

**CONSTRUCTING AND TRANSFORMING THE CURRICULUM FOR
HIGHER EDUCATION: A SOUTH AFRICAN CASE STUDY**

By

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DECLARATION

Student number: 5942152

"I declare that CONSTRUCTING AND TRANSFORMING THE CURRICULUM FOR HIGHER EDUCATION: A SOUTH AFRICAN CASE STUDY is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references"

.....

W.P. DIRK

.....

DATE

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Wayne Dirk
July 2013
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SUMMARY

This study explores the various processes that constructed and transformed the undergraduate curriculum in a Faculty of Education at a South African university. It attempts to delve beneath the representation of post-apartheid curriculum change as a linear process. The thesis argues that scholars should attempt to unravel how the curriculum performs the task of social transformation at the site of the university by empirically investigating how the relationship between structure and action links with the ideals of post-apartheid higher education policy. Theoretically, this study posits that the deficit in the local literature on the use of the structure/agency relationship as a heuristic device for examining institutional change should be addressed with the relational sociology of Pierre Bourdieu.

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Key Terms: Pierre Bourdieu, genetic structuralism, structure/agency, relational sociology, post-apartheid, field-analytical approach, field, habitus, capital, socio-analysis, position-taking, classification struggle, higher education curriculum, institutional analysis, institutional power, participant objectification, epistemic reflexivity, hysteresis, culture, history, fundamental pedagogics, South African higher education transformation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION		<i>ii</i>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS		<i>iii</i>
SUMMARY		<i>iv</i>
1. STUDY ORIGINS AND INTRODUCTION		1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Mandated higher education policy after 1994	6
1.3	Selected local studies of higher education	8
1.4	Salient local analysis of social context and agent experience	10
1.5	The Soudien Report and local theoretical analysis	15
1.6	The weakness of the concept "institutional culture"	18
1.7	The apprehension and implementation of received policy	20
1.8	Research questions	22
1.9	Chapter Outline	23
1.10	Conclusion	25
2. BOURDIEUSIAN SOCIOLOGY AND HIGHER EDUCATION STUDIES		27
2.1	Introduction	27
2.2	Bourdieu and Genetic Structuralism	27
2.3	Field	31
	2.3.1 The network of social relations within fields	32

2.3.2	Social games and the struggle for legitimate authority	33
2.4	Habitus	35
2.4.1	Habitus, field and the production of agency	36
2.4.2	The genesis of the relationship between field and habitus	38
2.4.3	Field, habitus and social history	39
2.4.4	The habitus and an agent's adjustment to a field	40
2.4.5	Hysteresis: Fissure between field and habitus	41
2.4.6	Affinity of habitus	43
2.5	Capital	45
2.5.1	The Forms of Capital	47
2.6.	Bourdieu and post-apartheid higher education studies	50
2.6.1	The university as a field	51
2.6.2	The field-reception of mandated policy	53
2.6.3	Socio-analysis and higher education research	55
2.6.4	Conclusion	57
3.	RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY	58
3.1	Introduction	58
3.2	Constructing the research object	58
3.3	Bourdieu's three-level field-analysis	61

3.3.1	Level One: The field of power	62
3.3.2	Level Two: Mapping out the power configuration	63
3.3.3	Level Three: The habitus of the agents	65
3.4	Research Design	67
3.4.1	Qualitative relational research	67
3.4.2	The Case-Study	68
3.5	Information gathering and data sources	69
3.5.1	Academic publications	69
3.5.2	Archival research	70
3.5.3	Official policy documents	70
3.5.4	Documents obtained during field research	70
3.5.5	Minutes of the meetings of Senate and Council	71
3.5.6	The semi-structured interview	71
3.5.7	Interview sample	77
3.5.8	Pilot study	79
3.5.9	The work of the Committee	80
3.6	Reliability and validity	81
3.7	Data coding and relational analysis	82
3.8	Ethical considerations	83
3.9	Researcher reflexivity: Participant objectification	84

3.10	Participant objectification: Problems of on-site application	87
3.11	Interests of the researcher	88
3.12	Conclusion	90
4. ISSUES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE POST-APARTHEID HIGHER EDUCATION CURRICULUM		91
4.1	Introduction	91
4.2	Discourse on post-apartheid transformation	91
4.3	The Mamdani Affair at UCT	93
	4.3.1 Curriculum construction and collective accountability	97
	4.3.2 Institutional power and curriculum authorisation	98
	4.3.3 Curriculum expertise, institutional history and intellectual habitus	99
4.4	Curriculum change at UP	101
	4.4.1 The "curriculum as institution" at UP	103
	4.4.2 Institutional power, accountability and curriculum construction	105
	4.4.3 Curriculum construction and academic habitus	106
	4.4.4 The legibility of the post-apartheid curriculum	107
4.5	Field-theory and the analysis of curriculum change	111
4.6	Conclusion	113

5. REPRESENTING THE UNIVERSITY AS A FIELD	114
5.1 Introduction	114
5.2 The historical genesis of the field of UX	114
5.3 Three-level analysis of the field of UX	115
5.4 Second-level field analysis: The structure of field relations	116
5.4.1 Council	129
5.4.2 Senate	129
5.4.3 Institutional Forum	130
5.4.4 University Management	131
5.4.5 The position of Dean	131
5.4.6 The Head of Department	134
5.4.7 Programme co-ordinators	134
5.4.8 Faculty Board	135
5.4.9 Non-managerial academic staff	137
5.4.9.1 Example One: Accounts of loss of cultural capital due to transformation	138
5.4.9.2 Example Two: Accounts of loss of cultural capital as a result of the "failure" of transformation	142
5.5 Third-level field-analysis: The habitus of the agents	145
5.5.1 Example One: Changing academic habitus	146
5.5.2 Example Two: Habitus and the "hysteresis effect"	147

5.6	UX theorised as a field: Institutional analysis in the Bourdieusian mould	153
5.7	Conclusion	155
	6. CASE STUDY OF POST-APARTHEID CURRICULUM CHANGE	156
6.1	Introduction	156
6.2	Sketching the social history of the field	156
6.3	The social genesis of UX	158
	6.3.1 Language exclusivity	159
	6.3.2 Politically-based staff appointments	161
	6.3.3 Control over the curriculum	163
	6.3.4 Philosophy of education and institutional identity	163
	6.3.5 Post-apartheid hysteresis: The "old" and the "new"	169
6.4	The field analysis of UX: a summary	174
6.5	Post-apartheid curriculum change at UX: an empirical account	176
	6.5.1 Introduction	176
	6.5.2 The genesis of the process to transform the undergraduate major	178
	6.5.3 The relationship between field and capital in curriculum construction	183
	6.5.4 Bureaucratic capital and the shaping of curriculum content	190
	6.5.5 Implementing the education major	193
	6.5.6 Field and habitus: Incorporated social history and curriculum construction	201

6.5.7	The dominated inhabitants of a field: Changing curriculum without bureaucratic capital	211
6.6	Constructing and transforming the curriculum: a summary	214
7. REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY AND POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH		216
7.1	Introduction	216
7.2	The representation of curriculum construction	217
7.3	Bourdieuian relational sociology and policy analysis	218
7.4	Socio-analysis and curriculum construction	220
7.5	Relational sociology and transformative agency	222
8.	Limitations of the thesis	227
	8.1 Access to empirical data	227
	8.2 Efficacy for educational policy research	228
	8.3 Knowledge limits created by ethics contracts	228
	8.4 Personal ethics	229
9.	Reflections on future research	230
LIST OF SOURCES		232
APPENDIX A		261
APPENDIX B		262
APPENDIX C		264

CHAPTER ONE

STUDY ORIGINS AND INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

When I conducted a pilot study of post-apartheid transformation at UX in 2007, I made an observation that became one of the main motivations for this thesis (Dirk 2007). Through the pilot study I became aware that the relationship between social action, social context and institutional power is relatively under-theorised for studies located at the site of the university. The latter, as a bounded social space, is rarely analysed with a coherent theoretical framework that embeds a philosophy of action. There was thus a notable absence of socio-scientific analysis in South African higher education studies that explicitly objectified (represented) the relationship between structure and agency (structure/agency) for the purposes of institutional analysis. It was as a result of this observation that I sought to locate a theoretical framework that could enable this thesis to approach its object of study (curriculum change) through a rigorous analysis of the relationship between social context and agent action.

As I will argue fairly consistently throughout this thesis, I found the relational sociology of Pierre Bourdieu very useful as a theoretical framework to address the broad aims of this study and the analytical challenge that I have described above. I am of the view that Bourdieu's sociology comprises a suite of practical research tools that are suitably primed for analysing the relationship between structure/agency at the site of the university. I also argue that Bourdieu's master concepts render the university "visible" as a life-world which is a methodological rarity in local higher education studies (a very small number of scholars have used

Bourdieu). The Bourdieusian approach to the study of curriculum change at the site of the university should, in my view, augment current theoretical approaches by adding a heuristic framework that comprises a generative theory of social action.

In broad terms, the *raison d'être* for this study (its rationale) can be summarised as: a concern with the structures of power (history, culture, politics) at the site of the university and the limits and possibilities they establish for curriculum change in the context of post-apartheid transformation. It is, however, important to note that this chapter does not provide a comprehensive overview of the historical trajectory of South African higher education after 1994. South African scholars have provided very rich and sophisticated critical narratives of higher education change after apartheid and there was no need to restate their work in this chapter. This does not imply that these studies are unimportant. I have opted not to diminish the intellectual sophistication of these significant scholarly works by treating them as lifeless academic milestones passed along the way towards an explanation of the theoretical and methodological focus of this thesis (the latter is the main intention of this introductory chapter). The valuable contributions by Jansen (2004 & et al 2007); Bundy (2006); Cloete et al (2002); CHE (2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2007); Cross et al (1999); Fataar (2001); Harper & Badsha (2000); Kraak (2001); Schoole (2005); Hall (2008); Soudien (2010a); Bitzer (2009), Badat (2009), among others, were not critically analysed in this thesis (except for selected aspects of Badat, Jansen and Schoole's research). As I have noted, this was not my goal in this chapter, the work of these scholars should therefore be read in their own right as intellectual markers of the state of transformation in South African higher education after apartheid.

A second important point to note about this introductory chapter is that it does not focus attention on the higher education curriculum. It is an attempt to explain my reasons for arguing that in the context of post-apartheid transformation, the relationship between structure and action is an under-emphasised area of higher education research that should be analysed using Bourdieu's relational sociology. In chapter four I concentrate on specific issues related to local higher education curriculum transformation after 1994. For the moment, however, the brief synopsis of post-apartheid curriculum change below attempts to explain the approach adopted by this thesis to its main object of study.

*

The higher education curriculum is relatively under-researched in South Africa and internationally (Strydom et al 2001:54; Le Grange 2006: 189; Shay 2011: 315; Hall 2007:191). Critical studies of curriculum change in South Africa are largely concentrated on school education. Hugo (2010: 68) has documented the achievements and research interests of local scholars focusing on the school curriculum which suggests that it is a much more productive area of research than its counterpart in higher education. The construction of the higher education curriculum is the function of universities and is not guided by a national curriculum as in the case of school education. The lack of a clear object of study such as a national curriculum may be among the reasons for the low level of scholarly interest in the study of curriculum change at universities. The higher education curriculum is also difficult to research because, as this study suggests, it tends to generate a wide array of empirical challenges. It is therefore less likely to be attractive to researchers because of the high risk of unsatisfactory rewards for the frustration and effort that is required to construct and analyse it as a

research object. Despite these difficulties, Moore (2003) and Ensor (2001 & 2004) have provided detailed, theoretically-based case-studies of curriculum restructuring at South African universities after 1994. Both scholars draw on the ideas of Basil Bernstein while Moore's research also includes the work of Bourdieu. These studies (particularly that of Moore), draw attention to the influence of academic identity and the structuring of knowledge in the curriculum on the process of higher education curriculum change. Studies similar to these that analyse knowledge structure and curriculum transformation using the work of Bernstein are gaining momentum in local higher education research (Shay 2009; Luckett 2009; Muller 2009).

While research on the structuring of knowledge in the curriculum is important for understanding curriculum change after apartheid, the relations of power (inclusive of culture, history, politics, etc) that shape what comes to stand as the transformed higher education curriculum are seldom concentrated on as a separate (independent) area of research. This study therefore hones in on the institutional relationships that authorise and construct the curriculum which includes, among other things, reflecting on the inevitable political, cultural, and academic power struggles and alliances that tend to emerge as a result of attempts to change the curriculum. Hall (2007:195) has noted that changing the higher education curriculum is "never easy" as "the university is built out of multiple contradictions and diverse interests" which, as this study will show, is further contested in the post-apartheid context as social transformation tends to change what is taught in the curriculum and by whom. For example, a recent "insider" account of higher education curriculum change at a former whites-only Afrikaans-medium university concludes that:

Any curriculum process in South Africa needs to incorporate issues of equity and transformation. However, foregrounding these issues may result in resistance from staff members and sometimes even from the students themselves. (Naidoo 2012: 79)

This study, which concentrates on the period 2000 to 2006, (earlier than that covered by Naidoo and also analysing curriculum change at a former whites-only Afrikaans-medium university) attempts to understand some of the reasons why the mandated process of transformation generates such high levels of conflict among agents at the site of the university as suggested by Naidoo and Hall (the latter less directly). The emphasis in this thesis is thus not on how knowledge is structured in the curriculum, but on the broader institutional processes associated with post-apartheid curriculum transformation. Given that Naidoo's research is "closer" to the present context of higher education curriculum change than this study and suggests that issues of equity and transformation continue to generate "resistance" among staff and students, it can be argued that this study is addressing a particularly relevant problem which should, given its tendency to recur, be receiving increased attention from local higher education researchers, the university community and government policy-makers.

*

To return to the main concerns of this introductory chapter. It is focused on my view that the structure/agency relationship must be further developed as a means for analysing the construction of the higher education curriculum. The discussion provides a brief account of the broad transformation objectives of the White Paper against which progress or limits in curriculum change are reflected upon in this thesis (using a case-study). I also briefly discuss the atheoretical nature of local higher

education studies and draw attention to selected scholarly work that have, in different ways, approached the study of post-apartheid higher education through a focus on structure and action. I briefly touch on the Soudien Report and argue that both researchers and policy-makers can benefit from the use of Bourdieu's relational sociology to investigate the intersection between social context and agent experience. I then argue that a common limitation in academic and policy discourse is represented by the over-use of the concept "institutional culture" which I propose should be replaced with Bourdieusian relational sociology because it lacks a theory of action. I also attempt to outline the efficacy of Bourdieusian theory for the analysis of policy apprehension and implementation. Finally, and in more general terms, I summarise my argument for the analysis of post-apartheid curriculum and institutional change through the use of Bourdieu's theoretical framework. The chapter closes with a statement of the research questions and provides an outline of the respective chapters.

1.2. Mandated higher education policy after 1994

The apartheid history of South African higher education was intended to be fundamentally altered by the legislative interventions that came into effect after 1994. The report of the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) entitled *NCHE: A Framework for Transformation (1996)* is the founding policy document for the creation of the new post-apartheid legislative regime (Schoole 2005:2). It shaped the spirit and intention of the *Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education* (White Paper) (DOE 1997) and the *Higher Education Act of 1997 (Act 101 of 1997)* (RSA 1997). The White Paper broadly set the policy agenda of government for the transition to a transformed higher education sector in which "all existing practices,

institutions and values are viewed anew and rethought in terms of their fitness for the new era" (DOE 1997:7).

In brief, the White Paper's purpose was to construct a single, co-ordinated higher education system (Bunting 2002: 59; Schoole 2005: 15) to break with the previous political dispensation in which universities were separated into white "liberal" (English-medium) and white "Afrikaner"¹ (Afrikaans-medium) institutions. White Afrikaans-medium universities historically supported apartheid, while White English-medium universities were considered "liberal"² because of their opposition to apartheid education (Bunting 2002: 70). The counterparts to these institutions were classified in racial terms. Such universities are described by Bunting (ibid: 74) as typical apartheid creations that trained Africans, Coloureds and Indians to be 'useful' to the socio-political agenda of the state. The general governance of these institutions was in accordance with a "state-control governance model" in which the composition of their management, administration, academic structures, student organisations and staff appointments had to accord with the racial machinations of apartheid policy (Schoole 2005:21). Although they became sites of political struggle in the 1980's and early 1990's, these universities, according to Naidoo (2004:461) and Koen (2007), lacked resources, had negligible research productivity and delivered low quality academic qualifications.

The White Paper thus intended to re-organise the higher education landscape by dismantling the racial separation inculcated under apartheid. In the post-apartheid era, universities were expected to improve the accessibility of black students, change the gender and racial profile of staff

¹ See O'Meara (1996) and Webb (2011) for a discussion of the meaning of "Afrikaner" as a social identity.

² Many scholars use this term reservedly, see for example Jansen (1991:25) and Reagan (1990:63-64).

and develop educational programmes and practices conducive to critical discourse and cultural diversity. The post-apartheid university, according to Fataar (2001), Sehoole (2005) and DOE (1997:3), was expected to strive toward eroding racism by institutionalising a common commitment to a humane, non-racist and non-sexist social order. The White Paper thus set an enormous social objective for South African universities which all had different institutional identities and associations with apartheid. In this thesis, any references to transformation policy invoke this "official" definition to broadly refer to the institutional activities of universities aimed at rethinking higher education after 1994. Below I discuss, very selectively, how local scholars have represented the responses of universities to the new policy environment. My purpose with this discussion is to provide a very brief overview of the state of scholarly investigation into the achievements of the goals of the White Paper. I also intend in this discussion to initiate my argument in this thesis that structure/agency is an under-emphasised analytical approach in local studies of post-apartheid higher education.

1.3. Selected local studies of post-apartheid higher education

Many academics have expressed the view that transformation in higher education has been incremental in the democratic era (Harper & Badsha 2000; Jansen 2004; Jansen & Sayed 2001; Moja & Hayward 2005; Bundy 2006; Hall 2008; Bitzer 2009). Commissioned research by the Council on Higher Education (CHE) also posit that the post-apartheid university has been slow in achieving the objectives of the White Paper³. In-depth critical studies of this apparent slow progress are, however, yet to develop. For example, Smeyers & Waghid (2009: 1070) note that South African higher education studies are generally "scattered and disparate." Bitzer &

³ CHE (2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2007).

Wilkinson (2009:396) argue that theoretical engagement with the objects of transformation have not yet matured, while for Strydom (2009: 443), South African higher education research is so disjointed that it needs to be formally organised to provide coherence and to build a strong network of local scholars.

The near-absence of theoretical approaches in local higher education studies is thus not as a result of a lack of academic reflexivity. Many scholars have marked South African higher education studies as typically atheoretical (Jansen 2002; Muller 2003; Koen 2007). It is thus relatively obvious that a sustained body of scholarship with clearly discernable and differentiated theoretical frameworks is currently absent from local higher education studies. Le Grange (2009) has emphasised this general theoretical deficit through a survey-type analysis of the socio-scientific approaches used by local researchers in articles that were published in the *South African Journal of Higher Education* (SAJHE) (the only South African journal dedicated to higher education research). Le Grange (ibid) suggests that local higher education studies tend to be descriptive with a notable paucity in practical, empirically-based research projects capable of building a theoretical knowledge-base for academic research⁴.

Having conducted a similar "survey" of the content pages of the SAJHE for the period 1995 to 2010, I am inclined to agree with Le Grange as I was unable to trace a sustained theoretical approach to the analysis of post-apartheid higher education. While the discourse provides no obvious reasons for this omission, Strydom (2009: 431) argues that the absence of appreciation, recognition and the power-authority relations in higher education are discouraging for local academics. In his view, these factors impact negatively on research, leading to a decline in the production of

⁴ See also Deacon et al (2009) and Strydom (2009).

high quality scholarly publications. Koen (2007:56) is far more critical of local scholars and argues that "opportunism", "come to work and teach" and a "publish to advance" "mentality" are key among the reasons for the uneven quality of higher education research.

In sum, studies of South African higher education, as reflected in the views of local scholars, are yet to yield a critical and coherent body of theoretical knowledge derived from sustained practical research. Hence my argument in the introduction to this chapter that local scholarship currently has very minimal theoretical resources to assist researchers interested in analysing the various objects of post-apartheid higher education transformation. There are, however, a few exceptions which are insightful and which were helpful. I discuss these in the section below.

1.4. Salient local analysis of social context and agent experience

A small number of scholars who through their involvement in local higher education as university-based academics, policy analysts and senior university leaders, have begun to suggest that understanding the relationship between agent action and institutional structure may yield deeper sociological insight into transformation processes. These suggestions were very useful and have served to anchor my theoretical approach. I open my discussion of these scholars with the work of Badat, who is explicit in his recognition of the salience of the structure/agency relationship as an analytical tool for higher education research. Badat's arguments are followed by that of Schoole, Koen and Jansen. The latter are less conceptually explicit than Badat, but they provide empirical examples of the efficacy of examining institutional practices through an analysis of structure and action. It should be emphasised that the work of Badat, Schoole and Jansen are not strictly concerned with the study of post-

apartheid curriculum change and each of them have their own specific focus (except for the work of Jansen which is discussed in chapter four). I have selected these studies because, in my view, they represent recent work in higher education studies which have suggested that it is worth investigating structure and action as a means for understanding the social relations of power in institutional settings.

*

Badat suggests that socio-historical research that analyses agency has the potential to illustrate how individuals are implicated in the choices, decisions and strategies that have orientated the trajectory of South African higher education (Badat 2007a:9; Badat 2009). Given the research objectives of this thesis and particularly the dearth of theoretical approaches in local higher education studies it is worth quoting Badat's view on agency at length:

The key actors (in higher education) differ in their particular interests and roles, in their relation to the state, political parties and other important constituencies, and in strengths and weakness. They employ particular strategies and tactics of mobilisation and engagement. They differ in the nature of their involvement in the different domains of change and different phases of the change process -- agenda setting, policy development and formulation, and policy implementation. The actors have particular histories, different preoccupations, and have differential access to resources, whether knowledge, information, financial or human, or power and influence. (My brackets) (Badat 2007b:13)

Referring more directly to the relationship between structure and agent action, Badat argues that "structure and agency" should be part of the "exciting" challenge to develop imaginative conceptual frameworks for analysing and theorising post-apartheid transformation (Badat 2007b:10).

Badat's views thus correspond to the objectives of this thesis and although his arguments are not accompanied by a practical research project (they would obviously have been influenced by his long career as a scholar, senior policy-maker and university leader), the analysis he offers is the most direct appeal for heuristic frameworks that are able to examine the relationship between agent action and structure in higher education. The scholars I discuss below do not directly refer to structure/agency but in my view it is implicit in their work (although crudely summarised in this discussion) and I therefore consider their scholarship as examples of practical research that attempt to establish a link between social context and individual/collective action.

First to be discussed among these is Schoole's 2005 study entitled, *Democratizing Higher Education Policy: Constraints of Reform in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. This study, among its other concerns, provides a detailed empirical account of the relationship between the different dispositions of the "old" and "new" bureaucrats during the reconstitution of the national department of education after 1994. Schoole details how the newly appointed officials, unaccustomed to the "rules" of bureaucratic policy implementation, struggled to infuse a non-racial post-apartheid ethos into the structures of the new department. He notes that officials from the previous era used their institutional memory and experience of the technicalities of government administration as a form of agency to resist transformation. Schoole's study suggests that through an investigation of the manipulation of structures, it is possible to gain deeper insight into agent action in institutional settings (particularly where transformation is the objective).

The second study I found useful is that of Koen (2007) entitled, *Postgraduate Student Retention and Success: A South African Case Study*,

which examines student success and retention at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). In this case-study Koen analyses the effects of the university's organisational environment and culture on the decisions students make with respect to the completion or abandonment of their studies. Koen's study suggests that if universities were more reflexive of their practices, they could create greater chances for postgraduate student retention (and academic success). Although the study is incomplete due to his sudden passing, it was very useful because it draws attention to the significance of examining institutional history and administrative decision-making processes (structure) for shaping student choices about their academic careers (agency).

Finally, the semi-autobiographical account of the process of transformation at the University of Pretoria (UP) by Jansen (2009) in his book entitled, *Knowledge in the Blood: Confronting Race and the Apartheid Past*, is the most direct in sketching the relationship between structure and agent action. Jansen examines how received racial knowledge, deeply rooted in "Afrikaner culture", comes to permeate the institutional life of this former whites-only Afrikaans-medium university. From his vantage point as an "insider", he argues that socio-historical knowledge, specifically in the form that shapes the "emotional, psychic, spiritual, social, political and psychological lives of a community", which he refers to as "knowledge in the blood", has influenced the trajectory of post-apartheid change at UP (Jansen 2009: 171). In terms of Jansen's relatively unique⁵ argument, racialised knowledge is structurally embedded in the institutional practices

⁵ I use the term unique subjectively because I consider Jansen's concept of "knowledge in the blood" as the most explicit (although not claimed as such by the author) attempt to mediate between structure and action. Jansen's approach has led to renewed discussion of this relationship in academic debates on post-apartheid higher education. I am thus not implying an uncritical acceptance of the efficacy of Jansen's arguments. For both critical and appreciative discussions of *Knowledge in the Blood*, I draw the attention of the reader to Gerwel (2009); Soudien (2009); Hargreaves (2009); Thomson (2010) and (Webb 2011).

of the university which he argues has determining effects on the academic enterprise and the activities of the campus community. Jansen's work thus suggests, in my view, that sociological insight into the relationship between institutional trajectory and that of its inhabitants (structure/agency) are important for analysing transformation at the site of the university.

*

From this selective and quite narrowly focused discussion, I am of the opinion that the work of each author represents a link between structure and action. I will return to this point later on. Below I turn to a discussion of the academic analysis of an event in the recent history of South African higher education which, upon entering the domain of academic analysis, has drawn attention to how theoretically-based studies can assist in developing socio-scientific understandings of the complexity of transformation at the site of the university. I found the analysis of this event useful because it reinforces my argument in this thesis that socio-historical analysis of structure/agency in higher education has significance beyond the confines of academic research. In my view, this major government "research" initiative and the theoretical approach adopted in this thesis, illustrate that socio-scientific knowledge of transformation may be useful to policy-makers, academics, students and university leaders seeking to understand the relationship between social context and lived experience in university settings.

1.5. The Soudien Report and the limitations of local theoretical analysis.

While there is no strand within local higher education studies that can be referred to as "official" policy studies, it sometimes occurs that academics are called upon to pay close attention to the success or failure of a specific government policy or programme. For example, in March 2008, the then Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor, established the *Ministerial Committee on Progress Towards Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institutions* (the Committee). The establishment of the Committee arose out of a racist incident that occurred at the former Afrikaans-medium University of the Orange Free State (UOFS).

The incident was covered in the local and international media which sparked national campus debates and moral outrage in the public domain. The purpose of the Committee was thus to understand how such an event could have occurred in the era of post-apartheid transformation⁶. It was chaired by University of Cape Town (UCT) academic, Professor Crain Soudien (hence the Soudien Report). The general finding of the Committee, significantly, and not without criticism⁷, classified the condition of social discrimination with respect to racism and sexism as being "pervasive" at South African universities (DOE 2008: 13). In the discussion below, I briefly examine some of the reflections by Professor Soudien on the findings of the Committee. I argue that his views suggest that policy-makers are hamstrung in their attempts to analyse (and remedy) the problems of transformation because of an inability to fully apprehend the relationship between structure and action. Professor

⁶ The brief of the Committee was quite broad but its overarching objective was an investigation into the state of post-apartheid transformation in higher education.

⁷ See Jansen (2010).

Soudien's arguments, in my view, have somewhat uniquely placed the practical challenges of government policy-makers in the academic domain thus drawing attention to the similarities in both of their heuristic frailties (Soudien 2009, 2010a, 2010b).

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The most significant point of convergence which has led to my argument that academic studies and policy-makers have corresponding analytical limitations is the difficulty that both display when attempting to theoretically match "lived experience" to material context. For example, Professor Soudien notes that many respondents were unable to self-reflexively account for their experience (of racism) or to locate its roots empirically in the university context:

For those who were most vociferous about racism it was difficult to see how it was entwined in the larger social complexity of their own lives and the lives of everybody around them. They would have had difficulty in empirically attributing to it a causal force in their own and other's success and failure. They would not be able to prove it unequivocally that they had succeeded or failed because of it. For those who were open about their ambivalence about how to understand it, there was a real challenge in locating it sociologically. For those...who saw it as being over, there was no hint of how much their representations of the matter depended utterly on race consciousness. (Soudien 2010a: 893)

The problem that this created, notes Professor Soudien, was that the Committee could not confirm either the progress that was claimed "or the deterioration in the climate which many black members of staff suggested was their experience"(Soudien 2010b:4). Without a secure empirical link between subjective experience and social context, the Committee was unable to present the claims of campus inhabitants as "truths" because it could not confidently verify the distinction between "victims" and

"perpetrators" (ibid; Soudien 2010a:893). The consequence for the Committee was that the expressions of anger, frustration and fear from respondents could not be addressed directly to "offending" institutions because they were not empirically verifiable. Professor Soudien therefore argues that the lack of material evidence of racism placed the "burden of proof" on the findings of the Committee which he argued created the danger that evidence could become the "methodological gold standard that is required before institutions seriously engage with the challenge of the country's legacy" (Soudien 2010b: 4).

But in the main, I would argue, it also suggests that the Committee did not have a theoretical framework with which to analyse (beyond "hard facts") the sociological evidence that was placed before them. This would have allowed the Committee, in my view, to avoid seeking out "victims" and "perpetrators" by concentrating on what the individual and institutional expressions implied with respect to the relationship between lived experience and social context. This may be harsh given that the Committee was not constituted to conduct socio-scientific research. The academic reflections of Professor Soudien, however, bring into sharp focus the often neglected significance of social science (and the humanities) for addressing real social problems.

Without belabouring the argument; it seems clear enough that the Committee's report has suggested that academic studies and the work of policy-makers can benefit from a theoretical framework that can account for structure/agency at the site of the university (both require a theoretical framework that can address their analytical challenges). I therefore argue in this thesis that although Bourdieu's sociological framework may not address the problems associated with "concrete evidence" or solve the "puzzle" of transformation, it does offer the possibility for valuable

sociological understandings of the social genesis of the complexities of transformation. Thus while Bourdieu's sociology cannot alleviate the burden of proof, it may lead to important engagements by agents who are prompted by the outcome of the socio-scientific analysis of the shaping imprint of apartheid on institutional practices. In this way, I argue, the university community can address social difference (and the tensions it causes) in a manner that does not solely rely on legalistic arguments and technical evidence.

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The above discussion thus argues that the paucity of theoretical frameworks that analyse the structure/agency relationship is a significant limitation for both academics and policy-analysts which impacts on their ability to engage with the social tensions of post-apartheid transformation. As I have already noted, it was this observation that has motivated the theoretical approach that I have adopted in this thesis. Below I discuss two important issues addressed in this thesis that are not unrelated to the above discussion but require separation for the purposes of emphasis.

1.6. The weakness of the concept "institutional culture".

Although I have so far argued that higher education transformation is under-theorised due to relative neglect; it is important to note that it may also be as a result of an over-reliance on the concept of "institutional culture". It is not uncommon to see the regular use of this concept in official policy documents and academic literature to explain or describe practices in institutional settings. In my view, due to its lack of a theory of action, the concept "institutional culture" cannot adequately represent the university as an institution because it tends to perpetuate the knowledge limit that I have discussed above. My argument is not unique as Higgins

has noted that although the concept is quite "popular" in local studies, it is vague, indeterminate and incoherently applied. He notes that the concept's usage largely depends on the individual passions of its users:

The instability of the term institutional culture - its capacity to name different things, or to refer to different aspects of the same complex object - arises from the fact that institutional culture looks different, depending on who is seeing it and from where; or, more accurately, who is looking for it and with what purposes in mind. (Higgins 2007:114)

Higgins (ibid: 97) notes further that the concept is less of a heuristic tool and more of a general reference for the overwhelming "whiteness" of higher education in South Africa. Higgins (ibid) argues that "whiteness" is meant to denote the blindness of white culture to its own assumptions while Leggasick & Minkley (1998:118) (although not discussing university settings but not less relevant) have referred to "whiteness" as an under-analysed and recurring form of dominant symbolic capital ("objectivity, normality, truth, knowledge, merit, motivation, achievement, *disinterestedness* and trustworthiness") (My italics)⁸. But beyond this usage, and "despite its popularity", argues Higgins, it lacks conceptual density and has very limited analytical and explanatory resourcefulness (ibid: 116). Thaver (2006:16) also draws attention to its conceptual limitations and posits the concept "at home" as a means for disaggregating "institutional culture" in order for the practices of universities to be analysed as indicators of the extent of progress towards democratic transformation after apartheid.

