (1978). As a linguist, Halliday was less interested in language as grammar or code than as a resource for meaning, expressed through the choices of the users of a language as agentive, creative makers of meaning. In drawing on the discipline of semiotics, social semiotics expands the communicative repertoire beyond the verbal (speech and writing) to include modes such as the visual, gestural and spatial, which work together in ensembles. Social semiotics is a departure from structural linguistics and semiotics in that it sees the sign as motivated rather than arbitrary. The central concept that expresses this motivated sign is 'interest':

> In this approach to meaning the overriding concern is the interest of the maker of the sign: what is it that she or he wishes to represent and communicate, and what is the apt form – the form already, through its histories of use as much as in its material aspects – that suggests itself as the best, the apt means, of being the carrier of that which is to be represented and communicated? (Kress 2001: 72)

In suggesting this as a productive route for the analysis of images it is important to note that the sign may be the spoken or written word, or image, or gesture, or clothing, or a combination of different modes, but the salient point is that different modes are always socially fashioned to either enable or suggest (affordances) or to limit (constrain) their semiotic potential. Possible meanings are also enabled or constrained by the materiality of the mode. For example, writing has been tied to the growth of institutions such as schooling; it is based on the linguistic code; and while it is also a visual medium, reading is intended to take place sequentially, in Western alphabetic scripts, starting at the top left and following the sentence or the paragraph through from top to bottom in a hierarchical fashion.

Images, on the other hand, are read differently. They can be read starting with whatever is eye catching and salient to the reader. So the reader's eye could be drawn first to the centre or lower right of the page without disrupting meaning. There is thus a different logic at work. While language tends to afford the logic of sequence in time, the image enables a different reading path that favours the logic of space, resulting in a more open reading path, with the consequence that text producers are less in control of how their texts are read. Images also speak more immediately to readers, and cut across time and space. An image of a person, or building, or tree can generally be recognised in an instant, regardless of the linguistic identity of the 'reader', as long as text producer and reader share some common cultural codes.

However, in spite of this seeming immediacy and innocence, image production is also powerfully shaped by convention. Kress (1997) gives a compelling account of how image is marginalised in the process of Western schooling. In primary schools, children may do some drawing, but this is simply a means to an end – learning how to control marks on the page. Image may also be used as illustration or pattern. Only in elite schools is it taught. As a result, most adults, when confronted with a drawing task, will say, 'but I can't draw'. Or their drawing will reveal the conventions that were safe at primary school level, giving their drawings a childlike look of regression. This semiotic history that has shaped the modes of written language and drawing will suggest that drawing is a mode associated with play, while writing is consequential and serious. This is borne out in many of the drawings in the CSI project, where the labels provided freight the images with more serious meanings.

Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) have led a major project to develop a grammar of the image, noting that the image is becoming increasingly important as a result of the proliferation of digital media in a globalising world. Based on Hallidayan grammar, they suggest that all semiotic systems have meaning potential that revolves around three major functions. These are

- the ideational function, representing events and states of affairs in the world, that is, the *what* of communication;
- the interpersonal function, which enacts social relations between participants in an interaction, that is, the *who*; and
- the textual function, the *how*, concerned with producing ensembles of signs that are internally cohesive and coherent to the reader.

These three functions operate at the same time and come together in telling ways. In developing the grammar of images, Kress and Van Leeuwen (1996) offer useful concepts to help us look at how images work. We will make use of some of these in exploring some tentative meanings and patterns in some of the CS1 students' drawings.

With regard to the ideational function, semiotic systems offer a range of choices to the text maker. They identify a choice between narrative and conceptual process. Objects may be arranged to represent the world as events in sequence or processes of change, that is, as a *narrative*. This is realised visually in the form of vectors – lines that join objects in some kind of relationship.

These visual vectors are the verbal equivalent of, for example, 'she points at the star'. The source of the action ('she') is what they call the 'actor', while the star is the 'goal'. They are joined by a vector. These vectors are often oblique lines. Another example is a car (actor) that may be travelling along a road (vector) towards a town (goal).

The other system of arrangements between elements available for expressing ideational meaning is a *conceptual* representation. This represents elements in terms of their generalisable, more or less stable and timeless attributes. These conceptual structures are often classificatory, that is, they tend to express relationships that define what kind of class of objects we are dealing with. They are often concerned with hierarchies and taxonomies.

They may also link elements in terms of a part–whole relationship, what Kress and Van Leeuwen call an 'analytical' process. Maps are typical of this kind of structure. While all maps have the same 'carrier' (my community or home, in the case of this chapter), students will select different 'attributes' to fill out this carrier. Map makers will choose what is criterial to express what is of interest to them. This is important for the maps that students drew of their communities. Conceptual patterns are more likely to feature in a map than narrative patterns. These will tend to reinforce a sense of the timeless essence of what is being represented.

We will touch briefly on Kress and Van Leeuwen's two remaining functions, the interpersonal and textual. The interpersonal function is realised in how social relationships between participants in an image are expressed, as well as how social relationships between image maker and image viewer are realised. The textual

function concerns how elements cohere. Here, in reading images we are concerned with composition: what is central or marginal, above or below, to the left or the right; how elements are framed (connected or separated); and with salience: what elements in the picture draw attention to themselves because of position, colour or emphasis.

Representing life in post-apartheid South Africa: Reading the racialised politics of space

Students drew a variety of different depictions of their communities, although some overall trends could be depicted (see colour section following p. 96). The majority drew urban communities, representing either the places they were currently living in while at university or their urban hometown, while others drew maps of their rural home village. All maps made obvious use of visual representations of aspects of their communities. While many maps made use of visual representations only, some maps included written labels that elaborated on their depictions of their communities, at times including commentary on social problems such as poverty and crime. Students were to some extent led to add labels to their drawings by being asked to depict the resources in their communities and identify resources that might be lacking or problems that needed to be addressed. Many students gave very clear depictions of crime as a predominant concern, reflecting the high crime rate that exists in the country, and discourses of crime and safety that prevail.

We will now compare a few images to suggest some lines of analysis. Figures 7.1 and 7.2 both represent communities in the Cape Town area. Both have fairly conventional images of the home in the centre, with roads, cars and mountains as attributes. The main difference is that Figure 7.1 is overtly political. The composition shows three distinct zones, divided by the parallel lines of a road and railway line. This has the effect of classifying social hierarchies. In the top third (what Kress and Van Leeuwen call the space of the 'ideal' as opposed to the 'real') is the green mountain, and colonial buildings such as the University of Cape Town and Rhodes Memorial. There is what looks like a swimming pool nestling in the mountains, with a blonde (white?) figure in repose. In the middle section, labelled 'poverty', everything around the central home is grey. Below the railway line are shacks with tin roofs and bright red signs showing shops (Shoprite) and advertisements for drinks (Coca-Cola and [Carling] Black Label, which is a type of beer). The student's home is depicted in the middle ground. The shack land is most fully realised, with details from speech bubbles, animals and a spaza shop. The home is at the centre and enlarged, with some green around it – a tree and grass. The combination of word and image is telling, as the words leave no doubt about what the student is expressing and add a moral or message (Barthes 1977) to the

more open drawing. It seems as if the interest of the image maker was to make sure that this political message was communicated by the use of such explicit labels as 'segregation' and 'poverty'.

Figure 7.2 is superficially similar, with the home in the centre, and similar chubby, rooted trees, mountains and roads, but together these elements express a very different interest. The main difference is that the roads radiate out from the centre and their curved lines suggest a journey that connects rather than a line that divides, as in Figure 7.1. These radiating lines can be read as vectors that suggest the journeys that the student goes on, telling a personal story about her connection to her children. The shack settlement is labelled 'informal settlement' and the way it is drawn shows an attempt to represent some of the intricacies, observed from a distance rather than from close up, as in Figure 7.1. This is a story of journeys lived 'through the window of my car'.

Together, these two drawings give a visual representation of a divided South African landscape with areas of privilege represented separately from the less privileged and 'informal settlements'. The juxtaposition reflects a hierarchy, which emphasises social distance.

Figure 7.3 is very differently constructed, with the home present (as in Figures 7.1 and 7.2), but this time at the top of the page and depicted in great detail. Both inside and outside are represented in an innovative sort of cutaway that enables one to see outside, where we see that the house is made of bricks – presumably an important distinction for the text maker, who wants to show how this home is distinct from and better than other (less well made) homes. The student's interest seems to be to remember and evoke the absent home. Our interpretation is reinforced by Kress and Van Leeuwen's suggestion that the top of the page is the space of the ideal. It also seems to record the forms of presence rather than the absences and problems associated with communities, as may have been suggested by the task. The use of isiXhosa ('IKHAYA LAM' – my home) adds to the sense of ownership. In this image, like the others, there is also a story about roads. The roads form a frame around the central space: the mountains in which the animals graze. Like the other two images, this also contains vehicles: this time two buses, one arriving, one leaving.

In the next drawing (Figure 7.4) roads take on further significance. The drawing is done with great intensity. There is a sense that it started out as a fairly conventional drawing of a community, using conceptual structures that suggest a timeless and ordered quality. However, the most salient thing about this drawing is the overlay of an account of a hijacking just outside the student's home. The vector of the man holding the gun (on the left of the image) overrides the representation of orderly roads. What is possibly the getaway route of the hijacker seems to have been energetically scratched onto the grid patterns of the neighourhood. The intersecting

roads become a crossroads; the traumatic narrative imposes itself on the idyll of the neighbourhood and the student has used a range of semiotic modes to tell the story. Many students provided labels or comments to refer to social problems such as crime, abuse and unemployment, thus highlighting the pervasiveness of these issues as social discourses. Crime appears to provide a common discourse for young South Africans. To emphasise it in their drawings they need to reach beyond the resources of the image, where their resources are limited and appear childlike, to utilise the resources offered by language.

The centrality of roads is striking in all of these representations. Roads represent barriers, but are also access routes that link people to other people. Most students drew a map of their communities in a representation of a grid-like layout. Roads here made up the structure of the layout, but in some cases a large road was drawn often cutting through an area. In this way it represented a kind of division between two different areas in a map, also represented in other cases by rivers or railway lines (for example, in Figure 7.1). While many drawings were made representing a grid-like layout of the area, others depicted connections or 'journeys' to different parts of the community. For example, in Figure 7.5 a student draws her community and depicts connections or journeys to various parts of the area.

The student further adds a narrative of detailing the distances to travel to various places, for example '10 km to school from home'. This can be understood with reference to issues of privilege, with the more privileged communities tending to be depicted with resources, like schools, close to home, whereas less privileged communities either lack resources or have resources like schools and clinics at a distance. This reflects the realities of an unequal South African landscape in terms of development and resources (Marks 2005). Most of these disparities continue to exist along racial lines (Christopher 2001; Marks 2005).

In using tools from social semiotics we have tried to show how this framework enables engagement with the interest of the text makers and what they are trying to say within the confines of a class exercise, as well as the semiotic potentials that a visual medium both enables and constrains.

Conclusion

There are challenges in interpreting drawings. There are no set criteria or methods by which drawings can be interpreted, and interpretation tends to be subjective and influenced by our own limitations in making sense of drawings. In the CS1 project students produced the drawings and then shared stories about them in their small working groups. This sharing was done within the student groups and not recorded by researchers, because we felt that it was important that students start to engage

with one another without the gaze of the lecturer/researcher intruding on their interactions. Thus, what we have as data to interpret are the drawings and not the developing conversations that were prompted by them. Because the CS1 project ran over three years with approximately 95 students in each year, a large quantity of drawings is available. We have found it difficult to try and analyse these drawings in a way that will elicit commonalities and differences – a kind of content thematic analysis. However, we suggest in this chapter that methods such as the social semiotic analysis explored above can shed light on *how* students represent their communities. The ones that we have chosen above offer rich material for analysis. Some drawings, however, appear flat and without apparent analytic interest. For example, if we look at Figure 7.6, at first glance it seems to be less aesthetically compelling than the other drawings.

Like the other drawings, it uses roads to divide the space depicted and has a fairly conventional image of the person's home, drawn in the centre and in a different colour to distinguish it from the other houses (the latter that are drawn using anonymous square shapes). There is little verbal overlay to convey additional meanings. But this drawing raises interesting questions. The student has chosen a bird's eye view that suggests distance. (The social semiotic approach sees point of view as a significant resource for representation.) The map-like point of view chosen here is also of interest. Perhaps it suggests a more objective professional gaze; or a decision to keep the drawing simple because the student did not have the resources to represent a complex idea like community in the visual mode. Or the student may have chosen to say less because of feelings of insecurity about expressing deeper truths about 'my community'. To know more about what the student was trying to communicate, we would need to have been there to listen to what the student was saying.

However, it is clear that by using drawing and language (both spoken and written) students were enabled to say more about their experiences and understandings of social issues than they could have using either mode on its own. Students managed to invest their drawings and texts (see other chapters in this book for examples of students' written works) with complex meanings, representing their worlds to others. Students commented on the impact that this exercise had on them in that sharing their visual representations of their community with their fellow course participants allowed them to visit one another's worlds. The drawings afford an opportunity to evoke spatial realities beyond the common ground of the classroom. As one student commented:

These two activities I found were greatly beneficial to making us aware of the realities of different communities in South Africa and the difficulties people are experiencing. Sometimes living in our sheltered environment allows us to not have to face these factors, this made me learn a lot about myself and the fact that I as a

health worker should be aware of what is happening in our communities. I felt that these activities along with the time we were allowed to reflect in our groups gave us the greatest time to learn.