In sum, the concept institutional culture lacks the analytical force to coherently conceptualise the university as a social structure in which agent activity is situated. Since it is not a sociological concept and has no

⁸ See also Roos (2005) for an ethnographic study that is illuminating of the meaning and historical construction of whiteness in South Africa.

methodological foundations (at least that I could find), it is incapable of providing an analytical basis for researching agent action in institutional settings. This thesis thus argues that Bourdieu's sociology, in contrast to the concept institutional culture, is a more generative form of analysis that can address the theoretical limit imposed on local studies because of its lack of a theory of action.

1.7. The apprehension and implementation of received policy

Returning to the earlier discussion on policy implementation and Bourdieusian analysis, I am of the view that local scholars suggest that mandated policy is generally intended for implementation by the "university" even though very little is known empirically of how such institutions apprehend and refract received policy. This thesis attempts to address this limitation by empirically representing the structures and the dispositions of the agents who apprehend and implement mandated policy. My intention is therefore to address the analytical problem of policy reception and apprehension. Below I briefly discuss the viewpoints of local scholars who have drawn attention to the analytical limitations associated with the analysis of policy apprehension and implementation in higher education.

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Muller (2003:119) suggests that a perception exists in local scholarship that policy texts follow a linear path to implementation in universities. He argues that South African studies "dwells over-much" on the intended policy, investing it with an importance that is rarely borne out empirically. Muller argues that scholars tend to expect that policy can and should have

its intended impact and are invariably surprised when it fails to materialise in reality. Jansen et al (2007) note that South African education policy-makers make a similar assumption by regarding policy implementation as a mirror-image of institutional practice and therefore tend to assume that policy is implemented mechanically without recontextualisation by “real actors in real institutions” (CHE 2007:182).

Jansen and Muller’s arguments thus suggest that linear interpretations of policy apprehension and implementation by South African scholars and policy-makers ignore the social relations that exist between agents at the site of the university. Taken together, their arguments are suggestive of the need for South African higher education studies to examine policy implementation not as a linear process, but as the product of the relationship between social context and agent action. The extract below captures, in summary form, the empirical limitations of local policy analysis expressed by Jansen and Muller:

...we sometimes find in higher education policy research the kinds of misattributions that are usually criticised and avoided in school-based research. One such misattribution is that of the effects of policy on practice. The error consists in generalising from policy intent (what school-based studies call the *intended* policy) to practice effect (the *learnt* policy) without taking into account the crucial intervening variable, the mediating context that translates policy into practice... (Muller 2003:108)

On the basis of the above viewpoints I have therefore attempted to use Bourdieusian sociology to objectify the "mediating context" between policy reception and implementation. This thesis is thus also an attempt to contribute to the broadening of theoretical approaches to the analysis of policy implementation at the site of the university.

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In summary, the approach of this thesis to the study of post-apartheid curriculum change in higher education is premised on the understanding that while the curriculum is produced within the bounded social space of the university, the relations of power that orientate the latter's logic of practice are seldom empirically represented and treated as research objects. The discussion in this chapter has also suggested that a coherent, systematically co-ordinated and sustained body of scholarship on the theory and methodology for researching social context and lived experience at the site of the university is yet to be established in South African higher education studies. These limitations have implications for the state of knowledge on the construction of the university curriculum for both academia and the practical work of government policy formulation. Based on these central arguments, this thesis is thus an attempt to commence a dialogue on the efficacy of theoretical frameworks (such as that of Bourdieu) that employ the structure/agency concept to analyse, not only curriculum change, but all the objects of post-apartheid transformation at the site of the university.

Below I identify the research questions that guided the empirical investigation in this thesis.

1.8 Research questions

Based on the discussion in this chapter of my personal intellectual goals and the theoretical limitations and empirical gaps in local higher education studies, I set out to address the following questions with an empirical case-study:

- 1) What is the nature of the various institutional processes and the forms of power and agency contained therein that shape the construction and transformation of the curriculum at South African universities?
- 2) What is the impact of such processes on the substance of curriculum transformation?

1.9. Chapter outline

a) Chapter Two

In this chapter I argue that Bourdieu's relational sociology offers a theoretical framework for the study of the dialectical relationship between objective and subjective social structure at the site of the university. The chapter discusses Bourdieu's key relational concepts of field, habitus and capital and explains how they enable an analysis of the relationship between social history and individual agency. The chapter also provides an account of the efficacy of Bourdieusian sociology for analysing the reception of curriculum policy texts in relatively autonomous institutional settings such as universities. The chapter closes with the argument that Bourdieu's *socio-analysis* of the historical relationship between field and habitus provides a particularly powerful explanatory conceptual framework for researching post-apartheid higher education because it is revealing of the influence of social determinism on institutions and on individual agency.

b) Chapter Three

This chapter provides a broad outline of the research methodology of the thesis. It discusses Bourdieu's field-theoretic model for conducting empirical research and explains how Bourdieu's master concepts also function as practical research tools. Bourdieu's notion of participant objectification is also discussed in this chapter in order to express my interests in the outcome of this research project.

c) Chapter Four

In this chapter I pay close attention to the local discourse on curriculum change in higher education. I illustrate, by using specific examples of local curriculum change, how my research concerns are related to recent developments within the discourse on post-apartheid curriculum transformation. This chapter is thus an attempt to provide a more focused discussion on post-apartheid curriculum change. It outlines the particular objectives of the thesis with respect to the study of curriculum construction and why the latter was analysed using Bourdieusian sociology.

d) Chapter Five

In this chapter I essentially construct the research object UX as a field. I apply the field-analytical model in order to represent the university as a social structure comprising structures of authority occupied by agents who possess varying levels of institutional power. In essence, I attempt to illustrate how the field-analytical model enabled this thesis to represent and analyse the manner in which social structure and internalised

subjective structure confront each other in an interaction that generates agency.

e) Chapter Six

This is the case-study chapter in which I argue that by employing Bourdieu's conceptual framework it is possible to show that universities are sites of competition between agents to control the legitimate authority to define its intellectual identity (and that of the curriculum). I argue that this case-study raises important questions for policy-makers, university managers, academics and students who are concerned with the representation and analysis of the shaping effects of history, culture and power on the process of curriculum change.

f) Chapter Seven

In this closing chapter I argue that Bourdieu's approach provides the tools for practical research and analysis that "forces us to think" (Nash: 185) in a manner that is coherent and systematic. With the university conceptualised as a field of struggles between agents seeking to determine its logic of practice, it is possible, I argue, to analyse some of the seemingly intractable problems of post-apartheid curriculum change in university settings. I argue that if Bourdieu's field-analytical model is applied in similar research projects, the possibility exists for the establishment of a sustained sociology of curriculum change in local higher education studies.

1.10 Conclusion

In this chapter I have selectively discussed the most recent studies of post-apartheid South African higher education transformation and have argued

that such studies have begun to suggest the use of the structure/agency relationship as a heuristic tool for analysing curriculum transformation. Based on this understanding of the theoretical deficit in local higher education studies, this thesis therefore analyses its object of study through the relational sociology of Pierre Bourdieu because of its ability to represent the relationship between objective and subjective social structure at the site of the university.

CHAPTER TWO: BOURDIEUSIAN SOCIOLOGY AND HIGHER EDUCATION TRANSFORMATION

2.1 Introduction

In chapter one I argued that Bourdieu's sociology is particularly suited to the analysis of transformation at the site of the university. In this chapter I explain this argument by providing an overview of Bourdieu's theoretical framework and its triad of relational concepts *field*, *habitus* and *capital* (including a discussion of its efficacy for analysing policy implementation as a non-linear process). The chapter closes with the argument that Bourdieu's sociology, which he perceived as a form of *socio-analysis*, is particularly useful for analysing the shaping effects of South African social history. In essence I argue that the importance accorded to social history as the sculptor of objective and subjective social structure in Bourdieu's work creates the potential for policy-makers and the university community to gain sociological insight into the relationship between social history and individual/collective identity (social determinism).

2.2. Bourdieu and genetic structuralism

French philosopher Lucien Goldmann (Mayrl 1978) originally developed a theoretical framework that he referred to as *genetic structuralism*. Bourdieu rethought the framework (his main concepts are also reworked from their original formulations) into the intellectual foundation for his theory of action which he described as:

The analysis of objective structures - those of different fields - is inseparable from the analysis of the genesis, within biological individuals, of the mental structures which are to some extent the product of the incorporation of social structures; inseparable, too,

from the analysis of these social structures themselves: the social space, the groups that occupy it, are the product of historical struggles (in which agents participate in accordance with their position in the social space and with the mental structures through which they apprehend this space). (Bourdieu 1990b:14) (Brackets in original)

From the above definition of Bourdieu's reworked genetic structuralism, it can be discerned that he was interested in providing a sociological understanding of the relationship between objective and subjective (mental) social structure. Bourdieu was critical of the "artificial" dichotomy created between *objectivism* (analytical emphasis placed on the effects of objective structure on the behaviour of agents) and *subjectivism* (analytical emphasis placed on the activities of agents in constructing social reality). The driving impulse behind his theoretical approach was thus centred on an attempt to develop a mediating link that could collapse the dualism between objectivist and subjectivist approaches to social analysis (Bourdieu 1990a:25; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:3; Maton 2008:55; Brubaker 1985:750; Mahar et al 1990: 1).

Bourdieu's initial intellectual impetus gradually crystallised into a theoretical framework that attempts to represent objective and subjective social structure as dialectical. For Bourdieu, the study of the social world therefore had to be *relational*: it had to oppose dualistic social analysis by emphasising dialectical relationships between social phenomena (hence the reference to his work as relational sociology or the relational approach). Bourdieu explains the relational approach as follows:

First, it is a philosophy of science that one could call relational in that it accords primacy to *relations*...Next, it is a philosophy of action designated at times as *dispositional* which notes the potentialities inscribed in the body of agents and the structure of the situations where they act or, more precisely, in the relations between them. This philosophy is condensed in a small number of fundamental

concepts - habitus, field, capital - and its cornerstone is the two way between objective structures (those of social fields) and incorporated structures (those of the habitus). (Bourdieu 1998a: vii) (Emphasis in original)

Bourdieu continuously refined and reworked genetic structuralism over many years through a process of “comprehension through use” in a number of different research projects (Bourdieu 1993b:271). He published 37 books and approximately 400 articles which renders any attempt at comprehensive description or generalisation of his complex theoretical framework susceptible to the dangers of over-simplification⁹ (Wacquant 2008:263). Bourdieu was weary of attempts to reduce the complexity of his work and he therefore consciously protected its scientificity against “common-sense” interpretations with a deliberately complex writing style. He believed that the complexity of life had to be captured through an equally complex sociological representation as an act of resistance against the limitations of superficial knowledge (Bourdieu 1990b: 52-53; Wacquant 1993:247). Apple (2004:181), in a partisan yet critical comment that reflects the difficulties associated with providing an overview of Bourdieu’s sociology, argues that because of the importance of his work, Bourdieu should have felt obliged to write more clearly as “progressive texts” should not require the reader to read “seven other books” in order to fully understand his theoretical framework. The regular revision of his main concepts and rather complicated writing style thus deliberately protects his work against dilution.

The discussion below, given the trajectory of Bourdieu’s scholarship, is not comprehensive. It is a selective and generative use of his sociology for the

⁹ The secondary literature on Bourdieu is increasing and provides insightful critical overviews of his major work but generally acknowledge the difficulty of providing comprehensive and detailed synthesis. See for example, Harker et al (1990); Calhoun et al (1993), Grenfell (ed) (2008a), Lane (2000), Swartz (1997), Shusterman (1999), Robbins (1991).

specific purposes of this thesis. It should be noted that while I consider Bourdieu's theoretical framework as particularly suited to the intellectual objectives of this thesis, I do not have a disciple-like allegiance to his sociology. I have critiqued his master concepts where this seemed appropriate but I was unable, in the space of this thesis, to engage with the many critiques of Bourdieu's vast oeuvre which I concede, may create the impression of an uncritical acceptance of his ideas.

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I think it is important to pause here to briefly introduce the discussion that follows below. In chapter one I argued that Bourdieu's sociology can assist to represent the relationship between structure and agency. For Bourdieu, this is achieved in practice through the application of the concepts field, habitus and capital. In brief, it is meant to work in the following way: the concept of field represents objective social structure while the concept of habitus (individual disposition) represents subjective social structure. The meeting or intersection of these two social structures produces action (agency). The representation of the dialectical relationship between a field and habitus thus enables the researcher to analyse how action is produced. In the discussion below I explain the concepts in more detail (and how capital fits in) with respect to their function in the realisation of the objectives of this thesis.

The second significant part of the discussion below is my argument that Bourdieu's concept of field, when transposed onto the university (as a research object), functions as a powerful heuristic device for institutional analysis. I thus argue that Bourdieu's field concept (always used in tandem with habitus and capital) is particularly suited for representing the

relationship between objective and subjective social structure (structure/agency) at the site of the university. I will thus also attempt to show in the discussion below that Bourdieusian "institutional analysis" provides a relatively unique and potentially very productive approach for local studies of university transformation.

2.3 Field

In Bourdieu's definition, advanced and highly differentiated societies are made up of a number of relatively autonomous, hierarchically structured objective structures which he refers to as fields. In his view, the social world comprises, among others, the fields of housing, education, politics, art, sport, law and economics. He argues that each field follows a unique logic of action in accordance with its own rules, regularities and forms of authority (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:97; Johnson 1993:6; Wacquant 2008: 268). The following is a general definition by Bourdieu of the field concept:

A field is a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and others who are dominated. Constant permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which the various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies. (Bourdieu 1998b:40-41) (Brackets in original)

In Bourdieu's sociology, the concept of field performs the function of representing objective social structure. In chapters three and five I will explain how the concept is applied in practice. For now, I will concentrate on the specific properties of a field that I found useful for this thesis.

2.3.1 The network of social relations within fields

Bourdieu argues that a field consists of a network or a configuration of objective relations between positions (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 97). These positions are objectively defined and impose determinations on their occupants in accordance with their endowment of power (capital - discussed below). Field positions are thus hierarchically structured and their occupants are distinguishable from each other by differences in rank and authority (Bourdieu et al: 1999a:123). Bourdieu therefore argues that the "structure of a field is a *state* of the power relations" within the field (emphasis in original) (Bourdieu 1993c: 73; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 99). In order to analyse the structure of a field, researchers must establish (empirically) the network of objectively defined relationships between positions and their respective levels of power (capital) thus revealing the hierarchy of authority (distribution of capital) within the field.

Bourdieu considered the objectification of field positions as pivotal for understanding the point of view of the agent taken from his or her position in the network of structured positions. In research practice, the concept of field thus functions as a methodological tool to construct a "bird's-eye view" of a bounded social space. For Bourdieu, agents classify and construct their understanding of the field from particular positions in the field and are therefore unlikely to be aware of the entirety of the operations within the field (Swartz 1997: 57). He is therefore harshly critical of certain strands of discourse analysis for ignoring the structured nature of a field by taking discourse at face-value without analysing the social structure (field) that produced it (Bourdieu et al 1991:249; Bourdieu 1985:724; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:107).

By applying Bourdieu's field concept in practical research projects, as I will attempt to show in this thesis, researchers can represent social space with a wide-angled view that objectifies the differentially structured positions of power it is comprised of and the social relationships that exist within and between these positions.

2.3.2 Social games and the struggle for legitimate authority

Bourdieu's concept of field persistently denotes tension, conflict and competition among its inhabitants. In his view, fields are inherently non-homogenous and are essentially fields of struggles between inhabitants to gain control over the power to decide its logic of practice (Bourdieu 2004:45 Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 98). Bourdieu likens the operation of a field to a game which he uses as a pedagogic device to illustrate its essential properties. Thus in Bourdieu's game-metaphor, each player has to abide by and respect the game's "*illusio*" (a player's belief in the specific interests or stakes inherent in the game) (Bourdieu 1998a:78). Players are also required to submit to its "*doxa*" which sets out its unwritten and unquestioned shared rules and philosophy (Bourdieu 1990a:66: Deer 2008:121). Put differently, players must be in agreement about the value of the game, what is worth fighting for and preserving; they must therefore be united on "everything that makes the field itself, the game, the stakes, all the presuppositions that one tacitly and even unwittingly accepts by the mere fact of playing, of entering the game" (Bourdieu 1993c:74). Bourdieu argues that players compete with each other, "sometimes with ferocity", for the power to control the state of play in the game (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 98). He argues that certain players regard their investments in the stakes of a game as equal to the value of life itself and are therefore "ready to die" to defend and

protect it. This leads to persistent and intense struggles within the game (field) (Bourdieu 1998a:78).

In Bourdieu's view, these struggles are essentially over the ownership of the legitimate authority to control the field. By using the field of science as an example, Bourdieu argues that the dominant agents in that field "manage to impose the definition of science that says that the most accomplished realisation of science consists in having, being and doing what they have, are and do" (Bourdieu 2004:63). The very definition of the scientific field is thus a significant stake in the struggle between agents for control over the field's structure, doxa and *illusio*. In Bourdieusian sociology, therefore, a salient property of fields is that they are all inherently sites of contestation between agents over the right to name and control its activities. A researcher can therefore potentially establish the logic of practice of a field by analysing the internal struggles for legitimate authority among its agents.

With the concept of field, Bourdieu thus argues that it is possible for sociologists to represent objective social structure. In his view, the "theory of field" forces the researcher "to ask what people are playing at in this field...what are the stakes, goods or properties sought and distributed...what are the instruments...that one needs to have in order to play the game with some chance of winning" (Bourdieu 2004: 34). Bourdieu's concept of field is therefore an "epistemological and methodological heuristic" (Thompson 2008:74) that enables researchers to represent a bounded social space consisting of hierarchically structured positions that are populated by agents interested in attaining the requisite form of power (and position) to transform or preserve its logic of practice.

2.4 Habitus

In contrast to the concept of field, the concept of habitus (disposition) is used by Bourdieu to represent subjective social structure. Bourdieu regarded the representation of the social factors that orientate human action as the true object of social science which is an indication of how highly he valued the concept of habitus in his analytical framework. The habitus is defined by Bourdieu as having the following characteristics:

The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way obedient to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organising action of a conductor. (Bourdieu 1990a: 53)

According to Bourdieu (1984: 466), the habitus functions beneath the level of consciousness (it is brought into consciousness through pedagogic action and socio-analysis/reflexivity) and is incorporated into an agent's mind and body which are both "inhabited" by the structure of the social relations of which he or she is the product (Bourdieu, 2007:64). Bourdieu therefore contends that "the body is in the social world but the social world is also in the body" (Bourdieu 1990:190).

Although the mental incorporation of social structure is not easily detected, Bourdieu argues that it tends to "show up in physical manner and style" (Swartz 1997:108). For Bourdieu, the incorporation of habitus is revealed in ways of walking, blowing one's nose, and manner of eating or talking, tilting

of the head or body posture which he refers to as “*bodily hexis*” (Bourdieu 1984:465; Bourdieu 2004:44). Reay (2004) has linked bodily hexis to social structure in her argument that an agent's relationship to dominant or subordinate social practices (culture) is often conveyed through positive or negative bodily gestures or forms of speaking suggesting the incorporation of social values into the habitus. The concept of habitus thus posits that an agent's disposition is moulded into the mind and body as an archive or repository of social conditioning and life experience (Gelderblom 2008:12).

In Bourdieu's formulation, the habitus “functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions” that create the possibility for the “achievement of infinitely diversified tasks” (Bourdieu 1977:83). For Bourdieu, the forms of agency generated by the habitus also “offers a matrix of hypotheses” capable of being verified through empirical research (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:131). In the section below I discuss some of the research possibilities that were generated by the habitus concept for this study. I thus attempt to show how the concept has enabled this thesis to empirically represent the relationship between structure and action. As with the field concept, I have only discussed those properties of the concept that were useful for this thesis.

2.4.1 Habitus, field and the production of agency

Bourdieu argues that the embodied structures of the habitus give agent action the appearance of “second nature” (Bourdieu 1990a: 56). He describes this second nature or practical sense as the “art” of anticipating the future of a field or what action to take in a given situation (ibid: 66; 1998a: 25). The habitus thus provides agents with a “feel for the game” because of their familiarity with its doxa and *illusio* (Bourdieu 1990a:66; Bourdieu &

Wacquant, 1992:98). The “feel for the game” is internalised and unconscious; it is not controlled by rational choice (although Bourdieu does not exclude rational choice under certain conditions). According to Bourdieu, the habitus operates in a fashion similar to the intuition of a tennis player who knows instinctively which stroke to play and how to anticipate the direction in which the ball will be returned by an opponent (Bourdieu 1998a:79). The speed of the anticipated response is the actualisation of Bourdieu’s notion of a practical sense. The player’s chosen stroke-play and its potential for success cannot be fully captured in the rules of a coaching manual. The time available to players to make choices and the flair with which they make their shots suggest that their actions are not the unfolding of rational plans but are drawn from a number of possible actions that are incorporated into the body (Gelderblom 2008:12).

Practical knowledge therefore “pre-recognizes” and aims at the future success of an agent in a field through an alignment between field and habitus (Bourdieu 1990a: 66; Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 22). Agents are therefore able, when the habitus encounters a field, to analyse the “*space of the possibles*” and thus to forecast or anticipate the potential for the realisation of their ambitions and interests in that field (Bourdieu 2007:22). According to Swartz (1997:95) the relationship between habitus and field enables Bourdieu to account for how action follows regular statistical patterns without being the “product of the organising action of a conductor” or obedience to rules or conscious intention. For Bourdieu, agents are thus “strategic improvisors” who respond to the opportunities or constraints of a field in accordance with the schemes of perception and appreciation embedded in their habitus (ibid: 100). The agency that is produced as a result of the intersection between a field and habitus is thus, according to Bourdieu, the product of the practical sense or intuitive responses of agents

orientated by years of social conditioning of the habitus (of which the agent is unconscious).

From the above explanation of the relationship between habitus and field, it should be clear that Bourdieu considered the intersection between the two as the motor-force behind agent action. In its simplest form, the relationship can be described as the outcome of the unconscious operation of a "sixth-sense" socially programmed into the mind which determines how an agent "behaves" when encountering a field. In the discussion below I have attempted to explain how this relationship works in more detail. I pay specific attention to the historical evolution of the relationship between a field and habitus and the possible forms of agency that their intersection generates.

2.4.2 The genesis of the relationship between field and habitus

As already emphasised, the relationship between subjective and objective social structure produces practices (action). In this way, according to Wacquant (2005:316), Bourdieu's sociology attempts to revoke the common-sense duality between the individual and society. For Bourdieu, a relationship of "ontological complicity" exists between habitus and a field. In his conceptualisation of human action therefore, the two social structures, field and habitus, are mutually constituting and have reciprocal shaping effects on each other. Bourdieu therefore regarded the relationship between field and habitus as dialectical because both objective and subjective social structure are involved in constructing how agents perceive and act in society which removes the need to theoretically distinguish between structure and agency in social analysis. (Wacquant 1989:45; Grenfell 2008b; Grenfell & Hardy 2007:29)

The relationship of mutual conditioning or ontological complicity between field and habitus is established in the following way: a field has a structuring or conditioning effect on the habitus while the latter structures and contributes to reproducing the field by constituting it as a meaningful world "endowed with sense and value, in which it is worth investing one's energy" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:127). The process of conditioning of the habitus commences with childhood in which agents acquire the dispositions and knowledge to function within fields. For example, a child raised in a family environment of artisans, scientists or artists acquires the schemata of perception and appreciation to function or act within such fields. For Bourdieu, these conditioned dispositions are the "structured structures" of the habitus that directs the action of agents in particular fields (Bourdieu 1990a:54; Swartz 2002: 635; Maton 2008: 52). The internalised dispositions gained from childhood thus orientate the forms of action taken by an agent when encountering a field later in life. Agents tend to contribute toward reproduction and evolution of the field by conditioning the habitus of their successors (the structuring structures of the habitus). The dialectical relationship between the two social structures is thus pivotal to understanding social context and agent action (Swartz 1997:141; Horvat 2001:214).

2.4.3 Field, habitus and social history

This second property of the field/habitus relationship is not unrelated to the one above; I have only separated them here for the sake of emphasis. From the above discussion it is clear that social history plays a central part in the production of field and habitus. According to Bourdieu, both field and habitus are historically constructed: the actions of agents are therefore influenced by the dialectical relationship between history inscribed in things

(fields) and the history incorporated into their habitus (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 126-127; Bourdieu 1990a:55). Bourdieu refers to this as the *relation between two relations of historical action* (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:127). Social history is therefore central to Bourdieu's theory of action as he believed that "that what is called the social *is* history through and through" and that his "whole effort aims to discover history where it is best hidden, in people's heads and in the postures of their bodies" (Bourdieu 1993c: 46).

In this thesis the representation of habitus and field as the products of social history has contributed substantially to the methodology for analysing the relationship between the social trajectory of the university (field) and that of its inhabitants.

2.4.4 The habitus and an agent's adjustment to a field

The dialectical relationship between habitus and field assists in the explanation of the level of social comfort that agents experience within a field. In Bourdieu's formulation, the habitus is durable yet transposable. It is by no means an eternal destination or self-fulfilling prophecy. For Bourdieu, the habitus is capable of adjusting to the requirements of the forces in operation in a field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:133). Agents may therefore assimilate into a field by appropriately modelling their behaviour in order to enhance their acceptability and chances of success (manners, speaking accent, etc) (ibid: 24; Bourdieu 1977: 95).

The adjustment or alignment with the demands of a field comes easy to agents whose socialisation imbues them with the disposition required by the field. Such agents will feel "at home" or like a "fish in water" and will require

only minimal changes to their habitus. These agents are the game incarnate because of the close affinity between the social trajectory of their habitus and the history of the logic of the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:127). When the relationship between habitus and field is out of alignment and an agent anticipates social adjustment difficulties, he or she may opt out of participation in the field as the habitus tends to protect itself from crisis by selecting fields to which it is pre-adapted and which reinforces its dispositions (Bourdieu 1990a:61). According to Bourdieu, the practical mastery embedded in the habitus thus operates as an “open system of dispositions” that are constantly subjected to experiences that either modifies or reinforces its structures (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:133). This is an important conceptual insight that I have found useful for this thesis. I therefore expand on its broader implications and importance with Bourdieu’s concept of *hysteresis* in the discussion below.

2.4.5 Hysteresis: Fissure between field and habitus

Bourdieu argues that the habitus has degrees of adaptation or integration such that certain field conditions may exert tensions that can engender a “de-stabilised habitus torn by contradiction and internal division, generating suffering” (Bourdieu 2006: 160). Bourdieu himself experienced a “cleft habitus” caused by his social trajectory (“low social origin” and high academic achievement). As a result, he experienced both fulfilment in and ambivalence towards academia and intellectual life (Bourdieu 2007:100). Thus while the habitus is durable and transposable, its adjustments has limits. This may account for action by agents that are incongruent and contradictory to the regularities of a field (Wacquant 2005:317). For example, in cases where the relationship between a field and habitus is profoundly changed, the habitus of an agent may become disorientated.

This occurs particularly when the field changes are radically different to the social conditions which originally influenced the habitus.

Bourdieu refers to such radical ruptures between the habitus and a field and the time-lag that follows before the field reconstitutes itself as *hysteresis* (Bourdieu 2006:160; Gelderblom 2008: 15). The condition of hysteresis thus refers to a substantial disjuncture between a field and habitus when the field has transformed faster than an agent's habitus. The action of agents during the time-lag that occurs before the field stabilises is referred to as the "hysteresis effect" (Thorn 2007). The latter may take the form of resistance from those agents who were particularly well adjusted to the previous field while for others it may offer new opportunities as new positions, although not yet fully defined, become available (Bourdieu 2006:160; Hardy 2008:132; Swartz 1997:112). Thus while the disruption of the relationship between the habitus and a field may disorientate some agents, it may offer opportunities for others to improve their field positions.

To illustrate the operation of the concept of hysteresis, Bourdieu cites the enduring cultural effects of French colonial rule in Algeria. He argues that the social determinism of colonialism in Algeria caused the imprint of French colonial culture to persist long after the establishment of an independent Algerian state. Bourdieu notes that while many people took advantage of the reconstituting fields in a transforming Algeria, others resisted change because of the durability of their colonial habitus (Wacquant 2004:392).

Another example of the efficacy of the concept of hysteresis can be found in the argument made by Hardy (2008:132). According to Hardy, government policy changes directed at the primary education system in England,

resulted in a substantial mismatch between field and habitus for many schoolteachers. As a result of the hysteresis effect, many teachers adjusted to the "new orthodoxy" by taking up desirable positions in the reconstituting field. From among those teachers who actively resisted, many were "less successful in maintaining their field positions" (Hardy 2008:144). Hardy notes further that many teachers opted to abandon their teaching careers because they found the gap between their habitus and the new field far too distressing (Hardy 2008:145). According to Bourdieu (2006:162), the latter response is likely to happen during periods of hysteresis because agents who are reluctant to change tend to attract negative sanctions from the field.

The concept of hysteresis is therefore defining of the severe rupture between habitus and field during moments of rapid social change. As I will show later in this thesis, hysteresis is a very useful heuristic tool for analysing agency in the post-apartheid context which can be characterised as a typical example of a radical disjuncture between field and habitus.

2.4.6 Affinity of habitus

Bourdieu accounts for habitus-generated group action within a social space through his formulation of the concept of class. In Bourdieu's conception, class is not determined solely by an individual's economic position (relationship to the means of production) (Horvat 2001: 207; Brubaker 1985:761). Bourdieu argues that an agent's class is shaped under homogenous conditions of existence that are inscribed into the habitus. Class is therefore the product of lived-experience shared between agents which shape their dispositions in similar ways (Horvat 2001: 207; Brubaker 1985:762). Brubaker notes that Bourdieu regards class as a generic term for all social groups distinguished by their historically shared conditions of

existence. The markers of group social identity such as age, race, gender, ethnicity, geographical location, among others, are therefore all categories of class distinction (Brubaker 1985:767). It is through this conceptualisation of class as the product of shared conditions of existence that Bourdieu is able to account for habitus-inspired group agency in a field. By acting in accordance with a shared habitus, according to Bourdieu, group members are capable of generating similar practices in social settings (Horvat 2001: 207; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:125; Bourdieu 1990a:58). Bourdieu thus argues that agents who share similar class backgrounds may form group solidarity within a field as a result of an "*affinity of habitus*" (Bourdieu 2007:27; Bourdieu 1990b: 128). This thesis, taking cognisance of its post-apartheid context, has employed Bourdieu's notion of "affinity of habitus" to analyse how agents have produced forms of agency that were inspired by shared conditions of existence.

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From the above discussion it should be clear why I found the concepts of habitus and field useful for researching structure/agency at the site of the university. It is important to note that Bourdieu's approach to structure/agency is not alone in attempting to analyse agent action and social context. Scholars such as Roy Bhaskar, Margaret Archer and Anthony Giddens have also attempted to address the challenges of structure/agency in social analysis (Muller 2000: 131-132; Jones et al 2011; Kloot 2010: 28; Akram 2010). Recently, a small number of South African scholars have begun to apply the work of Archer and Bhaskar to analyse areas of study which are similar to my own (Vorster 2010; Quinn 2006; Lockett 2007; Quinn & Boughey 2009). While this scholarship has much in common with Bourdieusian sociology there are also many areas of conceptual

disagreement. It is not my intention to discuss these debates in this thesis. I have mentioned them here to note that my use of the structure/agency concept is not unique in South African higher education studies. The small number of scholars who use the concept is, however, an indication that it is rarely invoked locally for the study of post-apartheid transformation and curriculum change.

In the discussion below I turn my attention to Bourdieu's concept of capital which is used for analysing the extent to which individuals and groups can impose their agency on the structure of power within in a field.

2.5 Capital

The concept of capital completes Bourdieu's triad of relational thinking tools. He uses the concept to explain how agents are able to negotiate their positions in a field through the accumulation of symbolic capital as “weapons” with which to compete with their rivals (Bourdieu 2004:34). Bourdieu therefore posits that the concept of capital is essential for understanding field relations because it reveals how:

Agents, with their...capital, their interests, confront one another within the space of a game, the field, in a struggle to impose recognition of a form of cognition...thereby helping to conserve or transform the field of forces. A small number of agents and institutions concentrate sufficient capital to take the lead in appropriating the profits generated by the field – to exercise power over the capital held by other agents... (Bourdieu 2004:62)

Capital thus delineates power in a field which can advance or restrict the activities of its inhabitants. In the discussion below, I briefly explain the central properties of the concept and its application in this thesis.

Bourdieu argues that it is impossible to understand the structure and functioning of the social world and its various fields without reintroducing the concept of capital in all its forms (Bourdieu 1997:46). He therefore revisited the concept in objection to the privileging - within the general science of economic practices - of the economy and its profits as the single motivation for human action. Bourdieu's purpose with reworking the concept was to relocate its narrow usage in economic theory to a wider anthropology of cultural exchanges and valuations that also included symbolic forms of capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:118; Moore 2008:103). In Bourdieu's view, culture is a form of capital that can be used in the same manner as economic capital: to promote particular interests in markets where investors can exchange currencies and strive to increase their profits (Wacquant 1989: 40; Swartz 1997: 75).