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Figure 7.1

Figure 7.2

Figure 7.3

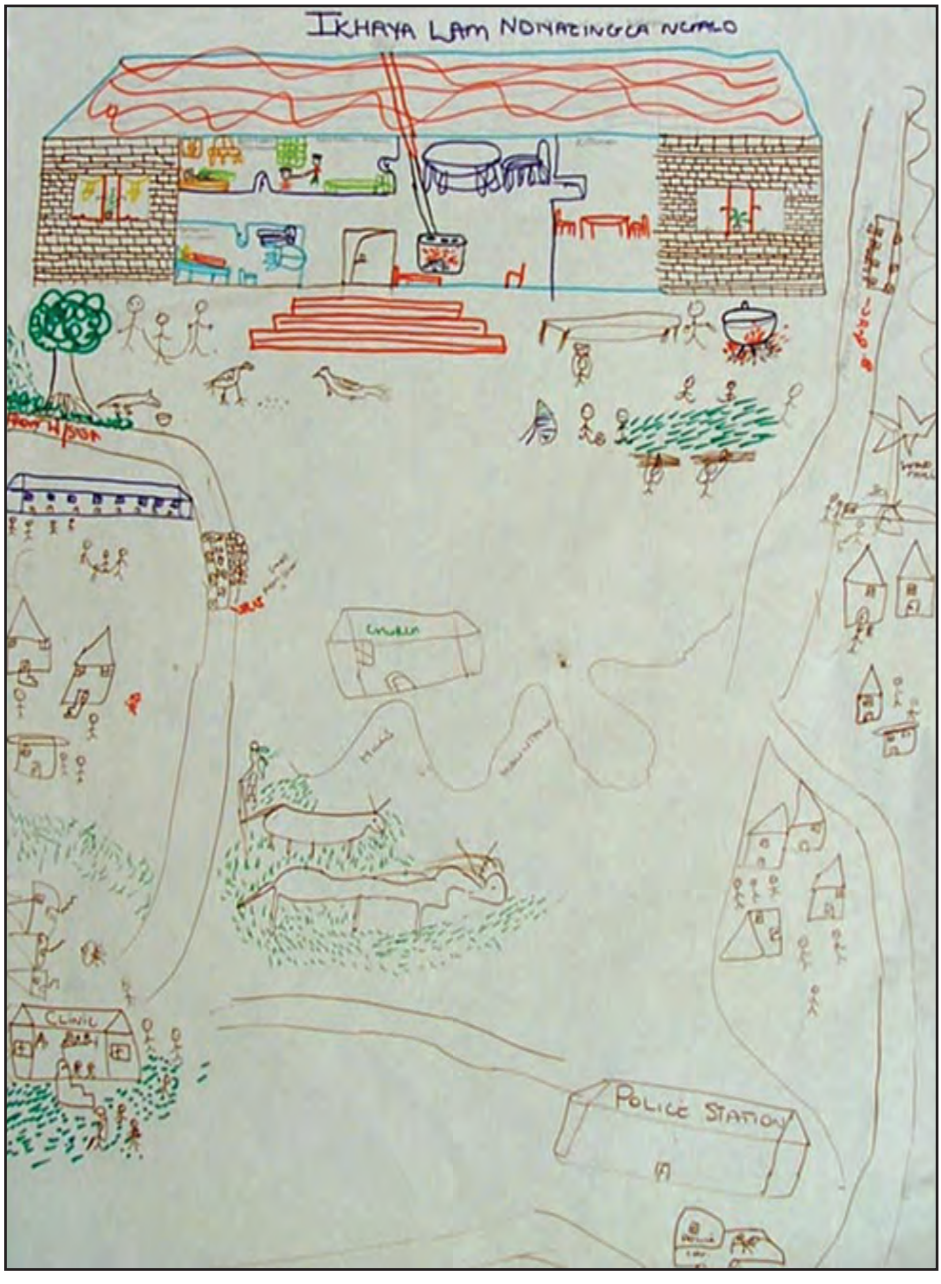


Figure 7.4

Figure 7.5

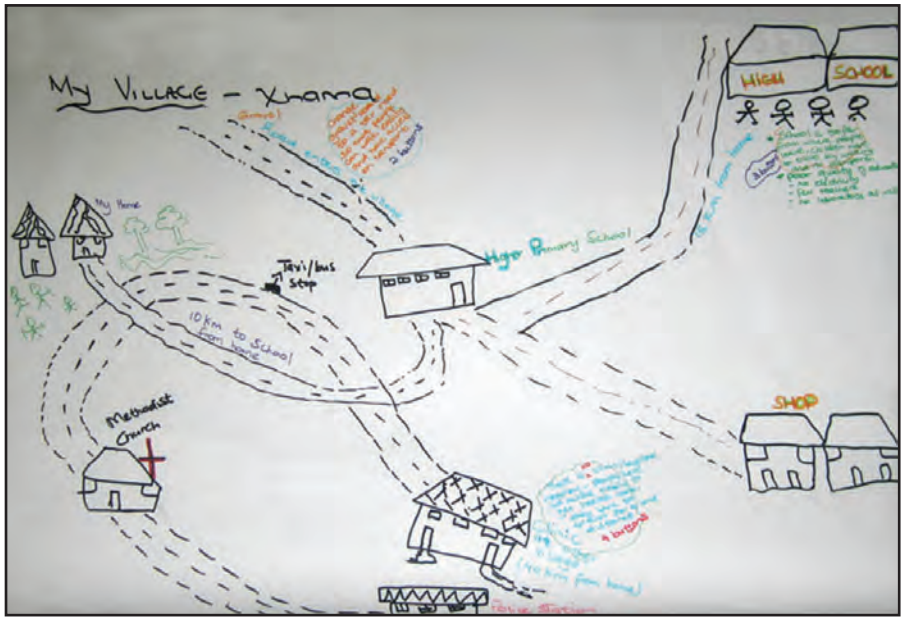


Figure 7.6

Figure 8.1 *su Year One*

Figure 8.2 *su Year One*

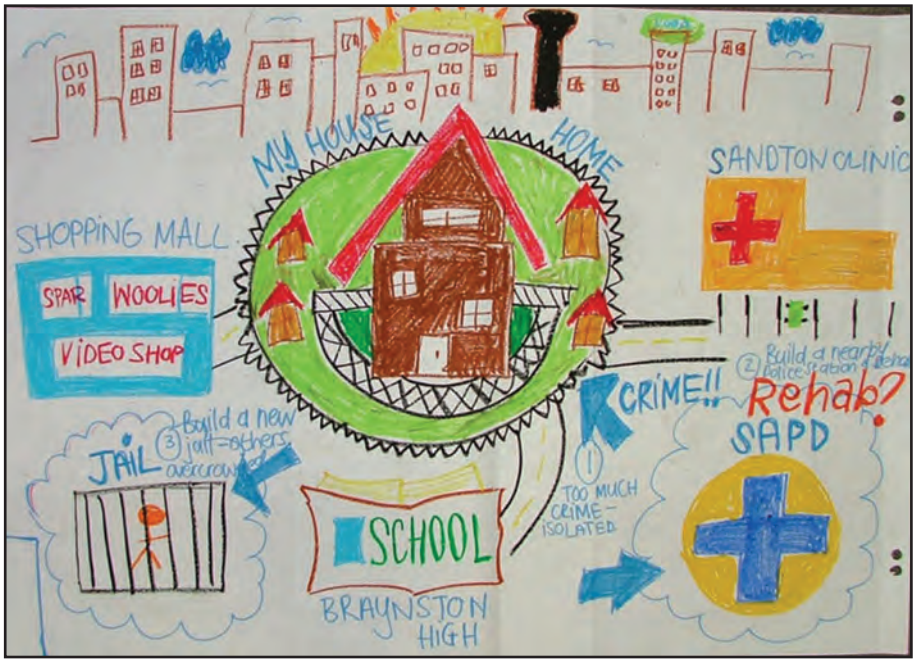
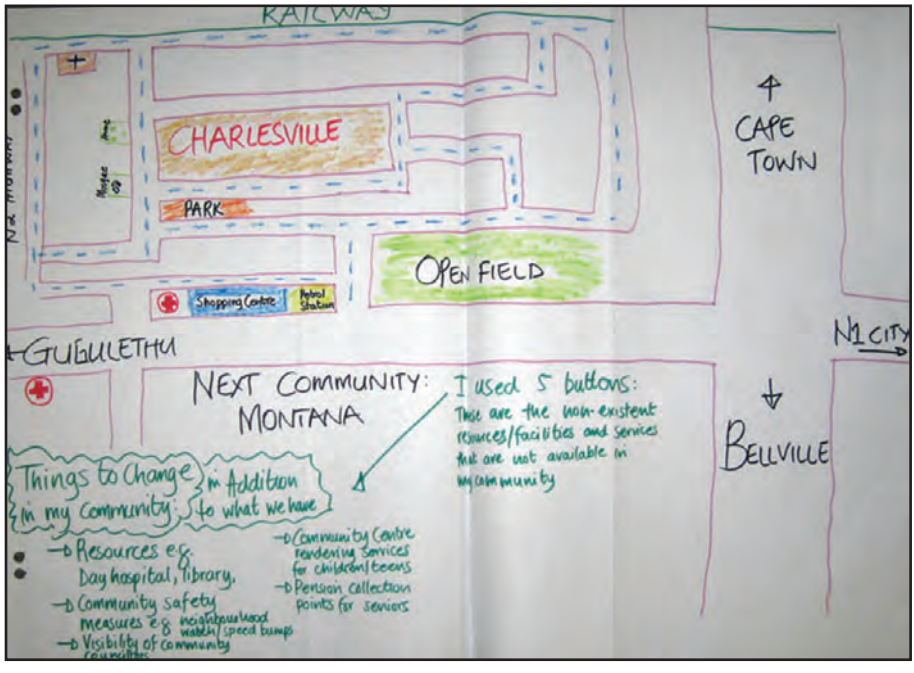


Figure 8.3 *uwc Year One*



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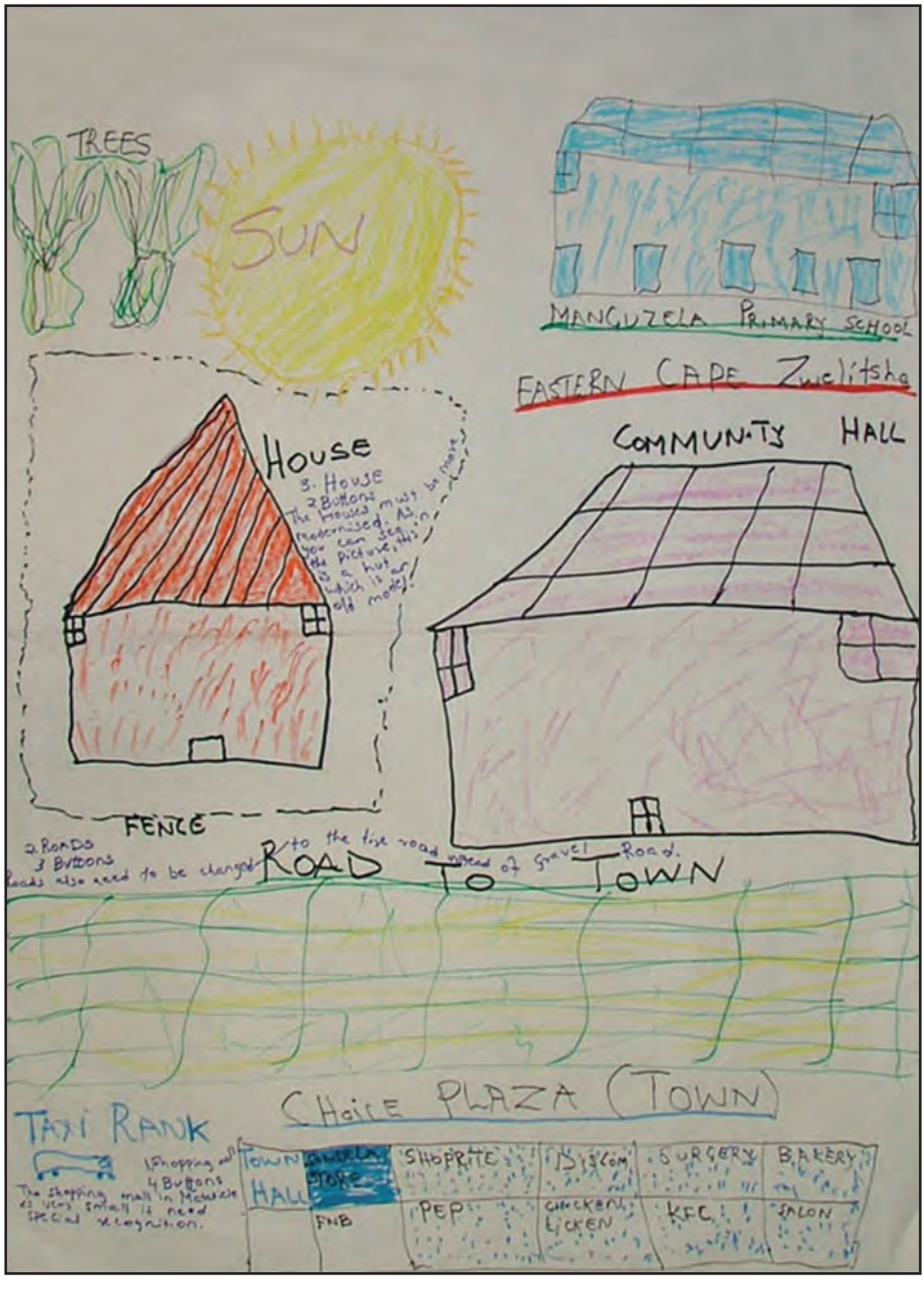

Figure 8.5 *su Year Two*

Figure 8.6 *su Year Two*

Figure 8.7 *uwc Year Two*

Figure 8.8 *uwc Year Two*

8

Using cognitive maps to heal the legacies of apartheid

Stanley D. Brunn

USING THE GEOGRAPHICAL METHODOLOGY of cognitive mapping, in this chapter I examine the contents of maps produced during the participatory learning and action (PLA) exercises over three years of the Community, Self and Identity (CSI) project for major themes and also differences in content. I also explore the extent to which these maps became vehicles for sharing students' perceptions about places and helping to heal many of the persistent legacies of apartheid.

Introduction to cognitive mapping

Geography, with its emphasis on places, landscapes and regions, is interested in how these expressions are played out in the daily lives of children and adults, newcomers and old timers in communities, those experiencing the hazards of nature and technology, and also those affected by structured or institutional discrimination. To aid in understanding these attitudes, behaviours, worldviews and perceptions, geographers use maps constructed by scholars, community organisations and public officials, but also by individuals themselves. The term used by social and behavioural geographers to describe the maps constructed by individuals is a 'cognitive map' or 'mental map'. These are maps we have in our heads about places, peoples, landscapes and regions, and when we put details of 'what is where' and 'who is where' on a piece of paper (or some other surface), we have a map or illustration of what that person's world (local or global) looks like. There is a rich literature in geography that stretches back nearly five decades, one that reflects some of the most creative, interesting and meaningful contributions to understanding human spatial behaviour.

As the literature review in the next section illustrates, geographers have studied a number of salient themes regarding cognitive mapping. However, one dimension that has not been addressed by the social/behavioural geography

research community or by cartographers themselves is how constructed maps of places and landscapes might and could aid in a healing process. The healing I am referring to is what accompanies efforts to understand others who have been wronged, marginalised or discriminated against in the past (and still are) by the political authorities and supporting institutions of those in power. It is these authorities in major social institutions, including education and the print and visual media, who have implemented programmes and engineered people and places on the basis of race, ethnicity, religion, class and gender.

This chapter builds on other contributions in this volume which used the PLA approach to promote understanding of 'the other' in classroom settings and specifically as an innovative methodology to promote reconciliation, dialogue and healing among Africans (blacks), Indians, whites and coloureds in South African society.[1] The major objective of this chapter is to examine the images or drawings that student participants in the CSI project constructed about their neighbourhoods and the comments they provided about salient problems. Both the narratives they wrote and maps they drew inform us about understandings of 'the other', or about healing, acceptance and reconciliation in a wider societal context in post-apartheid South Africa.

In the next section I review the literature on cognitive or mental mapping in geography, a literature that is rich and useful for those considering using maps for healing and instructional purposes. Following this review I discuss how maps can be used as instruments of healing, with specific reference to how maps and mapping can be considered as constructive, beneficial, and creative ways to promote transcultural and multicultural understanding in reconciliation and peace initiatives. I then discuss the methodology used to examine the map contents and present the major findings. This section also includes representative samples of maps prepared by the students. Then I discuss what the findings reveal about cartographic images, reconciliation and healing, and especially the differences between the students from the two universities. The chapter concludes with a summary of the results and suggests several lines of future inquiry.

Cognitive mapping literature review

Human geography took a social and behavioural turn in the mid-1960s at the same time that the discipline was in the throes of a quantitative revolution. Similar developments were occurring simultaneously in sociology, political science and anthropology. Psychology already had a 'metric' focus based on the study of human behaviour, including cognition and perception. Early geographers who were interested in human spatial behaviours and perceptions were trained primarily

in studying urban phenomena, including transportation, migration, housing and race/ethnicity (Golledge & Rushton 1976). They initiated and advanced the fields of social and behavioural geography – fields that today are mainstays in the human geography arena. They utilised valuable literature in related fields, especially psychology, anthropology and sociology, that aids the study of human spatial behaviour (Jakle et al. 1976).

Geographers borrowed heavily from psychology in studying environmental perceptions; decision mechanisms in migration, shopping and transportation behaviour; and perceptions of natural and technological hazards. They introduced the geography community to Piaget and others who studied cognitive behaviour and developmental psychology. These geographers introduced the terms 'mental maps' or 'cognitive maps.' Two of the earliest studies that stimulated subsequent investigations were Lynch's (1960) depictions of urban images and Orleans's (1967) study on the maps of inner city and suburban Los Angeles residents. The pioneering works by geographers Blaut (1971), Blaut and Stea (1971), and Downs and Stea (1973) are also cited by many social and behavioural geographers who studied and mapped migration patterns, shopping behaviour, and place images and engaged in creative cartographies (Pacione 1978; Tuan 1975; Pocock 1979; Downs 1981; Monmonier 1996) and the study of human welfare (Smith 1977).

Research on cognitive or mental mapping became a major focus of social geography research in the late 1970s and 1980s. Among the important early works were studies by Rowles (1978) on elderly people in rural Appalachia, where he introduced the concept of 'prisoners of space' to describe those who would not and could not move; by Simpson-Housley and Bradshaw (1987) on the perception of natural hazards (earthquakes) and Zeigler et al. (1981) on technological hazards; Brantingham et al. (1977) on urban crime regions; Brunn and Johnston (1980) on the state residential preferences of African American college students; Raitz and Ulack (1981) on students' perceptions of the Appalachian region, a study that differentiated between cognitive insiders (those residing in the region) and cognitive outsiders (those living outside the region); Sommer and Aitkens (1982) on maps in supermarkets; and Preston (1985) on language preferences and regionalism in Brazil. The major book that spurred much of this research was *Mental Maps* by Gould and White (1986). It stimulated many projects, including those that looked at children's perceptions (Matthews 1986; Valentine & Mckendrik 1997; Skelton & Valentine 1997; Holloway & Valentine 2000). Studies on cognitive maps by Saarinen (1988; 1999), Saarinen and MacCabe (1995), and Saarinen et al. (1996) include examples of students' maps from countries around the world, a project funded by the National Geographic Society. See also Karan et al. (1980), Walmsley et al. (1990) and Kong et al. (1994) on students' mapping. Additional path-breaking studies have examined residential preferences (Lee & Schmidt 1986; Aitken 1987;

Tao Siew 1994), the perceptions of foreign policymakers (Henrikson 2003), the visually impaired (Golledge et al. 1996) and way-finding behaviour (Golledge 1999). Cognitive mapping continues to be a major focus in social/behavioural geography (Monmonier 1996), including residential perceptions in the Shankill/Falls area of Belfast (Boal & Buchanan 1969; Boal 2008), perception maps using geographic information systems (GISs) (Lopez & Lukinbeal 2010) and mental maps of Finnish youth (Cantell 2011).

Maps as healing instruments

Maps are representations of the earth's surface. They can illustrate both processes (diffusion, evolution or devolution, or static conditions) and patterns (physical or human features). Maps can also be analytical, as well as descriptive and predictive. Geographers utilise maps both to present and illustrate a problem or a pattern and as vehicles to help solve problems. For example, one can think of maps showing population change or social wellbeing. Some of these may illustrate a specific feature, such as the rate of in-migration of a specific group, such as refugees or guest workers, or illustrate problems associated with refugee housing, healthcare, safety and employment discrimination. Geographers make and use maps based on single or multiple variables. In this light one can think of maps illustrating one feature, such as household density, or those utilising GISs that would employ layers of data about employment, living standards, healthcare and income to produce a composite map of social wellbeing.

Maps are designed and constructed or produced for many different purposes and audiences. Many maps illustrate a pattern or process that can be used for instructional purposes. They can also be used to inform a group or agency about the current condition of some phenomenon, such as potential environmental hazards or vexing problems facing civic authorities, such as criminal activities in mixed racial and ethnic neighbourhoods in urban peripheries without running water or access to public transportation. The spaces or areas covered by a map may be a neighbourhood, a community, a city, a state or a group of countries.

While geographers produce maps for scholarly purposes and official and unofficial agencies or groups, they may also utilise maps prepared by individuals. Such maps, whether prepared by children or adults, often show some distinguishing features about their hometown or neighbourhood. These are termed 'cognitive maps' or 'mental maps' because they convey elements or associations of a place familiar to the individuals themselves. These highly personal maps are considered extensions of the person who prepared or drew the map. In this context the map is a spatial representation or illustration of what that person considers important

in their familiar places. One can think of a group of students being asked to make a map or drawing about major features about their hometown. Some may provide many details: they will identify specific streets, stores, churches, parks and other familiar landmarks. Their richness will depict not only their place (or geographical) knowledge, but also their wish to illustrate for others what they consider important about their place of residence. For others, when given the same instructions, their maps or drawings may be sparse in detail and include only a few distinguishing features. The lack of detail may illustrate their own lack of familiarity with 'what is in those city spaces' or they may experience difficulty in being able to place on a piece of paper 'where something is' vis-à-vis other features. Whatever the final drawing or rendering shows, it illustrates how the designer/cartographer 'sees' the world in a cartographic context. Analysing the maps of a group assigned the same mapping task, such as 'draw the major features of our hometown', can be seen as providing a collective geographical memory or cognition about a place that they all have some degree of familiarity with and spatial knowledge of.

One can think of a number of possible cognitive maps that can be constructed by groups. For example, one could ask elementary children to draw a map about their school building, or their neighbourhood, or the streets they walk to school every day. Or one could ask a group of university students to draw a map of their city or a map of their continent with the 'correct' (perceived) location of boundaries and countries. Or one could ask newcomers to a community to draw a map that shows their activity patterns or where they purchased food, searched for employment or sought recreation. All these examples exist in the extant geographic literature.

Mental maps can also be considered as ways to inform us about places and people. They can be used, as in the case of classes with students from the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and Stellenbosch University (SU), as instruments of healing or ways to understand and appreciate others in post-transition South Africa. Geographers, with their lengthy scholarly record of research on cognitive or mental maps, have not considered such maps in a healing or consciousness-raising context. Rather, they used maps to help understand something about individual place familiarity and identity, not in an aggregate context of broadening greater community and multicultural understanding, appreciation or reconciliation.