According to Bourdieu, agents use the volume and structure of their respective cultural capital as strategies to advance their interests in a field. He argues that agents may also align their cultural capital to field positions that can reproduce or transform the field in a manner from which they can benefit. The mobilisation of cultural capital as a strategy to advance power and position underpins Bourdieu's argument that all agency is ultimately motivated by the principle of capital accumulation - in their material or symbolic form - thus rendering all human practices essentially inspired by *interests*. For example, Bourdieu argues that agents competing for power may seek to promote their interests by discrediting the capital of their opponents as a strategy to valorise their own species of capital (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 99; Bourdieu 2004:62) Bourdieu refers to such habitus-inspired discrediting or affirming stances as "*position-takings*" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:99). Agents therefore use their habitus-generated "feel for the game" to align their volume of capital to positions that will foster their

ambitions in a field. Bourdieu therefore posits that the “space of positions tend to command the space of position-takings” meaning that when a field is in a state of equilibrium, those agents who hold the most powerful positions control the position-takings of all other agents in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:105).

The concept of capital in Bourdieusian sociology thus functions as a means of analysing the endowments of power possessed and required by agents to improve their positions and ultimately to become hegemonic within a field. He therefore suggests that researchers must determine what species of capital is active in a specific field in order to expose the habitus-inspired strategies and position-takings that agents adopt to advance their ambitions in the field (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:101; Bourdieu 2004:35). The use of their endowment of capital to further their interests in a field thus has the potential to reveal the motivation for particular forms of agency. In the discussion below, I explain the forms of capital Bourdieu identified as endowments of power agents may possess within a field.

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2.5.1 The Forms of Capital

Bourdieu identifies three types of capital, namely, *economic capital*, *cultural/ informational capital* and *social capital* which are each capable of being exchanged for the other within a field. By economic capital he was referring to capital that is directly convertible into money and which may be institutionalised in the form of property rights. With social capital, Bourdieu describes the aggregate of the potential or actual resources derived from social networks which provide each member with the backing or profits of the "collectively-owned" capital (Bourdieu 1997: 51). Such networks accrue

capital for its members on the basis of their affiliation. The value of this capital is thus not necessarily dependent on what an agent knows about a field but who she or he knows in the field (Grenfell & Hardy 2007:30). Cultural capital refers to the knowledge that exists as an internalised code or a cognitive acquisition which equips an agent with appreciation and competence for deciphering cultural relations and cultural artefacts (Johnson 1993:7). *Symbolic capital* refers to any form of the above-named forms of capital when they are perceived as prestigious by agents endowed with the ability to recognise their value within a field (Bourdieu 1998a:47). In chapter five I pay closer attention to the forms of capital that provide their owners with high or low volumes of symbolic capital which determines their level of influence in the university field. Since cultural capital is the form of capital most discussed in this thesis, it will receive closer attention in the section below.

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Bourdieu's earliest work uses the concept of cultural capital to explain that school success is not the result of natural aptitudes such as intelligence or giftedness. He argues that it is as a result of the informal cultural capital gained from socialisation in the family or what he refers to as the "hereditary transmission of cultural capital" (Bourdieu 1970; Bourdieu 1997:48, Swartz 1997:75). Cultural capital is therefore accumulated through childhood socialisation via the pedagogical action of family and educational institutions which ultimately imbue an agent with the knowledge of established cultural practices (Johnson 1993:7; Desmond & Emirbayer 2010; Moore 2008:111). School success in children is therefore, according to Bourdieu, better explained by the amount or type of cultural capital inherited from the family milieu than by measures of individual talent or achievement (Swartz 1997:76).

For Bourdieu, cultural capital exists in three states, namely: *the embodied state*, the *objectified state* and the *institutionalised state* (Bourdieu 1997: 47). In the embodied state, cultural capital is inherited through family socialisation and is incorporated into the body as a component of the habitus (ibid: 49). The schemes of appreciation inculcated into the habitus through family socialisation are; for example, knowledge of music, popular culture or art (Swartz 1997: 76). Cultural capital is thus inculcated into the habitus from childhood, shaping the agents relationship with a field. In the embodied state, cultural capital such as "a good accent", "refined manners" and "being knowledgeable" (as I have already mentioned) may be very advantageous to its holders in fields in which such forms of capital are highly valued (Grenfell & Hardy 2007:30). In its objectified state, cultural capital exists in the form of cultural goods (objects) such as books and works of art, among others (Bourdieu 1997: 50; Swartz 1997:76). Finally, institutionalised cultural capital is the capital that an agent obtains from educational qualifications conferred by institutions which can be used as a source of prestige and recognition enabling agents to increase their volume of capital in a field (Bourdieu 1997: 17).

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From the above discussion it is clear that Bourdieu considered capital as a conceptual tool for researchers to analyse the distribution of power within a field. The value of the concept of capital for this thesis was its usefulness for analysing how capital - predominantly in its symbolic form - is employed by agents to bolster their field positions (and agency). When the three master concepts (habitus, field, capital) are used in tandem they represent the relationship between social context and lived experience thus creating a research object that can be analysed with Bourdieu's field-theoretic approach. In the discussion below, I discuss more directly how Bourdieu's

theoretical framework was adapted for the purposes of relational institutional analysis.

2.6 Bourdieu and post-apartheid higher education studies

Bourdieu's theoretical framework has had a mixed reception in international higher education studies although it has recently begun to receive increased critical appreciation¹⁰ (Wacquant 1989; Grenfell 2007). Three (there may be more) education journals have produced special editions in recognition of his work. The African reach of Bourdieu's work is quite minimal. In South African higher education studies, apart for a barely noticeable local application, his sociology is yet to be appreciated on the same level as the reception afforded to other European scholars. Naidoo (2004); Singh & Lange (2007); Thaver (2003); Kloot (2011); Langa (2012) and Richie (2008) are among the few scholars who have used Bourdieu in their own unique ways to analyse South African higher education and society after apartheid.¹¹ Kloot's (2011) Bourdieusian analysis of foundation programmes within the field of engineering education at two South African universities comes the closest to being concerned with post-apartheid curriculum change as a product of the power relations embedded in the structure/agency relationship (although this is not directly argued by the author). Sitas (2012:274), however, cites a significant literature on Bourdieu in South Africa which includes the field of education and social history but argues that the approach failed to mature as local scholars sought their own "idiosyncratic" ways of analysing South African society under apartheid. Recent developments thus appear to signal a renewed interest in the sociology of Bourdieu among local researchers.

¹⁰ See Grenfell (2007) for a detailed analysis of the appropriation of Bourdieu's ideas in British journals of education.

¹¹ See also Burawoy & Von Holdt (2012), although not directly concerned with higher education.

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In the discussion below I discuss *why* (in a more focused way than the above discussion) Bourdieu's theoretical framework is useful for the study of post-apartheid higher education. In chapters three and five I will explain *how* I have applied it in practice.

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In chapter one I argued that that the secondary literature on South African higher education is suggestive of the need to analyse transformation using theoretical models that examine the relationship between structure and action. Below I have selected three arguments to illustrate my view in this thesis that Bourdieu's theory of action is particularly suited for this purpose.

2.6.1 The university as a field

In chapter one I argued that local higher education studies, with notable exceptions, largely neglect to accurately represent the university as an institution. Local research tends to rely on an assumed, vague, and taken for granted definition of the university. It is not uncommon for scholars and policy-makers to suggest that the university must address a particular problem without disaggregating who (which agents) in the university (and which structures) should address the problem. Policy-makers and scholars tend to regard the definition of the university as "given knowledge", which leaves one hard-pressed to understand what this knowledge is based on as it very seldom explains or theorises how agent activity and power circulate inside the institution.

As I have explained in this chapter, fields can be represented as objective social structures consisting of a configuration of hierarchically structured positions occupied by agents with historically constructed habitus and specific endowments of capital. The field concept thus enables the researcher to represent and analyse the relationship between objective and subjective structure within a bounded social space. I argue in this thesis that if the concept of field is transposed onto the university (as a research object); it is possible for the latter to be analysed as an institutional site that possesses all the properties of a field. The university, theorised as a field, thus becomes a site at which the intersection between field and habitus produces forms of agency that can be represented (objectified) by the researcher for the purposes of critical sociological analysis.

My argument is derived from Bourdieu's approach to the study of the "firm" (company). In his book, *The Social Structures of the Economy* (Bourdieu 2005:69), Bourdieu focuses attention on French building firms and businesses operating in the field of housing. He introduces the notion of the "firm-as-field" to suggest that although the field of housing comprises a number of firms in which the dominant firms determine its logic of practice, individual firms, analysed as fields, can also provide indicators of the logic of the broader operation of the field. He thus posited the concept of "firm-as-field" as a theoretical manoeuvre to attempt to understand how the logic of an individual field relates to the wider field in which it is located. In Bourdieu's conception, therefore, the concept of field can be transposed onto an individual institution with the following effect: "If we enter the black box that is the firm, we find not individuals, but once again, a structure - that of the firm (institution) as a field" (my brackets) (Bourdieu 2005:205). Bourdieu's argument that an institution can be objectified as a field, as I have noted above, has thus enabled this study to represent structure/agency

at the site of the university¹². The firm is, however, not a university; its capitals are field-specific and cannot simply be incorporated into the university-as-field. I will discuss the uniqueness of field capitals in chapter five.

Bourdieu's intra-institutional field approach has generated interest from scholars of institutional theory for much the same reasons that I have argued in this thesis¹³. For example, Jessop (2001:1221) notes that Bourdieu's analytical framework attempts to understand how institutions operate and are reproduced which renders them less vague and much easier to apprehend objectively. Emirbayer & Johnson (2008:38), in a detailed account of the possible empirical application of Bourdieu's master concepts for the study of collective and single institutions, argue similarly that his relational concepts generate a thorough account of the widely varying ways in which relations of power impact on the day to day life of institutions. Bourdieu's ideas are thus considered to have substantial explanatory power for the study of individual institutions and I therefore argue in this thesis that his sociology is by far more useful than the "institutional culture" concept for analysing curriculum change at the site of the university.

2.6.2 The field-reception of mandated policy

As noted in chapter one, South African scholars have argued that local studies of higher education have not analysed the reception of government policy by the myriad of differing interests gathered at the institutional site of the university. I therefore argued that local studies fail to fully apprehend why policy does not follow a linear path to practice. By theorising the

¹² See Emirbayer & Johnson (2008) for a similar but broader discussion of the use of Bourdieusian sociology for the study of a single institution as a field.

¹³ See Emirbayer & Johnson (2008); Jessop (2001).

university as a field, Bourdieu's ideas can be employed to examine how policy texts are received and interpreted. For example, Bourdieu suggests that policy texts tend to be refracted in a manner that may significantly alter its intended purpose. His argument is summarised in the following extract:

The fact that texts circulate without their context, that – to use my terms - they don't bring with them the field of production of which they are a product, and the fact that recipients, who are themselves in a different field of production, re-interpret the texts in accordance with the structure of the field of reception, are facts that generate some formidable misunderstandings and that can have good or bad consequences. (Bourdieu 1999b:221)

Following Bourdieu, I argue in this thesis that the reception of travelling texts is subject to the logic of the forces or forms of authority operating within the receiving field. I therefore argue that Bourdieu's theoretical framework may provide researchers and policy-makers with an opportunity to understand that agents apprehend texts in accordance with their habitus and the logic of the receiving field. Agents may therefore completely misread, support or strategically manipulate a particular reading of the text in order to achieve an advantage over other agents. For Bourdieu, the authority to recognise a particular policy interpretation as legitimate is a stake in the competition among agents within a field. If the researcher examines such struggles, it may be possible to gain sociological insight into the process of institutional policy apprehension and implementation.

Rawolle & Lingard (2008:738) note similarly that Bourdieu's field theory is suited to education policy analysis because of his notion that "texts circulate without their contexts" and because of the emphasis he places on the competing logics of practice in the receiving field. Grenfell & James (2004) also argue that the applicability of Bourdieu's conceptual ideas to education policy studies lie in their ability to assist not only in policy analysis and

critique from a field perspective, but also in their potential for enabling policy development by accounting for agency in the processes that culminate in policy implementation. I therefore argue that theorising the university as a field creates the potential for local studies of higher education to analyse the reception and interpretation of texts as indicators of the strategies, interests and position-takings of agents in the process of policy implementation.

2.6.3 Socio-analysis and higher education research

Bourdieu considered the practice of sociology as a form of *socio-analysis* where the sociologist analyses the social unconscious of society in similar fashion to the psychoanalyst's analysis of an individual's unconscious (Bourdieu 2004:95; Swartz 1997:10; Maton 2008:59). According to Bourdieu, the social unconscious consists of those unacknowledged interests that agents follow as they participate in society. In his view, the misrecognition of these embedded interests is the necessary condition for the exercise of power. By exposing the interests that bind individuals and groups in unequal power relations, Bourdieu argues, sociology becomes an instrument capable of offering a measure of freedom from the constraints of domination (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 49; Swartz 1997:10). Thus for Bourdieu, the bringing into consciousness of the shaping effects of power can blunt their impact on individual and collective lives, providing, at minimum, the potential for freedom (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:211; Bourdieu 1990b:25; Gelderblom 2008:16). Socio-analysis is thus an attempt to offer the individual and society the instruments to uncover unconscious forms of domination that may have liberating effects on social organisation and lived experience. This broad aim of socio-analysis bears some resemblance to *individuation* in psychoanalytical theory which is described as the process

"by which the conscious and the unconscious in the individual learn to know, respect and accommodate one another" resulting in a "whole" and "integrated" person. (Freeman 1978: xi)

This thesis suggests that Bourdieu's socio-analysis has the potential to reveal the unconscious operation of social determinism and power at the site of the university thus creating the potential for agents to gain sociological insight into its shaping effects on individual and institutional transformation. I thus argue that the socio-analysis of the history of a field and the dispositions of its agents has much to reveal about the unconscious operation of power, culture, history and politics on higher education transformation. As the Soudien Report has suggested, universities in South Africa are grappling with the lingering effects of social difference inscribed by apartheid (DOE 2008). While socio-analysis is not considered a separate component of Bourdieu's analytical framework as his entire oeuvre performs the function of unmasking unconscious forms of social determinism, I have suggested in this thesis that Bourdieu's non-moralistic socio-analysis can uncover how the social history embedded in a field and habitus has the potential to uncover agent action orientated by unconscious categories of thought derived from the historical production of the habitus (race essentialism, cultural exclusivity, class and gender discrimination, etc). Stated another way, I am of the view that since the "unconscious is history", as argued by Bourdieu (1993c: 46), the socio-analysis of the unconscious influence of social history, culture and power has much to offer with respect to individual self appropriation and agency at the site of the post-apartheid university.

2.6.4 Conclusion

This chapter has argued that Bourdieu's relational sociology was applied in this study because of the ability of the concepts of field, habitus and capital to represent the university as a field. It has also emphasised the suitability of Bourdieusian sociology for local higher education studies with respect to analysis of the reception of curriculum policy texts and the *socio-analysis* of the unconscious operation of power, culture and history.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The main thing is that they are not to be conceptualised as much as ideas, on that level, but as a method. The core of my work lies in the method and a way of thinking. To be more precise, my method is a manner of asking questions rather than just ideas. This, I think is a critical point. (Bourdieu quoted in interview with Mahar 1990:33)

In the previous chapter I outlined Bourdieu's philosophy of practice. In this chapter I provide an overview of his methodology for putting his theoretical framework to work in an empirical project. The chapter has two focus areas. In the first one I discuss the construction of the research object and the Bourdieusian model for analysing a field. In the second, I explain the research design of the thesis and note the challenges I encountered with the practical application of Bourdieu's field-analytical research methodology. In short, this chapter is a discussion of Bourdieu's model for empirical research and how it was applied in this thesis.

3.2 Constructing the research object

In Bourdieusian sociology, theory and method are inseparable and it is therefore more appropriate to refer to his approach to empirical research as "theory as method" (Grenfell & James 1988:177) (This defining characteristic of his sociology is briefly summarised in the interview cited above). For Bourdieu, the first act of the researcher is to construct the research object (which is usually a field) in a manner that breaks with preconstructions, prenotions or spontaneous theories that are rooted in common-sense (Bourdieu 1991: 249). He notes that when researchers are confronted with preconstructed research objects, social reality is

presented to them as a given, particularly archival knowledge, which, as a preconstructed form of knowledge, tends to embody the unconscious biases of their creators (Bourdieu 1992:44). Bourdieu therefore argues that the researcher must at the very outset apprehend all forms of knowledge that “preconstruct” the research object with “radical doubt” (ibid: 47).

Researchers thus have to be conscious of the scientific foundation of knowledge and attempt to ensure that sociological "facts" about the object of research, given the influence of presuppositions and academic and archive-related biases, are "conquered", "constructed" and "confirmed" (ibid: 42). Thus for Bourdieu, the fundamental purpose of the construction of the research object is to enable the researcher to develop an autonomous research project in the form of a model that can be "matched against reality" (confirmed) (ibid: 45). The construction of the research object is thus the most important part of the application of Bourdieu's sociology and must be the cornerstone of the researcher's *metier* (trade) ultimately converted into a habitus (Bourdieu et al 1991:253; Brubaker 1993).

Bourdieu argues that his approach to the construction of the research object offers a "third way" for researchers because it abandons the antinomy between theoretical formalism and positivist hyper-empiricism (Bourdieu 1992: 46; Wacquant 2008: 265). According to Bourdieu, such research methods practice "empty theoreticism" and "blind empiricism" that place methodological restrictions on the production of knowledge (Bourdieu 1998:777). Wacquant (2008:266) denotes three principles that make up Bourdieu's “third way” approach to empirical research. These

principles are: methodological polytheism, equal epistemic attention to all operations and methodological reflexivity.

The first principle, methodological polytheism, encourages the researcher to deploy whatever procedure of observation and verification that is best suited to the empirical investigation. This multiplicity of methodological procedures is a technique that defends against scientific rigidity (ibid 266; Wacquant 1989:54). It applies equally to the research "results" which should also be approached with a diversity of analytical tools. Methodological polytheism is, however, not meant as a relativistic or a *laissez faire* epistemological approach to scientific research.¹⁴ In Bourdieu's formulation, theory and method must always "fit the problem at hand"; implying that research techniques must always be relational (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 30; Grenfell 2008c: 224). Researchers must therefore always use research methods that pair with the relational concepts of field, habitus and capital. Techniques that are not capable of demonstrating relationality would thus be unsuitable for application in Bourdieu's research model.

The second principle, equal epistemic attention to all operations, ties in with the first. According to this principle, the researcher applies equal epistemic attention to all research activities (design of questionnaires, carrying out of interviews, document analysis, etc). Thus in Bourdieusian methodology, every act of research must fully engage the theoretical framework that "guides and commands it" which, according to Wacquant (2008:266), functions in practice as "an organic relation, indeed a veritable fusion between theory and method." When applying Bourdieusian research methods, the research object is thus always confronted with the

¹⁴ See Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992:30) for a broader discussion on Bourdieu's methodological polytheism.

relational principles embedded in Bourdieu's adapted genetic structuralism. In this way theory is paired with method as inseparable tools in the process of object construction and analysis (Bourdieu et al 1991:253).

The third principle, methodological reflexivity, refers to the vigilance of the sociologist when applying research methods. Wacquant (2008:266) notes that for Bourdieu, research methods must be relentlessly (reflexively) questioned in an ongoing dialectic between theory and verification in an attempt to "vanquish the manifold obstacles that stand in the way of a science of society." The principle of reflexivity is central to the application of Bourdieu's research method but also to his sociology as a whole. I will therefore continue this discussion in more detail later on in this chapter. In the discussion below, I turn my attention to the model that Bourdieu uses to analyse the field of the object of study.

3.3 Bourdieu's three-level field analysis

Bourdieu's methodology requires the researcher to analyse the field of the object of study. To achieve this empirically, he devised the following three-level approach for field analysis (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 104-105; Swartz 1997:142):

Level One: The researcher analyses the field *vis-a-vis* the field of power.

Level Two: The researcher maps out the objective structure of the relations occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority within the field.

Level Three: The researcher analyses the habitus of agents; the different systems of dispositions they have acquired through internalising a determinate type of social and economic condition which finds a definite trajectory within the field.

It should be noted that Bourdieu did not apply the three-level approach in the above linear sequence in his research. He often shifted the different levels around choosing to start his analysis at the level that best suited his narrative style (Grenfell 2007: 62). The model is thus only a general guide which Bourdieu was rarely prescriptive about but which is always present in the majority of his major research projects. I found it useful to use examples from the latter to assist in developing a broad understanding of the creativity (non-linearity) that accompanied his application of the model. In chapter five I explain in more detail the practical construction of the research object as a social space (field). My intention in the discussion below is to explain how Bourdieu conceptualised his methodology for analysing the field of a research object.

3.3.1 Level One: The field of power

The first level, in which the researcher analyses the field of the research object *vis-a-vis* the field of power, posed a difficult empirical problem. The difficulty arose because the field of power is essentially a macro or meta-concept. In Bourdieu's conception, the field of power refers to the forms of power that constitute the "ruling class"¹⁵ in society (Bourdieu 1996a: 264-265; Swartz 2008:49). Swartz (*ibid*) emphasises this point by arguing that Bourdieu describes the field of power as an arena of struggle among

¹⁵ See Bourdieu & Wacquant (1992:76.n16)

significant capital holders to impose their particular social principles as the most legitimate for dominating an entire social order. Bourdieu thus intended for the concept to be used as a tool of analysis for macro-level competition across a range of fields (economic, cultural, intellectual, etc) within society as a whole (ibid: 50).

The location of a single institution within the field of power was therefore empirically challenging. While I acknowledge that the field of higher education occupies a significant position within the field of power as its capital is influential in many fields within society; it was empirically difficult to relate a single case-study to the field of power (other than through its association with the broader field of higher education). Attempting to establish the direct empirical effect of UX on the field of power would have amounted to forcing the operation of a macro-concept that is unworkable at this level of empirical investigation (I also touch on this point in the discussion of level 2 below). I have therefore not employed the field of power concept because it was not empirically achievable in a narrowly focused case-study. This has, however, not taken anything away from the analytical efficacy of Bourdieu's model as the field concept (as discussed in chapter two) is sufficient for representing power and agency in intra-institutional research projects (Swartz 2008:50).

3.3.2 Level Two: Mapping out the power configuration

In accordance with the requirements of level 2, I have provided a "structural topography" of the field of UX (Grenfell 2008c:223) (see chapter five). This process involved the mapping out of the structure of positions in order to demonstrate the forms of capital specific to the field and how they are distributed relative to each other. This process identified

the dominant and subordinate positions in the field and the forms of capital corresponding to such positions. The structural topography of the field enabled an empirical understanding of the relationships of authority within the university. It was also during this process of mapping out the field positions that I set the borders of the research object - a process described by Bourdieu as “fuzzy” and “contested” (Thomson 2008:78).

In marking out the boundaries of the field I reduced its size substantially in order to enable a coherent and manageable research project. In my view, the field of higher education in South Africa is substantial and thus beyond the reach and resources of this study. For example, the South African field of higher education consists of the national government, its bureaucratic arm, the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) and the various universities that comprise the "university field."¹⁶ Statutory bodies such as the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) and the Council on Higher Education (CHE) complete the list of official institutions that constitute the field. If the government department responsible for schools, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) (which has a stake in the higher education field through teacher education which is predominantly offered by universities), non-governmental organisations that represent both higher and school education and private institutions that offer higher education are added, it becomes clear that the field is very broad with many overlapping boundaries. I was therefore compelled to minimise the relationship between the "university-as-field" and the broader higher education field.

The reduction of a field for the purposes of creating workable empirical projects is not uncommon when applying Bourdieu's theoretical

¹⁶ See Naidoo (2001).

framework. For example, Vaughan (2008) notes that Bourdieu's field theory presents an empirical challenge when a single institution is studied as a field within a much larger field. Vaughn (ibid: 72), who has conducted an intra-institutional study of NASA (National Aeronautics and Space Administration), notes that the field boundaries of her research project were substantially reduced to make the analysis of an organisation within a "sprawling, geographically dispersed, government bureaucracy" empirically achievable.

The field concept thus has the tendency to create the "problem of too many fields" Thomson (2008: 79). Thomson (ibid) notes that Bourdieu himself grappled with this difficulty and also resolved it by narrowing the boundaries of his objects of study. In this thesis I have therefore followed the practice of reducing the boundaries of the field to make it more manageable while remaining cautious of separating it from its moorings within the broader field of higher education.

3.3.3 Level Three: Habitus of the agents

...habitus is not something natural, inborn: being a product of history, that is, of social experience and education, it may be *changed by history*, that is by new experiences education or training (which implies that aspects of what remains unconscious in habitus be made at least partially conscious and explicit). (Bourdieu 2005b: 45) (Emphasis and brackets in original)

In level three the researcher must analyse the habitus brought by agents to their respective positions and the interests they pursue within the field (Swartz 1997:142). In order to get an empirical sense of the dispositions of agents, I conducted semi-structured interviews (see discussion below). The purpose of these interviews was to understand the social trajectory of

individuals before and after they joined the university. As a result of the interviews I was able to glean the origins of the intellectual and professional dispositions of agents in relation to the position they held within the field. My intention (in keeping with this level of field analysis) was to attempt to represent the dialectical relationship between habitus and objective social structure at the site of the university. The concept of habitus was thus used largely to account for the relationship between lived experience, social context and the individual dispositions of respondents. The use of interview data to construct the habitus of agents was not ideal as it limited my knowledge of their capital as a whole (scientific or academic capital as opposed to only their socio-political viewpoints). My reasons for only relying on interviews to gather data and not a wider range of sources characteristic of the research methodology of Bourdieu are related to a particular set of challenges around documentary evidence that I discuss in chapter five.

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Bourdieu's field-analytic methodology for conducting empirical research as presented above was not intended to be applied as if it were a rigidly positivist research formula.¹⁷ It is usually applied by Bourdieu as a set of relatively flexible research principles with room for improvisation. Below I briefly explain the research design of this thesis and how it fits with Bourdieu's relational sociology. I also discuss some of the problems I encountered when applying the model and how I attempted to resolve them.

¹⁷ For examples of how Bourdieu applied his principles of object construction and field analysis in flexible and creative ways, see Bourdieu (1988; 1993a; 1996a; 2005).

3.4 Research Design

When I applied the model, object construction and the analysis of its field were simultaneous empirical processes (exemplifying the fusion between theory and method in Bourdieu's sociology). The discussion below is an account of how I have paired the research methods of this thesis with Bourdieu's relational sociology in a manner that sustains the organic relationship between theory and method that is so central to the relational approach.

3.4.1 Qualitative relational research

Social science textbooks usually characterise the difference between qualitative and quantitative research methods as an opposition between words and numbers (May 1997:172). Qualitative data is defined as a source of well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes in identifiable social contexts. In contrast, quantitative data with its lists and tables of summarised numbers (statistics) is said to be limited in its ability to provide a sense of everyday social life (Miles & Huberman 1994:1). Bourdieu opposed the antinomy between quantitative and qualitative research and often used both methods in his work. However, in a defence against the objectivist denigration of qualitative research as "fuzzy wuzzy" or "soft" sociology, he argued that qualitative research is often more inventive, imaginative, and creative than its quantitative counterpart, although he always opposed the establishment of a dichotomy between the approaches (Bourdieu 1998c:781-782).

This thesis largely draws on semi-structured interviews as its primary source of empirical data-gathering, and is therefore predominantly

qualitative. While the qualitative approach to research is broadly defined, the summary below, adapted from Miles & Huberman (1994:9-10) summarises how the approach was blended with relational sociology in this thesis to attain the following:

- a) Identification of the meanings and connections that agents make between their lives and the social environment (field).
- b) Identification of themes or patterns that characterise (represent) the field.
- c) Affixing "Bourdiesian codes" to such themes in documents and transcribed semi-structured interviews.
- d) Analysing such themes and patterns with Bourdieu's master concepts.

3.4.2 The case-study

Yin (2005:380) argues that the case-study method is effective for education research because it examines, in-depth, a specific case in its "real-life" context. The use of the case-study method, however, raises the issue of the generalisation of research "results" (Flyvbjerg 2006:224). I acknowledge that the study of a single university cannot be taken as representative of the entire university field. I am, however, of the view that the model can be applied in the study of other universities which may create the potential for certain forms of generalisation. I therefore concur with Flyvbjerg (ibid: 228) who argues that a particular case-study can often provide the "force of example" which should not be discounted as less effective than methods that aim directly at generalisation.

Bourdieu argues similarly that the case-study must be presented by the author as a "particular case of the possible" which allows the model be to be replicated in similar settings thus creating the possibility for comparison (and ultimately generalisation) (Bourdieu 1984: xi).

In sum, I have used the case-study as a method to construct a model that can be applied in university settings. My study therefore does not make any general claims but argues that it is possible, through comparison with other cases produced using the same model, to establish a relational sociological understanding of post-apartheid higher education transformation.

3.5 Information gathering and data sources

The primary source of data for this case study was obtained from semi-structured interviews I conducted with academics at the university and one former senior manager at the then national Department of Education (DOE). I also gathered information from secondary resources such as official documents, books and journals, Faculty yearbooks and course outlines. My data sources are discussed in detail below.

3.5.1 Academic publications

I commenced my research with a survey of local and international journals, books, unpublished papers and postgraduate theses. These were used to conduct a literature review which assisted in establishing the research focus of this thesis.

3.5.2 Archival research

I obtained the yearbooks which outlined the Faculty of Education's curriculum from 1995 to 1999 from the university's archives. This archive also provided very useful information on the general history of the university. The Faculty yearbooks for the period 2000 to the present were downloaded from the electronic archive available on the university's website.

3.5.3 Official policy documents

The post-apartheid process to change the curriculum is essentially a government prescript that must be followed by all South African universities. I therefore used the relevant government policy documents to establish the official transformation objectives that universities were expected to comply with.

3.5.4 Documents obtained during field research

During the process of conducting interviews I received documents from interviewees. These included course outlines, electronic mail, letters, memoranda and notes taken during meetings. Although these were very minimal, they assisted in providing information on the viewpoints of agents on transformation in the Faculty. It should be stressed that this very small collection of documents were not used in a way that makes public any confidential information about the university or an individual.

3.5.5 Minutes of the meetings of Senate and Council

I approached the university administration for permission to access the minutes of Senate and Council. The rules set by the university require a document by document request procedure. This negated the purpose of examining these records because I intended to work through entire collections rather than specific documents. I therefore opted not to survey the recent minutes of Senate and Council because it did not seem feasible given the nature of the document access procedures of the university. This meant that I did not have sight of valuable information that could verify the data I gathered from respondents, particularly about executive decisions on curriculum transformation.

3.5.6 The semi-structured interview

How can we not feel anxious about making private world's public, revealing confidential statements made in the context of a relationship based on a trust that can only be established between two individuals. (Bourdieu 1999a:1)

I predominantly made use of the semi-structured interview to operationalise the concepts of field, habitus and capital. The semi-structured interview normally specifies certain questions but the interviewer is free to explore beyond the answers provided (May 1997:111). Since one of the requirements for field analysis involves the examination of the social trajectory of agents, the semi-structured interview allowed me to pursue questions that drew out the social and academic background of respondents. It also allowed respondents to speak beyond the "structured" questions.

The semi-structured interview is particularly useful because it makes allowances for the researcher to seek clarification and elaboration during the interview process (ibid). In many of my interviews I followed up on information I had gathered from other sources and from other interviewees. This enabled me to obtain as many viewpoints as possible on events or issues that tended to recur in response to particular interview questions. The semi-structured interview thus enabled me to do data collection and data analysis simultaneously. I did, however, encounter problems with using this "investigative" approach. Fortunately, I encountered these difficulties during my pilot study which gave me the opportunity to correct some of my "errors" in this larger research project. I was therefore better prepared the second time round. In the following discussion I discuss the two most important difficulties that I was consistently confronted with in the field when using the semi-structured interview. I also explain how I attempted to address them and the relatively uneven results that were achieved.

The first problem arose as a result of the familiarity my respondents had with the research process. Most of the respondents in my research sample (discussed below) were academics and were well acquainted with the academic game inherent in the semi-structured interview. It was not uncommon for the interviewees to also interview the interviewer as a form of protection against misrepresentation. I experienced this response when I attempted to follow up on information that I received from the colleagues of interviewees who had named them or indicated their involvement in a process or issue relevant to the study. The concern for interviewees was that they were not able to establish my "motives" for posing certain questions and would become suspicious of my interest in what they considered as "sensitive" information. On one occasion, an

interviewee considered my questions "unfair" because it suggested that colleagues would have to be compared. My questions thus had the appearance of an imposition that many respondents considered intrusive and sometimes even threatening (to their reputation and careers at the university).

In attempting to avoid arousing the "suspicions" of the respondents in subsequent interviews, I followed Bourdieu's advice on limiting the "intrusion effect" which he argues often accompanies the semi-structured interview. Bourdieu argues that because it is the researcher that sets up the rules of the interview and assigns its objectives and uses, he or she may be guilty of imposing on the social space of the respondent which can result in a negative response. For Bourdieu, researchers can circumvent the intrusion effect by monitoring the interview relationship "on the spot" as a "reflex reflexivity" based on a "sociological feel" or "eye" (Bourdieu 1999a:608-610). The researcher must therefore learn to develop an intuitive "feel" for impositions or intrusions that may affect the respondent and corrupt the data being gathered.

Bourdieu notes that the intrusion effect may be triggered by the researcher's arbitrary attempt to steer or control the direction of the interview in pursuit of pertinent information or to follow a "theoretical line." This could include not listening attentively because of the urgency to satisfy data-gathering imperatives resulting in disrespectfully treating the respondent as merely an object of research. Bourdieu argues that such inattentiveness coupled with scientific aloofness may result in respondents resisting objectification by concealing the structuring pressures that orientate their actions (Bourdieu 1999a:610; Fowler 1996:4). The intrusion effect thus limits the information which an interviewee is

willing to provide if it is apparent that the researcher is only interested in information to confirm a theoretical stance or presupposition. Bourdieu argues that this characteristic of the intrusion effect can be controlled through “active and methodical listening” (Bourdieu 1999a: 609).

Recognising that the problems that I experienced could have been the result of the lack of a “sociological eye”, I followed some of Bourdieu’s advice for negating the intrusion effect. This led to some improvement in the quality of the data although it did not entirely remove the guarded approach that was revealed by the bodily hexis of many of the interviewees. For example, I paid more attention to respondents through closer listening which meant that I often had to take in viewpoints that were not required for my research. It did, however, allow for openings and opportunities to negotiate the direction of the interview in a manner which seemed natural, non-threatening and less arbitrary (and therefore less intrusive). Thus although attentive listening made for some very long interviews, it did assist in rendering the interview process less one-sided and gave the respondent equal control over the politics of the discussion (substantially less interviewer domination/imposition).

I also attempted to speak to interviewees in a language that they preferred and felt comfortable with. Since most of the respondents were Afrikaans-speaking, I consciously switched to conducting my interviews in Afrikaans (I had conducted a few interviews in English without realising that I was imposing on Afrikaans-speakers which was probably the cause of some relatively disappointing data quality). The use of Afrikaans made many of my respondents more comfortable which facilitated acceptance of the presence of a stranger posing questions and expecting answers in a language that limited how they could express

themselves. It is thus possible to negate the intrusion effect by making the interview appear as natural as possible. I am not able to speak an African language and I therefore have to accept some level of imposition and intrusion in my use of English with interviewees who were African language speakers.

According to Bourdieu, the intrusion effect can also be remedied if the researcher attempted to apprehend the world of the respondent by placing himself/herself "mentally" in the position that the respondent occupies in the field under investigation. The goal of this exercise is to attempt to understand the point of view of the respondent without identifying or projecting the views of the researcher "into" that of the respondent. The researcher thus attempts to comprehend the world of the respondent thereby narrowing the distance between the researcher and the researched. Bourdieu, however, cautions that the interviewee should not identify with the alter ego who always remains an object (ibid: 2 & 613). I used this approach with many of the interviewees, often referring to their positions, academic publications or research work when starting interviews. This approach, however, as in the one above, improved the quality of the data but did not remove the intrusion effect entirely. For example, some interviewees remained circumspect about my attempts to establish background information about their research work. Thus my attempts at placing myself in the position of the interviewee to increase my sense or "feel" for their social experience sometimes increased rather than negated the imposition effect. In my view, the respondents were too well versed in the academic game to drop their guard in the presence of a stranger who could potentially use their opinions against them.

A second challenge that I encountered with the semi-structured interview was that it provided the potential for what Bourdieu (ibid: 616) refers to as false, collusive objectification. Bourdieu argues that this usually occurs when the social distance between the researcher and the respondent is minimal. As I have already noted, I interviewed academics who were well acquainted with the research process. On occasion I noticed that respondents used their knowledge of the interview process and academic research to provide answers which reflected critical insight into what I was attempting to achieve as a researcher, but always ensuring that a positive image of the university was projected. For example, some senior managers often prefaced their accounts of change at UX with brief references to the “injustices” of the apartheid era. This was soon followed by the extensive positive changes that appeared to have resolved the problems that I was posing in my research. Bourdieu warns that the researcher should be conscious of such responses which are lucidly presented "without questioning anything essential" (ibid). The danger of such accounts, argues Bourdieu, is that it is often a form of resistance to objectification. The researcher, if unaware of this form of objectification, may assume that "authentic first-hand information" was received. Bourdieu thus warns that researchers should be aware that institutions tend to be self-congratulatory:

...not only through the representations they spontaneously offer (particularly through their celebratory discourses), but also through the data they provide, at times quite readily. As much as any monument, documents, and particularly those considered worthy of being saved and passed on to posterity, are the objectivated product of the strategies of self-representation that institutions, like agents, implement, unknowingly and even unintentionally, and that the threat of objectivation, embodied in the sociologist, often brings into explicit consciousness. (Bourdieu 1996a:237)

I found this advice useful given the social context in which my research was being conducted. I was thus fairly apprehensive about some of the positive accounts of transformation offered by senior representatives of UX. This does not mean that I rejected their views. I can understand that as senior administrators they would have wanted to project the university in a favourable light. In many respects their views about the successes of the university with respect to transformation are justified. South African universities have changed in a manner that warrants acknowledgement, but this should be analysed (as I have learned in this thesis) by researchers with a keen sense for “illusory insights and counterfeit visions” (Yanos & Hopper 2008:236).

In sum, the semi-structured interview provided the core data for this study and proved effective in many respects. It was, however, not without challenges that are directly associated with the post-apartheid university context which impacted on the quality of the data I was able to collect. I will discuss this latter point again in chapter seven when I analyse the "findings" of the thesis.

3.5.7 Interview sample

This study employs the purposeful sampling method which entails the seeking out of groups, settings and individuals where and for whom the processes being studied are most likely to take place (Denzin & Lincoln 2000:370; Sandelowski 1995:180). For this reason I conducted interviews with individuals who as a result of their work in management and teaching at UX, were able to provide first-hand information on the central research questions. I also conducted an interview with a former senior official at the then Department of Education. In total I interviewed 31

people with the majority having been actively involved in the process of curriculum restructuring at the university after 1994 (See appendix A).

The sample included African, Coloured, Indian and White¹⁸ male and female individuals aged between 40 and 70 who held positions ranging from Lecturer, Senior Lecturer, Associate Professor, Full Professor, Dean, Deputy Dean and Executive Director. Given that UX is a historically white Afrikaans-medium university, the majority of the respondents were white and Afrikaans-speaking. Almost all of the respondents attended Afrikaans-medium schools where they also taught before starting their careers as academics at Afrikaans-medium universities or teacher training colleges. Many of the academics in the sample received their academic training at UX and at other Afrikaans-medium universities. A small number of the academics in the sample were educated either at historically black universities or at historically white, English-medium universities. It was also noticeable that very few academics obtained their qualifications at universities outside of South Africa.

The sample was selected with the assistance of one of the respondents who was very close to the process of curriculum change in the Faculty of Education (see chapter 6). The purpose behind selecting this sample was thus to interview mostly those individuals who were directly involved in the process of curriculum change over the period it took to complete the process. These individuals all participated in different ways (largely in accordance with rank and authority) and constitute the majority (as far as I am aware) of those involved in constructing and implementing the undergraduate curriculum. The entire staff of the Faculty were not

¹⁸ All references to "race" are used to illustrate the social history of South African society in which skin colour was used to classify people.

directly involved in the process to transform the curriculum and it was therefore only necessary to interview those who actively participated. It is important to note that many staff members declined to be interviewed because they were not involved in the discussions. The above sample, in my view, managed to achieve its purpose which was to gather the viewpoints and social trajectory (although in very limited ways) of all the main participants. Due to the requirement for confidentiality I cannot reveal more information about the interviewees.

As I will show in chapter six, the social history of higher education in South Africa has influenced the intellectual approaches of academics to curriculum content and pedagogy. The above research sample thus provided this study with very useful data on individuals which - coupled with their social experiences - yielded rich material about the historical genesis of the field and its effects on curriculum construction.

3.5.8 Pilot Study

In 2007 I conducted a pilot study at UX with which I intended to explore the possibilities for a doctoral study (Dirk 2007). My study examined the opinions of two senior academics and two senior administrators at UX. I also interviewed a former senior official of the then Department of Education and two education journalists. The data I collected from the semi-structured interviews influenced the research questions for this study. The sample, although hardly representative of the university as a whole, provided me with enough curiosity and empirical material to embark on this larger research project.

3.5.9 The work of the Committee¹⁹

As an employee of the then Department of Education, I assisted the Committee on some of its data-gathering site-visits to universities. I travelled with the Committee to two universities in the Western Cape and four in Gauteng which included UX. I also attended two meetings with trade union representatives from universities based in the Limpopo and KwaZulu-Natal provinces respectively. From the site visits I was able to gather a wide variety of insights drawn from interviews conducted with university councils, executive management, student leaders, staff representatives (academic & support staff), staff associations, institutional forums, national student organisations and trade unions (approximately 500 people in total).

My observations resonate with the findings of the Committee that are now in the public domain. I have not used any of the material gathered during the site-visits directly in this study for reasons of confidentiality. The impression left on me through my involvement with the work of the Committee, however, influenced my theoretical approach in this thesis. The "data" I gathered from this experience assisted me to gain broad insight into the issue of curriculum change and transformation. It was thus a very useful vantage point from which to conduct my study because I was able to experience, first-hand, and in different geographic locations, how complex the empirical task is for representing curriculum change at the site of the university. I am not at liberty to reveal specific information about my experiences with the Committee but it is my view that there was a very noticeable "silence" about the transformation and construction of the curriculum. When it was raised, (very rarely at the sittings I

¹⁹ See chapter 1, page 15.

attended) there were suggestions that coherent, institutionally-driven policies were not in place to link curriculum change to post-apartheid transformation in higher education and society more broadly. My experience of the work of the Committee thus also inspired my search for a theoretical framework that could assist policy-makers and the university community to analyse how social context and agent action affect curriculum construction.

3.6 Reliability and Validity

This study has employed the principle of *triangulation* to improve the validity and reliability of the research information. The term is used to describe a process in which the researcher uses a wide variety of sources to gather data in order to improve its reliability and validity (Denzin & Lincoln 2000: 443; Maree 2007:80; Arksey & Knight 1999: 21). As noted in the above discussion of the semi-structured interview, I often cross-checked information with respondents to gain factual "accuracy". Arksey & Knight (ibid: 22) refer to this as "triangulation for verification." In more than one instance, however, I was unable to perform this kind of triangulation as interviewees considered the information too "personal" or "conspiratorial". Thus although most of the information I gathered from the field (both documentary and interview-based) were helpful, triangulation was not always possible due to the sensitivity of the material or as a result of the lack of access to other reliable data sources.

The use of triangulation does not, however, provide authentic, bias free sociology on its own. Reflexivity on the part of the researcher plays an important part in the elimination of bias and inaccuracies embedded in documents and the views of respondents. Researchers are therefore

ultimately responsible for validity and reliability beyond the reliance on the techniques of triangulation (Cresswell & Miller 2000: 127). In this thesis I therefore argue that the reflexivity of the sociologist is the mainstay for research reliability and validity which I will discuss in more detail later on in this chapter.

3.7. Data coding and relational analysis

Bourdieu's master concepts field, habitus and capital were applied as the main tools for data analysis. As I have noted above, I conducted a pilot study and had an opportunity to observe a major government "fact-finding" project. The analysis of the data was therefore not a distinct moment in my research; the collection and analysis of data happened simultaneously which is best described by Coffey & Atkinson (1996:6) as "cyclical" and "reflexive." When I did finalise and prepare all the accumulated data for analysis, I used the qualitative tool of "coding" to establish themes and patterns. This entailed attaching labels or keywords to data sources based on the theoretical and conceptual framework that underpins the study (ibid: 26).

Thus while coding was used as a data-management device to assist with the process of analysis (Miles & Huberman 1994:65), I also used it as a heuristic tool for devising ways of interacting with and reflecting on the data (Coffey & Atkinson 1996: 30). For example, I used Bourdieu's master concepts as codes or data-labels to identify relations between habitus and a field. Procedurally, this involved the organisation of documents and transcribed interviews into themes and events using the concepts of field, habitus, capital, interests, position-takings and classification (taste) as

codes. This system of coding assisted the study to coherently organise the data for relational theoretical analysis.

3.8 Ethical considerations

This study was conducted with the permission of the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education²⁰ at UX. In accordance with this agreement, the preservation of anonymity was a condition of access to information and to staff members. I have therefore concealed the identity of both the university and the respondents. I have used pseudonyms for those respondents where it assists the representation of events in the narrative. For other respondents I have used their titles only, e.g., Dean, Former Dean, Lecturer A, B, C, etc). The use of anonymity does, however, raise the question of data-accuracy since interviewees and the researcher are free to falsify information or to fictionalise lived experience.

Guenther (2009:413) notes that confidentiality in research may also encourage excessive candour on the part of the researcher who believes that the shield of anonymity is sufficient protection for respondents. The use of anonymity therefore creates the potential for distortions in the data by both the researcher and the researched. I do, however, consider it an acceptable trade-off as I would otherwise not have been able to conduct my research. For example, when I started this study I had initially approached 50 academics for interviews. The majority of my requests were declined. Upon gaining official permission from the Faculty of Education premised on the principle of institutional and respondent anonymity, many of the same individuals agreed to be interviewed.

²⁰ Faculty denotes a unit within the organisational structure of the university.

3.9 Researcher reflexivity: participant objectification

In Bourdieusian sociology reflexivity is understood as a process in which social science turns its “weapons” of objectification upon itself. The “sociology of sociology”, according to Bourdieu, establishes “cross controls” that increase the possibility for eradicating biased research (Bourdieu 2004: 89). According to Wacquant, the limitation of the effects of bias in social science through the practice of reflexivity is a “signature obsession” that makes Bourdieu’s approach relatively unique in the landscape of contemporary social theory (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:36). Although researcher reflexivity in the social sciences has become standard practice (in Anglophone social science), making it a “sin” not to be reflexive (Maton 2003:55), Maton (ibid:56) argues that Bourdieu’s brand of epistemic reflexivity is unique because it opposes sociologically reductive, individualistic and narcissistic forms of reflexivity (unwarranted autobiographical detail or vanity reflexivity) that mainly seeks to advance the researcher's symbolic capital in the intellectual field.

Wacquant identifies three specific principles embedded in Bourdieu's reflexivity, with the third being substantially different to that of other sociological approaches. Firstly, it is not focused on the individual analyst but on the “social and intellectual unconscious embedded in analytic tools and operations.” Secondly, it is not the sole responsibility of single researchers but must be applied by the community of social scientists, and lastly, the objectification of the methods of the sociologist should not be destructive, but should rather be considered as a source for controlling biases generated by the knowledge claims of sociology (Bourdieu & Wacquant: 1992:36). Bourdieu therefore did not consider reflexivity as

being a "speciality among others", but argued that it was a prerequisite for any rigorous social scientific practice (Wacquant 1989: 33).

In more detailed terms, Bourdieusian reflexivity entails an awareness of the following habitus-generated biases which must be consciously avoided:

- The "uncontrolled relation to the object which results in the projection of this relation into the object." This results in expressions of "resentiment, envy, social concupiscence, unconscious aspirations or fascinations, hatred, a whole range of unanalysed experiences of and feelings about the social world" (ibid).
- The failure by social scientists to recognise their theoreticist or intellectual bias through forgetting to inscribe into their theoretical constructions of the social world that it is the product of a "contemplative eye" or "theoretical gaze" (ibid : 34).
- The "scholastic fallacy" leading sociologists to assume a contemplative or scholastic stance misconstruing the social world as an interpretive puzzle to be solved rather than as a mesh of practical tasks to be investigated through empirical research (Wacquant 2008:273).
- The biases that derive from the social origins and co-ordinates (class, gender, ethnicity, etc) of the individual researcher (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:39).

- The position in the academic field of the researcher which provides a particular volume of capital that can influence self-promotion or be used to discredit competitors (ibid).

Bourdieu suggested that the above biases can be addressed through a process of "participant objectification" which he describes as the "full sociological objectification of the object and the subjects relation to the object" (Wacquant 1989: 33). According to Grenfell & James (1998:176), Bourdieu's approach to researcher objectivity rests on a crucial reflexivity which permanently implicates the researcher in the process of knowledge production about the research object. According to Bourdieu, there is no value-free, neutral or free-standing objectivity; reality is contested and must be acknowledged as such by the researcher as a matter of course (Grenfell & James: ibid).

The necessity of the "reflexive return" in Bourdieusian sociology is not based on an epistemological "sense of honour" or an apologetic, self-comforting antidote for academic guilt arising from the symbolic violence that often accompanies the research process (Wacquant 1989:33; Maton 2003:55). Participant objectification is also not a way of avoiding critical analysis or a means of authorship denial. For Bourdieu, researchers should recognise their personal and professional biases (values, experiences and constructions) and acknowledge that these and the historical moment in which they conduct their research will influence the manner in which they construct the scientific object and perform the practical operations of their research (Carmen & Gale 2007: 439). It is therefore important for researchers to understand and deconstruct their own position (without narcissism) in both the academic and research field. In doing so, research becomes a process of self-analysis in which

researchers attempt to grasp, at a conscious level, their own dispositions in order to make sense of those they conduct their research upon (ibid: 443).

3.10 Participant objectification: problems of on-site application

In the course of conducting research for this thesis I found it quite difficult to apply all of the principles of participant objectification in a productive manner. The reflexive gestures on the part of the researcher, already monitored through institutional ethical safeguards, are often unable to offset the post-apartheid resistance to objectification that prevails at South African universities. The process of transformation underway since 1994 and the recent report of the Committee have not created conditions that favour the reciprocation of researcher reflexivity. The South African university field, conscious of the value of the stakes associated with having a prestigious public image, apprehends the transformation researcher with understandable caution.

This post-apartheid “field effect” unfortunately limits what can be known about curriculum change and transformation. For example, although I made numerous attempts to allay the fears of respondents - by stating background and theoretical position upfront - they remained concerned about the possibility that this thesis would produce “dangerous” knowledge about the university. Thus certain kinds of information were withheld and there was a concern with how the findings would be presented (even though the institution and all respondents would remain anonymous). The practice of participant objectification in this study was therefore, unfortunately, not fully workable with respondents on site and was mainly put to use with the processed data once I had left the field.

3.11 Interests of the researcher

My interest in curriculum change and institutional transformation started long before I embarked on this study. I worked and studied at a historically black university and later joined the National Department of Education. I have thus experienced the field of higher education as a lecturer and as a public service employee. In both these contexts I have developed concerns over education quality and have observed contestations over what constitutes an acceptable higher education curriculum in a transforming society. My work experiences have led me to believe that the quality of education that an individual receives at a university is dependent on the intellectual habitus of academics and the policy initiatives of universities and national government. In my view, all of these factors contribute to the quality of education that a student can expect to achieve in South Africa. It is this concern that in all likelihood has led to my conscious decision to undertake this study and to choose Bourdieusian sociology as its theoretical framework.

These brief statements of my interests are presented here as an attempt at participant objectification. I am conscious that these personal views and my current position in the higher education field, especially as an employee of government, may have created unconscious biases and censorship beyond the detection of my “sociological eye”. I acknowledge that it may also potentially influence my endowment of symbolic capital in my current employment and the academic field if I manipulate my “findings” in a particular way. I have, however, attempted to take cognisance of how my position in the higher education field may have affected the outcome of this thesis. In essence, this reflection on my interests is to express as transparently as possible that this thesis forms

part of the struggle in local higher education studies to stake a legitimate claim for how post-apartheid higher education curriculum change should be researched and analysed.

With this reflection on the habitus-inspired goals of this research project I am acknowledging that I am deliberately using the theoretical framework of Bourdieu to uncover the relationship between history, culture and power in the construction of the curriculum. I thus make it explicit that there is an undeniable connection between my working life, social origins and my identification with intellectual views that argue that the higher education curriculum should inculcate within students, academics, policy-makers and researchers a consciousness of the social and cultural determinants that structure the process of university transformation.

The stated adherence to participant objectification is probably not enough to allay the fears of respondents and to prevent sociologists from trying to settle scores for past hurts and injustices (real and imagined) through their research projects. It is well-known that researchers can be adept at cloaking Machiavellian intentions and devices with self-reflexive pretences or posturing (Maton 2003:62). However, when I had occasion to think that certain aspects of curriculum transformation went against my personal views I have stated it as reflexively as possible and where appropriate, I have tried to verify my arguments with sociological analysis and empirical sources.

3.12 Conclusion.

In this chapter I have outlined the research methodology for this study. I have argued that Bourdieu's key ideas also function as practical research tools. In this regard I have explained how the concepts of field, capital and habitus are the central concepts associated with the construction of the research object. I have also discussed the operation of Bourdieu's three-level analysis of the field of the object of research. The research design of the thesis was explained and I have discussed Bourdieu's notion of participant objectification. This chapter has also reflected on my interests as a researcher.

ISSUES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE POST-APARTHEID HIGHER EDUCATION CURRICULUM

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapters I have made the general argument that the objects of transformation at the site of the university (including the curriculum) are not analysed with a coherent theoretical framework. In this chapter I turn my attention to the specifics of post-apartheid curriculum²¹ change and transformation. Using a narrow-focus, I concentrate particularly on the "issues" about curriculum-making that have inspired this thesis. Broadly, this chapter identifies what I consider to be areas that are in need of further discussion and research. In keeping with the stated theoretical approach of the study, I conclude the chapter by arguing that post-apartheid curriculum change can be better researched when using the analytical lens of Bourdieusian sociology.

4.2 Discourse on post-apartheid curriculum change in higher education

Curriculum change in any society is a complex process often accompanied by hostile contestation. For example, scholars such as Bourdieu (1970), Young (1998), Apple (2004), Muller (2000), Cross (2004), Moore (2004), Jansen (2009) and Morrow (2009), have argued that curriculum change is invariably a contest over the right to reproduce a particular set of social and cultural values. Morrow (2009:30) notes that the difficulty and complexity of curriculum transformation is never settled through a "win-win" resolution among the contending parties. He argues that "at least one of the rival parties will have to abandon their principles." While it is clear

²¹ The higher education curriculum is understood in this study as the content and teaching activities that are officially authorised at the highest level by the structures of power within university management.

that rivalry and contestation are the "givens" of curriculum change, local studies have not subjected their determining effects to sustained empirical investigation.

Although many scholars mention the link between the higher education curriculum and social transformation, very few have embarked on empirical studies of how curriculum transformation policy is apprehended and implemented at the site of the university. South African studies of the higher education curriculum are therefore correctly described by Le Grange (2006: 189) as: "a neglected area in discourses on higher education in South Africa." This is, however, not unique to South Africa; international studies show a similar deficit in research on the higher education curriculum (Le Grange 2006; Cloete et al 1997; Cloete et al 1999). Recent discourse on higher education represented in academic journals such as the *Journal of Curriculum studies*, *Curriculum Inquiry*, *Journal of Educational Policy* and the *Journal of Higher Education in Africa*, also suggest that very few scholars have concentrated on the construction of the higher education curriculum. South African studies of curriculum change have, however, been particularly sparse, and have provided very little empirical and theoretical assistance for this study (except for the school curriculum and other exceptions noted in chapter one). Put differently, because a strong body of critical scholarship on post-apartheid curriculum change is yet to be developed, there was not enough intellectual resources to build a chronological academic literature review. The link between the state of the current literature and future research requirements could thus not be established in the "traditional" format as a result of the dire state of local research on the effects of culture, power and history on post-apartheid curriculum construction and transformation.

In the absence of a coherent and sustained local analysis, I have drawn on two case-studies or "critical incidents"²² which I argue stand out as markers of the main areas of contestation in curriculum production at South African universities after 1994. The two incidents occurred on two previously white campuses with very different institutional histories and geographical locations. In this thesis, these two case-studies assist in the establishment of the limitations or gaps in local studies that require attention from researchers. In essence, I regard the intellectual reflections on the incidents as representative of the state of local empirical research on the transformation of the higher education curriculum. I therefore treat them as one would the major developments in the state of research when conducting a conventional academic literature review. In the main, I intend to elaborate on how these incidents have sparked my intellectual interest and the research questions that are stated in chapter one.

4.3. The Mamdani Affair at (UCT)²³

The first critical incident occurred in 1998 at UCT, a previously white English-medium university. It is the most widely written about dispute that played itself out on a South African campus in the early days of post-apartheid curriculum restructuring.²⁴ The "Mamdani Affair" (the "Affair") is quite complex and I have not reproduced it in its entirety in this chapter.

The discussion I present here is selective and serves to represent my

²² The term "critical incident" is derived from Jansen (1998:106). Jansen proposes that a "better way" to understand transformation might be through the study of critical incidents. In his view, the researcher tends to get a better understanding of the social dynamics of transformation when someone throws the proverbial "spanner in the works." Jansen argues that an institution provoked by crisis tells the researcher much more about the nature and extent of transformation than any official documents or quantified outputs.

²³ Breier (2001:32) describes it as the "great" curriculum debate signalling its status as an important and now standard critical incident used as a reference point by most researchers studying post-apartheid higher education curriculum change.

²⁴ See Volume 24 (1988) of the journal *Social Dynamics* for the full account of the "Mamdani Affair".

argument in this thesis that curriculum change should be analysed as a product of the relationship between objective and subjective social structure (field and habitus). I thus make arbitrary use of the "Affair" to illustrate my rationale for suggesting a specific theoretical approach for analysing curriculum production and change in the post-apartheid era.

The "Affair" occurred in 1997 when Professor Mahmood Mamdani²⁵ was approached by the Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities to design the syllabus for a compulsory foundation course on Africa "for all entering social science students" (Mamdani 1998a:2). Professor Mamdani accepted and worked rigorously with an African History consultant from UWC and submitted a revised outline of the course in mid-October 1997 to the relevant Faculty Committee. The course was named "Problematizing Africa" and after its outline was accepted by the Committee, the latter requested that Professor Mamdani provide appropriate readings for the course and liaise with a working group consisting of three academics for the purposes of implementing the course (ibid: 2-3).

The tensions and often hostile disagreements that developed between Professor Mamdani, the Deputy Dean and the working group culminated in what later became known as the "Mamdani Affair". The heated exchanges started when Professor Mamdani was confronted with the outcome of a poll in which all the Departments in the Faculty had been asked to evaluate the importance of each section of his course. In accordance with the outcome of the poll, Professor Mamdani was requested by the working group to revise the syllabus. This did not sit well with him

²⁵ Professor Mamdani is a Ugandan of Indian origin with a Ph.D. from Harvard University. He was appointed as the AC Jordan Professor of African Studies in 1996 and as the Director of the Centre for African Studies in 1997 (Taylor & Taylor 2010:906).

and his enquiries into the reasons for the revision led to an exchange of personal slights (mostly angry classifications of intellectual habitus) between himself and the other members of the working group (ibid: 3; Breier 2001: 34; Jansen 1998: 114). Despite the ferocity of these exchanges, Professor Mamdani agreed to the revisions. He never got to submit his revised course, however, as he was suspended from further participation in the course for 1998 by the Deputy Dean. The latter informed him that he had to spend more time completing the course design.

While on sabbatical, Professor Mamdani became aware that another group was hastily preparing a substitute course. He considered this to be a vote of no confidence in his competence as Professor of African studies and he therefore protested against the decision (by "administrative fiat") of the Deputy Dean (Mamdani 1998a:4). At this point the most powerful administrator in the university (Vice-Chancellor) was drawn into the dispute. She proposed a "roundtable" discussion inclusive of all parties concerned. The discussion did not take place which only served to deepen the impasse. Professor Mamdani then embarked on a one-person strike due to being "faced with a complacent institutional response, and a disabling institutional environment" (ibid: 4). As a result of his protest the roundtable engagement suggested by the Vice-Chancellor went ahead.

During the course of the engagement, the Deputy Dean informed Professor Mamdani that the choice of Africa as the subject matter for the course was "purely arbitrary" as the real point of the course was to "teach students learning skills" (ibid:5). Professor Mamdani objected, arguing that no matter what the subject matter, it was the obligation of those with expertise in the field to ensure that concern with pedagogy did not become an excuse to teach sub-standard content (ibid). Later, at a Faculty Board

meeting, the Dean and the Deputy Dean appeared to attempt to resolve the issue by apologising to Professor Mamdani. While he accepted their apology, Professor Mamdani was perturbed that he was not recognised as the intellectual leader of the course, which, as the Professor of African Studies, he felt was due to him. Professor Mamdani was requested by the Faculty Board to present his objections about the course content to a meeting that included the Senior Deputy Vice-chancellor, the Dean, those who had designed the substitute syllabus and those involved with the introduction of academic programmes at the university. The group responsible for teaching the foundation course invited Professor Mamdani to become an ordinary member of the team as opposed to being its leader.

Professor Mamdani did not return to the group and also did not submit a critique of the course as requested by the Faculty Board. He felt that he "could not with intellectual integrity join and share responsibility for a course" that he considered as "seriously flawed intellectually and morally" (ibid: 6). He instead chose to present his critique to an open seminar for review by his peers where in all likelihood he would have found support from those with whom he shared an affinity of habitus (ibid: 6).

*

In the section below I discuss, very selectively, the key exchanges in the debate sparked by the "Affair". Taken together, the following points of contestation between Professor Mamdani and his detractors are revealing of the relationships that are relatively under-represented in the academic discourse on post-apartheid curriculum change.

*

4.3.1 Curriculum construction and collective accountability

Professor Mamdani, working on his own (with advice from a specialist historian on African history), ultimately claimed authorship and intellectual accountability for the curriculum. The substitute course, which he opposed, was collectively designed by academics from the respective Departments within the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities. In his criticism of the collective construction of the course, Professor Mamdani raised the issue of accountability. In his view, the collective or "democratic model of participatory course planning and teaching" (Mamdani 1998b:73), shields from view the decisions that determine the education of others.

He therefore argued that it was important that academics make overt their intellectual contributions to curriculum construction and not remain anonymous in a collective decision-making process seemingly based on consensus. He therefore posed the following question:

Is participatory democracy the name of the new game in which faceless people can make decisions and hide behind the veil of democracy to avoid accountability? Is participatory democracy turning into a new slogan for defending faceless decision-making? Are we in a brave new world where democracy is the swansong for a regime of non-accountability, a non-transparent regime? (ibid:74).

Hall (1998a:55), a key participant in the debate with Mamdani, suggests that Mamdani's claim to a singular authority went against the objectives of curriculum transformation in which collaborative course design was a far more appropriate paradigm because "the curriculum is negotiated between disciplines, thus exposing and challenging anachronistic and inappropriate claims to authority"(ibid 1998:54-55). Without entering further into the debate between Hall and Mamdani, their exchange represents one of the

central concerns of this thesis which is that local studies of curriculum change do not analyse the issue of accountability and curriculum construction raised by the "Affair".

4.3.2 Institutional power and curriculum authorisation

From the unfolding events in the "Affair", it would appear that the team-based approach to curriculum production generated acrimony and conflict-driven position-taking. Surprisingly, as noted by Ensor (1998:103), there is generally no institutional mechanism for breaking the impasse that such conflicts tend to create within university settings. In the "Affair" the deadlock appears to have been "broken" by executive authority. The senior managers of the university suspended Professor Mamdani and authorised the production of a substitute course. This resolution was a determinant of the teaching of Africa from a particular point of view which implicated the executive in the manner in which the dispute on curriculum construction was resolved. Its decision came out on the side of a debate that favoured Professor Mamdani's opponents; the executive was therefore directly implicated in the intellectual production of the course.

Jansen (1998:107-108) argues that the response from academics and university management to Mamdani's course was an expression of the "knowledge/power" regime at UCT which he argues is "intimately connected to the history and politics of a white institution in the shadow of apartheid." The "Affair" thus drew my attention to the relationship between institutional power and curriculum construction. I therefore examine the extent to which the content and pedagogy of the post-apartheid higher education curriculum is the product of shaping effects that are directly (or indirectly) controlled by dominant institutional power.

4.3.3 Curriculum expertise, institutional history and intellectual habitus.

The debate became most heated around the issues of course content and who should teach Africa at the university. In Professor Mamdani's view, academics at UCT did not possess the academic expertise to construct a course on Africa (Mamdani 1998a:3). This viewpoint came through in his analysis of the substitute course. In his criticism of the course, he expressed strong disapproval of its content by characterising it as a "poisonous introduction for students entering a post-apartheid university" (Graaf 1998:77; Mamdani 1998a:14). In another point about content, Professor Mamdani noted that his detractors did not include a single reading by an intellectual from the region being studied which encouraged the notion that "Africa has no intelligentsia" which he felt was unacceptable for South African students who were "wrestling with the legacy of racism" (Mamdani *ibid*).