Using cognitive maps as vehicles of healing is especially innovative when a major learning objective is to generate a heightened awareness of others. When UWC and SU students are asked to draw maps or make sketches about distinguishing features of their hometowns, to identify problems in their hometowns, and to share their maps and narratives with others, these efforts are healing ventures and opportunities. The map itself is not the healing agent, nor is the depiction of a problem a healing element, but the sharing of the images and messages with students from

different universities and socioeconomic backgrounds can be considered healing. Perhaps sharing the images on a map is just as important as sharing music, photographs, beliefs, narratives and rituals in cross-cultural settings (Zembylas 2007: 101). Perhaps maps can be used to understand, appreciate and accept others. But are not these qualities also healing? The map or drawing thus becomes a vehicle or instrument around which one can tell a story about one's hometown, neighbourhood or community. Each map and each narrative is a personal geography. When students listen to each other in small groups and when they see/observe the maps of others and what is on the maps, they begin, one would hope/expect, to see the blending of the maps and the individuals (cartographers) who made them in an accepting or healing light. The students' verbal narratives accompanying the maps are testimony that 'the words I write and the words I articulate are important for you to better understand me and my community, but so are the graphical or cartographical depictions of my community, as these extensions of me'. In other words, the cartographer/artist might state the following: 'To understand, appreciate and accept me, and where I come from, you need to accept my map.' Or 'if you can accept my map, which tells you about me and my community, then I hope you can accept me for who I am'. The cognitive map thus becomes a way to promote an understanding of a place and a person in that place that may not have been there before the mapping exercise was undertaken. Showing and describing a place where one lives and with which one is most familiar is an effective way to heal wounds, reduce stereotypes and promote multicultural dialogue, all of which are instructional projects that call for greater understanding in post-apartheid South Africa.

Methodology

In their first PLA activity, as indicated in Chapter 7 of this book, students were asked to draw a map of their homes and neighbourhoods that showed what resources are present and to label three things they would like to change; these could be physical changes (roads, highways, etc.) or social situations/attitudes (Bozalek & Biersteker 2010: 557).

From the year one module I examined 95 cognitive maps, for the year two class, 98 maps and for year three, 89 maps. I scrutinised each map of each student in the three year groups several times to extract information about places, landscapes, human activity and problems they identified within their communities. I then designed a matrix with each student in a separate row and with 21 columns, each representing a distinguishing feature that appeared on the maps, or at least some of them. These included parks, shebeens, schools, churches, police stations, healthcare facilities, shops, highways, and streets, as well as housing features,

people present in the drawings and natural features: the sun, trees, flowers, and water. For each map, next to the student's name I entered an X if 1 or more of the 21 features appeared in it. This matrix provided a reading of how each UWC and SU student evaluated their neighbourhood. I also added specific comments in the margins of the matrix for many maps, for example, whether it was rich or lacking in details, and also comments about their neighbourhoods (dreary or cheery), familiar landmarks such as rivers or highways or Table Mountain, or housing density and problems about their neighbourhoods; for example, crime, quality of human services, housing contrasts, resource needs and human safety.

I read the maps looking for specific features they provided about the students' hometowns and neighbourhoods, since the presentation of these places was the major purpose of this assignment. I was interested in looking not only at the number of features on these maps, but any commentary they provided about specific places, such as schools, churches or highways, or a neighbourhood. The 'word' comments were very useful in analysing these renderings.

Results

For year one the major map features were hospitals or clinics, followed by churches or mosques, schools, and various shops, including malls (Table 8.1).

Streets and roads (names often provided), sports fields, and parks were also dominant themes. The maps for all three years had similar contents. Many maps in both years also included police stations, libraries and natural features: trees, flowers and grass. Stick people were on some maps, especially around schools, playgrounds and shopping areas, and in some danger spots. Minor features were a community hall, shebeens and specific shops. A major difference in the three years was the mention of specific social problems on the maps, problems that were usually associated with a specific location, such as a playground, school, transportation corridor or housing development. Students in the year one and year three classes from both UWC and SU were much more likely to mention problems than those in year two (more on this point below).

Examples of the drawings of the students are shown in the colour section preceding this chapter. This selection includes examples of very detailed maps constructed by UWC and SU students in the summer classes that took place over the three years. Many of these maps had six or more major features, as well as detailed comments about problems in specific places in their communities. The number of specific categories appearing on the maps ranged from 2 to 11, as did the frequency of specific problems.

Table 8.1 *Dominant themes depicted on the cognitive maps of UWC and SU students*

Year one (2006)	Year two (2007)	Year three (2008)
Social problems (74)	Streets & roads (55)	Schools (60)
Hospitals & clinics (62)	Schools (53)	Churches & mosques (53)
Schools (58)	Trees (47)	Shops & shopping centres (53)
Churches & mosques (58)	Churches & mosques (41)	Trees (45)
Shops & shopping centres (51)	Shops & shopping centres (41)	Dense housing (45)
Trees (42)	Large houses (38)	Hospitals (44)
Streets & roads (33)	Dense housing (31)	Social problems (42)
Libraries (30)	Parks & playgrounds (29)	Streets (32)
Parks & playgrounds (30)	Social problems (25)	People (31)
Sports fields (30)	Sports fields (23)	Large houses (21)
Libraries (30)	Libraries (19)	Shebeens (21)
Dense housing (24)	Police/police stations (19)	Parks (20)
Large houses (24)	Fences & walls (15)	Police/police stations (18)
People (20)	People (13)	Sports fields (18)
Police/police stations (19)	Sun (13)	

Discussion

The drawings provide valuable insights not only into how these future social service professionals view their own communities, but – and perhaps more importantly – what problems (if any) they associate with or observe within their communities. Six main features become clear in a critical and careful examination of these maps.

Firstly, there are some significant differences in the perceptions that UWC and SU students have about social problems in their hometowns. As noted above, and also in previous writings by the directors of this project, there are some sharp socioeconomic differences in the two universities' student bodies. The number of students who mentioned specific problems was nearly the same for both groups, but the *nature* of the problems varied considerably (see Table 8.2).

Table 8.2 *Social problems identified on the cognitive maps of UWC and SU students*

UWC students	SU students
Social problems identified were: ◆ gangs and gangsters ◆ poverty and squatters ◆ facilities long distances from home ◆ fences around schools ◆ selling beer has bad effects ◆ shebeens/drunk people ◆ noise from highways and pubs ◆ dangerous for children crossing major highways ◆ HIV/AIDS ◆ drugs and abuse ◆ poor medical services ◆ insufficient playing spaces for children ◆ no tutors for computers at schools ◆ children can't afford school uniforms ◆ housing too dense ◆ fires spread rapidly ◆ library books not available ◆ police collude with gangsters and are not responsive to citizens ◆ high crime rate ◆ firearms in schools ◆ child and adult prostitution ◆ teenage pregnancies ◆ no running water ◆ robberies	Social problems identified were: ◆ unhealthy pollution ◆ church services old fashioned ◆ church too little interested in sharing with others ◆ segregation ◆ white, elitist and snobbish ◆ need purified water ◆ high walls breed isolation ◆ river needs to be cleaned up ◆ vacant sports field dangerous ◆ littering in park ◆ little sense of security ◆ need more openness and less suspicion ◆ road conditions ◆ schools focus too much on rugby ◆ poverty ◆ pesticides

UWC students frequently mentioned crime, drug use, gangs, security, teenage pregnancies, understaffed hospitals and schools, and lack of playing space for children, while SU students mentioned concerns about the river in Stellenbosch needing cleaning, poor road conditions, lack of community participation in projects, white elitism and too little interest in sharing. Many of the UWC students not only acknowledged social problems in their drawings, but also included words attached to specific locations. They identified places associated with prostitution and drugs, dangerous road crossings, understaffed libraries, and poorly serviced playgrounds. Extremely few SU students listed *any* of the social and location problems that were

identified by UWC students. Many of the SU students' maps were rich in details about their community and neighbourhoods, especially parks, shops and natural features, but not about social problems. They also noted a need for places where young people could congregate and more jogging areas, and poor road conditions. The observations were in sharp contrast and one could read these comments as evidence that these young adults live in parallel universes regarding their awareness of social problems in their communities.

Secondly, students from both universities and in both years identified specific issues that needed to be addressed. These lists also varied by location, with more *social* needs expressed by UWC students and more *environmental* needs by SU students (Table 8.3).

The SU students acknowledged that in their communities there were issues that needed addressing, such as efforts to increase community participation and more openness, including in terms of the homeless and underserved populations in their communities. One should not assume that the lack of specific social problems identified by SU students represents evidence that there are no major social problems in their communities. This absence may illustrate their lack of awareness of problems (or perhaps that they are embarrassed by such problems), or their indifference to social problems in communities nearby, or that they are uncomfortable with including them on their personal maps to share with others. Even a cursory examination of the maps of SU and UWC students reveals that many more neighbourhood 'positives' are identified by SU students.

Thirdly, the maps in a sense can be construed as the 'worldviews' of the students from these two universities, or what might be termed 'communities of memories' (Simon & Eppert 1997: 184–185), or a collective 'atlas of memories'. *What*

Table 8.3 *Resource needs identified on the cognitive maps of UWC and SU students*

UWC students	SU students
Resource needs identified were: ◆ expand the hospital ◆ more resources for hospitals, libraries, social agencies and schools ◆ would like a McDonald's in the community ◆ police available 24/7 ◆ banks open on weekends ◆ build a shopping centre nearby ◆ improve water supply and sanitation ◆ plant more trees and flowers ◆ remove bars and shebeens	Resource needs identified were: ◆ more books in the library ◆ upgraded security ◆ collection place for seniors ◆ a home for the disabled ◆ more sharing ◆ better emergency services ◆ rebuild trust ◆ encourage people to vote ◆ show respect for diversity

students place on a map, *where* they place something on a map and *what comments* they provide about a place reveal something about how they perceive their neighbourhoods and communities, but also their willingness to share their geographical maps or constructs with others. Map images reflect both one's past and present association of events, activities and places. Maps can be considered geographical 'markers of identity' (Leibowitz et al. 2010: 91). While some students may not be cartographically oriented or even think about 'what to place where' on a piece of paper, nonetheless, what they decide to provide for the viewer tells us much about how they 'see their world'. Before I identified a student's map as being constructed by a SU or UWC student, I gave each map a rating or designation based on whether it was simple, detailed or very detailed. A simple map had few details about places in the community or neighbourhood – perhaps only a few houses, a school, and place of worship, a park, and streets. A detailed map included these, plus some short comments about a specific feature, for example, an unsafe playing space, a park with some trees and flowers, or an understaffed social service agency. A very detailed map had eight to ten categories of information. By my count, the proportion of maps in each category and for each university did not vary significantly. While most were in the 'detailed' category, there were also fairly similar proportions in both the 'simple' and 'very detailed' categories of UWC and SU students.

Fourthly, as acknowledged above, the differences in maps or drawings clearly illustrate that some students are not uncomfortable with acknowledging problems within their community; this generalisation does not apply in the same measure to the coloured and black students at UWC (Leibowitz et al. 2010: 89–90). On the other hand, SU students are unable or unwilling to identify specific social and economic problems in their communities. Swartz et al. (2008) note that in these groups there was often little discussion about race and apartheid. The maps for the three years can thus be seen as depictions of discomfort and comfort (Bozalek & Biersteker 2010: 564–565). I like the 'pedagogy of discomfort' concept proposed by Boler (1999), in terms of which she discusses how students with different backgrounds can benefit from exploring ways in which they can confront their own prejudices, biases and shortcomings; see also Boler and Zembylas (2003) and Leibowitz et al. (2010). In this study we are exploring the 'cartographies of discomfort,' which illustrate, through images about places and words about places, those features of a landscape that the student/map maker shares with the reader. The more privileged SU students and those in the same class category who attend UWC, it could be argued, are depicting 'cartographies of comfort' or 'comfort zone cartographies', compared to the 'cartographies of discomfort' associated with the UWC students from less resourced/endowed communities. It could even be argued that the UWC students are/will be better prepared to cope with the multicultural diversities of South African society in the future because they have not only acknowledged the

importance of location or 'places with problems', but also expressed some degree of comfort in associating places with people and problems. Their social justice insights extend to an appreciation of geographical worldviews and geographical frames of references in identifying *and* solving social problems at the community and neighbourhood levels. Maps in this sense are healing instruments.

Fifthly, the major benefits of the cartography learning project for SU and UWC students are that it provided an opportunity for students to share first hand their feelings and thoughts about themselves and their communities in a novel way (via maps or drawings). I find the concept of 'collective witnessing' advocated by Zembylas (2007) as another useful concept within which to couch this study. The spaces he describes in the 'dialogues of witnessing' are precisely what this mapping project addresses. 'Pedagogical witnessing' (Simon et al. 2001) in this case is done via maps that can open new critical spaces for growth, even if the process is unsettling (Hesford 2004). The drawings are more important and, it might be argued, more powerful than words. We need to be just as conscious of what images one has or develops about a place as we are of which words are used. Language and maps can both help to negotiate differences (Rohleder et al. 2007: 716). Visual representations of one's hometown and whatever a student/cartographer decides to include on the map are expressions of personal testimony or witnessing about one's hometown, but also what one 'sees' as needing to be corrected. The witnessing comes from residing in a place, observing what is going on there, but also what memories one has about the place and what remedies might be considered to resolve a legacy problem. The 'collective' side of witnessing for this project is that students had to listen to and observe what others said *and* drew about their own hometowns. In some cases the sharings/discussions became testy and uncomfortable, especially when someone's comments were challenged by another group member. And in many cases the students had very little previous knowledge about the hometowns and communities of students from the other university. Thus the 'cartographic collective witnessing' became a key element in the learning and healing process, and part of the pedagogies of forgiveness and reconciliation (Zembylas 2007; McKnight 2004).

Sixthly and lastly, asking aspiring social services professionals to depict landscapes and places of familiarity in their hometowns is an excellent vehicle to inform others about how they see their worlds and the people, resources, and problems within them. Thus, maps may be considered as a therapeutic way to contribute to the reconciliation of a conflict (McKnight 2004). Healing in any country that has experienced institutional racism and segregation is not accomplished overnight or in one particular way. Maps or drawings can therefore be an innovative mechanism or vehicle to help heal some of the legacies of South Africa that remain much in evidence today. Laws outlawing racism and blatant discrimination can be effective in part, as can state commissions on truth and reconciliation, and agendas by

multicultural and institutional non-state organisations. Schools and universities also have much to contribute to erasing the pernicious effects of apartheid. I agree with Gobodo-Madikizela (2006) when she states that it is also the responsibility of educators in South Africa to devise creative and imaginative ways to promote greater cross-cultural understanding of the country's rich religions, linguistic and cultural heritages. Maps, like words, can also be used in innovative ways to instil stronger senses of identity, community, cross-cultural awareness and political cohesiveness.

Conclusion

This study utilises student data generated from three iterations of a module on community, self and identity for fourth-year social profession students at SU and UWC; these classes were designed to help students in social service professions to prepare for the emerging multicultural living and workplaces of their fellow South Africans. The specific focus of this chapter is on the content of the cognitive maps that the students constructed during their first class meeting. The maps illustrated key features of their hometowns, but also specific place or locational problems that needed addressing.

Detailed examinations of the maps revealed that some students' maps from each university were rich in detail, while others were very generic. The UWC students provided more critical comments about problems that needed addressing in their communities, whereas the maps by the SU students yielded few comments, either because they thought no problems existed or because they did not wish to depict them on their maps. These maps can be considered as legitimate extensions of their worldviews, and perhaps even their comfort and discomfort zones. They can also be seen as important vehicles or mechanisms to aid aspiring social welfare professionals about the importance of place as a professional concept affecting their personal and professional futures in South African society. The maps are visual products and testimonies about how they see themselves and their country. There is no question that visual and geographic learning skills are important in learning about any community's children and adults, its current problems and efforts to solve them. The 'what is where' focus or the sense of place concept is just as important to have as part of one's memory and professional practice as it is to work to empower individuals, neighbourhoods and communities. I therefore agree with Boler (1999), Boler and Zembylas (2003), and Leibowitz et al. (2010) that pedagogy has a moral dimension and a responsibility to address cultural and multicultural harms, hurts and prejudices, whether in words or images.

The PLA approach, methodology and cartography/mapping focus could be adopted in other societies that have been affected by prolonged strife. The mapping

component might well be considered a novel way to identify both landscapes of fear, oppression, and hatred, and landscapes of healing, hope, and reconciliation. If we had similar studies with Israelis and Palestinians in Israel and Palestine; Hindus and Muslims in Kashmir; Muslims and Christians in Nigeria and Sudan; Greeks and Turks in Cyprus and North Cyprus; and indigenous groups and colonials in Australia, Guatemala, and the Philippines, we might witness significant reconciliation; the healing of judicial grievances; the settlement of land settlement questions; improvements in the delivery of vital social services, including educational materials; and greater minority political participation.

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Note

1 See Chapters 3 and 7 in this book for more information about PLA.

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Part 3
The partners

9

Educating the educators: Creating a powerful learning environment

Brenda Leibowitz, Vivienne Bozalek, Ronelle Carolissen, Lindsey Nicholls, Poul Rohleder and Leslie Swartz

THIS CHAPTER PRESENTS AN ACCOUNT of the Community, Self and Identity (CSI) design team, whom it comprised and how it worked. The chapter reflects on the project as a case of collaborative educational design and research. We record the strengths, outcomes and limitations of the collaboration, and consider the success factors against a similar list devised by Christie et al. (2007). We make a strong claim for the need to educate the educators themselves within a collaborative teaching and research environment.

Introduction

The second aim of the CSI project, as explained in applications to funders, was 'to develop a model for interdisciplinary collaborative curriculum design on issues of difference in the health and social sciences'. The decision of the CSI team to work collaboratively across both institutions and disciplines on a research-based curriculum design module at the undergraduate level was unusual in South Africa and, given the competitiveness between higher education institutions, we suspect unusual internationally as well. Despite the encouragement for academics to collaborate – for example by South Africa's National Research Foundation (NRF), which in 2010 put out a call for education research that was located minimally at three South African institutions – comparatively little is written about collaborative research and how to foster it. We are aware of even less written about collaborative education design. This chapter focuses on the CSI project as a form of collaborative curriculum design and education research. We begin by describing the team.

The team

The team comprised six members: two from the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and four from Stellenbosch University (SU). There were four females and two males, of varied sexual orientations and, in terms of religion, members were religious and not religious, Christian and Jewish. The team represented the following disciplines: social work, occupational therapy, psychology, and higher education teaching and learning. Three members were heads of their departments or centres, two were lecturers and one was a PhD student; thus we were at varied stages in our careers, and had varied levels of access to power and control over resources. The most notable areas of homogeneity were that all of us were in the arts and social and/or health sciences; were mostly white; and were of a left-leaning political persuasion, with five of the six having been politically active in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

Reasons for joining the project included a sincere wish to contribute to transformation and dialogue towards citizenship in South Africa. However, there were also more specific reasons, an important one being to enhance our teaching. Vivienne wanted to work on information technology and teaching, and to practise the valuable lessons she had gained from participating in a previous collaborative teaching project:

> I was keen to work collaboratively on curriculum development across disciplinary and institutional contexts because of the rich experiences I had had previously in doing this. I can think particularly of an experience of working with a group of women across geographical, disciplinary and institutional contexts. This experience led me to believe that the collaborative design and product of this process was superior to a curriculum individually developed.

Leslie felt that student diversity was necessary for optimal learning and wanted to broaden his students' horizons:

> I only realised when I got here how much I depended on class diversity for teaching, and that wasn't available to me. I continued to be amazed by the naivety of our students, so to open up their world a bit, it was very important to try and think of ways of teaching which would feel safe for the students, because if you feel too unsafe you can't learn, but it would also shake up their lives so that they would have to cross boundaries.

Poul, Vivienne, Ronelle and Lindsey were all interested in the concept of 'community', how it was taught, and how to teach it in a more critical and less sentimental way. According to Lindsey:

> I felt that the project would draw them [students] into something outside of themselves, particularly other points of view on community, which are taught in the department, but taught in a very particular way – it is uncritical.

A further set of reasons pertained to issues of personal or disciplinary identity. Leslie wanted to establish for himself a sense of belonging to a professional community, which he found to be lacking at the university. As an example of affiliation, Vivienne was also driven by a desire to work with like-minded people:

> I was interested in interacting with like-minded people, as from previous experience I have discovered that I sometimes have more in common with colleagues across disciplines than in my own discipline.

Several of us expressed our reasons for joining the group in relation to our own sociopolitically influenced biographies, which encouraged us to want to see change among youth and students. Brenda referred to this in the context of her engagement with South African society over the years:

> By the time I had left university and become involved in the struggle against apartheid, as it was known, I found the non-racial politics espoused by the United Democratic Front and the external force behind this – the African National Congress – to be an all-embracing and liberating ideology. It allowed me to understand how other people live, believe and feel, and gave me renewed hope and optimism, and a belief that people can come together to contribute to making our world a better place … Several decades later, and the kind of sobriety or cynicism that comes with [middle] age and a settled middle-class lifestyle, as well as the sobriety engendered by the harsh reality of post-new democracy politics, leave me in a place where I am still hopeful and still concerned about my role and my relations with others. I am still, what is more, committed to supporting young people, and students in particular, to find ways to learn with and about the 'other', and to find meaning from living in what is a complex and still tortured society.

Ronelle, like Brenda, brought issues from her own biography into her reasons for joining the group:

> Assumptions were often made that black psychologists, like me, trained at black universities … This led to the assumption that the standard of black psychologists' work was therefore deficient and characterised by incompetence. It also appeared that within the broad framework of community psychology, black women psychologists like me were often assumed to do service delivery in marginalised communities, whereas white women, black

> men and white men who work in the area of community psychology tended to be involved in community psychology research, often in the context of full-time academia . . . These implicit and unchallenged stereotypes about 'community' appeared to contribute to marginalising aspects of community psychological practice and disable postgraduate psychology students as soon as they entered 'the community'. On entering full-time permanent academia in 2002 after many years in the NGO sector (and part-time academia), I hoped that students could benefit from my diverse skills and that I could learn [that] what we did as teachers . . . left many stereotypes about 'community' unchallenged. I was personally and professionally intrigued by issues of identity and community and how they impacted on psychologists' careers. As a teacher of community psychology at Stellenbosch University I was also struck by how students were hesitant to provide opinions on community and community psychology and would frantically page through books and articles when I asked for opinions.

These accounts of why team members joined the project certainly help explain why we were prepared to put hours and hours of extra work time into a project that we were not mandated to do by our institutions, that is, we were curious or value driven. But the accounts also hint at several themes that run through this chapter: the interrelationships among teaching, research and engagement with disciplinary knowledge as forms of continuing learning; the relationships among biography, teaching and values; the importance of identity and a sense of belonging to a group with similar interests, otherwise known as 'affiliation' (Gee 2000); and the value of collaborative learning. These themes will be elaborated on later in the chapter.

Methodology for collaboration, data collection and outcomes

The research process was informed by a participatory action research approach that emphasised research as a practical and collaborative social process. It was emancipatory, critical, reflexive, and designed to transform both theory and practice (Kemmis & McTaggart 2005). It combined research goals with action goals (Healy 2000). Mason (2002: 197) stresses that research into one's own practice (and here this extends to the practice of the curriculum design team) creates a dynamic form of knowing that should lead to the development of all participants:

> We engage in activity with the intention of facilitating particular actions in ourselves and in others, known as professional development, teaching and learning. We seek to enlarge and develop access to potential in the future, for ourselves and others, with others.

The research approach was interdisciplinary in that it drew together researchers from the disciplines of psychology, social work, occupational therapy and higher education/language. We saw this as advantageous, following on from Davidson's (2004: 309) argument that teaching is best professionalised via working and talking collaboratively across disciplines in order to interrogate 'discipline pedagogies and frameworks', and from Jacobs's (2005) argument that when disciplinary and language/educational specialists come together, tacit understandings of the conventions of the discipline can surface.

We saw ourselves as working within a 'community of practice' (Wenger 1998) in that our community was spontaneously formed and incorporated individuals at different levels of expertise, yet all of us were engaged in learning. While we were all experts in our own fields, we drew from each other's expertise. For example, while the first author of this paper was a 'language' or 'academic literacy' expert, she knew less about any of the disciplines with which the students were grappling than the other collaborators. The approach could be further likened to a 'community of enquiry', which Christie et al. (2007: 264) describe as

> a group of people who work together with a shared purpose which entails some collaborative attempt to explore issues or answer questions and hence potentially create new knowledge or understanding in a given domain; it is a means by which to engineer the meeting of minds in shared enquiry.

The dynamic learning inherent in the research methodology was enhanced by the practice of reflexivity, which we understood to imply a form of bounding back on itself. Thus, we not only evaluated the learning experience for the students or analysed how we collected the research data, but also analysed how we came to know what we know and how we understand the world as educators with our own 'troubled knowledge' (Jansen 2009). Our troubled knowledge in this case was our biographically influenced assumptions, values, and socially and culturally influenced emotional practices (Boler 1999), the latter having a key role to play in negotiating issues of difference.

Crabtree and Sapp (2004) cite Fransman (2003: 11) that '"epistemological reflexivity" is required if teachers are to be enabled to transform existing power relations, transcend cultural divides, and undo collectively-ingrained biases'. Reflexivity is important in such unequal contexts as South Africa, where all too frequently middle-class educators might be teaching working-class or rural students from different educational and cultural backgrounds. The practice of reflexivity required that our research bounded back on our understanding and inquiry. Thus we too underwent a form of learning similar to what we expected of the students. We participated in training on diversity, led by peace activists from Israel and Palestine, Ariella Friedman and Ahmed Hijazi, respectively. In this training on

diversity we too experienced the discomforts of engaging in the kind of dialogue on difference that we expected from our students. We too had to experience the unsayable, the unknowable, and thus the limitations of what academic language can offer.

Dynamic learning was also enhanced by our 'community of enquiry' approach in that we regarded our curriculum development process as a research project, collected various forms of data and wrote articles together. In doing so we were conscious of the claims by Lingard et al. (2007: 516) that 'attention to manuscript production [is] a complex act of shaping knowledge production'. In presentations on our project we have heard academics say that they like to innovate and collaborate, but that they would prefer to write and publish on their own disciplinary research. We would argue, however, that to write and publish research findings forces the learning process to a deeper level. This more complex act of knowledge production happened for us during the initial acts of coding data as a group or in some cases as pairs, grappling with what to say, understanding the many articles we sent to each other or responding to journal reviewers' comments. An example of the latter was the response we received from the journal, *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, which indicated that our article was superficial, essentialising of race and unreflective of our own positions. Our reworking of the article led to greater understanding not only of the data, but of our project itself.

Our data for investigating the collaborative team process included:

- interviews with each team member three times over the duration of the project;
- minutes and audiotaped recordings of key team strategic planning and reflective discussions; and
- two audiotaped group interviews.

We used basic thematic and content analyses of the various transcripts. One of the team members, together with Toke Smolders, a critical friend of the team (see Chapter 12 of this book for more on the critical friends) analysed all the data in order to compare the success factors influencing the collaboration with the success factors for a community of inquiry posed by Christie et al. (2007). We also wrote two journal articles (Leibowitz et al. 2010; 2011) and prepared three conference presentations on the topic. For all of these the team commented on the manuscripts in preparation, sometimes in meetings and sometimes via e-mail, thus adding another layer of reflection and discussion to the investigation. It must be conceded, however, that not all team members contributed equally to each paper and presentation, so that individual engagement in the CS1 investigations tended to fluctuate. Table 9.1 provides a list of the outcomes of the collaboration.

Table 9.1 *Outcomes of the collaboration*

Funding
6 proposals – 4 successful
Teaching
Course presented 3 times to approximately 95 students per year
Dissemination
15 journal articles
31 conference presentations
1 regional colloquium focusing on the project
Various departmental seminars
Seminar with main funders and others in Utrecht
Policy
One national policy briefing

The power of collaboration

Writing about the value of collaborative research in medical education, Sullivan et al. (2010) maintain that the benefits of collaborative research are not sufficiently appreciated. In agreement with the argument for the value of collaborative and interdisciplinary research, we found the learning we engaged in to be deep at both the professional and personal levels. The advantages emerging from the transcripts are summarised below:

In terms of professional/academic advantages, we:

- became aware of the teaching–research link;
- learned about research methods;
- learned about teaching practice and theory;
- learned about social sciences theories;
- were given the opportunity to write and research;
- produced publications, which brought credibility to individuals or units;
- became more aware of institutional issues; and
- experienced a sense of belonging to a profession.

In terms of personal advantages, we:

- became more self-aware; and
- had a great deal of fun.

A key advantage that did not emerge from the transcripts, but rather from the writings of the team, is of the team members' gradual empowerment as change agents (see Leibowitz et al. 2010). At this point one extract from the interviews will suffice to stress the idea of curriculum designers as learners and as people implementing what they learned in this collaboration when teaching. Ronelle said that she had to deal with others' perceptions of her as black in a white-dominated environment and with subtle racism. Although her involvement threw these tensions into further relief, how she coped with this and her involvement in the project was helpful for her as an academic. The collaboration gave her other benefits that she implemented in the classroom:

> The generosity, the sharing has also meant much to me as a person, to the extent that I am quite happy to do it. I'm generally a generous person, but this project has for me modelled the importance of sharing so that I can implement it with my own students … It has also showed me ways of sharing … in terms of research … and other academic relationships … it has helped me to encourage my own students to get into processes of writing, and thinking about applications, whereas I perhaps wouldn't have been so serious about encouraging students to write as well.

The process of planning the module as an interdisciplinary team, and analysing the data and undergoing diversity training as a team allowed us to take risks, both epistemological and pedagogic. We did so partly because we were committed to the broader project and partly because we were able to support one another. However, there were also weaknesses in our approach. The composition of our group, of which the majority was white and female, English speaking and of a similar political persuasion – and thus relatively homogeneous – can be seen as a limitation, given the context of diversity in which we were teaching and researching. Related to this is the hermetic nature of a group as a research team: there were occasions where the strength of the group and its success led non-members, for example those in the same departments as group members, to feel envious or othered.

The interdisciplinary nature of the group was a key strength, but it had its weaknesses. One such weakness was an occasional tendency to engage with concepts from one another's disciplines in a superficial way. All team members shared what we were reading with the rest of the group and we were tempted only to 'dip' into articles or resources from team members with a slightly different background and borrow terms or concepts that had not been sufficiently interrogated. The interdisciplinary approach also led to an unevenness of focus. For example, Brenda has a background in language and academic literacy, but she found the overall findings and outcomes of the project so compelling at an affective and experiential level that in her contribution to the overall findings of the project the

issue of language and academic literacy tended to be eclipsed. Ironically, however, a great deal of research has been produced on the central role of language in the acquisition of academic literacy by non-traditional students. Lillis and Turner (2001: 66), for example, write: 'With the potential development of new pedagogies, the role of language use should have a central place.' On the basis of this project we would argue that maintaining a balance between, on the one hand, keeping language and academic literacy as a key focus, and on the other hand, not sidelining, overemphasising or reifying it poses a significant challenge that we have not read about in the literature on content and language integrated learning (Barwell 2005).

A disadvantage of the collaborative research design is more of a reflection on the social sciences and of mixed messages generated by the South African research community: on the one hand, collaboration is encouraged in calls for research funding applications, but on the other hand, two members of the team applied for a research rating by the NRF and were told that one of the problems with their applications was that they had too many co-authored articles!

A challenge issued by Megan Boler when she engaged with the team at a planning session was why we did not engage in more careful and thorough introspection of how we related to one another on issues of diversity, race and so on. The team did not choose to take up this challenge other than by participating in the diversity training referred to earlier in this chapter, which perhaps says something in itself about how threatening such dialogue may be or about how people who work together may often choose to keep working above the real fault lines. We recognise that this is a somewhat limited way of working, that we partly re-enact the problem we choose to solve and that this is endemic to the field in which we work.

The research and pedagogic process was also resource intensive: at any given time six or eight researchers worked on this course, which could potentially have been managed by two researchers. We contend that the course would have lost in richness and depth what it made up in having so many people being involved in its implementation.

Success factors

Because of the value of enhancing disciplinary knowledge through interdisciplinary and collaborative research, and because this is a relatively new approach about which not enough is known, one aspect of the research should be to investigate the interpersonal interaction involved. A significant aspect of this collaboration that we investigated was the collaborators' experience of the research process: what facilitated its work and endurance, and what the benefits and disadvantages were of working in a team like this. We analysed our transcripts against a set of factors

for the facilitation of a 'community of enquiry' as listed by Christie et al. (2007). As is evident from Table 9.2, our experience confirmed the existence of the factors described by Christie et al., but it uncovered several additional factors.

Table 9.2 *Factors for the facilitation of a 'community of enquiry'*

Factors from Christie et al. (2007)	**As experienced in our project**
Dialogue and participation	Reciprocity: We all participated, all felt invested in the project, but none too much; there were many occasions when more experienced researchers were generous with sharing their knowledge and making space for others to participate and build their profiles.
Relationships	Several friendships preceded the project, others emerged as a result of the project and all members felt committed to one another.
Perspectives and assumptions	We shared a strong work ethic and a similar ideological position, but drew on different disciplinary perspectives.
Structure and context	Several of us were heads of departments or centres and could thus effect decisions in the two institutions. Our structure was loose, which suited our strongly shared levels of investment.
Climate	The mode of communication and interaction was informal and relaxed, with concern for one another. We mostly met over breakfast at a restaurant and later at a team member's house.
Purpose	We shared a sense of the purpose of higher education, our careers and the project.
Control	Power was distributed across the group, with different members taking control of different subprojects and topics.
Additional factors emerging from the data	
Resources	We had obtained funds for the project from three research-funding sources, which allowed us to employ minimal assistance, and to travel and disseminate the findings. This funding was for four years of this collaboration, which is presently into its sixth year.
Administration	One of our members was an excellent secretary and web administrator, and with our busy lives, we felt that this kept the project together.
Time	We had to carve this out of our busy schedules at the expense of other work and family commitments.

Conclusion

We would agree with Jacobs (2005: 484) that

> the creation of an institutional transdisciplinary community of practice of tertiary educators could serve a transformative purpose in [higher education], where academics' professional roles as tertiary educators form the basis of the community rather than their disciplinary affiliation.

On the basis of our study, we suggest that interinstitutional and transdisciplinary communities of practice working across boundaries of class and geographical location can provide a powerful and catalytic role in transforming our identities as educators and our understanding of what we do in the classroom. Further, in order to be transformative, interdisciplinary collaborative research should maintain a focus not only on 'what' is taught, studied or researched, but on 'how' this is done, as well as on 'how' this is communicated. Such a research focus would include various modalities of communicating the learning experience. But we would like to go one step further with regard to collaborative research-based teaching by dealing with matters that are inherently relational – in other words, about how people relate to one another and to their contexts. We would argue for a form of reflexivity, a kind of rebounding on itself, where the educators are themselves learning from their teaching, from their students and from their disciplined inquiry into the data that they are generating. Here we use the term 'reflexivity' not only to imply critique or accounting for how knowledge is produced, but in addition, in the tradition of Giddens (1991), to mean a way to mobilise the self and consider the ethics of how we should live.

It has become popular in the first two decades of the twenty-first century to talk about students' ontology (Barnett 2007), about their 'knowing and becoming' in an age of uncertainty (Barnett 2009), and about the process of 'becoming' of the student (Mann 2008). It has become even more popular to talk of the kinds of 'attributes' that students should cultivate or acquire (for example, see Barrie 2006; 2007). We would argue that it is not sufficient to research and write about students' attributes and of the being and becoming of students without considering what this requires of educators and what implications this has for their development. We should adopt an ethics of care in our relations with our fellow academics and researchers. Collaborative work, if conducted reflexively, forces academics to consider how they work and relate to one another and how they learn together. If as educators we do not take care of our own learning, attributes, and ways of being and becoming through, for example, collaborative teaching and critically reflexive research, who will?

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10

Facilitating deep understanding: Perspectives from four facilitators

Dianne Dawes, Neil Henderson, Sorayah Nair and Melanie Petersen

THE COMMUNITY, SELF AND IDENTITY (CSI) course made use of facilitators to complement the teaching process by working with the small working groups and online, and by marking the assignments of the groups they were responsible for. In this chapter, four facilitators share their perspectives on the course and on the role they played in facilitating deep understanding. The chapter begins with a short introduction to the four facilitators.