Jansen (1998:110) shared Mamdani's view that content "matters" in the construction of a course on Africa, particularly "when a European-centred curriculum continues to dominate and define what counts as worthwhile knowledge and legitimate authority in South African texts and teaching." For Jansen, course content was especially important at a university like UCT that had an institutional culture in which the intellectual leadership was under the control of white Deans whose academic origins, training, qualifications and academic acculturation did not equip them to fully understand how to teach a course on Africa to black students (*ibid*: 111).

While the views held by Professor Mamdani and Jansen were met with counter claims to legitimacy, the issue of race and the social history of the university certainly had an influence in the "Affair". Mamdani noted that

“race is not absent from this issue”; suggesting that he felt that race-based issues were simmering beneath the surface during the contest to define how best to teach the course (Mamdani 1998b: 74). Hall (1998b:86), in response to Mamdani’s allegation that the university was “promoting a racist curriculum”, agreed that the "Affair" exposed the social history of UCT which had privileged white men as the intellectual leaders and dominant bearers of curriculum knowledge at the institution.

Commentators reflecting on the "Affair" appear to have very critical views on UCT's handling of the matter and ascribe it to the institution's social trajectory. For example, Taylor & Taylor (2010:902) are of the view that the dispute represents a case "of the bad faith of white liberals and their instruments of white supremacy as well as their rather paternalist approach to black inclusion." Jansen (1998:113), also addressing the race issue, argues that the “broeder” (cliquish) symbolism that accompanied both the criticism and the cast of critics in the debate was alarming. He argues that Mamdani’s opponents, who “without noticeable exception, are white and English”, made Professor Mamdani appear isolated and encircled by a “laager of angry white liberal voices.” In Jansen’s view, the negative criticism of Mamdani’s approach to the teaching of Africa at UCT by his white colleagues, were revealing of the "colonial fingerprints of the curriculum makers" whose prejudices and histories were incorporated into the post-apartheid curriculum and passed on to “unsuspecting black students as tried and tested truth”(ibid:114).

The above heated exchanges are reflections of the effects of differing academic habitus on the process of curriculum transformation. In my view, the “Affair” gradually begins to reveal (as more individuals internal and external to the university become involved) a much larger index of the

effects of social history on objective and subjective social structure at the site of the university. This thesis has therefore taken a keen interest in uncovering the determining effects of institutional history, culture and academic habitus on the production of the curriculum.

4.4. Curriculum change at UP

The second critical incident that I have chosen to draw attention to occurred during the tenure of Professor Jansen (2000-2007) as Dean of the Faculty of Education at UP. Professor Jansen's concern over the state of curriculum change in his Faculty (and the university more broadly) was sparked when he was informed by a student that the course outline of an undergraduate module taught in his Faculty contained socially offensive content (Jansen 2009:176). The offending module was named "Ubuntu", which is a Zulu word that generally translates as "humanity toward others" (ibid: 175). The Ubuntu module was designed by a white senior Professor and a junior black lecturer from the Faculty of Humanities. This short, but intensive one-semester module had to be successfully completed by all students in the Faculty of Education before they could obtain their teaching degrees (Jansen ibid).

To acquaint myself with the issues that were deemed to have caused offence, I read through the course outline for the module. While working my way through the document I initially thought that it was a politically incorrect parody of a post-apartheid course that was designed as an exercise for undergraduate students to sharpen their skills for spotting and critically analysing examples of race-based essentialist knowledge about white/black social hierarchy. It was so readily, in my view, the opposite of a course with which to teach historical understandings of cultural and social

difference that I could not take the module seriously²⁶. For example, in a unit called, *“Understanding Intercultural Communication”*; the student is informed that “when having a function at work, keep the following rules according to the African culture in mind”:

Food

In the African culture "first course", "second course etc" are foreign terms. When having a buffet meal, an African person would, for instance, heap a plate with everything available on the buffet table, i.e. salad, bread, vegetables, meat, rice and or pasta. This is because Black people are not familiar with Western ways of eating. They should be taught. (AFT 253 2005:31)

After reading this passage and other similar passages, I became aware that the authors of the course provide no explanation for their fixed meanings of "race" and other forms of social identity. In the hands of the white senior Professor and his junior black colleague, deeply offensive representations of social identity were made to appear "normal" and "natural". The content of this document would certainly have sparked outrage from students and strong condemnation from staff and senior management at the university I studied at during the 1980's and 1990's.²⁷

²⁶ See also Jansen (2009:183)

²⁷ I was a student and lecturer at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) during the 1980's and 1990's. Professor Jakes Gerwel, who became Rector of the institution in 1987, announced in his inaugural address that the university was to become “the intellectual home of the left” (Gerwel 1998:33). During this period the university management under Gerwel's leadership created an environment for academics to develop a “pedagogy of transformation” to avoid the “unreflexive transposition of inherited discourse categories” (ibid). The approach to curriculum transformation by UWC in the 1980's and 1990's is in stark contrast to the approach of UP recounted by Jansen (2009). Given my experience of curriculum change as a student and lecturer at a historically black university, I was surprised to find that the Ubuntu module was offered to students at UP after more than a decade of post-apartheid higher education. This difference in approach is reflective of the contrasting histories that shaped the institutional identities of white and black universities in South Africa. The dominant managers of UP and UWC structured curriculum knowledge into a unique institutional disposition. I therefore argue in this study that the shaping effects that dominant power structures within universities have on curriculum

Professor Jansen raised the matter with the authors of the course who appeared not to understand the "deep ideological dilemmas represented in the curriculum" (2009:178). He then approached the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, the "owner" of the module, who appeared to be more concerned about the loss of funding for the Faculty than with the effect the module might have on the educational experience of undergraduate students (ibid). Because he was unable to satisfactorily resolve the matter with the Dean, Professor Jansen took the matter up with his senior colleagues in the university administration to "whom Deans reported." He notes that their reactions were mixed; those who supported his analysis, lacked the energy or interest to "take on institutional power" leaving him relatively powerless to challenge the production of the curriculum at a broader level within the university (ibid).²⁸ Professor Jansen eventually succeeded in removing the module from the Faculty of Education's curriculum, it was, however, still offered to students by the Faculty of Humanities.

Below I discuss some of the tensions raised by the content of the Ubuntu module and their implications for this study.

4.4.1 The "curriculum as institution" at UP

For Professor Jansen, the difficulty he experienced with having the module removed from the university curriculum resulted from the affinity

change and institutional transformation is a relatively under-researched area of South African higher education research.

²⁸ Given Professor Jansen's career trajectory as a proponent of curriculum change in similar vein to Gerwel's "pedagogy of transformation", it is not hard to understand why the lack of outrage from his colleagues and the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities, which an entire generation of educationists opposed to apartheid would have considered heretical, must have felt maddeningly disorientating (Jansen 2009:178).

between the content of the Ubuntu module and the "curriculum as institution". In his view, the "curriculum as institution" is not simply a text inscribed in the course syllabus for a particular qualification. He argues that it is a conduit for the knowledge encoded in the dominant beliefs, values and behaviours deeply embedded in all aspects of institutional life (ibid: 172). He therefore argues that the "curriculum as institution" sponsors modules like Ubuntu, and is a bearer of "knowledge in the blood"²⁹ because it imparts racial knowledge to second generation Afrikaner students by leaving undisturbed a set of assumptions about race, knowledge and identity (ibid:171).

According to Professor Jansen, the content of the course outline of the Ubuntu module resonates deeply with white understandings at UP "about what counts as legitimate knowledge of other people" (ibid: 194). In his view, the continued offering of the module by the Faculty of Humanities raised serious concerns about the commitment of those with power for the post-apartheid transformation project at the institution (ibid). He questioned the stance of the university management (Heads of Department, Faculty Board, Senate and Council) to continue to authorise the normalisation of race-based thinking for undergraduate students (ibid). In his view, the rationale for their decision is straightforward. He believes that the most powerful in the management structures of the university authorised the continued teaching of the module because it reproduces a sense of cultural superiority toward black people by white students. This intellectual position-taking of senior management, according to Professor Jansen, is inscribed into the "crevices" of the university in the form of an institutional curriculum that orientates the behaviour of campus citizens through "control and constraint" (ibid:173). He therefore argues that the

²⁹ See Chapter 1, page 13 for author's definition.

offensive module was retained, despite his objections, because its content functions as a means of cultural reproduction by continuing the inculcation of a set of assumptions about race, knowledge and identity typified by Afrikaner-led universities under apartheid.

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The above account of Professor Jansen's experience of curriculum change at UP has many resonances with the issues raised by the "Affair". To reduce the repetitive effect of showing their fairly self-evident similarities (with regard to the themes they generate as opposed to the institutional context and similarity of habitus of the academics at the respective campuses), I have only discussed in detail below an aspect of Professor's Jansen's case that highlighted a "new" area that requires empirical research (for this study and for local studies more generally). Points 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 below are for emphasis of the correspondence between the "Affair" and Professor Jansen's case, while point 4.4.3 is relatively under-developed in South African higher education studies and it is therefore accorded a bit more space in the discussion. In general, the section below thematically draws together the issues revealed by the "Affair" and Professor Jansen's account which had a significant influence on the development of the objectives of this thesis.

4.4.2 Institutional power, accountability and curriculum construction

In the conflict between Professor Jansen and the Faculty of Humanities, the university management agreed to remove the module from the curriculum of the Faculty of Education but allowed the Faculty of Humanities to continue to offer it. In Professor Jansen's view, the then

management of UP allowed the continuation of the module in the Faculty of Humanities because it supported the content of the module and was therefore a significant participant in the reproduction of apartheid knowledge. This argument by Professor Jansen raises (as in the "Affair") the question of the relationship between the historical trajectory of universities and the institutional power and accountability of its dominant agents in the construction of the curriculum.

4.4.3 Curriculum construction and academic habitus

Professor Jansen's account of curriculum change suggests that culture and social difference play a significant role in the relationships that construct the post-apartheid curriculum. For example, the tension that emerged between Professor Jansen and the Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and the two authors of the course illustrates how social and intellectual differences have shaping effects on the construction of the curriculum. From the response of his detractors, as he has represented them, there was an overt lack of reflexivity, even casualness about the educational damage wrought by the module. Their actions suggest either a lack of exposure to non-essentialising forms of knowledge about culture and race in South Africa or resistance to curriculum content that attempts to disrupt such knowledge. Thus, as in the "Affair", the tension between Professor Jansen and his detractors sheds light on an under-researched area in local higher education studies.

4.4.4 The legibility of the post-apartheid curriculum

A significant argument made by Professor Jansen, (and one which I argue deserves sustained attention from local researchers), is that offensive modules like Ubuntu may go undetected by government agencies³⁰ because universities have become adept at legal compliance while the purpose, content and nature of knowledge transmitted to students remain relatively unchanged. This argument suggests that the UP has managed to render the "institutional curriculum" opaque to the public gaze and government regulatory mechanisms. According to Jansen, those who teach and impart knowledge are beyond the reach of bureaucratic mechanisms for curriculum change. In his argument, bureaucratic compliance with curriculum transformation does not change the values, claims and assumptions about knowledge "concealed behind the classroom door" (ibid: 179-180). Ensor (2004: 351) has argued similarly that through the use of university calendars she was able to describe fairly easily how the transformed curriculum was technically put together on paper but not what it looked like "in practice, in lecture halls and tutorial rooms." The following extract sums up Jansen's arguments on curriculum change and bureaucratic compliance:

It is not so difficult to change the exoskeleton of the institutional curriculum, the kinds of alterations that could impress external agencies such as the government and signal alignment with bureaucratic expectations. But it is infinitely more difficult to crack the endoskeleton of the curriculum, the hard surface that holds in place deep understandings, norms, and commitments that over a century have come to represent settled knowledge within the institution. (Jansen 2009:174)

³⁰ The Higher Education Qualification Committee (HEQC) of the CHE and SAQA are state agencies responsible for programme accreditation and the registration of qualifications, respectively.

Jansen's view is important because it raises the issue of the "legibility" of the construction of the post-apartheid curriculum which I will discuss briefly below.

Scott (1998:77) argues that modern states are able to govern society by rendering it "legible" and therefore subject to their control (in the non-pejorative sense). He notes that "if we imagine a state that has no reliable means of enumerating and locating its population, gauging its wealth, and mapping its land, resources, and settlements, we are imagining a state whose interventions in that society are necessarily crude" (ibid). The modern state, according to Scott, thus renders its populace and physical space legible through "state simplifications" that are achieved with the use of standard units of measurement such as maps, censuses, cadastral lists, etc. Scott argues that these techniques of measurement enable the efficient control of large and complex aspects of the social world that fall under state authority (ibid).

While not excluding the pejorative motivation for rendering society legible (for example, pass laws and the separate group areas legislation under apartheid), Scott (ibid) argues that state knowledge is a powerful instrument that can inform officials to intervene timeously to stave off economic disaster, life-threatening diseases such as AIDS or cancer and to gauge if their policies are having the desired effects on society. He thus argues that by rendering society legible, the modern state can govern more effectively using knowledge that enables interventions that are essential for the well-being of its citizenry. Any attempt therefore to manipulate the legibility of curriculum change, as Jansen suggests has occurred at UP, may have a substantial effect on the ability of government to transform higher education.

Recent studies have suggested that government quality assurance mechanisms applied at the site of the university are unable to detect agent/institutional manipulation and thus to accurately render legible the trajectory of post-apartheid curriculum change. Botha et al (2008) have argued that the quality assurance methodology of the HEQC of the CHE are restricted in their attempts to transform the curriculum because they focus on institutional structures and do not adequately evaluate the "content and the orientation" of the curriculum through an engagement with academics (the curriculum-producers). This argument suggests that the HEQC may be misrecognising the extent of curriculum change because their methodology for auditing institutions obscures important structure/agency relationships.

The argument that local quality assurance methodology does not uncover the full extent of institutional responses to curriculum change is expressed more directly by Quinn & Boughey (2009). In their view, the institutional audit methodology of the HEQC is unable to analyse the extent to which universities have managed to address transformation because of its inability to investigate the interplay between structure, agency and culture³¹. Their argument is therefore also suggestive of the potential for a lack of curriculum transformation because the process is largely illegible to government agencies. While there is a strong argument to be made against government intervention into the construction of the higher education curriculum through the creation of a new regime of bureaucratic instruments to increase legibility; it can also be argued that

³¹ The emerging discourses on post-apartheid quality assurance are increasingly beginning to argue that government external quality assurance agencies should consider the interplay between structure, agency and culture using the analytical tools of social realism if it wants to achieve deeper sociological insight into the possibility for quality assurance to achieve the goals of transformation, see for example, Lockett (2007) and Quinn & Boughey (2009).

compliance on paper or "facts on paper" may differ substantially from "facts on the ground" (Scott 1998:49).

As I have already argued, policy reception and implementation at the site of the university is relatively poorly understood. Jansen's argument about the manipulation of compliance as an instrument to represent successful transformation at UP and the view held by local scholars that the audit methodology of the HEQC does not render the curriculum construction process fully legible, has contributed to the objective in this thesis to empirically represent the institutional processes and agent habitus that construct the curriculum (This ties in with my argument in the previous chapter that policy implementation at the site of the university is rendered "visible" (legible) by using Bourdieu's thinking tools).

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The two cases that I have discussed in this chapter both foreground under-researched areas in the study of higher education curriculum change. While both Mamdani and Jansen raise issues that require analytical attention in their own right, it was not my intention in this chapter to evaluate and take a position on a particular side of the debates generated by the two cases. My main concern in this chapter was to illustrate how the issues raised by the two cases shaped my interest in the study of post-apartheid curriculum change. Derived from the above discussion, the following four areas provided much of the inspiration for this thesis: (a) *The influence of institutional power and history on curriculum construction*, (b) *Accountability for content and pedagogy*, (c) *Intellectual identity and social difference among academics*, and (d) *the legibility of the processes that construct the curriculum*. These four areas are inter-

related and have not been discussed in a linear sequence in the thesis, each of them, however, have been given critical attention and will be commented on in the closing chapter of the thesis (see also brief discussion in point 4.5 below).

It should be noted that this thesis also seeks to partially address the concern of the "Committee" that the curriculum, as a conduit for "epistemological transformation" (the ways in which knowledge is conceived, constructed and transmitted (Hall 2007:182; DOE 2008:100), has not experienced significant shifts after apartheid. Thus while this thesis was inspired by the two case-studies it is also an attempt to add to existing knowledge that will hopefully break the dearth of local studies that can assist policy-makers to understand (with the tools of social science), the factors that contribute to or delay the epistemological transformation of the curriculum. Without pre-empting the chapters that follow, I will briefly discuss below, how I applied the field-analytic approach to analyse the four issues raised above (which is also an indication that Bourdieu's sociology can be very productive for revisiting previous work on higher education transformation).

4.5 Field theory and the analysis of curriculum change

In both points a) and b) agents with substantial endowments of bureaucratic capital or institutional power (Vice-Chancellor, Dean, Deputy Dean, etc) exert control over the curriculum. By examining the production of the curriculum as a product of the influence of capital endowment and position-taking within the university, this thesis has been able to gain sociological insight into bureaucratic power and its influence over

curriculum production which I argue is relatively new, methodologically, in local discourses on curriculum change.

Point (c) is relatively similar to (a) and (b) in that it is concerned with analysing how the intellectual and social identity of academics influence their work as curriculum producers. In this regard the concept of habitus has been particularly useful and has enabled this thesis to analyse how personal and intellectual dispositions shape social difference between academics. By examining institutional and agent history (field and habitus), I have been able to represent and analyse the social context for the production of the curriculum. In this thesis I therefore suggest that the alignment or misalignment between field and habitus has a determining effect on the "choices" made in the process of curriculum production.

Finally, with respect to point (d), the use of the field-analytic approach has generally enabled this thesis to represent the processes that shape the production of the curriculum at the site of the university. In my view it has therefore rendered the process of curriculum production more legible as a contested, non-linear process that refracts mandated policy in accordance with the logic of the site in which it is received. I therefore argue that this thesis has shed light on the ongoing dialectical relationship between structure/agency in policy apprehension and implementation and its potential to shape curriculum change. In my view, this thesis can therefore reasonably claim to have contributed, in a practical way, to the potential for government policy-makers and quality assurance agencies to better render visible (legible) the complex world of post-apartheid curriculum change at the site of the university.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter I have attempted to illustrate the main concerns of this thesis with respect to its analysis of post-apartheid curriculum construction. I have used two "case-studies" to draw empirical attention to the specific areas of curriculum change that I have focused on and which largely reflect my reasons for embarking on this research project. This chapter has also attempted to very briefly explain how Bourdieusian field theory, being an analysis of the dialectical relationship between culture, history and power, has enabled this thesis to analyse post-apartheid curriculum change.

CHAPTER FIVE: REPRESENTING THE UNIVERSITY AS A FIELD

5.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters I have argued that the efficacy of Bourdieu's theoretical framework lies in its ability to represent the dialectical relationship between social and objective structure at the site of the university. I have argued, in particular, that when the concept of field is transposed onto a research object such as an institution, the latter exhibits all of the properties of an objective social structure (field). In this chapter I perform the empirical task of representing the university as a field using Bourdieu's field-analytic model. This chapter should thus be read as the empirical application of Bourdieu's three-level analysis of the field of UX. In essence, my intention is to provide a “guide” to how UX was constructed as a life-world in which the day to day production and transformation of the curriculum played itself out relatively early on in the transformation process.

5.2. The historical genesis of the field of UX.

In analysing the field of UX I started off by investigating its social genesis (its social history).³² The analysis of the social genesis of a field, as I have indicated in chapter two, is not a perfunctory act performed by the researcher to provide a neat historical backdrop to the study. It is an objectivist phase in Bourdieusian analysis when the researcher produces an account of the past and present historical trajectory of the field. As I have noted previously, historical analysis, for Bourdieu, is a reflection on the

³² Note: In terms of the confidentiality agreement entered into with UX I am unable to cite secondary sources (mostly academic) that directly name the university or that will reveal the identity of the university. I have therefore only used published sources that refer to the history of former Afrikaans-medium universities in general.

social unconscious. The social genesis of an institution is thus an essential component for representing the relationship between objective and subjective social structure. An historical representation of the research object thus does more than set the scene for field analysis; it provides a sense of the social history of UX and the agents that occupy its objective structures. Since the social history of the university plays such a significant part in shaping the context for the relationship between field and habitus, I thought it more appropriate to discuss it in chapter six. In the latter chapter the relationship between history, culture and power is shown to have significant shaping effects on curriculum construction. The social history of the field is therefore better placed as part of that discussion.

5.3 Three-level analysis of the field of UX

To construct an object is to construct a model, but not a formal model destined to turn in the void, rather a model intended to be matched against reality. (Bourdieu 1992:45)

As I have already noted, the analysis of the field of the research object is comprised of the following three stages:

Level One: The researcher analyses the field *vis-a-vis* the field of power³³.

Level Two: The researcher maps out the objective structure of the relations occupied by the agents or institutions who compete for the legitimate form of specific authority within the field.

³³ As discussed in chapter three, the first stage or phase that requires the researcher to analyse the field *vis-a-vis* the field of power is not used in this study since the field of power is a macro-concept that is not suited to intra-institutional analysis.

Level Three: The researcher analyses the habitus of the agents; the different systems of dispositions they have acquired through internalising a determinate type of social and economic condition which finds a definite trajectory within the field.

In the discussion below, I explain how I applied this model to analyse the field of UX.

5.4 Second-level field analysis: The structure of field relations

In this stage of field-theoretic object construction, the researcher provides a structural topography or “bird’s eye-view” of the field as a “structured social space...” (Bourdieu 1998b:40). Before I demonstrate the objective structure of the relations occupied by agents in the field of UX, I will first attempt to explain Bourdieu's methodology for constructing and representing a field and why I have had to make adjustments to his model in order to deal with the specific requirements of my case-study.

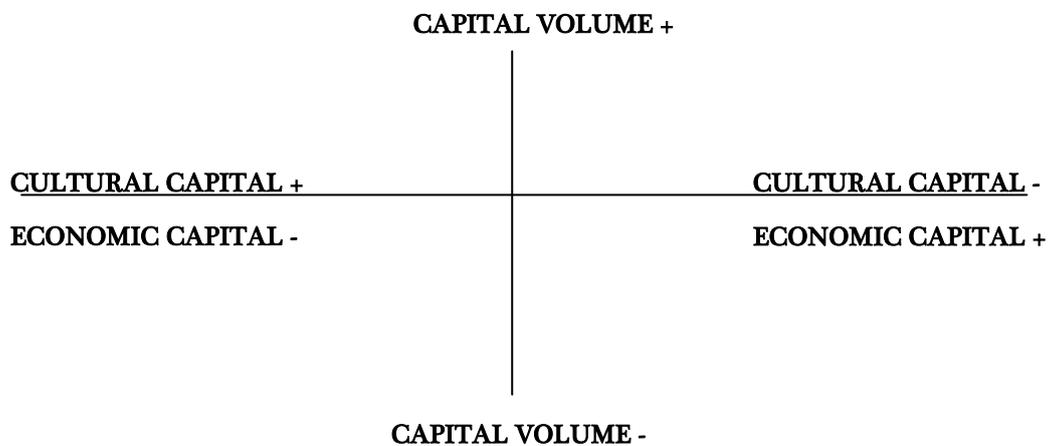
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Bourdieu argues that the social world can be represented (constructed by the researcher) as a social space (his conception of society) with several dimensions that differentiate agents, groups or institutions by distributing them hierarchically in accordance with two “differentiation principles” which are determined by their relation to economic and cultural capital (Bourdieu 1985:724; 1996c: 13). Bourdieu thus defines social space and its scientific (empirical) construction in the following way:

Social space is constructed in such a way that agents or groups are distributed in it according to their position in the statistical distribution based on the two differentiation principles which, in the

most advanced societies,...(are) economic and cultural capital. (My brackets) (Bourdieu 1996c: ibid)

In order to illustrate how the two principles of differentiation enable the researcher to map out the structure of social space, I have included a simple diagram below adapted from one of Bourdieu's practical research projects (Bourdieu 1998a:5). This diagram is only a basic example of how Bourdieu attempted to show the distribution of agents and capital in social space.



By using opposing poles (+ and -), Bourdieu represents the principles of hierarchisation between cultural and economic capital. In most of his studies these diagrams can become quite complex and vary in relation to the object under investigation. The simplification above must therefore not be considered as the standard visual illustration Bourdieu used to map out social space (the hierarchical structures of fields, however, tend to be repeated in such diagrams).

According to the diagram above, all agents (people and institutions) distributed in social space will have more in common the closer they are to one another within its different dimensions. Agents with less in common

are located further from each other. For Bourdieu, therefore, “spatial distances on paper are equivalent to social distances” Bourdieu (ibid: 6).

With the use of the above diagram, Bourdieu argues that social space has a *chiasmatic structure: an increase in cultural capital corresponds with a decrease in economic capital and vice versa*. Stated differently, agents tend to be orientated towards accumulating one or the other form of capital thus creating the opposing poles (+/-) in social space (Maton 2004:38) (See also Bourdieu 1996a:270; Kloot 2011:37; Langa 2010: 43; Thomson 2008:71). The following extract from Bourdieu (ibid) captures his definition of the chiasmatic arrangement of social space:

The distribution according to the dominant principle of hierarchization – economic capital – is, as it were “intersected” by the distribution based on a second principle of hierarchization – cultural capital - in which the different fields line up according to an *inverse hierarchy*, that is, from the artistic field to the economic field. (My emphasis).

The chiasmatic structure of social space is replicated in all social fields but each field is *relatively autonomous*. All fields have unique forms of capital that determine their internal relations of power (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 97; Maton: ibid). Thus while each field is structurally *homologous* (a “resemblance within a difference”), they have specific forms of capital which have to be empirically established by the researcher (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 106; Johnson 1993: 6). In his books *Homo Academicus* and *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power* (Bourdieu 1988 & 1996a), Bourdieu provides useful examples of how to use chiasmatic diagrams to represent social space. He demonstrates, in these studies, the method he used to map out the forms of capital prevalent in French university education through the use of a research method known as

correspondence analysis (an advanced form of multivariate factor analysis) (Wacquant 1990: 683; Lebaron 2009). This research method requires the researcher to first accumulate a set of data defining a given sample of institutions or individuals into profiles of their attributes which are then plotted between the different poles that represent social space.

In *Homo Academicus*, in particular, Bourdieu gathered a mass of biographical data concerning the principal individuals in French higher education institutions which included their social origin, their cultural capital, their social capital, their membership of administrative committees, the institutions in which they were employed, place of residence and so on. He then plotted the data on chiasmatic field diagrams similar to the one explained above. Individuals with similar characteristics (correspondences) appeared close to one another (in clusters), while those with different or opposing characteristics were similarly clustered at the opposite pole of the field (Bourdieu 1988:80; Lane 2000: 73; Thomson 2008:72). Through the use of correspondence analysis, Bourdieu argued that the two forms of opposing capital in French university education in the 1960's were *academic capital* (institutional power in the form of control over the material, organisational and social instruments of reproduction) and *intellectual/scientific capital* (scientific prestige and intellectual renown (Bourdieu 1988; Wacquant 1990:680; Maton 2004:38-39; Naidoo 2004:458).

With the use of correspondence analysis, Bourdieu argued that agents in the French higher education field were engaged in a field-struggle during the 1960's to establish dominance for their particular form of capital in order to take control over the field. The representation of the social space of French university education through the use of the chiasmatic model

thus enabled Bourdieu to create a visual image of the structure/agency relationship. It assisted him to construct the division of the bounded social space of the university field through an empirical representation of the relationship between agents, the positions they held (the volume of their capital) and the habitus-driven strategies (position-takings) they used to entrench their particular species of capital as the legitimate authority for controlling the transformation or preservation of the logic of practice of the field.

My first methodological manoeuvre with respect to the construction of UX as a field was therefore to provide a visual topography of the distribution of agents, positions, structures and capitals using Bourdieu's model as discussed above. I have, however, had to make adjustments to this model for reasons which I discuss below.

While gathering data to establish the social and educational background of agents, their past and present affiliation to institutions and the trajectory of their various capitals, it became clear that the evidence I required were not readily available in documentary form. Although I spent a considerable amount of time in the university archive working through official publications that provided brief summaries of the qualifications of academics and their publications, it was not sufficient to establish a clustering of individuals around particular poles on a chiasmatic chart. The sources I had access to were also not very informative about historical change in the field with respect to the dominant capitals that circulated in it. For example, while noticing that a number of changes occurred in the titles of courses offered by various Faculties in the university from 1995 to 2006 (and the change from Afrikaans to English versions of the university student manuals after 2000), no explanations are provided for such

changes. Without sufficient empirical material to visually map out the field of UX and to establish its dominant and subordinate capitals with correspondence analysis, I had to consider other options for providing a synopsis of the field. It is also important to restate that the lack of access to the minutes of the meetings of Senate and Council weighed heavily on my decision to seek other empirical sources with which to operationalise Bourdieu's field-theoretic model.

An important concern for me was that the field of UX had to be constructed with South African sources and not simply “imported” from Bourdieu’s study of French university education. The sources, in my view, had to capture (and emphasise) the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid to illustrate the extent of the structural changes that were implemented after 1994. For example, in Naidoo’s (2004) analysis of the South African university field, the latter, although already moving towards structural change, was still separated into what Naidoo termed dominant, intermediate and subordinate tiers each designating a particular volume of symbolic capital (Naidoo 2004:461). The UX, being a white Afrikaans-medium university for the period under examination in Naidoo’s study, is described as an intermediate level university (its symbolic capital was not valued as highly as the English-medium universities that were located in the dominant tier). Naidoo also argues that the South African university field was divided into *autonomous* (a field that tends to operate according to its own principles) and *heteronomous* (a field that is bound up in relations with other fields and expresses their values) sectors according to the degree of state control and the extent to which institutions were able to reject external political determinants and obey the specific logic of the university field (ibid; Webb et al 2002: ix & xiii).

According to Naidoo, white English-medium universities were relatively free of direct state control and were positioned in the autonomous sector while white Afrikaans-medium universities like UX were located in the heteronomous sector because they identified with apartheid. Black universities were also located in the heteronomous sector because they were exposed (in their early history) to violent state control and repression (ibid). Naidoo's study, which remains important and relevant for post-apartheid higher education studies, provides an example of the difficulties associated with constructing a Bourdieusian topography of the field of UX after apartheid. After 1994, the *autonomous/heteronomous* division that Naidoo describes for the university field has changed substantially. Universities no longer have the same relationships with the state with respect to their levels of autonomy. The three tiers identified by Naidoo have been fundamentally altered through the inclusion of institutions previously known as 'technikons' into the university field as 'universities of technology' or their merging with universities to become 'comprehensive universities' (Kloot 2009:474-475).

The case study in this thesis represents one of the post-apartheid structural changes in the higher education field as it is focused on a Faculty of Education in a university that incorporated a teacher education college. The effects of such incorporations have only recently begun to be analysed by local scholars (Jansen 2002). I am therefore suggesting that the effects of structural change after apartheid must be empirically constructed by the researcher in order to represent the new distribution of positions, habitus and capitals operating in the field. Since the Bourdieusian methodology for constructing the research object relies on the use of history to show how agents "practices and representations" have evolved "over time" and not only the "moment under consideration", (Bourdieu &

Wacquant 1992: 99; Bourdieu 1998a:10), I am of the view that the construction of the field of UX before and after apartheid must be approached with caution. By ignoring the significant sea-change in South African higher education after apartheid when applying Bourdieu's concepts; researchers may unwittingly contribute to the essentialisation of identity (capital, habitus, position, academic stance, race, etc). Bourdieu's concepts are anti-essentialist and anti-racist: he opposed the *substantialist* mode of thought in social science which he argued, "characterises common sense – and racism – and which is inclined to treat the activities and preferences specific to individuals or groups in a society at a certain moment as if they were substantial properties, inscribed once and for all in a sort of biological or cultural *essence*..." (Bourdieu 1998a:4, emphasis in original). Thus without enough evidence to demonstrate the complexity of the structural changes to the field of UX and South African higher education before and after apartheid and my concerns for the danger of falsely accounting for the historical evolution of agent habitus and position-taking, I abandoned my attempt at applying correspondence analysis. The analytical difficulties I encountered should, in my view, provide a sense of the urgent need for critical studies of the transition from apartheid to post-apartheid in South African higher education.

These difficulties have not, however, diminished the explanatory force of the field-theoretic approach. Bourdieu's sociology is not "grand theory"; it is a "means of asking questions" and should therefore not be applied with "trembling hands, for fear of falling short of one of the ritual conditions" (Bourdieu et al 1991:5; 1988a:2; 1990b:119; Thomson 2008:81; Mahar 1990:33). The theory of field also does not represent a *system* made up of component parts that must each be in place in order for it to be empirically representative of a bounded social space. For Bourdieu, a field is different

to a system in that it does not have “parts” or “components” and is “much more fluid and complex than any game that one might ever design” (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992:104; Thomson 2008:74). Bourdieu’s field-theoretic approach was therefore not meant to be applied in a fixed, orthodox, “paint-by-numbers” fashion. As a theory of action, it is designed for application in empirical projects to show the relationship between structure and agency which must be constructed by the researcher on a “case-by-case basis” (Bourdieu 1990b:119; Bourdieu et al 1991:5; Thomson 2008:74). Grenfell (2008c:219) aptly captures the non-positivistic approach to the empirical application of Bourdieu’s field-theoretic model by noting that it “was not meant as a prescription” but rather as a set of “thinking tools” that had to be worked with “creatively!”.