The facilitators

As discussed in Chapter 2 of this book, the students in the CSI module were allocated to working groups of six or seven led by a facilitator. This required the support of approximately eight additional facilitators to supplement the work of the design and research team. This chapter is written by four of the facilitators. Melanie is working in educational development, based at Stellenbosch University (SU). Sorayah is a practising clinical psychologist working with SU. Neil is a social worker coordinating fourth-year fieldwork education with students from the University of the Western Cape. Dianne is a social work academic from the University of Cumbria in Britain with experience of e-learning facilitation in other contexts.

The facilitators' tasks

In this section we discuss how we understood our tasks as facilitators. One of our main tasks was to raise awareness of how history impacts on individuals' lives in both the present and the future, and to facilitate dialogue among the students involved in the course. The fact that apartheid did not happen within the lived history of the majority of the students made it important to understand the extent

to which the political oppression of the past still resonates in the present. An important aim of the module was to develop an understanding of how issues associated with this historical context may manifest themselves when working with people of one's own and other cultures who may be older and have a lived history of political oppression.

Freire and Macedo (in Freire 1997) conducted an ongoing dialogue on the differences and similarities between facilitation and teaching. In one part of this debate Macedo describes a process in which 'teachers relinquish their authority to become what is called a facilitator' (Freire 1997: 46). Freire (1997: 46) also argues that the roles of teaching and facilitating overlap at times and thus are not mutually exclusive: 'In being a teacher I always teach to facilitate. I cannot accept the notion of a facilitator who facilitates so as not to teach.'

In the CS1 module the task of facilitation also included teaching in a more traditional sense. This helped students to locate, contextualise, and make sense of the past and present reality of racialised community contexts. However, the facilitators' role was more than that of lecturer or teacher using dialogical methods. For example, although it was essential to have teaching skills, it was also important to observe and intervene in the group in ways that facilitated the deep and authentic exploration of issues and ideas while also paying attention to power relations and relations of exclusivity and inclusivity. In so doing, it was necessary to monitor what was happening and ensure that no one cultural group or individual dominated the interactions, and also to manage discussions so that they did not become too challenging for group members to deal with. Facilitation required careful management of the group process and a conscious effort to ensure that group processes were not mirroring embedded cultural practices of racial domination. The facilitators sought to enable everyone to provide equal input and encourage full participation. Important outcomes of the course included the need for students to develop a positive set of values regarding their own communities and emerging self-awareness, and an empathic attitude that could help them move from the position of novice learners to that of becoming experts and reflective practitioners. In order to foster these outcomes, facilitators needed to be self-aware and develop a deep and critical understanding of how they presented themselves and were in turn perceived by the students.

Some facilitators felt more comfortable than others to raise sensitive social issues such as sexuality, HIV and the role of women in different cultural contexts. Each facilitator's level of comfort and discomfort was a function of their own political and personal development. Wherever possible, facilitators steered the group towards an examination of these important social issues.

As four facilitators with very different personal and political histories, we were mindful that, due to our own understanding and experiences, we might have

drawn attention to different aspects of inequality and identity that in turn may have led to different emphases and different group conversations. In addition, the question of whether the issues we chose to emphasise as facilitators bore the same importance for the students was a cause for reflection, as was the realisation that the age difference between facilitators and students carried with it very different experiences that needed to be acknowledged.

The module was designed so that we as individuals and facilitators were embarking on a road of self-discovery. We were required to move out of our cloistered – and often siloed – academic and professional comfort zones. This process required us to examine the impact of our own histories on our lived experience. We feel that this was a vital part of our development in the facilitation of this course. We realised that in order for us to be able to help group members in the process of locating their own histories and their related consequences, we had to become acutely aware of our own histories. It soon became apparent that this process of locating and relocating the boundaries of our professional and personal selves was a complex and challenging one – more so than it might have been in a more traditional course. The process we were going through mirrored the development of the reflexive processes we were encouraging in the students in our groups and helped us to realise the difficulties such processes can cause.

A racism seminar was offered to facilitators at the beginning of 2008. Eight white and eight black facilitators were trained in facilitation skills and how to deal with racism and conflict in a group work context. The training was facilitated by two experts – one from Israel and one from Palestine. This seminar made the facilitators aware of how racism in South Africa is often downplayed and that the 'privileged' group is not always aware of how historical oppression can continue to undermine the less privileged. For example, because of his marginalised sexual orientation, Neil initially felt that he did not belong to the privileged group, but on hearing some of the testimonies of other facilitators, he began to realise that his racial grouping still privileged him in contemporary South Africa. Developing this empathic awareness as facilitators was felt to be essential for working with the student groups.

One function of the facilitators was to support students to work together in groups or 'communities of practice' (Wenger 1998). The CS1 course enabled students and facilitators from two very different and historically opposed institutions to work together in teams and groups. An initial exercise within the groups involved individuals working together as a community of practice, that is, as a group of individuals bound by the tasks, functions, rules and organisation of the module. In this instance the community of practice is the group identity formed by the smaller, facilitated working groups – those groups who are assigned by the course organisers as mixed groups with the aim of working, learning and debating together in the context of the course.

The purpose of the initial exercise was to develop visual community maps depicting personal stories of students' communities and highlighting specific areas that they felt particularly proud of or would like to see change in the future. Although the examples of communities were very different within and across the groups, it was interesting that during discussion issues emerged that were common to all communities, for example, drug- and alcohol-related issues; crime, gangs and violence; and young people with no sense of purpose. This exercise and the related river of life exercise, which helped people to create a visual depiction of the influences, pathways and aspirations of their own lives, ran concurrently and allowed for the challenging of different perceptions and assumptions by all group members. The topics of these tasks and the e-learning/blended learning basis created a space in which to share and discuss the different emerging perspectives: firstly face to face, and then continuing with online interaction. The progression from the initial direct contact to the online contact provided the opportunity for students to reflect, and in so doing to transcend their initial discomfort, thereby allowing what Wenger (1998) identifies as 'transformational learning' to take place.

This form of transformational learning – meaning that which challenges the underlying assumption and values of everyday life – has been described as profoundly impacting on identity in that it 'transforms who we are and what we can do . . . it is not just an accumulation of skills and information, but a process of becoming – to become a certain person or, conversely, to avoid becoming a certain person' (Wenger 1998: 215). The term 'communities of practice' is an inclusive term that applies a phenomenological approach to learning and change in that it studies things as they are perceived by those who are directly involved in the process. This approach emphasises the socially constructed nature of reality. Lave and Wenger (1991) assert that the way in which reality is constructed may be changed through learning, and that this process may be understood through an analysis of what they identify as the four elements of learning and change, including community, identity, meaning and practice. Wenger (1998: 3) describes learning for change as occurring in the 'context of our lived experience of participation in the world' and defines these terms in the following way:

> Community: a way of talking about the social configurations in which our enterprises are defined as worth pursuing and our participation is recognisable within the framework of identity, meaning and practice
>
> Identity: a way of talking about how learning changes who we are and creates personal histories of becoming in the context of our communities
>
> Meaning: a way of talking about our (changing) ability – individually and collectively – to experience our life and the world as meaningful

> Practice: a way of talking about the shared historical and social resources, framework, and perspectives that can sustain mutual engagement in action. (Wenger 1998: 5)

Somekh (2007) observes that Wenger's work greatly contributes to the understanding and analysis of the relationship between individual identity and collective community. However, a common criticism of communities of practice theory is that key issues for participation, such as power relations, language, literacy and discourse, which are central to understanding community dynamics, are often glossed over in theoretical discussions (Barton & Trustin 2005; Harris & Shelswell 2005). We attempted to prevent this in the CS1 course by supporting the participants to identify their own issues that resulted from their experiences and cultures rather than imposing our own preferred interests identified by us as facilitators. This was the challenge of facilitation within this course – to facilitate learning and change rather than promote particular issues that have importance and relevance due to our own learned and lived experience.

The blended learning within this module allowed for some distance to emerge not only between sessions, but also among all participants involved. This enabled each individual to engage in deep reflection on the issues. The most challenging facilitation issue in this context was to ensure that students remained engaged in the process and did not use the space to withdraw from what proved to be some quite painful self-realisations.

Facilitation and implementation of the module

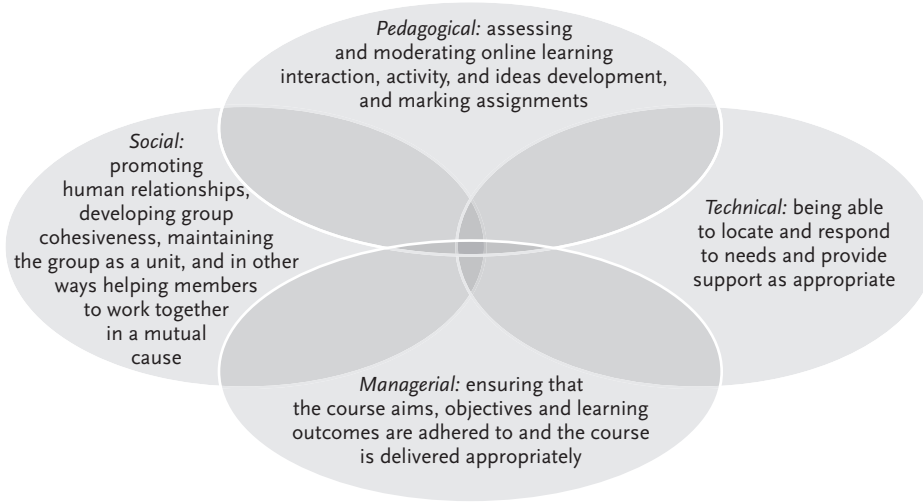
The course was designed as a blended learning module rather than as a pure distance e-learning module and our role included facilitating our students in their online activities. The CS1 module had three call-in days for direct contact group activity and specific topic presentations. The group activities, discussion and assessed work introduced during the face-to-face workshops were later mediated through e-learning. Each facilitated group consisted of no more than eight students in total and aimed for a mix of students in terms of disciplinary affiliation, university of origin and ethnic origin.

Facilitation is commonly understood as being the process by which groups or members of a group are enabled to work cooperatively. The role of the facilitator is to maintain focus, ensure participation, and aid with the completion of tasks and decisions reached within the group. The role of facilitator in this particular module context included multiple responsibilities: on the one hand, the facilitator had a managerial responsibility to the course team to ensure that the course was delivered

according to the stated aims, objectives and values, and that the programme priorities were achieved. On the other hand, the facilitator had an enabling and supportive role to ensure that group members were allowed and able to fully participate in the process. This included being mindful of the potential emotional rawness of the issues for some of the participants and the effect this may have on their ability to fully participate. However, the facilitator's role in this type of blended learning module meant dealing with issues, both implicit and explicit, of power and control. Because we were not equal participants in the course we had to be acutely aware of our power, not only as facilitators, but also as older adults with different histories, contexts, experiences and identities to the students we were working with. The facilitator was viewed as a member of staff by the student participant group, with obvious power implications. These include being responsible for the assessment of tasks and the allocation of marks, and for developing students' ability to participate in the e-learning process. Consequently, our facilitation role required that we acknowledge at the outset that the power differences between facilitators and students were both perceived – in terms of our own race, class, histories and experiences – and actual – in terms of our positional power within the university structure. In understanding this we were offering support and encouragement to enable learning at both the group and individual level. The interconnectedness of these roles and domains is illustrated in Figure 10.1.

This model for discrete domains within the e-facilitation process is derived from work originally undertaken by Berge (1995). In this model, four domains of

Figure 10.1 *Overlapping roles and domains in e-facilitation for the CS1 project*



activity associated with e-facilitation are highlighted: pedagogical (intellectual, task); social (creating an environment for successful learning); managerial (organisational, procedural, administrative); and technical (making students feel comfortable with the system). Berge (n.d.) has developed this model further as a facilitation model of competence for assessing online facilitation. We have used this as a framework for discussion of the tasks associated with the facilitation role in this context. In so doing we follow the format of the areas emphasised in each section of Berge's (1995) model and apply the discussion to the CS1 course.

Managerial

There were two specific managerial tasks within this module:

- course management, including course content, timetabling, required reading, timescales, rules, decision making and general administration; and
- management of the learning process, including facilitation, communication, pedagogical methods and ongoing support for students.

The instructional objectives of the CS1 module encouraged informal communication. The purpose was to provide a group process that enabled everyone to share their experiences and debate their views with confidence. However, accompanying this informality was an expectation that students respect boundaries and adhere to certain rules. For example, the language of instruction was English, and although it was often a second or third language for participating students, it remained important for them to realise that the assessment of written work would include consideration of grammar and spelling, just as the assessment of online interaction considered the etiquette of online communications.

Although direction from facilitators was important to maintain boundaries and ensure appropriate discussion, it was also necessary to be mindful of avoiding excessive direction so that innovation was not stifled and peripheral activity or discussion that may enhance learning would be encouraged.

During the process of facilitating the CS1 module, facilitators had to learn to allow silence and contemplation that could contribute to meaningful reflections and interactions. We also had to learn to be flexible in terms of the timing of communication to allow opportunities for both synchronous and asynchronous communication to develop. *Synchronous communication* happens at the same time for all involved – it is a discussion that is conducted online, but in real time, and is temporally bound. *Asynchronous communication*, by contrast, allows for comments to be posted on a given theme or thread within a discussion area, but is not temporally bound. Both are equally valuable within the e-learning environment, although Berge (n.d.) seems to recommend that 'as much as possible, ensure that all students

begin in unison and in an organized fashion. Also, periodically design ways so that students can "restart" together'. A great advantage of e-learning is that it can accommodate a variety of student situations and learning needs through the application of asynchronous communication methods. This does not mean that deadlines and timescales are staggered, but that late communication can be managed through discussion threads and chatroom topics.

Groups invariably have both outspoken and less outspoken participants. Both member types needed to be managed through the process of facilitation. Generally, online facilitation is an ideal opportunity to encourage co-facilitation and peer facilitation within the discussion threads and tasks. Group members did undertake this to some extent, and particularly within the work for their group projects. Berge (n.d.) states that 'it is perfectly reasonable to design elements of most online instruction so that students could take turns as assistant moderators and lead the discussion'. This function could have been more embedded into the fabric of facilitation, because the CS1 course topics and materials were ideal for capitalising on the skills, knowledge and attitudes of the students within the group.

The final managerial task undertaken by CS1 facilitators was to ensure a smooth and appropriate ending to the module. It was delivered over seven weeks and was intensive in terms of themes, tasks and discussions. In view of this, it was a particular role of the facilitator to ensure a decisive end to each discussion thread and to the course discussions. The module ended with a face-to-face workshop in which each group presented their collective project. The plenary session was a vehicle for discussing any outstanding issues raised during the module.

Technical support

The facilitation role within the CS1 module was often one of mediation between technical support and students. It was of the utmost importance that students felt comfortable with the system and the software. Facilitators are not necessarily computer technologists, therefore having a defined technical support person or network is essential. The CS1 technical support was offered at a distance. Poul Rohleder, one of the CS1 team members, was based in Britain for the duration of the course and provided excellent responsive online support and guidance for both facilitators and students. The e-learning environment can be quite daunting when one is first confronted with it. The dedicated technical support made the technology transparent, allowing both facilitators and students to concentrate on the academic task at hand. In addition, all students undertook face-to-face tutorial sessions on the use of the e-learning environment as a pre-introduction to the module. The module design team reinforced this training and support by developing a common study guide that addressed the content, introductory information and resources, and

some technical information, which was available to both students and facilitators. Lectures and presentations were available as separate postings to serve as reminders for participants – both students and facilitators – of issues to be developed as threads and topics for followup discussion.

The module required the development of new feedback mechanisms, and the course team developed an online assessment rubric for feedback to students regarding their work. This was a successful method because the rubric was openly available to students, who were able to use it to develop their work to meet the required standards. The use of the assessment rubric also provided parity for the assessment role of facilitators in that it provided some standardisation in terms of grading and feedback. Although useful in the context of facilitator assessment, the rubric could have been further enhanced through a directed peer facilitation support network whereby students may in the future enter their peer assessments where appropriate and be guided by the standards within the rubric for that particular exercise. Peer learning was utilised for the group projects and discussion forums, but in retrospect it could have been used to further support and enhance those novice users of e-mail or e-conferencing to work more directly alongside more experienced peers in a peer mentoring role.

Pedagogical

Some of the most important roles of the online discussion moderators/tutors revolved around their duties as educational facilitators to focus discussions on relevant concepts, principles and skills. We used Berge's (n.d.) elements of 'clear objectives', 'flexibility' and 'encouraging participation' as standard pedagogical approaches to nurture deep learning. In the online environment the facilitator needed to be proactive in ensuring good communication and general participation among all those involved in the process. Maintaining an atmosphere of informality within the process was also important – the students were engaged in a participative developmental conversation requiring as egalitarian a modus operandi as possible, which is best fostered through a relaxed approach, while acknowledging and adhering to the rules of the process.

It was useful for facilitators to encourage deeper investigation of related issues. This was achieved by presenting conflicting opinions and real-life examples from professional practice, and through asking participants for responses. As a recommendation for future delivery of the module, it was felt that more professional case study examples could be embedded in the module to provide a way for students to link theoretical learning to professional practice examples, thereby creating the opportunity for deep or transformative learning to take place, as discussed earlier.

The CSI module encouraged individual contributions and one way of ensuring more substantial participation was through deeper examination of an issue related to community, self or identity. Short, open-ended questions were found to be the most useful way of achieving this end. As part of the assessment of their individual contributions, each student was required to post a response to at least two postings from other group members. One of the observations we made was that e-learning allows for more considered responses than face-to-face interactions.

Although it would have been useful to have summaries of the prescribed texts available online, there was also a need to avoid spoon feeding the students, especially not with material that may have been influenced by the facilitators' beliefs and understandings.

Social

Berge (n.d.) states that 'creating a friendly, social environment in which learning is promoted is also essential [for] promoting human relationships, developing group cohesiveness, maintaining the group as a unit'. This includes accepting all levels of input and acknowledging that even silent participants may be learning from others. It is the facilitator's task to ensure that all group members are comfortable in making their contribution and that there are no forms of exclusive behaviour that may create barriers to learning for some group members. The facilitation role is one that provides a model for both face-to-face and online behaviour and interaction among students. Berge (n.d.) refers to the importance of achieving 'netiquette' – a general understanding of online behaviour and rules for interacting appropriately online.

Conclusion

Our collective experience of traditional face-to-face and online pedagogical approaches supports the notion of the *social* domain as an essential element of e-facilitation, enabling and encouraging communication and effective interaction.

The CSI module was about helping students to develop mechanisms for acknowledging their own and others' attitudes, beliefs and values. The aim was to foster a deep understanding of their past, current and developing identities in order to promote changes in embedded values, attitudes and beliefs. The facilitator needed to be skilled in not ignoring, sidestepping or otherwise avoiding uncomfortable issues, since permitting such issues to remain unacknowledged could result in the denial of political complexities and the possibilities for real change. In her brief essay 'The Personal is Political', Hanisch (1969: 204–205) defends consciousness

raising, stating: 'One of the first things we discover in these groups is that personal problems are political problems.'

The module was about sowing the seeds of transformative thinking – understanding the connections between the personal and the political, and their impact on identity and community. The process of facilitation involved a range of complex tenets, including skills development – particularly those associated with reflexive practice and critical thinking. It involved active and passive support for the learner experience. It was also about helping students to understand the constructed nature of their socialisation and lived experiences in terms of past and present contexts.

It is recommended that the course be extended to include a post-qualification process that forms part of a programme of continuing professional development – a process of learning that is developmental and continually revisited by those qualifying and those who have qualified.

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II

Experiencing the CSI module through the camera lens

Andre Daniels

IN THIS CHAPTER I DESCRIBE THE RELATIONSHIP between the Digital Media unit and the Community, Self and Identity (CSI) module, coupled with my own reflections on the media process and the CSI course content. I reflect on my own involvement and personal development during the course, and on the thinking processes involved in creating the video and photographic material that resulted from the CSI module.

Introduction

As a University of the Western Cape (UWC) science graduate, I never dreamt that I would be working in a multimedia environment one day, something seemingly so far removed from my field of study. After completing an honours degree in biochemistry I went on to do a teaching diploma and somehow ended up in the Academic Development Centre (ADC) at UWC, where I was responsible for a project known as the Self-Access Learning Centre (SALC). This was a multimedia walk-in resources centre specifically geared towards providing undergraduate science students with supplementary video material. It was here that I had my first exposure to a video camera, a Sony Hi8 handycam, and spent a considerable amount of time familiarising myself with nature documentaries. Among others, much of my time at the ADC was spent video documenting workshops, visiting speakers and lectures.

With the eventual closure of the ADC, the SALC was relocated to the library. My video experiments were relegated to a few minutes after formal working hours and over weekends. I fed my passion for videoing by becoming a weekend wedding videographer, which quickly became a very rewarding pastime in terms of my own development. In addition to monetary benefits, this hobby also provided me with real-life editing experience and problem-solving opportunities. Editing wedding videos was a time-consuming exercise, because at the time editing was based on

analogue and linear processes. In real terms this meant that any mistake was a serious setback, as it would require the editing process to be repeated. On occasion I was asked to cover various launch events and the opening of computer laboratories at the university. In retrospect, all these shoots provided me with the perfect training ground for what was to come.

Today I coordinate a multimedia production unit, Digital Media, which forms part of the e-learning support division of UWC. We are a small team consisting of two permanent staff members and some student assistants who make up our part-time staff. Our unit is largely responsible for the development and production of digital media to be used in an online or face-to-face teaching and learning environment. Among other things, we also provide training and technical support for technology use within courses.

The Digital Media unit and the CSI module

The Digital Media unit was established in 2005. As such, it was still in its infancy when our services were called upon to assist with the CSI course offered by the Department of Social Work. Our brief was simple. We were asked to capture the activities of the workshop by focusing on the students' drawings and to capture mugshots of individual students. All the photographs had to be uploaded to the teaching platform, KEWLNextGen. The video footage of the workshop had to be assembled and authored to DVD and returned to the Social Work Department for later analysis.

Digital media tasks in the CSI module can be divided into an onsite production phase and a post-production phase for each year in which the course was offered. The post-production phase included activities such as editing video and photographic material. It also provided the opportunity to create new video material such as video-recorded debriefing sessions with students and lecturers that arose from engaging in the visual documenting process itself.

Execution of tasks

Our work with the CSI module involved the execution of various tasks, which are discussed in the following sections.

Workshops

In year one of the CSI course the onsite tasks were split among three permanent staff members: Bradley Knight, Clint Braaf and myself. Our equipment consisted of two Sony PD 170 cameras with onboard microphone for the cutaway shots and an external lapel microphone for capturing the lecturers' voices and student

interactions. For the student drawings we used a Fujipix camera and a Canon optio still camera to expedite the process, because the class was large. As we were not entirely sure about the duration of the workshop or how much footage we would be required to shoot, we decided to bring along as many miniDV tapes as possible. We shot footage while the equipment ran on battery to allow for mobility. The photographs of the students were taken during one of the breaks so as not to interfere with the rest of the activities. One of the anticipated challenges was to match the students' mugshots with the correct student. We decided to capture each student in addition to a close-up shot of their student number written on a piece of paper held next to their faces, much like an identification line-up.

In retrospect, the venue was not ideal for the large number of students present on the day of the workshop, especially given the inadequate ventilation. The crowded venue restricted our movement among the students. We therefore opted to keep one camera stationary on the lecturer and the other on the students' responses and interactions. I was immediately struck by the comparatively large ratio of female to male students and the fact that the students on this course seemed to be more mature than those on other courses I had come across. I found that I immediately had some of my own questions regarding the UWC–Stellenbosch University (SU) collaboration that I wanted to find answers to, but kept them to myself. After all, I was there in my capacity as videographer. I surmise that these questions stemmed from the fact that as a UWC graduate I had very little opportunity for cross-cultural interaction within our educational setting. In fact, even as part of the e-learning support unit I have had little or no interaction with white students, a fact one can attribute to the racial demography of UWC. I therefore wondered what it would have been like for me to participate in a course similar to this one and whether it would have made any difference to my undergraduate experience. Would I have been comfortable interacting across colour lines? Was it appropriate for me to be asking these questions?

Post-production phase

This phase comprised the cropping and resizing of all the images and uploading them to the appropriate working groups created on the e-learning site by the instructional design team. The CSI course presented us with our first encounter with such a large number of student images to upload and we were bound to make some mistakes, one of which was forgetting to agree on a naming convention for all the files. As a result, we could not match a number of images to their owners. We decided to place the unidentified images in a separate folder on the learning management system for students to identify their own images at a later stage.

Debriefing sessions

During debriefing sessions we were requested to do a recording of some of the participating lecturers. Bradley Knight suggested that perhaps it would be an ideal opportunity to get the views of some of the students on their experience. The design team made arrangements to gather a student group from SU and UWC. The interviews were conducted in the Social Work Department in one of the venues near the main offices. The venue was small, but offered adequate light (at that stage the Digital Media studio was still under construction) to warrant the use of only one 'redhead' (studio light). This situation was rather unfavourable because these lights tend to generate huge amounts of heat that would make interview sessions very uncomfortable. So the less I had to use the lights, the better. I briefly discussed my line of questioning with Vivienne Bozalek. We agreed to establish the context of the project for the viewer and explain the respective roles of the participating lecturers. So with a general idea for the focus of my questions, I decided that the rest of my questioning would be informed by the interviewees' responses.

As a relative novice in video editing I was excited at any prospect of exercising my skills and the CSI course presented me with precisely such an opportunity. I felt that the circumstances were ideal because (a) there was no immediate deadline; (b) I had carte blanche on the production, because there were no prescribed conditions or parameters; and (c) we had collected ample footage to complete the edit comfortably. On viewing the footage we collected, I was inspired to do something that I have done many times before, but in a completely different context. I wanted to tell a story and at least give the CSI project a production that would be easy to view. Moreover, I wanted to make the experience a 'fun' one for myself. According to Lösch et al. (2009):

> Motivation is a crucial aspect of creativity. It describes both the intrinsic and extrinsic reasons that lead to the engagement of the individual in a task. Intrinsic motivation occurs when an individual engages in an activity without an obvious external incentive, whereas extrinsic motivation is linked to some external incentive, such as money. Intrinsic motivation, in particular, has been shown to encourage creativity. It leads to curiosity and the readiness to take risks in deriving the solution.

It was unclear to me how the CSI researchers were planning to make use of the footage other than that they would use it to support their classroom observations.

I was personally intrigued by the interactions and experiences of the UWC and SU students because I too am a UWC graduate who never had the opportunity to interact with students across colour lines. Lösch et al. (2009) describe domain knowledge as a prerequisite to the occurrence of insights. For this reason many of the questions posed to the two groups of students were sparked off by my own

curiosity. Vivienne Bozalek from UWC and Ronelle Carolissen from SU put the groups together. Personally I would have preferred conducting random interviews, because I think they would have given a better general impression of students' experiences. However, the students were chosen based on their ability to express themselves, especially since it was going to be captured on video.

We secured a room in the Social Work Department and used one camera and one studio light with an external microphone to get the best possible audio (the acoustics in the venue were poor). The problematic situation was further exacerbated by the noisy conversations further down the passage, but there was very little we could do about this at that stage. We tried to restrict each group's interview to 30 minutes, but I did not watch the time because I became engrossed in the conversations that were unfolding before me. We interviewed the two groups separately. We decided to start with the lecturers involved, whose interviews gave me important background information that helped me with my interviews with the students, because I could easily pick up on some of the issues raised by the lecturers to ascertain whether the course objectives were achieved or not. My line of questioning presented me with a kind of template for the editing process.

As the interviewer, I had a few questions to ask to kickstart the interviewing process. Each group had between six and eight members and each group member had to respond to the same question. We used an omnidirectional microphone to best capture the interviewees' responses, but, given the environment, we also managed to capture background noise.

I realised that this was the first group of students who had experienced this sort of collaboration and that it was the year that Cape Town experienced prolonged power cuts. From the interviews it was clear that the power cuts were frustrating for both the academics and students involved, but at the same time they presented participants with opportunities to work around these situations. Online communication was replaced with telephone conversation and meetings in the real world.

I was surprised to find that many of the students' views were representative of my own. I also learned a lot about the stereotypes around the different professions of which, up to that particular point, I knew very little. My own scepticism about using the internet in this context was revealed when students were asked about the use of online learning. Since I had visited Stellenbosch previously I was surprised to hear how many of the SU students had visited UWC for the first time and vice versa. Through my experience of research and of working in an educational environment I was aware how reports are sometimes collated without shedding any real light on the issues on the ground. I was determined to get to the truth – or some form of the truth, because the outcomes of the interviews were already shaped by the choice of interviewees and the questions that were raised.

What came out powerfully from this particular group was students' sense of having to prove themselves as 'worthy adversaries'. UWC students in particular expressed how they felt they needed to prove that they were as capable as their SU counterparts. Some UWC social work students also questioned how relevant the online interaction was to their profession: in their opinion there were 'much more important things to deal with, especially at fourth-year level'. These comments by students reinforced my own scepticism about the usefulness of introducing technology to students at that point of their academic career. Understandably, students did not immediately see that the technology was only a vehicle to achieve the course objectives. This is evidenced by a student's initial reaction to learning about the collaborative course with SU saying, 'it's too far'. The technology became more of the focus, especially with the first cohort, when staff and students needed to contend with rolling power cuts. It was only once the technology worked well that students could begin to focus on their online interactions.

Reflections on the editing process

With hindsight I realised that I could have chosen an easier route to edit the footage. For example, I could have had all the footage with its time codes transcribed and thereafter linked the key themes to be used in the final edit. However, I felt this would have been a tedious process, especially the transcribing aspect, but – more to the point – I was eager to start with the editing. So instead I chose to draw on my experience with shooting wedding videos, skimming through the video footage and making mental links among the various themes as I went along. This kind of editing is akin to Lösch et al.'s (2009) notion of 'externalisation' as

> the expression of thoughts or ideas in a form outside the physical boundary of the mind, e.g., by making notes or sketches. Externalisation is a way to extend the cognitive functions of the brain. It helps to understand the problem and to produce new ideas by constructing or changing the mental representation of the problem. Externalisation also helps to organise and integrate information and identify missing data.

Even though this method may seem laborious, I think it was a key factor in keeping me motivated, because I could immediately see whether a shot fitted or not. One cannot determine whether a 'cut' on paper will work in the editing of the footage, because, for example, the subject may have an awkward expression or someone might accidentally have walked past the camera at the edit point in question. Butler and Winne (1995: 251) describe this form of engagement as self-regulated learning and explain that 'it is a deliberate, judgmental, adaptive process. For all self-regulated activities, feedback is an inherent catalyst. As learners monitor their engagement with tasks, internal feedback is generated by the monitoring

process.' The internal feedback also provides the input for the regulation of an individual's subsequent cognitive engagement, making self-regulated activities a recursive process.

In retrospect, I could have made the video a lot shorter, because I feel that the second half was repetitive. I wanted to keep the tone of the video serious and maintain a good pace. To this end I kept the various shots short and tried to change them frequently. In fact, I hardly used any transitions and stuck with the straight cut from one scene to the next. I was very conscious that through my editing I had the power to shape certain perceptions merely by the sequence of the shots that I chose to use. At times I decided to create a little tension by juxtaposing what a lecturer said with one of the student's responses.

On reflection, I should have transcribed all the interviews and then worked from the text-based interviews to develop a story. However, due to my impatient nature and preference for working visually I opted to work with the visual material. Commenting on her choice to work with video rather than a transcipt, Pirie (1996) claims that neither option is worse, only different. She further argues that one is more likely to revisit a video clip after full analysis rather than something that was text based.

Another conscious decision I made was to remove all my questions from the final edit, because I felt that it would allow for better flow and pace, and create the impression of objectivity. This choice made the editing more difficult, because I had to be aware of tone of voice as I shifted from one interviewee to another. The interviewees had to answer so that the viewer could easily derive the question from their responses. Posing the questions in a suitable way aids this editing process. In an attempt to remain objective and be transparent, I decided that I would include the unedited footage on the DVD for researchers to view and draw some of their own conclusions, unfettered by my editing. This view of editing suggests that the editing process lends language to video precisely because it tells a story through images (Monaco 1981).

I opted to include music only at the start and end of the whole documentary because I did not want it to distract the viewer from the content itself. I used the same music throughout to maintain a sense of continuity. Since there are always issues around copyright with the use of music, I chose to use royalty-free music. I limited my choice to a techno-like sound with both an upbeat and youthful feel, because we were dealing with the application of technology in education. Also, it added to the rhythm and pace of the documentary. My main objective with the video was firstly to make the viewing pleasurable, because I was acutely aware that watching talking heads back to back could potentially be very monotonous. The content was already interesting for those, like me, who had a personal interest in the subject. Furthermore, I think that the majority of the academics involved had to a

degree a personal stake in the outcome of the video feedback. This was not the case for other viewers.

The lessons learned from the year one video debriefing session were used to develop and expand the possibilities for a debriefing session in year two.

The year two debriefing session

We were asked to repeat the debriefing exercise with the second cohort of students. Going into this debriefing session, I felt more like an outsider than with the first debriefing, because I was not present during the capturing of the initial UWC–SU workshop and therefore had no prior contact with the students. This fact added an additional level of complexity to the editing process, because I had to view the footage with 'fresh eyes'. I had no reference point to contextualise the footage and had to rely on what was available. Having said that, it may have worked to my advantage, because my non-involvement in the data-capturing process gave me better insight into the message that the viewer received. According to Daniels (1999), this ability is an important characteristic of a producer. At this stage I had gained some valuable experience with the editing of the first debriefing session, and was keen to advance my skills and challenge myself further by seeking more creative ways of presenting the video material. The debriefing session was scheduled to take place in the Digital Media studio. We set it up similarly to the session in year one, where I interviewed the SU students separately from the UWC students. Clint Braaf did the camera work on this shoot, because it would have been exceedingly difficult, although not impossible, to both conduct the interview and handle the camera.

The idea to include the scenes from the workshop arose when I first previewed the captured footage of the workshop and recognised the faces of those whom I had interviewed during the debriefing. The process I followed was similar to the one followed in the first debriefing DVD. The video started with lecturers sketching the background to the project and then moved on to individual team members introducing themselves, followed by comments from some of the students involved. My reason for using the same basic structure was simple: because the project was a continuation of the year one SU–UWC collaboration, I wanted to convey this in the video itself through its structure and the subsequent music that I used.

As far as possible I followed the same line of questioning as I did with the year one sessions. My idea with the year two debriefing DVD was to allow the viewer in on the actual processes of the CSI course. It was a 'behind the scenes' look at the debriefing sessions – something that I felt was lacking from the year one debriefing DVD. In the process I aimed to convey a sense of realism or authenticity, thereby giving credibility to the comments that students made during the debriefing.

Since I had a clearer understanding of where and how the footage would be used, I was able to feed this knowledge into the design of the DVD menu page by

incorporating menu links that would take the viewer directly to certain scenes in the DVD.

I often wonder why I did not do the inserts and cutaways in the year one debriefing. After all, I was present at the recording of the year one CSI workshop and had ample footage to do so. I realise that it was because I was not sure whether I was doing something that the Social Work Department was going to like or even benefit from. With the year two debriefing DVD I was not only clearer about what the department wanted, but I was also more confident in my own skill and abilities. This translated into shots and edits that were more bold and creative, because I tried new ways of presenting the footage. Visually, the year two debriefing appears to be more enjoyable to view because there was more diversity and variation in the shots, which gives the video a more 'open' feel. In comparison, the year one debriefing video was shot in one location and mainly featured 'talking heads'.

We attempted another debriefing DVD for the year three cohort, but we learned that it would take considerable coordination to gather such a diverse group of individuals together. My experience with the compilation of the debriefing sessions once again highlighted the role that video can – and often does – play in research. The unaccompanied editing of such academic videos requires more than just technical know-how, but a degree of understanding of the research questions that underpin the research project. The solo editing of any such video puts the outcome in the hands of the editor, who has the ability to shape and mould a particular message through the inclusion (inserts) and exclusion (cuts) of certain clips. Other than advancing my technical abilities, the process has shown that video has an important role to play in capturing and sharing research data. In addition, it gives the viewer a glimpse into the world of the subjects of the research, albeit vicariously through the (biased) eye of a camera lens.

In retrospect

In retrospect, I see myself more as having been a participant in the course, because dealing with the editing of the hours of feedback forced me to confront my own prejudices concerning cross-cultural socialisation. I indirectly became a part of the class, agreeing and sometimes disagreeing silently from the safety of my editing suite. The only way I could comment was through my editing. I think I felt a sense of safety, not unlike that experienced by students engaging in online discussions, as McKenna (2002: 10) states on the effects of the internet's anonymity:

> The relative anonymity of Internet interactions greatly reduces the risks of such disclosure, especially about intimate aspects of the self, because one

can share one's inner beliefs and emotional reactions with much less fear of disapproval and sanction.