In this study I have certainly had to improvise, but in my view, despite the limitations I faced with obtaining empirical sources, the “high grade” but low quantity “hard evidence” I was able to obtain and the access I had to the main agents involved in the process of curriculum construction, were sufficient for me to operationalise Bourdieu’s field concept without fear of misrepresenting the “actual” process to transform the curriculum. Thus despite the limitations imposed on this thesis as a result of access to empirical sources, I have not excluded any of the principles or stages associated with the field-theoretic approach (except for mapping out the field of power). I was still able to show the configuration of positions, the dominant form of capital and its relationship to their holders and certain aspects of agent dispositions (of course within the limitations that I have outlined above). I have therefore, in my view, remained close to the objective of this study which is to use Bourdieusian field-theory to uncover the power relations within the field of UX and the effects that they had on the post-apartheid construction of the curriculum. I do acknowledge,

however, that working without a wider array of capitals than *bureaucratic capital* (discussed below) is a limitation in the analysis of the relationship between habitus and position-taking. By excluding the empirical trajectory of the *scientific/ political/cultural* and *social capital* of agents, this study can only speculate on their stances and agency with respect to the nature of the content and pedagogy implemented in the transformed curriculum (see chapter six).

I should also note at this stage how I adjusted the borders of the field of UX. The configuration of positions in the “university-as-field” consists of administrative structures and various Faculties (see discussion and diagram below). It was not possible to gather and analyse data for the entire university (given the limits of a Doctoral study). I have therefore narrowed my focus to a single Faculty for which I had managed to obtain, in my view, very significant information about a major project to transform the undergraduate curriculum. Although the focus of my research falls on a single Faculty, I have not treated it as a sub-field of the “university-as-field”. I have attempted to argue in the discussion below that the field of UX is not the sum of its parts: each component is linked to the other through power relations. The separate adding up of the activities of the various components of the field will thus not reveal the integrated relations of power that bind all of them together.

My intention in the discussion that follows is therefore to show that the structures (and positions) within a university must be viewed *relationally* and not as separate entities. As will become clearer later on, the Faculty of Education, although a “separate” position in the field is not autonomous from the positions above it and therefore cannot be regarded as isolated from the broader field on the basis of exclusively held capitals that grant it

extensive independence over its academic activities (this does not exclude the possibility for some level of autonomy). Although it would have been ideal to include all the Faculties, the structure of positions in universities places all of them on “similar” rungs within the configuration of power (it is possible that some institutions may be unique). This does not imply that I am assuming that the Faculty of Education represents the entire field of UX. What I am suggesting is that this case study represents an example of a *relational* model that can be replicated in all other Faculties at the same university or at other local universities. The case-study of a single Faculty is thus suggestive of what the process of change would be like in all of the Faculties at UX because they have similar structures and positions and also interact with the institutional relations of power in similar ways. In my view, Bourdieu’s model for field analysis creates the possibility for a coherent understanding of post-apartheid curriculum change at South African universities because all of them have legally prescribed structures. Local universities are thus relatively similar institutions which, if analysed with the same model, may create the possibility for generalisation. As I have noted in chapter two, I have used Bourdieu’s work generatively; his theoretical framework, despite the adjustments, has, in my view, enabled this study to gain conceptual insight into the structure/agency relationship at the site of the university that is difficult to achieve with the “institutional culture” concept (and other non-relational forms of institutional analysis).

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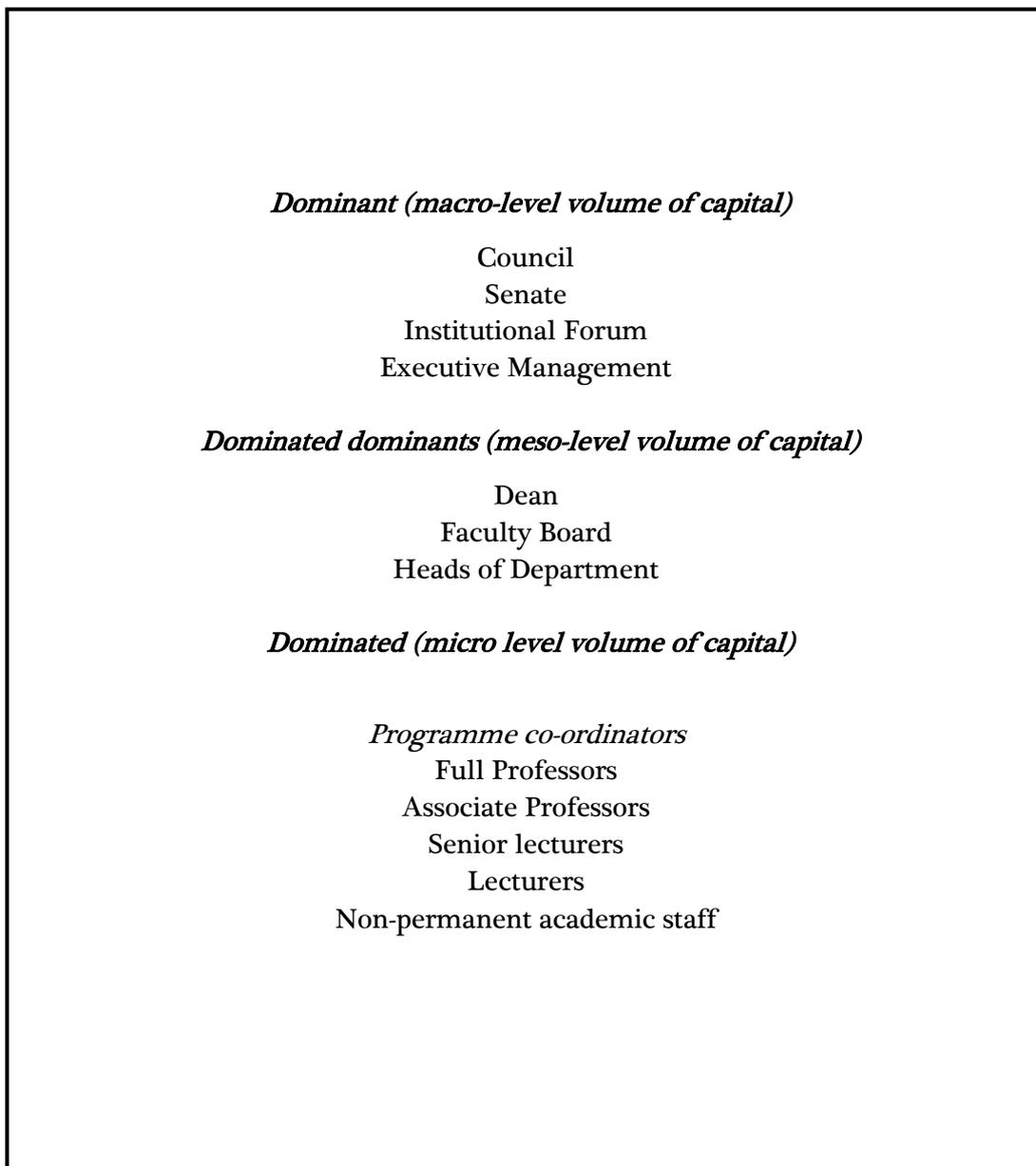
In the discussion below I outline the adjusted field of UX. The diagram that accompanies the discussion is not a chiasmatic chart; it represents positions and their capitals in a hierarchical arrangement to illustrate how the occupants of the field are distinguished from each other by differences in rank and authority starting from the highest to the lowest position held in the field. It is important to note, however, that the structures of a public

universities in South Africa are defined by the Higher Education Act (RSA 1997). The diagram of the configuration of the network of objective positions in the field of UX is therefore the product of government legislation which stipulates that a university must have positions (structures of authority) that comprises an Executive, Senate, Council and an Institutional Forum. My discussion of the structures and positions of the field of UX is thus also an outline of the legally prescribed forms of authority standard to all South African universities.

The static representation of structural hierarchy does not, however, fully capture the human relationships that orientate how power functions in practice. Bourdieu employs the concepts of habitus, field and capital to explain how agency is produced in the field. The diagram is therefore only an illustration of the hierarchical nature of the field. In the broader discussion I attempt to explain how the diagrammatic representation of the field assisted this thesis to analyse the relationships between positions and how the habitus and capital of the agents who occupy them influenced the battle for legitimate authority at the site of the university. It is also important to note that because I have not been able to establish the chiasmatic structure of the field with correspondence analysis, only *bureaucratic capital* is discussed. This form of capital refers to the institutional power (associated with position) which establishes the degree to which an agent is able to influence the construction and transformation of the curriculum. The establishment of this form of capital as the dominant capital is derived from the legal structure of field positions and interviews that I conducted which are discussed in detail below. Thus while I have acknowledged that other forms of capital such as academic and intellectual/scientific/political capital may influence curriculum change in universities (see discussion below), the overwhelming indication from my

case study (and from the "Affair" and Jansen's UP experience) suggests that bureaucratic capital has a substantial impact on the state of play in the academic game to construct and transform (or conserve) the higher education curriculum.

Below I commence my discussion of the distribution of the various positions and their volume of bureaucratic capital in the field of UX with the assistance of the following diagram.



5.4.1 Council

As depicted in the above diagram, the Council of a university is the supreme governing authority. Its membership is determined by law and includes senior management, members of Senate, academics, members appointed by the Minister of Higher Education and Training and members of the Student Representative Council (RSA:1997). Although a Council holds the highest position in the structure of positions, it does not always exercise its power as defined in the legislation. For example, the Soudien Report argues - noting exceptions - that the leadership role of Councils was limited, if not non-existent. The report suggests that Councils tend to lack strategic vision and appear to have abdicated their leadership role to senior management (DOE 2008:104). The most important analytical point to note, however, is that Council holds the highest volume of *bureaucratic capital*; which in Bourdieusian terms imbues it with dominance over all other positions in the field.

5.4.2 Senate

The Senate holds a very powerful position over the academic enterprise of the university and is accountable only to Council. Its members are made up of the Principal, Vice-Principals, academic and non-academic employees, members of Council and members of the Student Representative Council (RSA 1997). A former member of the Senate at UX noted that (during the period covered by this thesis) the structure was, "like the main arteries of the university...whatever the Senate decides is true" (Interview E). I could not verify this view because I did not have access to the minutes of Senate meetings. The most important characteristic of Senate in the configuration of power is that it holds a significant volume of

bureaucratic capital over the authorisation of curriculum content and pedagogy.

5.4.3 Institutional Forum

The Institutional Forum of a university is an advisory body to council and was designed to broaden participation in institutional governance³⁴. Kulati and Moja (2002:233) argue that Institutional Forums were meant to act as "shock absorbers" in the transformation process by providing the arena in which issues pertaining to a university's transformation agenda could be debated and discussed. The Soudien Report suggests that the Institutional Forum does not adequately fulfil its function as a conduit for the broadening of democracy at South African universities. According to the report it would seem that Institutional Forums have been marginalised on South African campuses and where they are operative, their advice tends to be ignored by Council (DOE 2008: 108). The report thus argues that the reasons for the decline in the function and status of Institutional Forums are as a result of increasingly assertive managements "who are not willing to brook any challenge to their prerogative to manage and determine the trajectory of change" (ibid: 109). During the course of this study I was left with the impression that the Institutional Forum was not considered as a structure that possessed sufficient bureaucratic capital to challenge the dominance of Senate and Council.

³⁴ The membership of an institutional forum must consist of the following members in terms of the Higher Education Act (DOE 1997): University management; Council; Senate; Academic employees; non-academic employees and Students.

5.4.4 University Management

The Principal (Vice-Chancellor) is responsible for university management and administration and provides leadership on its day-to-day activities (RSA 1997; DOE 2008:111). In the structure of the power at UX, the position of Principal has bureaucratic control over all other positions beneath it and thus controls the direction of the academic enterprise of the institution. As noted above, the Soudien Report has suggested that the Executive Management of universities (lead by the Principal) may in certain cases accumulate large endowments of bureaucratic capital by taking over the functions of Council.

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From the above second-level analysis of the objective structures of UX, it is clear that its main governance structures possess high volumes of bureaucratic capital. The Council and Senate wield considerable authority over the academic enterprise while the Principal commands control over all positions in the various Faculties which provides him/her with substantial influence over the production of the curriculum. The discussion below attempts to show that like the configuration of power above it, the Faculty of Education is also comprised of positions with varying levels of power that can be used by agents to influence how the curriculum is constructed.

5.4.5 The position of Dean

The highest volume of capital within the Faculty of Education vests in the position of Dean. The holder of this position is mandated by the Principal

to carry out the intellectual vision of the university. The Dean of the Faculty of Education at UX explained the contractual relationship between the Dean and the Principal in the following way:

...as Dean my role is to support the senior management that is why a Dean is contracted every year in a management process to deliver certain outputs. The Faculty does not work on its own... I cannot decide I am doing this or that...because the Head of Administration decides what I have to complete within certain parameters...the targets I have to achieve is contained in my contract with senior management and I in return have to work with the Heads of Department to reach those targets. Let me provide you with some background. When I was appointed, senior management instructed me to change the model that we were using to train teachers. I was told that senior management wanted the subjects (mathematics, English, history, etc) to be taught by the subject experts. I was therefore told that subjects like mathematics must be taught not by a teacher educator but by a Professor, as graduates in these subjects also had to pursue postgraduate degrees which cannot be achieved if they were prepared under the circumstances of the past arrangement...so we had to restructure to make this possible – so it was not a democratic process - it was very transparent- but it was confrontational, it was very difficult... (Interview F).

In the view of the Dean, the position is accepted with the prior knowledge that the decisions of the Principal, the author of the Dean's contract, must be implemented even though as in the example below cited by the Dean, it does not receive acceptance from all staff members of the Faculty:

I did what I could to keep the staff informed of the changes in the Faculty... anybody could come and speak to me and we had lots of consultation with the Heads of Department, there were days that I was on stage in the auditorium and people felt that the decisions surrounding the changes in the Faculty was very problematic but they could ask me anything, I stood there for hours – the input opportunities were many but I could not say that the direction that we had to take would be based on the majority decision. I could guarantee that everyone would be heard and that I could give

reasons why a decision was taken...sometimes the academic staff did not like the decisions... But I did carry out the function of the Dean which is to see that the senior management stayed informed of what was happening here. Senior management were sensitive enough when I would suggest that we must not go any further with certain aspects because it is affecting my staff and they would listen. What I had to ask myself at the beginning when they gave me the instruction was to understand what they wanted because I could not go to senior management and tell them that I did not want to do it – I knew that there was a fundamental problem in the teaching profession in South Africa because we have too many teachers in the classroom who lack subject knowledge. I therefore understood, although it came from senior management, that we had to change even though it was painful for staff - it was something that I believed that needed to be done (Interview F).

The position of Dean within the structure of the Faculty is thus quite stringently tied to the contractual obligations set by the Principal. According to Johnson & Cross (2004:43), Deans are typically “third-in-command” after the Principal and Vice Principals and are therefore in a primary succession route to the top executive positions in universities. Individuals holding the position of Dean would therefore prefer to have sound relationships with senior management in order to bolster their symbolic capital for the purposes of career advancement. This does not suggest that all Deans only act as career opportunists who are uncaring about their staff; the important point to note is that the position of Dean is contractually tied to the objectives of senior management which has implications for their advancement in the field. The balance of power in this relationship is thus only disrupted if the Dean and the Principal change the nature of this contract. The relationship between them, however, leaves very little room for bureaucratic and personal autonomy for the Dean. For example, the former Dean of the Faculty noted that a Dean does have some leeway to bend the rules of the university, but not without strategic insight:

... you can push if you have credibility but don't push it if you do not have something to fall back on because if you are sloppy, careless...it will backfire...so in that sense I have learnt over the years how to push but not to push too hard because there are very hard-strung people...so you have to have a feel for the organisation (Interview E).

In summary, the volume of bureaucratic capital vested in the position of the Dean is dependent on the Principal and the latter is legally bound to carry out his or her mandated objectives within the Faculty.

5.4.6 Head of Department (HOD)

The positions directly beneath that of the Dean (and Deputy Dean) are held by various Heads of Department (HODs). The latter report directly to the Dean and are responsible for: budget management, curriculum change, staff leave, staff promotion and student administration. As Department managers they are required to have a shared vision with that of the Dean (many respondents indicated that the selection of the HOD is strategic in that the incumbent tends to be an ally of the Dean). Most importantly, however, for the purposes of this study, HODs have control over teaching and learning in their respective units and therefore have considerable power (subject to that of the Dean) over the content and pedagogy of the curriculum offered in their units.

5.4.7 Programme co-ordinators

The HODs are assisted by programme co-ordinators who are, among other things, practically involved in giving effect to curriculum change in the

Faculty³⁵. In this study I have interviewed most of the programme co-ordinators across the different Departments (past and present). From these interviews I established that many of them played a key role in putting together the new programmes for compliance with the quality assurance requirements of the Higher Education Act. Many considered themselves as “foot-soldiers” performing a thankless task for which they did not receive additional financial remuneration or enhanced symbolic capital. Included among their tasks were the drawing up of module handbooks, managing teaching staff, marking scripts, exam and assignment administration and providing reading material which gave them some indirect but not insignificant input on the content and pedagogy of the curriculum.

5.4.8 Faculty Board

The "collective" decision-making structure within the Faculty inheres in the Faculty Board. The ratification of all the decisions that require input from members of the Faculty is conducted within this structure. The Dean is the chairperson of the Faculty Board and the board itself is a committee of Senate (it advises Senate on teaching, research and community engagement). The Faculty Board thus provides an opportunity for all academic staff members to discuss matters of the Faculty before they are forwarded to Senate and Council for approval:

All the major academic decisions must be strengthened at Faculty Board level where all the permanent academic staff are involved. However, before the Faculty Board can approve any decision there are many other committees where suggestions of staff are debated, for example, in the case of the curriculum the Teaching and Learning Committee of the Faculty would have discussed it. All

³⁵ According the yearbook of the Faculty, a co-ordinator of a programme is the person responsible for organising, compiling, teaching and provision of guidance to students with regard to a particular degree package.

Departments must also look at the information to change the curriculum...so a lot of consultation takes place in Departments...that by the time it gets to the Faculty Board it is not something that is unknown or a surprise because it has passed through other forums (Interview S).

With very few exceptions, the academic staff I interviewed considered the Faculty Board to be a space for engagement but not for changing the approach of senior management. As already noted by the Dean (Interview F), who chairs the Faculty Board, staff members have an opportunity to challenge the decisions of senior management at Faculty Board level, but the Dean can only inform senior management of their viewpoints and cannot oppose the decisions of senior management. For many of the staff members, therefore, the Faculty Board may serve as a means for group discussion but ends in the "confirmation" of senior management's policy decisions.

The Faculty Board thus, in the opinion of many respondents, functions more as a structure to inform staff of impending change rather than as a consultative process based on democratic principles. The following extract is representative of a large proportion of the interviewees on the value of the Faculty Board as a means for challenging university policy (this particular interviewee has been at UX since 2003):

...we just confirm decisions at the Faculty Board meetings. In the past, we used to have discussions we spoke about teaching matters but now we go there and all we do is discuss how many articles were written and how many conferences were attended. I don't think that I would miss anything if I did not attend the meeting because I can simply read the agenda and minutes to understand what decisions will be taken (Interview P).

From the viewpoints of the staff interviewed on the function of the Faculty Board, most believe that the structure does not provide a source of

democratic capital. In their view, it functions as means for the Dean to ratify decisions that would most likely tie in with instructions obtained from the Executive. This relatively general viewpoint could not be verified with the minutes of the meetings of the Faculty Board. It does, however, appear that the Faculty Board is a structure that holds bureaucratic capital that is not of high value for non-management staff members.

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From this account of the configuration of power in the Faculty, the most dominant position is held by the Dean who commands control over all other positions. For the holders of the position of Dean and HOD, bureaucratic capital is the most valuable form of capital in the Faculty. As I will show later, the level of endowment of bureaucratic capital aligned to these positions have considerable determining force over the construction of the curriculum.

5.4.9 Non-Managerial Academic Staff

From the above discussion, the positions and corresponding capitals of managerial staff are empirically discernable from the prescribed official structure of authority of the Faculty. It is a lot more difficult to represent the capital prized by non-managerial staff because their positions are not directly associated with formal authority. I have, however, managed to gain some insight into the form of capital considered valuable to non-managerial staff through their perceptions of the Faculty as an academic workplace. My view of the capital most valued by non-managerial academics (discussed below) is thus established from the impressions I gathered from respondents who spoke about how their experience in the Faculty has influenced their professional lives. This second-level analysis

of the capital associated with the positions of non-managerial academics is therefore not gleaned off documentary evidence (because it is seldom captured officially) but rather from the points of view of respondents who, under the cover of anonymity, used the interview as an opportunity to "testify" about their experience of working life in the Faculty.

Bourdieu argues that the act of testifying in the interview situation is a form of self-analysis performed by respondents (especially those most deprived of symbolic capital) in which they carry out the "simultaneously gratifying and painful task" of making themselves heard by transferring their experience from the private to the public sphere. Respondents thus "give vent" to repressed thoughts and experiences which provided me with an opportunity to gain insight into the capital they most desired in the Faculty (Bourdieu 1996b: 24). The discussion below, while exposing some of the simmering tensions between staff in the Faculty, thus provides an index of the type of capital non-managers compete for in order to improve their positions (and power) in the Faculty.

5.4.9.1 Example one: accounts of loss of cultural capital due to transformation

From the point of view of a white Afrikaans-speaking lecturer (Course Coordinator), the process of transformation at the UX led to a loss of symbolic capital (for white Afrikaans-speaking lecturers). The lecturer explained that it was difficult to contemplate an academic career in the Faculty because "black lecturers are in much more demand than white lecturers" (Interview K). The intensity of the views expressed gave the impression that she was revealing very emotionally held views that were seldom spoken about openly in the Faculty:

..dit gaan maar moeilik hier vir ons wittes, hulle het vir ons aan die korthare beet. Hulle weet ons is verlee vir ons werk... (*It is very difficult for us whites here, the university has us in a very vulnerable position, and they know we are dependent on our jobs*)...They know that we have very few options but to accept the conditions in which we work. We can't threaten to leave as our posts are sought after by the university. If we are not satisfied with our salaries or workloads we cannot threaten to leave because the university will be happy to replace us with black staff. People from other race groups are in demand at the university because we do not have much black staff. A person from another race can get a post the minute it becomes available...even if talented black people leave soon after that for another post...we had a black lady who stayed for three months and left for a better post. We whites do all the hard administrative work. We do the teaching, programme accreditation, marking, student management...for very low salaries...then we are still expected to produce research after all that... (Interview K) (My translation in italics).

For this respondent, who has had a very long career as a teacher educator, the process of transformation has resulted in the loss of symbolic capital for white academics because their "race" and academic capital are not easily converted into the form of capital that will allow them to compete for advancement in the Faculty. She has thus resigned herself to her fate and works because she must earn an income and because of her sense of responsibility towards her students. In her view, the accumulation of symbolic capital for advancement is quite limited for whites given that black academics are preferred by senior management.

In a second interview, a white Afrikaans speaking lecturer (Course Coordinator), "testified" that she was notified by management that transformation was the main goal of the university and that some of the white staff would have to accept that black staff would be preferred for appointment to senior positions. She indicated that although she was initially disappointed she was not as "upset as other white staff who could not take instructions from a black colleague" (Interview L). In her view the

black person appointed “was very credible and was not just appointed on a racial basis, it was therefore easy to accept that at least the Department in which she worked would be lead by a well-trained professional and not an “affirmative action appointment” (Interview L).

She noted, however, that she “drew the line when white female academics are overlooked for promotion in favour of black colleagues simply on a racial basis...particularly when a white woman is overlooked in favour of a black male” (Interview L). In such cases she has opted out of assuming responsibilities that accrue to her which should rightfully be performed by the black appointee. She noted that while she understood that the appointment of black staff ahead of whites was an attempt by the university to achieve diversity among its leadership and teaching staff, white staff experience it as a loss of opportunity for promotion that causes feelings of "disappointment and low morale that affects the way that staff approach curriculum transformation." In her view, the prospect for career advancement and the opportunity to contribute intellectually from a leadership position is unlikely because the racial profile of the staff complement in her Department counts against her (Interview L).

In the above accounts both interviewees expressed themselves on behalf of a group who were “not racists” and understood the university’s need to transform. The interviews were, however, an opportunity to make public that transformation has "hurt" white academics and denied them opportunities to improve their positions because of the urgency for the university to change the racial profile of the academic staff. For white academics, based upon these two points of view, their black counterparts possessed the added advantage of political capital. It is thus suggested that the process of transformation has affected the morale of white academics

because they have insufficient volumes of symbolic capital ("racial"/political capital) to compete for promotion in the Faculty.

In an enquiry into these viewpoints with a senior staff member (a black HOD), the latter noted that he was "desperate" to bring cultural diversity to his Department. He noted that black students were sought after by the university at school level already because of the low number that register for his phase of the BEd degree. In his view, the shortage of black students in his Department resulted in a lack of black lecturing staff which made it "difficult to achieve diversity in the staffroom as well as the classroom" (Interview CC). The HOD argued that white academics in his Department are aware (and they accept it) that black academics tend to receive preferential consideration when it comes to staff appointments in the interests of promoting transformation.

He noted, however, that while black professionals are in high demand, the university does not receive black applicants for lecturer posts in his Department. The slow pace of change in the racial profile of his Department is therefore not based on an unwillingness to introduce diversity among staff and students but is rather the product of the perception among black students that the field of study in his Department is of "low status" in society. On the issue of white staff members being overlooked for appointment or promotion, he indicated that "excellent white academics or graduates with the potential for becoming exceptional leaders in their fields would not be neglected." In his view, it is due to the belief that white students have in the value and importance of his phase of the BEd (compared to that of black students) that his staff profile does not have the appearance of representivity (Interview CC).

From the above discussion it is quite clearly discernable that the views of the respondents suggest that "black" symbolic capital is superior to that of "white" symbolic capital in the Faculty.

5.4.9.2 Example two: accounts of the loss of academic capital as a result of the "failure" of transformation

In similar fashion to the responses from Afrikaans-speaking white lecturers in the above example, three black lecturers (two of whom have been at the university for many years) also used the opportunity afforded to them to speak about issues "that are never raised in staff discussions in the Faculty." In their view, the minority position of black lecturers in the Faculty meant that they were not considered for senior positions while white academics appeared to be promoted on a "preferential" basis. The respondents noted that they often discuss (as a group) ways to avoid being dominated or exploited by white academics who have more power in the Faculty (Interview N). For example, one of the lecturers noted that she and her other black colleagues often assist each other to understand and respond to experiences that affect them as a "racial" group (Interview N).

She used the issue of teaching loads and the attitudes of white students towards black lecturers in her Department to demonstrate her point. According to her, black academics were largely responsible for teaching English classes which were preferred by the majority of students which meant that black lecturers had more teaching and marking loads than white Afrikaans lecturers who taught the smaller, Afrikaans speaking groups. She noted that although black lecturers were responsible for teaching the majority of students, some white students often overlooked them when it came to discussing the content of the curriculum and marks obtained for assignments and exams preferring to consult white lecturers:

The worst is that white students, particularly after exams, will consult with white lecturers, even though they attend the classes taught by black staff, to assist them with improving their marks implying that black lecturers are incompetent (Interview N).

For this respondent, white students have adopted this approach because the university had in the past "allowed" white lecturers (with the permission of the white HOD) to change the marks of white students. The respondent noted that she and her colleagues asserted themselves as black lecturers and ensured that students were not allowed to consult with white colleagues to change their marks without their permission. As a result the HOD, who is black, now consults with black staff before adjusting academic results. In the past, when the black staff complement was much smaller they were unable to accumulate enough power to prevent "white HODs from ignoring black lecturers and just awarding marks to white students - this would not have changed if our HOD was not black- ..." (Interview N). The respondent thus held the view that the increase in the number of black staff has allowed them to assist each other as a group to obtain more influence (capital) in the Faculty.

For the second black lecturer, the accumulation of symbolic capital at the level of the individual was much more difficult as the Faculty has not promoted black academic staff in large enough numbers:

...you see it in the process of selecting staff for promotion... some people are doing a lot of research and in the end the people that will be promoted will be the one's doing research because people can stay at home and say they are doing research where as others are here going to classes to teach and that is not considered the same as doing research – when you write papers it is not considered the same as when we do marking and teach classes three to four times a week and when promotion comes it goes to whites and the students do not even know them. The university ignores us black staff ...we are constantly here but

the white people who are not here are constantly given promotions... (Interview P).

A third black lecturer, also calling attention to black staff promotion, noted that the latter issue caused the university to have a "toxic atmosphere because black staff can't be promoted if their suitability for positions are decided by whites" (Interview M).

The above discussion of the accounts of white and black lecturers which I was not able to verify (the evidence I required to analyse the underlying structures that generated their experiences were not accessible), are saturated with viewpoints on racial inclusion and exclusion. I am not suggesting that the potential for racial conflict in the Faculty be overlooked by associating it with competition for upward mobility; the point I wish to make is that the presence of tension around career advancement is revealing of the form of symbolic capital that is highly valued among non-managerial staff. Thus while I acknowledge that the perceptions of racial discrimination overlap with that of restrictions on the accumulation of symbolic capital; the overriding impression I got was that advancement in the field was premised on the possession of a particular form of capital (respect from students, recognition of intellectual contribution, opportunities to conduct research, etc). It thus appears that the cause of ongoing competition (and potential position-taking) among agents at this level in the Faculty is directed at increasing their symbolic capital which would afford them the opportunity to improve their position in its power structure.

5.5 Third-level field analysis: The habitus of the agents

In the above discussion, the concept of field has assisted with the representation of objective structure and the configuration of power (capital) at UX. The concept of habitus, to which this discussion now turns, will be used to represent subjective social structure. As I have shown in chapter three, habitus refers to the long-lasting (as opposed to permanent), unconscious manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking that orientates the action of agents when they encounter a field (Bourdieu 2005b: 43). In this discussion of third-level field analysis, I attempt to show, through empirical examples, how the concept of habitus can be employed to represent incorporated social history. My intention, in general terms, is to argue that the habitus, as the product of social history, can assist to explain the individual or group agency that results from the relationship between habitus and a field (the meeting of history incorporated into bodies and history incorporated into things (fields)).

In the next chapter I focus in more detail on the history of UX and I will then again touch on the relationship between field and habitus in relation to curriculum construction. In the discussion below the history of UX and its agents are thus not fully developed. In this discussion my intention is to show the "general" properties of habitus that were exhibited by individuals in the Faculty. My intention, in keeping with this stage of Bourdieu's three-level field analysis, is to illustrate how the internalisation of dispositions into the habitus (and the agency this generates) may have resonances with the trajectory of the field (This is a generalisation based on a selected sample and history of the field and does not imply that the habitus of every agent in the field was considered).

5.5.1 Example 1: Changing academic habitus

From my interviews with particularly the former Dean and the Dean, it became apparent that in the early period of post-apartheid transformation, a substantial amount of resources were mobilised to raise the academic capabilities of staff in the Faculty. It was from these accounts of the attempts to raise the expertise of staff that I was able to get a sense of the academic habitus of the agents who were involved in constructing and teaching the curriculum. The former Dean noted that the development of the academic skills of staff was aligned to the mandate he was given by university management upon his appointment. He noted that when he started work in the Faculty its staff complement was predominantly white and, in his view, did not have the academic training required to give effect to the transformation of the curriculum. According to the former Dean, the academic expertise of a large proportion of the staff was out of synch with the aspirations of the then management which were to train teachers how to dismantle the legacy of apartheid education. The former Dean was therefore under pressure from management to change both the curriculum of the Faculty as well as the academic strengths of those tasked with its teaching and production.

In order to achieve these objectives, a process was started to improve the academic qualifications and skills of staff members. Some were sent to universities overseas to improve their qualifications while a special programme was developed to fast-track the academic development of younger academics. The former Dean, together with other senior colleagues, trained staff in the afternoons and sometimes over weekends (Interviews R and T). According to the former Dean it was important for the staff to develop confidence as academics in order to meet the

challenges associated with establishing an ethos of transformation in the Faculty:

I was aware that the staff wanted to transform, I don't think that they did not want to change; they just did not have the academic skills (intellectual language, critical analysis, research skills) or knowledge of how to obtain such skills... (Interview E).

While I have not managed to gather more empirical data on the deficiency in academic skills among staff and the extent to which the strategies developed to address the problem were successful, the issue has enabled me to gain insight into the relationship between agent habitus and the field. I will discuss this in more detail in chapter six; my intention in this example was to show that the academic habitus of most of the agents tasked with constructing the curriculum for the period under investigation in this study was in a state of flux caused by the changing social conditions after 1994. In terms of third-level field analysis, the above example thus suggests that the academic habitus of the agents had fallen out of alignment with the demands of the reconstituting field.