It was interesting and sometimes uncomfortable to hear the often frank feedback students gave regarding their experiences. Their honesty and openness made me feel more comfortable to be honest with myself regarding my social interactions with white people in general – interactions that to this day are limited to the occasional 'hello'. I cannot help but wonder how the students' experiences during this course will affect their interactions once it is completed. One student recalled how sad she was when the course finished, as the online communication she had become accustomed to while on the course suddenly stopped. I have to concur with some of the comments made by the students that the CS1 course gave them insight and, to a degree, enabled them to empathise with students coming from different socioeconomic backgrounds. If anything, working on this project has taught me that it is not so much about the technology that we choose to use or do not use to bridge differences, but the willingness to meet one another halfway.

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12

'That's what friends are for': The CSI project's 'critical friends'

Henk J. van Rinsum, Tamara Shefer and Toke Smolders

THE THREE AUTHORS OF THIS CHAPTER have been involved in the Community, Self and Identity (CSI) project from its very beginning in the role of what the project termed 'critical friends'. When we were asked to participate in the CSI project, the three of us had neither systematically nor theoretically explored the concept of critical friends. In this chapter we introduce ourselves, then explore several theoretical concepts that have been key to the project and to our particular role as critical friends to the team. Following this theoretical overview we outline the activities of the critical friends and the possible effects on the project team and its research work.

Introducing the critical friends

The CSI project team included three active critical friends. One came from one of the participating universities – the University of the Western Cape (UWC) – and two from the Netherlands: one from Hogeschool Utrecht, University of Applied Sciences, and one from Utrecht University. We argue that the three of us represented different role models in our critical friend performances. There was (1) the model of the activist and (reflexive) practitioner; (2) the role of the reflexive discussant; and (3) the role of the local (South African) colleague.

The activist and reflexive practitioner: Statement by Toke

After many years of 'being active with and for South Africa', mainly as a volunteer in anti-apartheid and post-apartheid activities, I now got a chance to combine my personal and political commitment to the transformation process in South Africa with my professional expertise as a participant in the CSI project, funded by the South African and Netherlands governments. It was the first time that I heard the

concept 'critical friend' being used in a professional context. For all my personal life I had been a 'friend' to many colleagues in South Africa, including a colleague in the CSI project. I'm known by friends and colleagues as being 'critical'. I am an experienced community development worker who has worked for more than 20 years in pioneering projects with marginalised neighbourhoods and families, and youth at risk in Amsterdam. For almost 20 years I have been working as a lecturer in social work and community work. I have been a partner and coordinator in many projects for the innovation and transformation of policies and practices in social work and community development, and in social work higher education, both in the Netherlands and abroad (Palestine, Eastern Europe, the Caribbean). Despite this wealth of experience in the domain of social professions, I felt insecure about accepting the invitation to join the CSI project as a critical friend, mainly because of my lack of formal academic qualifications (a bachelor's degree in social work).

The reflexive discussant: Statement by Henk

I've been involved in development cooperation with universities in South (and southern) Africa for more than 25 years. During this period I came to doubt the concept of 'development cooperation', criticising the ideological (Western-dominated) linear concept of development. In this line of thinking, universities in the Global South need to 'catch up' with their counterparts in the North. I decided to reflect on the different ways of conceptualising university cooperation in a PhD thesis that I defended in 2001. The subtitle of my thesis was: 'In quest of the unbeliever and the ignoramus'. Northern universities (and their academics) sometimes fall into the trap of this quest for the ignoramus (that is, universities in the Global South) and assisting them to 'catch up', thereby imposing their own system of thinking.[1]

I was asked to participate in the CSI project as a critical friend. I think that one of the reasons for my being asked is that I knew one of the UWC team members because she did her PhD in Utrecht. Besides, I am thought to be well informed about the relevant funding programmes in the Netherlands.

I am an historian and anthropologist, fields of expertise that were not related to the disciplines involved in the project (community psychology, occupational therapy and social work). I was involved in the very early discussions with the main participants from UWC and Stellenbosch University. My academic habitus neatly fits the role of critical friend because academic work for me is primarily about reflection: asking the right questions and thereby questioning implicit assumptions.

The local colleague: Statement by Tamara

As a child I became aware of the injustices of apartheid in South Africa, and in the 1980s I became active in student and women's organisations as part of the larger anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa. After graduating with my master's, I worked for five years in an educational non-governmental organisation working mostly with Congress of South African Trade Unions women and on gender and anti-racist training. My research and teaching has always been engaged in a focus on issues of social injustice and I continue to attempt to approach whatever I do with a critical and reflexive eye, always cautious and aware of the power and authority of knowledge production. Nowadays, having worked in the area of sexuality, gender and HIV/AIDS for many years, I am particularly concerned with deconstructing the role that we as researchers have played in reproducing the very things we hope to challenge. My research has been increasingly concerned with the power of language and the way in which our language is productive, and can serve to legitimise existing power inequalities and also to resist and destabilise these. Because I had worked as a gender and anti-racist trainer, and was still engaged in work related to issues of diversity, marginalisation and power in South African contexts, including that of higher education, the current project's focus overlapped with my commitment to social and organisational transformation. As habitually critical, but also – I think – friendly, I found the position of critical friend a very comfortable one in theory. On the other hand, since I was not given a job description, I found it challenging at first to find my way into the role and the project itself.

Theoretical concepts

The project was affected by a number of theoretical concepts, which are discussed below.

Community of practice

The members of the instructional design team came from very different institutional cultures, but were determined to work together as a team. Therefore, the team needed to theorise its working as a team and used the concept of a 'community of practice', as defined by Wenger (1998). In a community of practice the different modalities of knowledge (both scholarly and practical) of team members are equally valued and shared to the benefit of the learning process of the team. The CSI team wanted to embody what was written in the funding proposal as a central concern of the CSI project: 'to work as a community of practice, in order to encourage deep

learning'. Drawing on the work of Gee (2003), the CS1 project proposal (in 2005) assumed that deep learning 'requires students to commit themselves to a new field of learning and see themselves as the kind of person who can learn, use, and value the new semiotic domain'. According to Wenger (1998: 88), participation in a community of practice is 'a source of remembering and forgetting, not only through our memories, but also through the fashioning of identities and then through our need to recognize ourselves in our past'. Identification with a community of practice facilitates a learning process and leads to 'negotiability', which is the ability, facility and legitimacy to contribute to, take responsibility for, and shape the meanings that matter within a social configuration (Wenger 1998: 197). In other words, coming from different institutional cultures, the members of the CS1 team wanted to forge a new identity in a shared social environment. The team needed to work as a community of practice, or – to use another name that is often used in educational contexts – a 'community of enquiry'. The team was supposed to work and learn and give meaning collectively within a shared domain of human endeavour, on the basis of a shared concern and passion for what they do, and learn how to do it better (Christie et al. 2007). The CS1 project team had three characteristics that are crucial to a community of practice: (1) it shared a domain of interest; (2) it formed a community, that is, the participants built relationships that enabled them to learn from one another, based in the engagement in joint activities and discussions; and (3) it shared a common practice: the team members are practitioners who developed a shared repertoire of resources (experiences, stories, tools, ways of addressing recurring problems). It is the combination of these three elements that constituted the CS1 project team as a dynamic community of practice, practising 'situated learning'. How the critical friends contributed towards the development of this community is explored further in this chapter.

The concept of organisational learning acknowledges assessment and feedback at an organisational level in order to improve the quality of the organisation. An important publication in this respect is Senge (1990), which formulates five disciplines of the learning organisation: system thinking (seeing wholes), personal mastery (the connection between personal learning and organisational learning), mental models (deeply ingrained assumptions), shared vision (common identity), and team learning (including dialogue). Senge argues that teams and not individuals are the learning units in organisations. And in this way the CS1 project team can be seen as an exciting learning community coming from different institutions with diverse backgrounds.

Reflection

The second theoretical concept we want to introduce is reflection. Here we refer to the famous South African philosopher Johan Degenaar, who introduced the concept of second reflection (see Van der Merwe & Duvenage 2008). The first reflection is the common reflection by which we take concepts, terminology, language and the words we use for granted. This is how we are programmed to think and act. The second reflection is the Socratic discussion in which the participants stand back and reflect critically on what they thought was already known and systematically defined without taking a stance. This second reflection leads to fundamental questions, not answers. It is a kind of deep reflection in which the participants are prepared to question their own ways of thinking and knowledge systems. This is likely to result in bewilderment and anger, but also in new ways of looking at complexity and ambiguity. Implicit presuppositions that we are not aware of will be unmasked and new vistas will open.

Reflexivity at the level of a team has been labelled as a relational activity (Barge quoted in Schippers et al. 2008). Swift and West (1998) argue that reflection in teams takes place at three levels. The first level is the 'normal' reflection that takes place in dealing with others. The second is the level of critical reflection on assignments, strategies and processes in the team. The third is the level of deep reflection in which norms, values, etc. are critically examined. This third level matches Degenaar's second reflection concept.

Literature shows a positive correlation between the level of reflexivity and the effectiveness of teams, especially in the context of what is called a 'transformational leadership' (Schippers et al. 2008). When members of a team reflect regularly not only on planning and strategy, but also on underlying norms and values, the capacity and quality of the team, working as a community of practice, will be strengthened.

Critical friends

Only during the implementation of the project did we reflect on the concept of 'critical friend'. This concept originates from the practices of educational assessment procedures and is closely connected with the concept of the learning organisation. Costa and Kallick (1993: 50) describe a critical friend as:

> a trusted person who asks provocative questions, provides data to be examined through another lens, and offers critiques of a person's work as a friend. A critical friend takes the time to fully understand the context of the work presented and the outcomes that the person or group is working toward. The friend is an advocate for the success of that work.

'Critical friend' is an ambiguous but powerful concept with the inherent tension between 'critical' and 'friend'. Brighouse and Woods (1999) see the critical friend as operating between the extremes of the 'hostile witness', on the one hand, and the 'uncritical lover', on the other. Friends bring a high degree of unconditional positive affection and regard. Critics are – at first sight at least – conditional, negative and intolerant of failure. But here we need to differentiate between criticism and critique. Criticism can sometimes be harsh and merciless. Critique, on the other hand, is closely connected to or even the result of a process of reflection. We prefer the concept 'critique' to 'criticism'. The practice of critique is well integrated into academia, especially in the field of research, where scientific journals offer a podium for the production of texts and critique, leading to new texts. Some of the rituals within academia – like the thesis defence – are a clear example of critique as a dimension of academia. Without critique, academia will lose its grounding. Critique cannot be put on the same footing as judgement, however. A judgement is 'given', where critique is processed and transformed in discussions. Critique can also be seen as a form of constructive criticism, the goal of which is to support and develop both the process of knowledge production and those engaged in it.

The literature on critical friendship is limited. Relevant literature so far can be categorised into three categories: a competency model, a problem-based approach and a cross-cultural perspective. These three categories are to be seen as complementary in practice.

Hill (2002) considers several categories of competence as learnable and practiceable in critical friendship. The critical friend requires knowledge about a reflexive framework in which assumptions underpin people's justification for their practices. The skills of the critical friend are skills of reflective responding, scholarly and investigative reframing, articulating an inquiry paradigm, facilitating a big picture vision and encouraging publication. The critical friends' attitude reflects beliefs about themselves, about their provision of critical friendship and the value of reflection as a professional skill.

Achinstein and Meyer (1997) explore the dilemmas that arise from fostering critical friendship. They find that teachers have differing opinions of how critical friends should be and how friendly critics should be. Problems arise when teachers limit themselves to safe feedback or resist hearing criticism, because of the uneasy merger between friendship and critique.

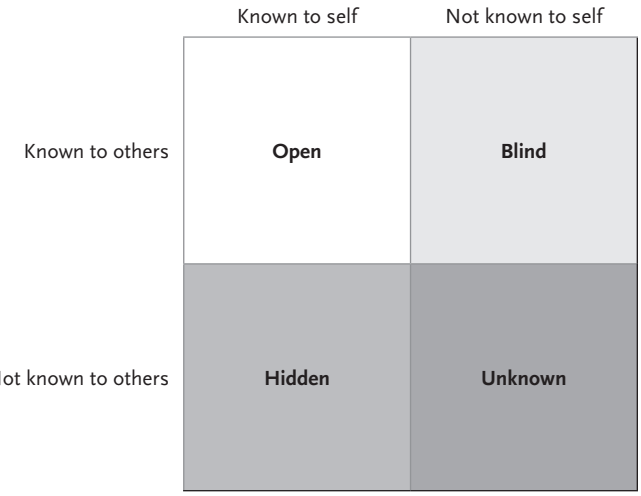
Koo (2002) argues that critical friendship has new meanings when it is located in cross-cultural investigations. In addition to the competence model and the problem-based approach, the cross-cultural perspective takes the challenge of crossing borders and exploring new frontiers vis-à-vis critical friendship. Besides engaging in cross-cultural comparisons, taking a cross-cultural perspective in

research about change and transformation means giving attention to the distinctiveness and diversity of societies.

We argue that the essential role that critical friends can and need to play is creating spaces for reflexivity. Reflexivity relates to the dialectical relationship between the 'world' and the 'self'. This dialectical relationship can also be seen as a learning and sense-making process for both sides. The dialectical relationship can be presented in what is called the Johari window (see Figure 12.1), a graphic model developed by two American cognitive psychologists, Joseph Luft and Harry Ingham, during a summer laboratory session in 1955 as part of their research on group dynamics. Luft (1969) later expanded on it. It is a fascinating way of connecting self (in our case, the CSI team) and others (the critical friends). These others may open windows for self, while self opens up windows for the critical friends in a dialectical discussion.

We argue that in the CSI project the spaces of reflexivity can be discerned at three different but interrelated levels. Firstly, there is the micro level of the CSI project team. Here the reflexivity of interpersonal relationships is central. Secondly, there is the meso level of the institutions (in this case, two South African universities with quite different genealogies and narratives) in which the CSI project team operates. At this level we question what the project achieved in terms of introducing, in a sustainable way, an innovative practice in the contexts of two different universities and three different disciplines. And thirdly, we argue that there is a macro (or global) level of the dominant discourses in higher education. A dominant discourse

Figure 12.1 *The Johari window*



Source: Luft 1969: 13

in higher education globally is the new public management discourse in which universities are brought under the regime of a (quasi) market. The key word – or better, the buzzword – is 'excellence', a concept that has virtually lost its meaning because every university uses it (Readings 1996).

Our role as critical friends

In this section we reflect on our role as critical friends, firstly by considering the activities we engaged in with the CS1 team.

Activities of the critical friends

In our work as critical friends to the CS1 project team we have been actively engaged in fulfilling the different roles of critical friends. These roles included offering support, providing challenge and consultancy, leading inquiry, and brokering knowledge. While in many ways we operated as members of the team during some key processes, particularly the reflective and evaluative annual workshops, we also served a slightly different role in our 'distance' from the day-to-day material implementation of the project.

The critical friends tried to be qualified critical friends with listening ears who supported the team by offering different viewpoints in different ways, thus providing the team with perspectives that outsiders can provide more easily than insiders. Referring to the Johari window, we assisted in identifying the blind spots of the team. We provided the CS1 team with a mirror (or better, several mirrors) that allowed them to see more clearly the different aspects of the project (Ross & Regan 1990; Schön 1983). But our work as critical friends has never been a one-way process. Indeed, the CS1 team and its members have been critical friends to us as much as we have been to them. In this respect, the Johari window opened up opportunities and insights for all the participants in the project.

Reformulation workshop

Although the critical friends were engaged in the formulation of the project in its very early phase, the first formal engagement took place during the project reformulation workshop. The Dutch and South African funding agency, the South African Netherlands research Programme on Alternatives in Development (Sanpad), funded a reformulation workshop that took place in Stellenbosch. During this workshop the principal aim was to get the proposal funded. This aim in a way defined our role of critical friends. The discussion was primarily about the project's aims, means and

strategies, and the team was less subject to scrutiny. Our role was to ask the relevant questions in order to achieve clarification on different items of the project proposal in order to strengthen it for successful funding.

Evaluation of the CSI as a community of practice

The CSI project team, together with the critical friends, evaluated its first year of working as a community of practice. This evaluation was conducted in the form of a collective interview by the critical friends with the members of the project team. For the interview we used the model that Christie et al. (2007) developed to explore the concept of 'communities of enquiry' through an examination of three case studies from the field of educational innovation. One of the case studies was about the project team involved in the research itself.

In the interview we discussed the following factors, which are argued by Christie et al. (2007) to be important considerations for communities of practice or 'communities of enquiry':

- Dialogue and participation: how do the members of the team value their opportunities to engage in dialogue and other models of participation?
- Relationships: is the quality of the team operation sustained by its relationships?
- Perspectives and assumptions: in what ways do perspectives and assumptions underpin the relationships of the team and offer insights into the dynamics and operation of the team?
- Structure and context: to what extent are the operations of the team governed by its structure and content, including the extent to which its structure is imposed or constrained, either internally or externally?
- Climate: what special climate is emerging in the team, involving aspects such as tone, environment and potential conflict?
- Purpose: how does the purpose of the team influence the working climate? Is there a need to accommodate the purpose of the community of practice and the multiple purposes arising from the complex interrelationships, perspectives and assumptions involved?
- Control: who has access to the team and to its resources, constraints and the power within it?

In the evaluation exercise the critical friends identified key issues that also emerged from Christie et al. (2007) as being important when researchers and practitioners come together in collaborative partnerships. These issues were shared with the CSI team at the workshop. They are described below in some detail in order to provide a sense of the kind of observations critical friends can make.

Firstly, there is the need for a shared purpose and a strong task focus. While the CS1 team members may have had their own individual motives and interests for participating, their participation proved to be strongly motivated by the genuine relevance of the purpose of the inquiry, by the interest of all participants and by mutual potential benefit in terms of the outcomes of the shared activity (Engeström 2001).

Secondly, building the kind of partnerships and relationships required for collaborative working takes time and effort (Bolam et al. 2005), not least the time and effort involved in the arrangement of practical matters. In this respect, the possibility in the CS1 project to build on existing relationships has been of great help. However, this might bring a danger that established, hierarchical roles prevent the team from operating in a genuinely inclusive and egalitarian manner. Besides that, an issue raised frequently was to what extent this project team would be able to tackle the broad spectrum of expected outcomes of the CS1 project, in particular under the conditions of severe work stress and overburdening of each team member.

Thirdly, the main focus of the team evaluation was on the micro and meso levels of the functioning of the team in relation to the assignment, strategies and processes of the project. As in the reformulation workshop, the 'second reflection' on values and norms did not explicitly appear in the critical friends' evaluative questions and the comments from the CS1 team.

The colloquium and writing retreat

In the project team sessions up to this point little attention had been paid to reflection on our specific roles as critical friends. In fact, the colloquium in 2008 was the first occasion when we could clarify this issue and define clear expectations for both the research team and the critical friends. After the third year of the implementation of the project its findings were presented in a full-day forum to a wide range of practitioners and academics working in the area. All three critical friends played an active role at the event and we shared our experiences as critical friends.

The colloquium was followed by a three-day writing retreat focusing on reflection on the process and outcomes of the project, and planning for the way forward. In this evaluation the team and the critical friends focused once more on the micro and meso reflections on the functioning of the team and the assignments, strategies and processes of the project. In addition, we engaged in a deep reflection in which the values and norms underlying the project were critically examined, and we questioned our ways of thinking and our own knowledge systems. This was particularly the case in rethinking our roles as critical friends.

Evaluation of critical friendship in the CSI project

To elucidate our reflections about our roles and inputs as critical friends – as simultaneously insiders and outsiders, critical and yet supportive – we quote from an interview with one of the critical friends in the final evaluation workshop:

> I think the role of a critical friend is asking critical or sometimes awkward questions – questions that make perhaps the enquiry of discomfort, in a way, discomfort for the project team … I was thinking about my position as a critical friend only when I had written it all up and spelled it out for my input in the colloquium. I compared my critical friendship to this project more or less to the position of being a grandmother. It exactly has to do with what another critical friend called the critical friend's 'privileged irresponsibility'. I'm not irresponsible – I feel very responsible – but it is that kind of freedom you have … You can have fun with your grandchild, but then you can say: 'Okay, I'm going home now, you can have your baby.' That's a wonderful position!

Both the team and the critical friends clearly experienced deep learning during this project. By working together, not only the team, but also we as critical friends have learned new skills and developed new lenses to bring our common knowledge into focus. We have benefited from the work with the CSI team in our participation in other communities of practice in the Netherlands and South Africa, and elsewhere. For instance, one of us is using some elements from the CSI project in teaching in a Dutch university, including modules on 'Social change and social professions' and 'Globalisation and development: Community development in and between the First and Third Worlds'. In this way, the historical North–South trend is turned upside down, as we take lessons from the South to inform teaching and research in the North.

When we reflect on the added value of our work as critical friends with the CSI team we assess the contributions we made to the CSI project as relatively modest and limited. This is partly due to time constraints and the distances between the daily practices of the CSI team and our own practices. It may also relate to some initial lack of clarity about the job description of the critical friend that unfolded through the process. Besides, the CSI team proved to be a very fine team that was also strong on self-reflexivity. The 'chemistry' among the members coming from different backgrounds, academic disciplines and institutions was very productive. We asked ourselves: Does this CSI team really need us as critical friends, as advocates for the success of its work? Or is our involvement in the project perhaps a symbolic one? Are the modest contributions we can make to meetings, conferences and writing retreats enough to legitimate our participation? For the Dutch critical

friends there was the added concern about historical power relations between Northern and Southern academics, reflecting historical interinstitutional practices in postcolonial contexts. Is there a difference between the missionaries and traders who came to colonise with mirrors and beads and us as critical friends offering mirrors for reflection? These 'devilish' questions urged us to critically consider our role as critical friends from a position of 'devil's advocate'.

A devil's advocate is the person who argues against a cause or position, not as a fanatical antagonist, but simply for the sake of argument or to determine the validity of the cause or position. A devil's advocate wants to show that behind each narrative is another narrative – one that we might not want to hear. While some sources regard this role as destructive, others see it as constructive. According to the second group, the task of the devil's advocate is to improve the decision-making process and prevent individuals and teams from jumping to conclusions without sufficient consideration. As critical friends we sometimes needed to explicitly take the devil's advocate position to be a 'counter force' to the CSI team – not just to be opponents, but to expand the available expertise of the team, bring along new arguments, give existing arguments a fresh look and break through 'false certainties'.

In the CSI project there were three issues about which we as critical friends felt we should play devil's advocate. These issues are interdependent and are all related to the relevance of the project and its sustainability.

- Firstly, there is the issue of the integration of projects such as CSI in regular organisational structures. Management and staff of departments that are currently involved in the project must be challenged by the CSI team to take responsibility for a sustainable integration of the project in the regular departmental organisational structures and teaching processes. The CSI project team's plan for a new project aimed at training university lecturers in teaching and learning around the issues at stake in the CSI project is a crucial step in this direction.
- Secondly, there is the issue of the involvement of stakeholders – that is, practitioners – in the fields covered by the project. In the next phase of the CSI project the project team must actively and creatively seek communication with practitioners in the fields of social work, occupational therapy and (community) psychology, and involve them as participants and critical friends in the CSI team's community of practice.
- Our third devil's advocate recommendation is directed at the values and norms within innovative projects involving critical friendship itself. We think that further research is needed on the meanings of critical friendship located in cross-cultural cooperation, both local and international. Such research should take the different orientations of critical friendship into

account and elaborate more systematically the 'second reflections' on the values and norms of teamwork, reflexivity and critical friendship. The CSI team and its critical friends (or advocates) must continue to scrutinise their operations as a community of practice and use their 'negotiability' to involve other stakeholders in contributing to, taking responsibility for and shaping the meanings that matter in the transformation of higher education in South Africa, the Netherlands and worldwide.

Note

1 In South Africa, the picture is even more complicated because you may find 'Northern' and 'Southern' universities in one country.

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Close

The pedagogy of discomfort as a lens for the CSI project

Megan Boler

> I have come to believe over and over again that what is most important to me must be spoken, made verbal and shared, even at the risk of having it bruised or misunderstood.
>
> Audre Lorde[1]

MY FIRST VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA in 2008 was to meet with a group of academics who had developed a course and major research project entitled Community, Self and Identity (CSI), and who had used a central concept from my work – that of the 'pedagogy of discomfort' (Boler 1999). Flying across the Atlantic from Toronto to my connecting flight in Amsterdam amid company typically cosmopolitan for Toronto, I was re-reading the many impressive essays already published by this collaborative and cross-disciplinary team of scholars about the complexities of 'identity' and 'community' (which, as I would discover, are the favoured terms in a South African context to discuss what is elsewhere talked about as 'race'). This (to me, coded) language about race was striking, as I imagined that in the post-apartheid context of struggles for racial equity and justice one would find decreased avoidance of such issues and instead quite explicit dialogue and talk about the realities of persistent race and social class divides. But this would be revealed to be one of but many of my assumptions to be challenged. A native of San Francisco, California, where explicit address of race and identity politics occurs (in my case, especially within the context of the second wave of feminism and other activist politics, education and teaching with which I have been involved since 1980), I have now taught courses on social justice and education in the context of indigenous Maori and the colonising Pakeha dynamics in the University of Auckland, New Zealand, the still volatile racialised divides of south-western Virginia (Virginia Tech), and now the multicultural context of the British colony of Ontario, Canada. Interestingly, none of my many experiences in higher education nor in activist and radical politics and pedagogies would map easily onto the South African context.

Reading about 'community', 'self' and 'identity' is one thing, but the broader realities of South African racialised identity politics became increasingly clear after I boarded the aircraft in Amsterdam to fly to Cape Town. Immediately I noticed my company was no longer cosmopolitan in the least, but in fact the entire aircraft was occupied only by white people. Surrounded by 'whiteys', I continued to read, occasionally trying to see down past the aircraft's wing the enormous continent below me, one that exists primarily as a mythic imaginary for so much of the world.

After six hours I began walking and standing in the aisles to take a break in the long flight. A tipsy white South African man cornered me – easy enough to do on an aircraft – and after asking the purpose of my trip, which I described as my first visit to Cape Town to work with colleagues at Stellenbosch and the University of the Western Cape, he began the predictable confessions of one anonymous white person orienting another. I was thus introduced to my first encounter with a white South African version of racism – preceded, of course, by his statement 'I am not a racist', followed by his 'non-racist' views about non-South African, African immigrants who in his view were 'stealing' jobs and ruining his country. I listened to this man for as long as I could, telling myself that his racism is important to hear, my first up-close and real glimpse of a Cape Town resident's xenophobia, but soon backed away to return to the CS1 readings with a new visceral portrait of one of the thriving faces of South African racism.

At midnight I landed in Cape Town, acutely aware of myself as an outsider in a highly unfamiliar place. Yet the night's darkness did not keep me from seeing clearly through the window of my privileged taxi the vast stretches of townships along the freeways, where during the next days I would also witness countless children playing in the grass and dirt, a stone's throw from automobiles driven by those who can afford them, without stopping nor seeing the children, if they so choose. I experienced crossing back and forth across the colour lines everywhere I went in South Africa over the next ten days. DuBois's words from 1903 ring in my ears, as a truth that it seems will never change: 'The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line.'[2]

During my brief visit I struggled to make sense of post-1994 South Africa, including what is still to be 'delivered': housing with running water and safe electricity, proper shelter, heating and sewer systems. And then I thought back to the 16 public schools I attended while growing up and their many neighbourhoods – urban and some rural – where social class and race clearly intersect in the occupation of space and schools. Underlying the superficial differences between my country and South Africa, there was so much that felt familiar. In the United States, once the richest country in the world, more is spent per day within the vast, privatised prison industrial complex on a prisoner than on a child in a public school. Public housing projects, as they are called in the United States, look different from and are

better resourced than townships. Yet our US housing projects are blatant evidence of an extraordinarily skewed distribution of wealth, a system of inequality that breeds despair and necessary alternative economies. For these citizens, as for those excluded from the dream of the Rainbow Nation in South Africa, the American Dream remains the myth it is. Indeed, the notion of the American Dream functions primarily to maintain ideologies of meritocracy and an impossible work ethic, and I found myself wondering whether the discourses of the 'new' South Africa may fulfil a similar function.

'No justice, no peace' is the frequently chanted refrain of social movements; and struggles for justice and equity are the primary hope for the necessary radical structural and social changes required to change educational opportunity, even in one of the wealthiest nations in the world. It is in this context that I read the chapters in this book and hear the voices of the CSI project, a project with which I have had the privilege to become intimately familiar. I remain deeply impressed by the vision that motivated the project members' three years of collaboration.

A key interface between my own work and that of the CSI team is through their interpretation of what I have termed the 'pedagogy of discomfort'; indeed, the CSI project is a remarkable case of the pedagogy of discomfort put into practice. I developed the idea of the pedagogy of discomfort at the final hour of the final draft of my book *Feeling Power: Emotions and Education* (1999), a book on which I had worked for many years. My teaching began as a graduate student in 1985; and I had spent nearly a decade studying how emotions – as discourses, as experience, as dynamics – shape learning, educational relationships, classroom dialogue and interpersonal relationships within higher education. My work had focused on emotion when I left the discipline of philosophy to conduct interdisciplinary work so that I could address the significance of emotions' absence within Western thought, its abjection and dismissal, and its gendered cultural characterisations that further allowed it to be denigrated as a hindrance to knowledge.

The issue of emotion in learning was brought into sharpest focus for me when, after years of teaching in a range of contexts in the United States and New Zealand, I relocated to Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Virginia Tech), a climate that is religiously and culturally extremely conservative. My primary colleague and ally in Virginia was Dr Gretchen Generett, appointed as an assistant professor at the same time as me, and where we felt equally afraid and marginalised – she as one of the 2 per cent African–American faculty at Virginia Tech, myself as a radical thinker and as queer in an environment where there was no institutional recognition of sexual difference within the lip service paid to diversity. In the last stages of my book I called her on a Saturday morning to ask her if this notion of the pedagogy of discomfort made sense, and it was only her positive response that inspired me to pursue this theorisation.

I came to describe the pedagogy of discomfort in relational terms: 'Taking responsibility for oneself, in this sense, involves acknowledging our situatedness and location, material, historical, and bodily specificity, the interconnections between our own well-being and the existence of others' (Boler & Zembylas 2003: 108). The question that opens my investigation of the pedagogy of discomfort is this: 'What do we – educators and students – stand to gain by engaging in the discomforting process of questioning cherished beliefs and assumptions?' (Boler 1999: 176). In brief, the emotions that arise in this process and the ethics of learning to bear witness are the focus of this chapter: 'A central focus . . . is the emotions that arise in the process . . . An ethical aim of a pedagogy of discomfort is willingly to inhabit a more ambiguous and flexible sense of self' (Boler 1999: 176).

When we are discomfited (as we should be in any educational setting that seeks radical change in social arrangements), there are many possible responses. We may fear losing cultural or personal identity. We may worry about change and react defensively and angrily to the unknown. We may resist change and become hostile to it or we may withdraw. All these are understandable responses to threat, and the challenge to teachers who wish to educate for change is not to engage in a retaliatory way to these reactions to threat, which are adaptive in the short term. The question is: How do we help students get beyond these defensive reactions into a situation where they have taken the opportunity to learn from and through change? Ideally, as educators we can provide an environment and space in which students have the opportunity to shift from a position in which they see their current world as potentially shattered by the new and the difficult to a situation in which they can see the new as an opportunity to rebuild a sense of themselves that feels more secure and less in need of robust defence. Implicit in this new stance is an acceptance of a less rigid definition of personal identity and, indeed, a recognition of a possible multiplicity of identities.

This requires a great deal from educators. Instead of simply challenging students, they need to develop a style that encompasses an invitation to inquiry and a call to action rather than an attack on their present identities. Difference, difficulty and conflict need to come to be seen as sites about which it is safe to be curious, about which it is safe to inquire, safe to learn more. As I assert in my book (Boler 1999: 200):

> The first sign of success of a pedagogy of discomfort is, quite simply, the ability to recognize what it is that one doesn't want to know, and how one has developed emotional investments to protect oneself from this knowing.

My book challenges educators and students to develop innovative ways to locate the personal – and, indeed, viscerally felt emotion – within an understanding of the social and historical factors that shape how we see, hear and experience the

world. This aspect of taking responsibility for how we see and for our positions on the continuum of privilege has to be achieved not through intellectualising or distancing ourselves from what we feel, but, rather, through learning to develop a willingness to inhabit ambiguities within ourselves and between people. We need to educate in such a way as to move beyond binaries that, although apparently threatening, in fact construct a safe and predictable world of 'us' and 'them', 'me' and 'not me'. This need for a shift applies as much to the progressive teacher (who may easily stigmatise students as 'reactionary' or 'racist') as it does to the students. In reviewing the chapters in this book, I have been impressed by the extent to which this team takes this emotional and personal challenge seriously.

The task of addressing these challenges together with our students, and especially with students with whom we do not easily feel empathy, is a difficult one. We need to recognise strategies of resistance to what we are doing. The chapters in this edited book evidence many of these strategies. There may be denial of responsibility ('I did not create the world of apartheid; I am from a different generation'); a denial of difference ('we are all the same under the skin'); a wish for salvation ('everything is fine now the past is behind us'); and a backlash against affirmative action ('my group is now the new victim group'). What I have also seen from these pages is the extent to which the authors have been able to think about these strategies and not simply to label them – or, worse, punish those who use them.

Some of what I have learned as an educator in terms of specific pedagogical tactics includes the following:

1. I avoid embarrassing or personally challenging a student within the public forum of a classroom. Thus, I tend to dissociate the statement and put it on the board as an example of a common discourse of shared feeling and analyse it as an object separate from the speaker.
2. It can be useful to ask other students to respond, in the hope that the conversation among peers will challenge the student, which is vastly more effective than having the teacher correct the student's view.
3. As a dialogic strategy, it is important to validate the emotional dimension of the student's utterance, for example, by saying 'I can see how you would feel that way' and repeat back to them a clear mirroring of their affective point, and then say, 'I also wish to point out that there is a difference between your personal experience of not feeling powerful, and the fact that socially and politically, we live in a patriarchy where…'.

Reading the chapters in this book, one finds that the authors/educators have taken a similar stance. However, they are appropriately circumspect in declaring what they may or may not have achieved.

Primarily, they worry about the depth or endurance of any changes they have seen – a worry shared by educators in countless contexts of social justice work. Have students simply learned to speak as the course designers would have them speak? This oft-posed, recurring question has yet to be answered by educational researchers in most contexts, and perhaps particularly so in that of the CSI project, given the complex variables and factors that constrain and enable talk by students in a course such as this. After the course finished and students had graduated and moved on, some did describe real and lasting changes, which gives reason for some optimism, but it remains almost impossible to measure the impact of a course like this on real-world professional practice.

Questions of sustainability also arise in a course like this. I understand from conversations with the authors and from the pages of this book that the amount of effort that goes into a course such as this is far more than what could reasonably expected within the context of the everyday workloads of academics. Working with the pedagogy of discomfort requires emotional engagement, engagement significantly challenged by the demands of a massifying higher education system. Again, such a challenge is not unique to the aims of the CSI project, given the neoliberal restructuring of education around the globe. Thus, it remains to be seen whether the team's decision to develop a CSI course aimed at higher educators will contribute to a wider diffusion of the lessons learned in the project to a far wider range of students.

Finally, there is the question, related to the previous one, of the role of this kind of pedagogy within the context of the higher education system in South Africa. From my own experience of teaching in diverse international university contexts I know that although educational policies may applaud initiatives that promote diversity and strengthen democracy, truly radical and destabilising methods are not well tolerated by an increasingly marketised and outcomes-driven education environment. Is this sort of pedagogical and social justice intervention one that would receive more than lip service support from policymakers in higher education in South Africa? Do they want challenge, ambiguity and the heightened anxiety that goes with these?

By documenting the progressive visions and collaborative teaching and research of committed educators and scholars, this book illustrates what is possible: what is possible does not mean it is easy, but the accounts herein show what is tangibly achievable when educators commit to risk and change in higher education. This collection evidences remarkable achievements within a volatile educational context: the cultivation of crucial conversations across racial and ethnic identities, boundaries, and cultures, and students' experience of willingness to step into these difficult territories. In part through engaging discomforting pedagogies, the voices

and experiences here reflect the courageous work required in the ongoing struggle towards desegregation and justice.

Notes

1 http://womenshistory.about.com/od/quotes/a/audre_lorde.htm.
2 http://thinkexist.com/quotation/the_problem_of_the_twentieth_century_is_the/326111.html

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