5.5.2 Example 2: habitus and the hysteresis effect

This second example is not unrelated to the one discussed above but differs from it because it moves beyond a skills deficit to more direct indicators of incorporated social history. In my analysis of the experience of social change in the field I found Bourdieu's concept of *hysteresis* very useful. As I noted in chapter three, Bourdieu refers to the disruption of the relationship between the habitus and a field and the time-lag that follows before it reconstitutes a stable doxa and *illusio*, as "hysteresis" (Bourdieu 2006:160; Gelderblom 2008: 15). Bourdieu argues that hysteresis may produce dispositions of resistance expressed by agents who would prefer

the continuation of the social values that were dominant in the previous field (Bourdieu 2006:160). This is "true", according to Bourdieu, "whenever agents perpetuate dispositions made obsolete by transformations of the objective conditions (social ageing), or occupy positions demanding dispositions different from those they derive from their conditions of origin..."(ibid: 160) (Brackets in original).

The efficacy of Bourdieu's concept of hysteresis for this study is encapsulated in Hardy's very insightful argument that state intervention to inculcate social transformation alters the relationship between field and habitus in a manner that generates hysteresis (2008:143). Hardy argues that when state policy changes the nature of a field, the relative values of the symbolic capitals in that field are significantly altered because the interactions between field and habitus are dislocated giving rise to hysteresis (ibid). Given the social history of South Africa and the transformation policy embedded in the White Paper, it is possible to suggest that the higher education field was experiencing a change to its political orientation that altered the value and weight of its various symbolic capitals which may have rendered particular dispositions obsolete. Hardy's argument was therefore very useful for this study, particularly for this third-level analysis of the habitus of the agents in the field of UX. Given the significance of Hardy's insight, it is worth quoting her at length below:

For a particular time and place, the relative values of different types of symbolic capital are determined jointly by the history of that field as it is reflected in existing field practices, and by those who occupy the most dominant positions within that field or within the field of power - most often, this is the state itself and its representatives. Field structures are the direct result of the successful strategies deployed by field participants in their struggles to use their accumulated capital (habitus) to occupy desirable positions within the field. When

state intervention changes, what is legitimate, the relative values of symbolic capitals, is altered and the interactions between field structures are dislocated. The result is *hysteresis* (Hardy 2008:143) (Brackets and emphasis in original).

This argument by Hardy implies that it should not be surprising if after 1994, some academics in local universities felt that their habitus (cultural/political/scientific/bureaucratic) did not mesh with the demands of the reconstituting field.

Jansen's *Knowledge in the Blood* (2009:224), in my view, has drawn attention to the altering of the value of symbolic capital as a result of post-apartheid transformation at UP. He notes that because senior Professors in the Faculty of Education did not have a broader understanding of "knowledge, curriculum and change", they could not lead the process of "knowledge transformation." This "intellectual work" was therefore handed to younger academics (of lower rank) who became "frustrated" because they were doing the work of senior Professors who in turn were disappointed that they "could not confer, and worse, were not asked, to provide such leadership." To resolve the tension, senior Professors were given *administrative leadership* functions while their younger colleagues were given *intellectual leadership* responsibilities (ibid).

What is suggested by these distinctions is that senior Professors had experienced a loss of symbolic capital which had become redundant in the post-apartheid higher education field while younger academics were taking up new positions (not yet fully established in the field) because their symbolic capital was more highly valued by the new legitimate authority. This sudden alteration of the relationship between field and habitus, in my view, induced a hysteresis effect which can be deduced from Jansen's description of the "refusal" (by "traditional" Professors) of the distinction

between intellectual and administrative leadership and their apparent "sadness" at not possessing the requisite symbolic capital that had now fallen into the hands of their junior colleagues (ibid 225).

From the above discussion it should be clear that the concept of hysteresis is a very useful tool for researchers analysing societies with historical trajectories that involve large-scale government-mandated processes of social transformation. When I applied it in my analysis of the field of UX, the "results" suggested that as a previously Afrikaans-medium university with an institutional history that was strongly tied to the previous political order, the disjuncture between field and habitus may have induced a state of hysteresis. From the viewpoints I obtained during interviews, it appears that the habitus of some agents became obsolete prompting them to attempt to perpetuate their old dispositions which, according to Bourdieu (2006:160), only cause such agents "to plunge deeper into failure."

Although there is not sufficient empirical evidence to support this view, the sudden rupture between field and habitus would have left those staff members with strong dispositional attachments to the previous political order feeling like "fish out of water" as a result of the collapse of long established associations with an academic workplace that reinforced the structures of their habitus (see chapter six). For such academics the process of transformation at UX created a field in which they may have anticipated social adjustment difficulties (the habitus predicts possible success or failure in a field) if they continued to work in a Faculty to which their dispositions were no longer "pre-adapted" (Bourdieu 1990a:61). Below I discuss some examples.

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A former HOD noted that some of the "older" (not many) generation of white academics could not accept the new ideas and "style" of work in the Faculty (Interview Y). A course co-ordinator noted similarly that his manager (a senior Professor) refused to change the curriculum that he had been teaching over many years because he felt that it was "unnecessary." The senior Professor caused some tension in the Department because he disliked the way the Faculty was being changed. This lasted until he retired "without leaving any of his curriculum material behind for others to continue the course" (Interview J). The issue of English versus Afrikaans also appeared to be an ongoing point of contention which, it is suggested, led to open displays of "resistance" by certain Afrikaans academics in the Faculty. There were many seemingly "petty" arguments over the use of Afrikaans and English in staff meetings according to a senior Professor. The latter noted that many Afrikaans-speaking academics (not all) refused to speak in English even though there were some colleagues who were not South African and could not understand Afrikaans. At some point, translation services were mooted as a compromise to resolve the problem of the use of English and Afrikaans in staff meetings (Interview A).

A manager for course co-ordination noted that of all the Departments in the Faculty, the Afrikaans Department "resisted" change by continuing to teach elements in their curriculum which she felt were no longer appropriate. The manager believed that she "had failed" to persuade the Afrikaans Department to embrace transformation (Interview DD). The tension over language is not surprising given that UX was a previously Afrikaans-medium university (see chapter six). Such exchanges between colleagues do, however, provide an index of the rupture between field and

habitus and the resulting hysteresis effect that may have motivated, particularly the previous generation of academics, to either seek early retirement, resist pressures to adjust to the regularities of the reconstituting field or to seek employment in more socially comfortable fields where their habitus and volume of symbolic capital (cultural/political/scientific) still had value and were not in danger of becoming redundant.

The above accounts suggest that agents, particularly in the early stages of post-apartheid transformation, had difficulty adjusting to the demands of transformation. For some of them, the alignment of their habitus with that of the new field had a destabilising effect on their personal and professional lives. The tensions that emerged around the use of Afrikaans in an environment that increasingly had to recognise the presence of other languages, suggests that for some academics the symbolic capital that they had acquired over many years was being eroded by the demands of the reconstituting field. For example, the expectation that academics should teach in a language that would make them appear less competent to their students and peers could have been perceived (and felt) as a loss of previously respected symbolic capital. The refusal to embrace the transformation of the curriculum, as certain interviewees suggested, could have stemmed from a sense of loss of political capital, as some academics may have had a strong affinity with the previous political order. Finally, the relationship between field and habitus could also have become mismatched because the new approach to content and pedagogy in the curriculum did not fit the scientific habitus of some academics resulting in scientific position-taking that was out of synch with the expectations of the new rules of the game in the Faculty.

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In closing, this discussion of the habitus of the agents in the Faculty has attempted to show that the relationship between field and disposition can be fundamentally altered under conditions of large-scale socio-political transformation. The effects of historical change can either raise the expectations of agents or lower it which can result in "social crises" (caused by the lack of fit between field and habitus) (Bourdieu 1990b: 116). In the main, the concept of hysteresis suggests - which Hardy has captured so clearly - that "Structures change, dispositions do not - at best they take longer" (Hardy 2008:145). The mismatch between field and habitus as discussed in this section thus provides some sociological insight (albeit with limited sources) into the state of the relationship between the habitus of the agents and the field of UX at the time that the curriculum was undergoing rethinking and transformation. In my view, if the examples cited in the discussion are taken together, then it is possible to suggest (for this third-level analysis) that the agents in the field of UX were experiencing the effects of hysteresis which may have affected the forms of agency they adopted towards institutional transformation. The discussion has also shown, I argue, that the concept of hysteresis provides a productive heuristic tool for the analysis of the influence of political/cultural/bureaucratic and academic habitus on the process of post-apartheid curriculum change.

5.6. UX theorised as a field: Institutional analysis in the Bourdieusian mould

From the above application of the three-level field model it should be clear why I argue in this thesis that Bourdieu's theoretical framework is a very generative approach to the study of transformation at the site of the

university. By constructing the university as a field, its various objective structures and the dispositions and volume of capital of the agents who occupy them are objectified. The objective structures, positions, power (capital) and agent dispositions are shown to work *relationally*. The construction of the curriculum thus involves all positions and structures (from Council to non-managerial staff) which form inter-linked layers of power that are often ignored in local studies of curriculum construction and transformation. The three-level analysis of the field of the object of study thus creates the potential for the representation of the relationship between social context and agent experience (structure/agency) which I argue is relatively unique as most local studies tend to avoid the slow and often arduous process of object construction. The representation of the objective structures and agent dispositions at the site of the university tends to be ignored or subsumed under vague concepts that provide no empirical sense of how structure, culture and power intersect to produce agency. I therefore argue that in the above discussion, the representation of UX as a field has enabled this study to render “visible” the "objective structure of the distribution of the properties attached to individuals or institutions" which marks the field-analytical approach as "an instrument for forecasting the probable behaviours of agents" who occupy its bounded social space (Bourdieu 2004:58). In summary, I argue that with the field-analytic approach, I have constructed (theorised) the UX as a field in order to facilitate the analysis of the intersection of the habitus of its inhabitants with the social upheaval that characterised the field shortly after 1994 (and the effects thereof on the trajectory of curriculum change and institutional transformation).

5.7. Conclusion

In this chapter I have introduced Bourdieu's three-level model for the analysis of the field of the object of study. I have argued that Bourdieu's model facilitates institutional analysis and provides a strong heuristic platform for the analysis of curriculum change at the site of the university which could augment other approaches in local higher education studies.

CHAPTER SIX: CASE STUDY OF POST-APARTHEID CURRICULUM CHANGE

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I used Bourdieu's research model to analyse the field of the object of study. Much of that discussion was in preparation for this chapter. Here I attempt to demonstrate that when fully deployed; Bourdieu's three-level model of "institutional analysis" blends lived experience and social context in a particular way: it objectifies how the construction of the curriculum was shaped by the dialectical relationship between habitus and a field. The chapter thus examines the social history of the field in order to provide a sense of the social context of the institutional space in which agents were gathered to construct the curriculum. It also attempts to represent the habitus of the agents in relation to the history of the field in an effort to identify similarities and divergences between the two. The case-study is therefore preceded by an historical analysis of the trajectory of the field which I argue assists to understand the influence of culture, social history and power on the contestations that developed between academics during the curriculum construction process. I close the chapter by explaining my intellectual stance as a researcher and briefly substantiate the arguments of this thesis (now with an empirical study) for the efficacy of Bourdieusian sociology for local studies of higher education change.

6.2 Sketching the social history of the field

As I have discussed in chapter two, Bourdieu believed that "*history* – exists in the embodied state as habitus and in the objectified state as fields" (Bourdieu 1993b: 273). In Bourdieusian sociology, knowledge of

the history of a field and that of an individual's habitus is of critical importance for understanding the agency that derives from their intersection. History thus forms the foundation for analysing the ontological complicity between field and habitus which, in turn, provides the researcher with sociological insight into the dialectical interplay between individual disposition and social context. The history of UX that I sketch in this section thus serves to shed light on the historical trajectory of the university and the shaping effects it would have had on the "feel" of the institution orientated by the habitus of its occupants past and present.

The social history of apartheid is relatively well-established in local and international scholarship. In the discussion below I will draw on this scholarship to sketch the history of UX. This was, however, not ideal for my purposes in this study. The use of general historical discourse on South African history is due to a lack of sustained scholarship on the history of South African higher education. As Badat has argued, this knowledge deficit is a vexing problem for researchers, policy-makers and the university community hoping to address the problems of post-apartheid transformation. I will return to this point later on, for now I am emphasising that the history of UX was not sketched with a coherent, theoretically organised historical-sociology of local higher education. This was theoretically limiting because the predominant use of "general accounts" creates the impression of narrative linearity. I would have preferred to engage with critical sociological studies of individual universities rather than having to rely on a "pieced-together" trajectory of my research object. In this sense, this chapter is also attempting to add to those arguments that stress the need for an

increase in critical scholarship on the social history of South African higher education.

6.3. The social genesis of UX

The university started its life as an exclusively white English-medium university college in the early twentieth century. After a brief period of bilingualism (English and Afrikaans) it became a whites-only Afrikaans-medium university in 1932. It retained this identity until the 1990's when it once again became a bilingual institution as a result of transformation. The return to bilingualism reversed a hard-won institutional identity forged by a struggle to create an Afrikaans-only university. Afrikaans exclusivity was created during the 1930's at universities like UX to align such institutions with the movement to build an exclusive Afrikaner Nationalism. Although the subject of debate, there is relative agreement among scholars that the coming to power of the National Party (NP) on 26 May 1948 was based on its earlier reinvention as a political force for an exclusive Afrikaner Nationalism that opposed (particularly) the threat of communism³⁶, economic marginalisation and British cultural imperialism (O'Meara 1983; Moodie 1975; Gilliomme 2003b; Bundy 1986; Marks and Trapido 1987; Witz 2003; Visser 2007). This social construction of a unifying ideology of cultural and racial separateness is said to have been supported by universities such as UX.

It is argued that the history of institutions like UX exemplify the strategies that were used by political and cultural organisations to institutionalise and reproduce Afrikaner Nationalism. Such acts as the

³⁶ See Visser (2007) for the stance of the Bond on communism.

eradication of bilingualism (literally ridding universities of English culture and victimising its adherents), ideological control over the curriculum, the conceptualisation of a philosophy of education to support apartheid and political staff appointments are cited by scholars as examples of how universities like UX established themselves as the bearers of the philosophy of Afrikaner Nationalism (It should be noted that not all universities became whites-only Afrikaans-medium institutions through a process of cultural domination - some started out as exclusively Afrikaner campuses). Below I discuss each of the historical exemplars cited above which scholars have invoked to argue that Afrikaans-medium whites-only universities, particularly those that were previously bilingual, supported and provided intellectual justification for Afrikaner racial and cultural superiority.

6.3.1 Language exclusivity

It is argued that the Afrikaans language became the primary symbol of Afrikaner Nationalism after the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) (also referred to as the South African War) and inspired the "Afrikanerization"³⁷ of certain bilingual universities. Giliomee (2003a:6) argues that Britain "crushed" the two Boer republics in the Anglo-Boer War and introduced English as the sole official language in those territories. In the Cape Colony the government severely curtailed the use of the Dutch language after the war, thus enforcing its preference for the use of English in all areas of Cape society. For Gilliomee (2003a:6-7), this "aggressive" British cultural imperialism expressed through an overt disdain for the Afrikaans language resulted in the latter becoming a galvanising symbol for the cause to build cultural

³⁷ Refers to the campaign to remove English (British cultural influence) from dual medium universities (See Grundlingh 1990; Webb 2008).

exclusivity. Dubow (1991:2), also alluding to the aftermath of the Anglo-Boer War, suggests that the traumatic experience of the war provided the driving impulse for the development of Afrikaner Nationalism as a mass movement because: "confused and insecure in defeat, leading Afrikaner Nationalist theoreticians sought above all to confront the power of British imperialism." Scholars link the drive to Afrikanerize dual-medium universities to the broader process of eliminating British cultural domination and its replacement with Afrikaner Nationalism.

For example, it is argued that the University College of the Orange Free State - which became an autonomous university in 1950 - was Afrikanerized through an appeal to cultural and political sentiments. Grundlingh (1990:7) argues that student activism was rife at the campus with the vast majority of students "vociferously" demanding a "pure Afrikaans institution." The UP was also embroiled in a process of Afrikanerization which Mouton (2007:27) suggests was decidedly more transformative than a change in language policy. He notes that the UP, upon becoming exclusively Afrikaans-medium, entered the service of the Afrikaner *volk* (people) and became popularly known as a *voortrekkersuniversiteit* (University of the Afrikaner voortrekkers).³⁸

The UX, like its dual-medium counterparts, was also Afrikanerized and is said to have forced out the opponents of Afrikaner Nationalism and to have recast its identity into that of a *volksuniversiteit* (people's university) with strong ties to the NP (this relationship was to last well into the 1990's).

³⁸ Reference to people who undertook the "The Great Trek" in the late 1830's symbolising the striving toward an exclusive Afrikaner Nationalism (Worden 1994: 12; O'Meara 1996: xxvi).

6.3.2 Politically-based staff appointments

While language was used as a way of galvanising Afrikaner students and academics, it is suggested that the Afrikaner Broederbond (Afrikaner Brotherhood) (hereafter referred to as the Bond), was instrumental in controlling the structures of authority and therefore the academic workplace at Afrikaans universities. According to O'Meara (1977:163-164; 1996:44), the Bond was established as a secret society in 1918 that gradually began to assume a "vanguard" role for itself within organised Afrikaner Nationalism. He notes that it was particularly strong in the Northern provinces with a leadership that consisted of intellectuals based at the Afrikaans universities of Potchefstroom, Pretoria and the Orange Free State.

O'Meara argues that the Bond's constitution committed its members to, (among other things), "strive for the welfare of the Afrikaner nation", the "inculcation of love for its language, religion, tradition", and the "promotion of all the interests of the Afrikaner nation" (O'Meara 1977:165). Since many of the Bond's members held powerful positions in Afrikaans universities, academics perceived to be *volksvreemd* (foreign to the volk) were rejected by force and intimidation. For example, Mouton (2007:29) notes that when the UP came under the influence of the Bond by the 1930's, they encouraged a "culture of intolerance" against Afrikaners who were considered as "disloyal." The latter were ostracised and "hounded" at the institution by supporters of the Bond who treated them as "traitors and bigger enemies than the enemy itself" (ibid). Such was the mood of hostility towards those perceived as disloyal and traitorous, that two UP academics were tarred and feathered by Afrikaner Nationalist adherents (on separate occasions) for publicly

showing disrespect toward the cause of Afrikaner Nationalism (ibid; Grundlingh 1990).

In strong contrast to inspiring repressive action against *volksvreemde* academics, loyalty to the organisation was rewarded with career success and access to institutional power. O'Meara (1983:77) argues that once the Bond had established itself as the central institution of civic life for Afrikaners, it set about the reproduction of a politically reliable Afrikaner elite by controlling the staffing of Afrikaner educational and religious institutions. O'Meara notes that the core membership of the Bond was largely made up of educators which included school teachers, university lecturers, the Rector of "every" Afrikaans university and teacher training college, the Directors of provincial education and a sizeable number of Afrikaans school Principals and Inspectors (O'Meara 1996:45).

The core membership of the Bond thus gave it considerable power over the running of Afrikaans education institutions. Gilliomme (2003b:421) notes that the organisation was very active in the process of university Afrikanerization and student politics. He argues that the Bond had a hand in the breakaway of Afrikaans universities and colleges from the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) because it viewed the organisation as a "denationalizing influence." From Mouton's (2007) study of the trajectory of the History Department at the UP, the suggested influence of the power of the Bond at Afrikaans universities become apparent. For example, Mouton (ibid:96) notes that the career success of AN Pelzer who held the positions of Head of the Department of History (1947-1970), Dean of the Arts Faculty (1954-1970) and Vice-Rector (1974-1980), was probably due to his "impeccable credentials as a

true and trusted Afrikaner and membership of the AB (Bond)." Grundlingh (1990:3) notes similarly that the Head of the History Department at the Afrikaans-medium university of Stellenbosch, HB Thom (1937-1954), was a senior member of the Bond who later became the Rector of the institution. For Grundlingh (1990:10), it is "abundantly clear" that the History Departments at Afrikaans universities were receptive allies for the promotion of Afrikaner Nationalism.

It would appear from Mouton and Grundlingh's accounts that History Departments were controlled by Bond supporters who later rose to senior positions in the university administration from where they made politically-based staff appointments. Moguerane (2007:44) referring to a particular Afrikaans university, (university not named) also notes that during the period of Afrikanerization of the institution, ethnic and political loyalty "determined appointments, curriculum content and the composition of the student body at the university." According to the above arguments, it is thus suggested that the Bond's members positioned themselves within authority structures at Afrikaans universities which gave them substantial control over the academic enterprise of such institutions.

6.3.3 Control over the curriculum

Most accounts of the construction of the curriculum at Afrikaans universities tend to lean toward the view that the Bond also dominated this area of academic life. For example, Uys (2010:237), Marks & Trapido (1987:19) and Ally et al (2003:75) argue that the respective Departments of Sociology at the University of Stellenbosch and the UP (led by HF Verwoerd and G Cronje) (the latter was nicknamed "the mind of

apartheid") were instrumental in the promotion of Afrikaner cultural and political ideology (both were members of the Bond). Uys (2010:241) notes that one of the most blatant examples of collusion between Afrikaans academia and the apartheid state was exposed in 1977 when it was revealed that Nic Rhodie, of the UP, had received research funding through one of the secret projects of the South African Department of Information to promote the public image of the apartheid government.

Mouton (2007:101) also suggests that the Bond controlled the production of the curriculum by noting that AN Peltzer, as a member of the Bond, believed that *volksgeskiedenis* (Afrikaner people's history) was a means of ensuring the survival of the Afrikaner against a "ruthless communist onslaught." According to Mouton, Peltzer therefore ensured that the history curriculum in his Department at the UP reflected only sanctified Afrikaner history which his students were expected to accept uncritically (ibid). Thus in similar vein to the treatment of colleagues perceived as disloyal to the Afrikaner cause, students were not permitted to challenge the ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism. If they transgressed Peltzer's rules they were publicly humiliated and their essays failed (ibid).

Mouton suggests that Peltzer also used the curriculum to structure male Afrikaner identity. He notes that Pelzer's male students were encouraged to play rugby as it "built character" and expressed "manliness" (ibid: 115-116). For Peltzer, the game was a solid base from which to build male identity in accordance with the ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism. Van der Merwe (2011:77, 98), focusing on the construction of female Afrikaner identity, notes that Afrikaans tertiary institutions used the curriculum to mould the identity of women

students according to the Afrikaner Nationalist ideal of the *volksmoeder* which meant that women were called upon to be mothers, "not only of their private families, but of the 'super-family' that is the nation." According to van der Merwe, the UP authorities set rules for the dress code and "general comportment" of female students that reflected the character traits of the *volksmoeder* as "virtuous, humble and submissive, but also idealistic, cheerful and industrious" (ibid:86).

From these arguments it would appear that curriculum construction at Afrikaans universities was controlled by the Bond to produce the essential properties of Afrikaner identity. The history of curriculum construction at UX, being strongly influenced by the Bond, mirrors the accounts provided by the above scholars. It is thus suggested, given the above arguments, that UX was a social structure that was manipulated by the Bond to foster the reproduction of the ideology of Afrikaner Nationalism.

6.3.4 Philosophy of education and institutional identity

In this part of the discussion I examine scholarly arguments that suggest that after 1948, a much more co-ordinated process of cultural reproduction was put in place through the school system and the training of teachers at Afrikaans universities and teacher education colleges. I have paid particular attention to specific aspects of the history of the philosophy of education taught to South African teachers. This history introduces a significant area of contestation around the Pedagogics tradition (philosophy of education) taught at Afrikaans-medium universities under apartheid. Afrikaans universities are said to have been implicated in the reproduction of Afrikaner Nationalism

through the manipulation of the philosophy of education taught in the teacher education curriculum. The link between the Pedagogics tradition and institutional history is thus significant for understanding aspects of the process of curriculum change at UX. I therefore draw attention to the relationship between the Pedagogics tradition and curriculum construction because it contextualises what the process of transformation was aiming to achieve. More importantly, it provides historical insight into the establishment of a particular institutional identity that was synonymous with the intellectual trajectory of the teacher education curriculum.

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Many scholars view the philosophy of education taught at Afrikaans universities after 1948 as a continuation of the values of Christian National Education (CNE) used by the Bond to build unity among Afrikaners. The core of Calvinist CNE according to O'Meara (1996:41) was based on the belief that ties of blood and volk come first and that the individual exists only in and through the nation (*volksgebondheid*). He therefore suggests that CNE constructed South Africa as the God-given preserve of the Afrikaner nation that had to be governed in accordance with authentic Afrikaner religious and political principles rather than on the secular and *volksvreemde* Westminster model imposed by Britain (O'Meara 1996:41). Eshak (1987:4) notes that the NP resolved in 1948 that South Africa's education policy should conform to the Bond's Calvinist inspired philosophy of CNE thus leading to its implementation at school level. For Enslin (1984:139-140) this had "far-reaching consequences for the education of all children in South Africa."

Most scholars tend to agree with this view and argue that CNE's negative social effects were continued through its incorporation into the philosophy of education taught to generations of teachers at Afrikaans universities and teacher education colleges throughout South Africa (it was also influential in the education departments of historically black universities) (Eshak 1987; Enslin 1984; Reagan 1990; Randall 1990; Fouché 1982; Venter 1997, Higgs 1994; Le Grange 2010; Kallaway 1984; Jansen 1991; Currey & Snell nd). This inculcation of CNE into the teacher training curriculum was mediated, according to most of the scholars cited above, via a philosophy of education known as "Pedagogics" or "Science (theory) of Education." It is thus suggested that Pedagogics was an attempt to intellectually refine CNE by turning it into a value-free, neutral philosophy of education (that ironically supported apartheid politics) (Eshak 1987:6).

By way of rudimentary description: Pedagogics is made up of various part-disciplines, for example, Psycho-Pedagogics, Socio-Pedagogics, Historico-Pedagogics and Fundamental Pedagogics (philosophy) (Enslin 1990:81; Randall 1990:39). Fundamental Pedagogics, as the epistemological foundation for the other part-disciplines of Pedagogics, is considered as the main bearer of CNE philosophy and has been subjected to sustained criticism in the discourse on the philosophy of education taught at Afrikaans universities under apartheid. For most scholars (cited above), Fundamental Pedagogics is a perverse distortion of the phenomenological method for the purposes of garnering scientific credibility for the ideology of CNE.

The rejection of CNE by white English-medium universities as part of their attempt to establish legitimacy for an alternative philosophy of

education has marked the contrast in the institutional identities of South African universities. Although some scholars are hesitant to classify white English-medium universities as radical opponents of the apartheid “status quo”, it is suggested that their “liberal”, “Marxist” and “neo-Marxist” approaches to the philosophy of education classified them as the intellectual opponents of their Afrikaans university counterparts (Reagan 1990: 63-64; Enslin 1984:144; Le Grange 2008 & 2010). Liberal universities generally rejected the approach to the philosophy of education adopted by education departments at Afrikaner universities suggesting that the latter’s approach to education supported cultural reproduction rather than its critique. For example, it is argued that Fundamental Pedagogics was an attempt to cultivate submissive, uncritical loyalty to Afrikaner Nationalism among teachers and students. Its main intention, its detractors argued, was to instil a spirit of intolerance and unwillingness to accommodate divergent perspectives and critical thinking.

This argument is aptly summarised by Reagan (1990: 66) when he describes Fundamental Pedagogics as the antithesis of the “critical pedagogy” that many educators opposed to apartheid were hoping to instil in the education of student teachers. The Pedagogics tradition thus defined the institutional identities of South African universities (particularly their Education Faculties), either positively or negatively. From academic sources that I am unable to cite, it is argued that UX was a pioneer of the Pedagogics tradition suggesting that the institution was complicit (together with all other Afrikaans universities) in supporting apartheid higher education through their establishment of a Faculty of Education that led to the intellectual justification for CNE on scientific grounds.

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From the above historical representation of the social trajectory of the field and its inhabitants, UX is directly implicated in the construction of South Africa as a racially and culturally divided society (although, as I argue in this chapter, more theoretically complex and empirically informed studies of the social history of individual universities are still under-developed in South Africa). As a conduit for the reproduction of society, UX is portrayed as a bastion of apartheid due to its participation in the cultivation of Afrikaner Nationalist intellectual traditions which eventually brought the NP to power in 1948 (and sustained it for many years thereafter).

6.3.5. Post-apartheid hysteresis: The "old" and the "new"

O'Meara (1986:173) argues that the period 1964 to 1972 were the "golden years of apartheid" during which South Africa experienced rapid economic growth. Afrikaans universities, as the allies of the NP, are said to have received substantial material gains during this period of economic prosperity for the state. For example, van der Merwe (2008:153) notes that the Rector of the UP for the period 1948-1969, (as a staunch supporter of the NP and as a member of the Bond) was able to use his political capital to ensure that the university received generous financial support from the state. Also referring to the UP, Webb (2008:398) argues that the NP had substantial influence over the policy of the university until the late 1980's, suggesting that Afrikaans universities may have been directly controlled by the NP. Bunting (2002:67) describes apartheid-era Afrikaans-medium universities as "instrumental institutions" because of their intellectual support for and

complicity in the reproduction of the policies of the NP government and its business allies.

From the late 1970's onwards, however, the NP's hold on power began to decline due to what O'Meara (1986: 171) refers to as "an ensemble of simultaneous and mutually determining economic, political, ideological and cultural crisis." This argument by O'Meara is covered substantially in the discourse on the decline of apartheid and won't be recounted here. What is important to note is that by the early 1980's, the NP was losing its grip on state power and ideological legitimacy (Worden 1994; Gilliom 2003b; Le May 1995; Davies 2009; Marks and Trapido 1987). This period, according to O'Meara (1984:313), saw the destruction of organised Afrikaner Nationalism as a result of ruptures in the NP.

O'Meara (ibid: 368) notes that young Afrikaner students on Afrikaans campuses who were previously "slavishly loyal" to the NP also began to rebel against the social values inculcated by the Bond's ideological and cultural approach to social life. For example, Afrikaans anti-apartheid "voëlvry" (free as a bird) musicians voiced the feelings of a younger generation of Afrikaners who were critical of the "staid and shackled" worldview of the NP (Grundlingh 2004:485; O'Meara 1986:368). As a result, many Afrikaans universities banned them from performing their "anarchistic, angry and satirical Afrikaner punk rock music" on their campuses (ibid; ibid: 491). Although these acts of protest by Afrikaans students and musicians were not sufficient to challenge the power structures of Afrikaans universities, their actions were symbolic of the gradual withering of Afrikaner Nationalism as a galvanising ideology among Afrikaners by the time the NP eventually lost state power to the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994. Thus by the time the process

of transformation was legalised through the White Paper, UX was already in a state of transition; the regularities of the field was unravelling and a distinct rupture between field and habitus had induced a state of hysteresis (see discussion below).

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To offset some of the linearity in the narrative of the history of UX, I attempted to capture the more recent history of the post-apartheid condition of Afrikaner Nationalism by interviewing some academics who were recently appointed to the university. Their views have many resonances with the themes in the scholarly work discussed above. For example, a senior member of the management at UX noted that when he attempted to enforce the university's strict rules against racial discrimination, his life was threatened by "radically conservative" white Afrikaner students. In his view, these Afrikaner students, although a minority political grouping on campus, believed that they were "defending the history of their forefathers from being destroyed by black students at their university" (Interview D). He noted that they not only threatened him with physical violence but also behaved aggressively toward black students. This sparked retaliation from an "extremist" political grouping of black students (also in the minority on campus) that angrily confronted the white political grouping resulting in violent exchanges between them that had to be stopped by the police (Interview D).

The senior manager recounted many such "conflicts" on campus, while noting that he "was aware" of cases of academics who continued to teach in Afrikaans when their students were majority black, "favoured" white

students and regularly used inappropriate and culturally insensitive ways of communicating with black students. The account of the senior administrator was similar to that of two senior professors (Interviews A & B). In their accounts the tensions in race relations on campus were not obvious, but they noted that the Afrikaner past of the university was a silent cause of division in lecture-halls, staff-rooms, boardrooms, student-residences, student administration offices and sport fields because, as one of them put it, "the old existed alongside the new while the new had to attempt to break the institutional practices of the Afrikaner cultural hegemony in order for meaningful and lasting transformation to occur" (Interview B).

The accounts of two education journalists who covered "conflicts" on the campus, be it about the appointment of a new Principal or Student Representative Council, suggest deeply held resentment between white and black students and staff on campus (although this was rarely generalised for university as a whole) (Interviews U & V). For most white academics I interviewed there was agreement that transformation was important but that it had to be fair, ensure the continuation of academic quality and for one senior lecturer, "hopefully not be too radical" (Interview Q).

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From the above interviews and academic discourse it appears as if there is a common thread which suggests that the UX was in the throes of hysteresis after 1994 (admittedly, more empirical work is required to demonstrate the extent of the break in the alignment/adaptation between field and habitus). Its historical foundations were being

criticised and its agents had to drive a process of transformation for which their habitus could only in very rare cases have been fully prepared. It was thus in this social context of radical political change that academics in the Faculty of Education set about the task of curriculum transformation. As will be shown in the case-study, the social history sketched above was always present in the day to day life and interactions of students and academics. It was revealed through the meeting of field and habitus and found its way into the processes of curriculum transformation by corresponding to or rubbing up against the incorporated histories of academics engaged in a struggle to classify the content and pedagogy of the curriculum and by disorientating students grappling to process the “new” knowledge that many were encountering for the first time.

As I have noted at the beginning of this discussion, very little scholarly work has been done on the history of higher education in South Africa. I have thus not been able to draw on scholarship that have, in a sustained way, provided a critical analysis of the historical trajectory of local higher education. This creates the conditions for superficial generalisation and the essentialisation of identity. Despite this limitation, the substantial depth in scholarship on apartheid history offers a fair reflection of the positions that Afrikaans universities, as societies in microcosm, took in the production of knowledge in the service of Afrikaner Nationalism and the ideology of apartheid.

The dangers of underdeveloped critical theory on post-apartheid higher education, however, remain. Badat (2007a:9) has argued that the absence of detailed and rigorous historical sociological scholarship on South

African higher education prior to 1990 leaves the door open to what he notes as the:

...selective re-presentations of history for political gain in current higher education policy struggles, to institutional histories and biographies that are dangerous caricatures of the "real past", and to signs of amnesia around our "real past."

With a fuller, more critical account of the history of UX, I would certainly have been able to better contextualise and critically analyse post-apartheid transformation at the institution. The historical genesis of the object of study would arguably have been less linear and more theoretically complex than the loosely connected narrative that I have presented here as the "history" of UX. The stringent control over access to post-1994 official documents and a concern with institutional anonymity compounded the difficulties I faced in my attempt to provide a critical and unbiased account of the institutional past of the university and its shaping effects on the habitus of its inhabitants past and present.

6.4. The field of UX: a summary.

With the above discussion, and that in chapter five, I have attempted to represent UX as a field. It would appear that during apartheid the relationship between field and habitus at UX was perfectly aligned and the agency of its inhabitants was directed at the inculcation and reproduction of an exclusive Afrikaner cultural identity (and the exclusion of its opponents). The field did not emerge as a result of a natural affinity or shared habitus between its agents: the legitimate authority to classify the university as Afrikaner Nationalist was wrestled away from agents who were considered traitors and British loyalists. The latter were thus ousted in the construction of the field through the position-taking of agents (Bond) who classified the UX as a "home" to

only inhabitants with a strong Afrikaner habitus. Agents with large endowments of cultural capital (loyalty to the NP and Afrikaans culture, membership of the Bond, etc) were destined for success at the university. The social context that shaped the field was thus steeped in racial and cultural ideology which determined its rules of entry and exclusion.

By 1994, the long established regularities of the field were subjected to rapid transformation creating an ever widening gap between field and habitus which resulted in hysteresis. It is thus possible to suggest, with a reasonable degree of accuracy, that agents who had established control over the most powerful positions of authority in the university (positions that held the most bureaucratic capital) were no longer feeling “at home” or “like fish in water” at the institution. The coming into power of a new government that posited a democratic pan South African nationalism would have created a sense of bewilderment for many of the inhabitants of UX. The fissure between field and habitus thus marked the social context in which the incoming protagonists of post-apartheid transformation were to attempt to build academic careers and contribute to the construction of a new cultural and political ethos at the institution.³⁹

From this brief synopsis of the social genesis of the field it should be clear how Bourdieu's theoretical framework is able to provide a model for relational institutional analysis. Bourdieu's theoretical approach applied here (and in chapter five) as a form of historical socio-analysis has enabled a coherent theoretical representation of the dialectical interplay between social history, culture and structure/agency at the site of the university. In the case-study below, I shift from theory to practice

³⁹ See Jansen (2009) for his first impressions of UP when he started his career as Dean of the Faculty of Education.

by using Bourdieu's concepts to perform the task of empirical institutional analysis of the process to change the curriculum of the undergraduate education major offered as part of the Bachelor of Education degree (BEd) in the Faculty of Education.

6.5. Post-apartheid curriculum change at UX: an empirical account

6.5.1 Introduction

The Faculty of Education was by 2001, a very different social and intellectual environment to that experienced under apartheid. It was substantially larger in terms of staff complement as a result of the new government's decision to incorporate teacher training colleges into universities. The Dean of the Faculty was black and the incorporation had also increased the number of black staff. The racial profile of students in the Faculty also began to change although those registered for the BEd undergraduate degree (the qualification investigated in this study) remained predominantly white (see Appendix B).

Due to the incorporation, the Faculty had two components: staff from the "old" Faculty and staff from the newly incorporated Afrikaans-medium teacher education college. For reasons unexplained, the university management decided to divide the Faculty (as a result of the incorporation) into two separate schools (Interview O). Former lecturers of the teacher training college were located in a newly created "School for Undergraduate Teacher Education" ⁴⁰and were mainly responsible for undergraduate teaching. The "old" Faculty members were located in the "School for Postgraduate Education and Research" and were involved

⁴⁰ The names of the two schools were changed.

in research projects, allowed to attend local and international conferences and specialised in the teaching and supervision of Master's and Doctoral students. A senior staff member noted that this division created tension among lecturers because many were made to feel like outsiders and referred to the separate components as the "House of Lords" and the "House of Commons"⁴¹ (Interview X).

The staff in the Faculty were thus a combination of "established" academics who understood the institutional rhythms and regularities of a university and former teacher educators who were thrust into the academic world as a result of a change in government policy. Although the vast majority of staff members were Afrikaans speaking and were trained at Afrikaans universities, they were not comfortable in their new environment. For many, being at the university left them feeling insecure and "out of place" (there was also a reduction in symbolic capital for some lecturers who held senior positions at the college but were junior staff members at the university).

The separation of the two schools thus seemed to create a class distinction that inferiorised the former college lecturers. For example, a lecturer from the former teacher education college noted that they quickly gained the status of "teachers" rather than researchers. She argued that this was reinforced by the "superior and territorial attitudes" of the staff of the "old" Faculty (Interview X). The Faculty thus experienced a period of instability as a result of the incorporation.⁴² Add

⁴¹ This was also a physical division that symbolised hierarchy: the staff of the previous Faculty of Education were housed on the upper floors of the campus while the teacher education college staff were housed on the lower floors.

⁴² See Kruss (2009), CHE (2010) and Parker & Adler (2005) for the effects of the incorporation of former teacher training colleges into universities.

to this the pressure to comply with the requirements for curriculum change by the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) and the Council on Higher Education (CHE), and it becomes clear that the day to day conditions in the Faculty were relatively strained and not particularly conducive for addressing the individual and collective challenges of post-apartheid transformation.

6.5.2 The genesis of the process to transform the undergraduate major

The Faculty process to transform the compulsory education major of the undergraduate BEd degree took place between the years 2003 to 2007. The major was taught in all the undergraduate BEd degrees offered in the Faculty which provides an indication of the extent of the transformation process and the number of agents/Departments involved. This major (as will become clearer below) is an important purveyor of the philosophy of education that the Faculty intended teachers to inculcate in the school system. Its content and pedagogy thus envisions a potential future for South Africa and tends to be reflective of the intellectual habitus of its creators (their dispositionally-generated understanding of what that future might be). It is therefore not surprising, as was seen in the "Affair" and Professor Jansen's account of curriculum change at the UP (and the history of the university sketched above), that academics are usually heavily invested (intellectually and emotionally) in curriculum construction. Curriculum change is thus characteristically a high-stakes game and, as will be seen below, its "typical features" as a contested process were all present during the discussions to transform the education module.

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The approximately six-year process of curriculum transformation started in 2003 when the former Dean asked Professor Duncan⁴³ to reconceptualise the theoretical and philosophical foundations of the undergraduate major. With due consideration for maintaining the anonymity of UX, I can only superficially describe the academic habitus of Professor Duncan and the former Dean who, according to available sources, were the key agents involved in the genesis of the transformation of the module. The former Dean is a black South African male with a long history of opposition to apartheid education and an equally long list of scholarly contributions to the discourse on education and social change in South Africa. When he commenced the process of transformation in the Faculty he assembled a team of "allies" (Interview G) comprising academics who shared with him an "affinity of habitus" when it came to mapping the path toward attaining post-apartheid transformation in the Faculty.

One of the tasks associated with the process to transform the Faculty was the reconceptualisation of the undergraduate curriculum. The former Dean assigned this project to Associate Professor Duncan, an English-speaking white South African male trained in Marxist social history. Professor Duncan's scholarly work and publications indicate an interest in the study of "race" and the history of whiteness in South Africa. Although not a trained teacher, his interest in education stems from his involvement in the activities of the people's education movement of the 1980's, education trade unionism and catholic adult education. In his own words, Professor Duncan describes himself as a "progressive

⁴³ Pseudonym.

educationist" and an "education activist" with a history of being involved in organisations that were opposed to the philosophy of education established by the NP government (Interview G).⁴⁴ When Professor Duncan joined the Faculty he took up a position in the school created for lecturers from the incorporated teacher training college and was largely concerned with teaching undergraduate students. In the context of the internal politics of the restructured Faculty, he was a member of the school that was perceived as having a low endowment of symbolic capital (Interview G).

Professor Duncan recalls that the reason for the former Dean giving him the task of rethinking the undergraduate curriculum was as a result of their informal discussions about the approach to knowledge in the undergraduate curriculum in the Faculty. He noted that during these discussions, he impressed upon the former Dean that the knowledge embedded in the undergraduate curriculum did not encourage critical thinking. In his view, the curriculum did not approach knowledge through any of the "core disciplines" in the humanities and the social sciences. He believed that undergraduate students were not taught that knowledge had to be analysed with critical skills that could only be obtained from disciplines "like history, philosophy, anthropology, sociology and psychology" (Interview G).

He summed up his observations in the following way:

Prof Duncan: The undergraduate curriculum reflected an absence of any gestures to the disciplines because they had no philosophy, no history, and no sociology... to name but a few of the core disciplines.

⁴⁴ Document A (no date) and Interview with Professor Duncan.

WD: How did this influence your thinking about the transformation of the curriculum?

Prof Duncan: I explained to the former Dean that we needed to re-orientate the curriculum in ways that incorporated the fundamental disciplines into the undergraduate curriculum. Thus I felt that instead of tinkering with the curriculum, I put it to the former Dean that we needed to change the way our graduates think, and for me I believe that for young South Africans to claim to be educated and supposed to be teachers can't make those claims and propositions until they are able to think critically about the world they live in...to be able to reflect on that world and change it. For me...being a very great believer in basic liberal critical education...I believe that in order to make citizens of that order, they needed to know a bit of history, they needed to think philosophically, they needed to think anthropologically, they needed to think politically most of all... (Interview G)

For Professor Duncan, the root of the problem with the approach to knowledge by his colleagues stemmed from their years of exposure to Pedagogics as a philosophy of education. As I have noted above, Pedagogics and particularly its sub-discipline, Fundamental Pedagogics, is considered by its critics to have inculcated loyalty to the doctrine of CNE. According to Professor Duncan, Pedagogics had left its mark on the curriculum for undergraduate students because its designers were trained at Afrikaans-medium teacher education colleges and universities that were known for promoting the philosophy (Document A).

It is important to stress that Professor Duncan was not suggesting that (in 2003) the Pedagogics tradition was still promoting Afrikaner Nationalism in the Faculty. He was inferring that its legacy had influenced the approach to knowledge adopted by his colleagues. In his view, they were not promoting apartheid but were not conversant with

critical approaches to knowledge found in the social sciences and the humanities because of their training in the Pedagogics tradition. For example, Professor Duncan noted that when he held informal discussions with his colleagues from the former teacher education college about the influence of Fundamental Pedagogics on their teaching practices and curriculum content, they were "sometimes hurt and outraged." He indicated that they would provide him with their course outlines to show that they were teaching "transformed" content. Professor Duncan argues that their responses were an indication to him that at the level of curriculum design, curriculum change was being interpreted in "whimsical ways" with each lecturer believing that his or her approach was transformative. It was thus clear to him that the undergraduate curriculum did not have a common thread that ran through its content and pedagogy that was informed by a critical approach to "the structures of knowledge" that could countenance the legacy of Fundamental Pedagogics (Interview G).

This argument could not be verified given that I was unable to access the course material offered by Professor Duncan's colleagues. During my interviews with course co-ordinators, lecturers and HODs, I was, however, left with the impression that many of them did not have a practical feel or what Bourdieu has described as a "feel for the game" when it came to teaching critical approaches to education. I sensed that many lecturers trained at institutions steeped in the Pedagogics tradition were not as "natural" or "familiar" with academic material critical of apartheid education. This of course does not mean that they opposed such knowledge, but that it was not incorporated as an academic habitus - as second nature. The often repeated stories of how academic material for teaching transformation content and pedagogy were sourced from

"liberal" universities (because they were more experienced at being "radical"), suggested that the academic habitus of many of the lecturers were out of synch with the approach to education that was being so aggressively pursued by the new holders of legitimate authority in the Faculty. From their viewpoints, I also gathered that the two traditions in the philosophy of education taught by white liberal and Afrikaner universities, respectively, were brought into conflict by the process of curriculum change in the Faculty (This argument will become clearer in the discussion that follows below).

To sum up, the above discussion of the genesis of the motivation for the reorientation of the curriculum, viewed through Bourdieusian theory, indicates that the shared habitus between the former Dean and Professor Duncan (and other colleagues) and the former Dean's position (bureaucratic capital) in the configuration of power, drove the thinking behind the process to transform the undergraduate curriculum. In broad terms, this thinking aimed to rid the undergraduate education major of the legacy of the Pedagogics tradition. In the discussion below I attempt to show how its application shaped the practical process of curriculum construction.

6.5.3 The relationship between field and capital in curriculum construction

The formal process to transform the curriculum for the undergraduate education degree resulted from a Faculty meeting held in 2003. At this meeting, Professor Duncan volunteered to work on ideas that would assist the Faculty with the restructuring process. Professor Duncan's offer was accepted in the meeting and he then set about the task of

putting into practice the ideas that he and the former Dean had been discussing informally (Interview G). He decided that the best way to introduce the majority of undergraduate students to a critical approach to knowledge was to transform the education major of the BEd degree because it was a compulsory module that would reach all undergraduate students in the Faculty (at the time, the Faculty had seven Departments).

In devising the re-orientation of the approach to the curriculum, Professor Duncan researched the models employed by a number of institutions in order to find one that would be appropriate for the Faculty. He noted that the ideas that most influenced his approach were derived from courses that were offered by York University, Columbia University, the University of New Delhi, Makerere University and the Institute of Education in London. The draft concept document was therefore the product of a range of ideas drawn from international models that were geared towards the inculcation of critical thinking (Interview G).

A paragraph from an early draft that captures the pedagogic intention of the revised module informs the reader (presumably the group of colleagues who worked on rethinking the major) that:

These are the possible themes; ...They should be taught in non-conventional ways, and not as lecture-delivery being the main mode of teaching. They should be based on a completely new set of foundational texts. And yet they should recognise where these students come from, and carefully take them to a different place. (Document B: 2003)

From the above extract it is clear that the intention was to break with the legacy of Fundamental Pedagogics. The new module intended to encourage a variety of approaches to knowledge, methods of classroom teaching and knowledge reception ("the shift away from foundational texts"). But this new envisioning of the module was happening without the knowledge of other members of the team to whom Professor Duncan was to provide feedback. In fact he was about to spring a surprise on them because in their understanding of his task, he was only meant to be editing the quality of the language of the course or "changing the spelling mistakes and fixing the grammar", and not critically analysing and rethinking the course by devising an entirely new philosophical direction (Interview G). The former Dean, on the other hand, had sight of Professor Duncan's progress. He commented favourably and stated emphatically (in a handwritten note on an early draft of the revised module) that "we *must* re-conceptualise the education major curriculum" and urged Professor Duncan not to "hold back" in gathering resources and ideas for transforming the major.⁴⁵ With this endorsement, Professor Duncan felt empowered to present his ideas to his "peers" in the Faculty (Interview G).

It is important to emphasise, however, that Professor Duncan was getting ready to provide intellectual leadership in an environment in which he had no "real institutional power." He was operating on the basis of a temporary form of bureaucratic capital bestowed upon him as a member of the former Dean's "gilded cohort" (Interview G). He was thus not a holder of a permanent senior position equivalent to an HOD (see diagram in the previous chapter). As an Associate Professor without a managerial position he was a relative junior (in the structure of

⁴⁵ Letter A (2003) and interview with Professor Duncan.

authority) to full Professors and HODs. In all likelihood, academics in senior positions to him were only following his lead because of his association with the former Dean whose position controlled (commanded) all other positions in the field. Professor Duncan's relationship with the former Dean thus "protected" him against the institutional power of those who held superior field positions (Interview G).

After incorporating the former Dean's suggested changes into the concept document, Professor Duncan revealed the proposed new framework in a report-back meeting with his colleagues. What they learnt at the meeting was that he was proposing a new framework that would require substantial philosophical and intellectual changes to the content and pedagogy of the 12 modules of the undergraduate education major. Professor Duncan recalls that the meeting surprisingly did not erupt into angry disagreements from the HODs. In his view, it would have been "very difficult" for them to counter his argument that Fundamental Pedagogics was an instrument of apartheid that had enduring effects on the teacher education curriculum (Interview G).

The "resistance" from the HODs, he argues, came instead as a result of his "outsider" status. He got the impression that colleagues from the "old" Faculty (this would have been the HODs) considered him as an outsider because of his membership of the *School of Undergraduate Teaching*. Thus for Professor Duncan, the HODs resisted his ideas not because they opposed its content, but "because of the tensions of power that existed in the Faculty" (Interview G) (I will return to this argument by Professor Duncan later on).

As I have already noted, the responses of the HODs were to be expected as they held higher volumes of bureaucratic capital than Professor Duncan. In the discussion below I explore some of their responses (and actions) to understand how they viewed the intervention of Professor Duncan (from their position in the configuration of positions) with a view to understanding the "outsider status" and "tensions of power" that Professor Duncan was referring to.

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I interviewed the 7 HODs (both schools, one did not comment) who were in office at the time Professor Duncan submitted his draft framework. From their viewpoints it appeared that Professor Duncan's colleagues felt that his "right" or "power" to change the education major was the primary cause of dissatisfaction (this was the common view among those who agreed with him and those who opposed him). The dominant view among those who did not agree with him was that he did not have sufficient bureaucratic capital to make the changes that he was proposing. For example, one of Professor Duncan's senior colleagues, Professor Smith⁴⁶, a full professor and HOD, felt that the former Dean's decision to appoint Professor Duncan as the co-ordinator was a "serious mistake." Professor Smith believed that the former Dean was setting Professor Duncan up against the rest of his colleagues because it should have been obvious that "one man can't be expected to transform 12 modules without consultation" (Interview H). Professor Smith's views are not out of the ordinary given that he was a HOD and was therefore concerned that his position was being undermined since it was his

⁴⁶ Pseudonym

responsibility to have input on the development of the curriculum if he was expected to implement it at Departmental level.

Professor Cloete (Interview I) also a full professor and HOD notes that it was very difficult to object to what Professor Duncan was proposing "because the transformation agenda in his proposal was very strong and disagreement may have given the impression that one was against transformation and because he had the support of the Dean." Professor Cloete thus suggested that Professor Duncan would not ordinarily have been allowed to make any changes to the curriculum without the support of the former Dean. In a telling expression of the relationship between field and capital, a third HOD, in a "polite gesture of advice and guidance from an older mentor", ushered Professor Duncan aside in a corridor and informed him "that if his colleagues were fed up with him it was because he lacked a solid foundation in the study of education." The HOD noted that Professor Duncan was an historian while his colleagues whose curriculum he was attempting to change had PhD's in education (Interview Z). The HOD was thus implying that Professor Duncan lacked the necessary volume of symbolic capital (expertise) to guide his senior colleagues in the Faculty.

The objection to Professor Duncan's temporary bureaucratic capital was illustrated much more overtly by a senior Professor (HOD). In an apparent rejection of the power of Professor Duncan, an HOD called a meeting to discuss the proposed framework after the process had already reached an advanced stage. In the meeting, the HOD proceeded to suggest changes to the "thrust" of the framework and also appeared to assign lecturers to teach the various modules. The HOD was thus assuming control over the co-ordinating and leadership role held by

Professor Duncan. In expressing his seniority, he made critical and disparaging remarks about the nature of the proposed framework and attempted to revisit certain decisions that were already agreed upon “because the decisions were made during his absence.”⁴⁷ Although I could not verify the full details of this incident, it does appear that when Professor Duncan unveiled his proposal he was perceived to be encroaching on the areas of authority held by agents with superior capital endowment. For these agents, Professor Duncan's relationship with the former Dean curtailed any action that they might have wished to take against him for challenging their power.

From a Bourdieusian perspective, this discussion illustrates the operation of power (distribution of capital) in the Faculty. Academics attempting to transform the curriculum, it would appear from the above tensions, must possess a substantial amount of bureaucratic capital in the field. Bureaucratic capital thus matters when it comes to curriculum design, content and pedagogy. This does not necessarily exclude the influence of scientific/intellectual capital (or other forms of symbolic capital), but this specific case suggests, as will become clearer below, that academic managers have substantial influence over the authorisation of the curriculum which may negate the force of scientific/intellectual capital. While I do not have any documentary evidence to support the claim that the reaction of some of the HODs were forms of resistance aimed at the process of transformation, the viewpoints gathered from all of them, suggest, importantly for this discussion (of the relationship between field and capital), that tensions over bureaucratic capital had a substantial effect on how they viewed Professor Duncan's agency in the process to construct the curriculum. I

⁴⁷ Letter B (2005).

am not suggesting that they did not view him as an outsider (as he interpreted their reaction/behaviour), but there appeared to be strongly held opinions and suggestions that his close relationship with the former Dean provided him with power that he should not have held. In the sections below I take this discussion of the relationship between capital and field further but with more direct focus on the practical process of curriculum implementation.

6.5.4 Bureaucratic capital and the shaping of curriculum content

In 2005 the Faculty took a decision to implement the major for which Professor Duncan had created a revised framework (The official implementation was to take place in the 2006 academic year). Professor Duncan notes that at this stage of the process, the re-orientation of the curriculum had not moved beyond the revised framework and therefore the "strong intellectual and management structures had not yet been worked out" (Interview G). According to Professor Duncan, the sudden pressure to implement the education major imperilled his attempts to transform the curriculum. He argues that because he was not an HOD he was not in a position to control the intellectual content of the module once the decision was made to implement it. Without seniority, he did not have a field position with the requisite bureaucratic capital to make decisions about the final curriculum design. The internal bureaucratic process to implement the module thus excluded him.

Professor Duncan argues that because the process to implement the new major left no space for his involvement, his detractors were able to use their authority to undermine and "dilute" the changes he was proposing. He noted that this was possible because his framework document was

only a proposal for a new philosophical direction. As such, it did not meet the university's bureaucratic requirements for a formal curriculum. In order for it to be acceptable as a curriculum it had to be submitted as a fully developed, ready for implementation document (course outlines, module descriptions, module years, Departments teaching the modules, financial implications, etc). Since these criteria could only be provided by HODs, the latter were each requested to "flesh out" the themes in the proposed curriculum for his or her Department (Interview G).

According to Professor Duncan, the decision to implement the module, which had not yet matured into a technically constructed curriculum, meant that his concept document "suddenly became a basis for a curriculum." He argues that the premature implementation of the major shifted the power to control the "knowledge structures" of the curriculum into the domain of the HODs culminating in a "disastrous" and "very bureaucratic" approach to curriculum production. In his view, the HODs "crudely" changed the old titles of the existing courses to the titles he had developed in the restructured curriculum. According to him, the HODs simply continued to offer the old "Fundamental Pedagogics content but with titles that suggested that they were revised and transformed in order to keep the bureaucrats in the university happy"⁴⁸(Interview G).

⁴⁸ The 12 module course presented to the quality assurance committee based on Professor Duncan's concept document had the following themes : Episodes and ideas in the history of South African education; How knowledge is organised; How children learn; The qualities of a teacher as a professional; Perspectives on transformatory pedagogy; Education and diversity; Issues in education policy; Teachers and teaching; Education, markets and globalisation; Education in the digital economy; Discipline in schooling; Childhood and education in South Africa (Document C: 2005). Professor Duncan argues that the themes he developed did not correspond to the content that was devised by the HODs.

He also noted that the HODs were defending their territory by ensuring that the courses “that their Department’s had been teaching for years remained with them and did not fall into the hands of other Departments which ensured that they remained financially viable.” Professor Duncan thus felt that the HODs placed the survival of their Departments above that of transformation. In his view, an untested module bearing potentially controversial material would thus have been expediently avoided by the HODs (Interview G). For Professor Duncan, it was the bureaucratic nature of the process and the quest for survival among HODs that stripped the intellectual integrity from the module and allowed the conservative ideas about education embedded in Fundamental Pedagogics to be preserved in the Faculty. From his point of view, it was much easier for HODs to customise his ideas and then to add them to “their old Fundamental Pedagogics curriculum” rather than to undertake the more complex task of developing a new, more intellectually advanced module with the added pressure of ensuring its financial viability and finding staff suitably qualified to teach the new material. He therefore argues that the HODs control over the implementation of the module had catastrophic effects for the Faculty’s approach to post-apartheid teacher education. According to him, the framework document and the vision it contained lost its original intention because of the “way in which ideas move in universities” (Interview G).

Professor Duncan therefore believed that even though he may have had progressive ideas about how to change the curriculum, his lack of power in the authority structures of the university meant that his initiatives could be used as a sleight of hand by HODs to protect what was in effect a continuation of the old programmes inspired by the Fundamental

Pedagogics approach to knowledge. He felt that if institutional power was arranged less bureaucratically at the university and if all of his colleagues shared his approach to transformation (if there was a general affinity of habitus), curriculum change would have been much easier to achieve in the Faculty. Instead, in his view, the bureaucratic processes revealed the divergence of ideas in the Faculty which culminated in a power struggle won by the HODs who ensured that their “conservative” traditions remained hegemonic (Interview G).

It would appear from Professor Duncan's account that the “lack” of curriculum change was shielded from public view under the cover of a new transformation discourse that he, without being able to anticipate how the process would unfold, inadvertently helped to construct. Since it was not possible to verify the arguments made by Professor Duncan, I interviewed the HODs in order to understand their perspectives on the implementation of the curriculum. In Bourdieusian terms, I examined the relationship between capital and field from the perspective of the holders of dominant bureaucratic capital given that Professor Duncan argued that HODs had the power to shape the content and pedagogy of the curriculum as a result of their position in the Faculty. I thus discuss in more detail below the views of those HODs who implemented the new curriculum and their concerns about its pedagogy and content.

6.5.5 Implementing the education major

From the perspective of Professor Cloete (HOD, Senior Professor), it was always his understanding that curriculum transformation was meant to bring about substantial change to the content and pedagogy of the undergraduate curriculum. He noted that the former Dean wanted

HODs "to come with new ideas and new approaches" that would completely replace the tradition that was dominant in the Faculty (this would have been the Pedagogics tradition, although Professor Cloete never mentioned it by name). Professor Cloete explained his understanding of the directive for curriculum change in the following manner:

Professor Cloete: When the transformation of the education module started the former Dean indicated that he wanted new ideas, a new dynamic and creative approach to education. He let us know, those of us who taught the old approach, that he no longer wanted it, that we should come with new material.

WD: Please explain how the changes were made. Did you change both the content and titles of the modules?

Professor Cloete: We changed both because the course could not function if you did not change the content.

Professor Cloete argued that it was in fact because the content of the modules changed in accordance with the transformation approach that he (as HOD) began experiencing problems from students and lecturing staff (thus implying that the new material was implemented) (Interview I).

Professor Cloete argues that when they were using the old approach to the first year curriculum they taught students taking *Socio-Pedagogics* (a sub-discipline of Pedagogics) about society in a manner that made it

“interesting and exciting, we introduced them to social problems like drug abuse, homelessness and street-children. We felt that this approach was a reasonable introduction to education for first-year students.” Professor Cloete noted that because the former Dean wanted the old approach removed in the interest of transformation, his staff were exposed to "radical" ideas for the first time. Since most lecturers and students came from what he referred to as a "classically conservative Afrikaans education background”, they were completely unprepared emotionally for the content of the new module (Interview G).

Professor Cloete noted that the content placed emphasis on the history of education in South Africa under apartheid interpreted by scholars using Marxist analytical concepts which "for lecturers educated in a philosophical tradition that opposed Marxism, just mentioning Marxist ideas in a curriculum, triggered a defensive response." In their minds, noted Professor Cloete, the new material was emotionally and professionally debilitating and it was therefore impossible for some of his staff to teach it. He argues that those badly affected by the content felt that it was impossible to train teachers to become Marxists when they have been taught to fight against the "ideology" for so many years (Interview I).

Other interviews I conducted had similar accounts of the perceived “radicalisation” of the curriculum. A senior lecturer noted that "staff members were not coping with the new ideas and were struggling to adjust but tried to go along with the changes even if their hearts and minds were not in it because that was what the situation demanded"⁴⁹

⁴⁹ An early version of the draft framework for the revised education major includes a module on critical pedagogy that includes among its reading material authors such as Jurgen Habermas, Paulo Freire, Ira Shor, accounts of the achievements of People’s Education and the

(Interview R). In a similar view, shared by a course co-ordinator, it was suggested that for many lecturers, teaching the course material was akin to betraying their social origins as "some of the lecturers wanted change to be gradual, as Afrikaners are religious people, Professor Duncan's ideas were radical (sometimes also called liberal) and not easy to identify with because they were so ideological and yet we were expected to teach it in the classroom" (Interview O). And finally, an HOD noted that when he presented the new material to one of his lecturers to prepare before class, the lecturer refused on the grounds that he "could not possibly be expected to educate students using content that he does not personally believe in" (Interview CC).

Apart from the inability to relate to the content, Professor Cloete also noted that a second concern that arose for him was the emotional maturity of white Afrikaans students. In his view, Afrikaans first-year students, due to their "classically conservative" social and educational backgrounds, were not mature enough to deal with critical discussions of South African history. Black students, on the other hand, noted Professor Cloete, found the content easier to identify with because "...they came from that historical background and could easily maintain arguments without becoming emotional which Afrikaans students, because of their schooling background found very difficult." Professor Cloete noted that as the HOD this was a very difficult time for him because he faced a "litany of complaints" from students. He also noted that apart from the content, students complained about the presentation

of the knowledge which was different to the “textbook” approach that they were familiar with from school (Interview I).

Professor Cloete argued that this criticism arose because he had removed the textbook presentation of the course because their (Fundamental Pedagogics) “paradigms” were criticised. In his view, because Professor Duncan questioned the “approach” that was present in the academic material and favoured the development of a “wide reading”⁵⁰, it was difficult to supply students with coherently structured reading material. This incoherent or unstructured approach frustrated a number of Afrikaans students because “the collection of readings were not logical, it did not have structure and did not provide the student with a final statement of what he or she needed to know” (“dit kom nie tot ‘n punt nie”/ It does not provide a logical conclusion).

Professor Cloete argued that the content of Professor Duncan’s “loosely connected readings” created many problems for him as the manager of the Department because “students were reading what they perceived as radical literature in a non-coherent way which compounded their problems because they had not experienced this before.” He therefore decided that as HOD he had to make certain choices that prevented conflict among students in his Department. To remedy the situation, “which was only really caused by two of the twelve modules”, he thought

⁵⁰ In another early draft of the revised education module Professor Duncan proposed that where possible the readings for the courses should include original texts and scholarly studies rather than textbooks which was his attempt to introduce students to a broader body of knowledge about education that encouraged independent thinking rather than the linear, coherent, presentation provided in the Faculty course readings. In his view textbooks did not expose students to learning about the structures of knowledge in a more creative, exploratory manner that developed the skills of innovation and reflexivity that would enable them to work as independent educators in a variety of educational contexts (which was an attempt to break with the legacy of Fundamental Pedagogics according to Professor Duncan) (Document D and interview with Professor Duncan).

it best to introduce historical material that students from conservative Afrikaans backgrounds found offensive during their second-year when they had "matured" in their thinking and were more comfortable with how academic material is provided at higher education level (Interview I).

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I now turn to Professor Smith (HOD, Senior Professor) who noted that he was not particularly comfortable with the content of the new module because it was premised on the idea that "all transformation was inherently good even though not all the ideas associated with transformation are necessarily good ideas just because it changes things from the past" (Interview H). Professor Smith noted that Professor Duncan expected all academics in the Faculty to follow his definition of transformation in the belief that his viewpoint represented the best vision for transformation. For Professor Smith it was not a case of disagreeing with the transformation of the education module, "it is just that the content changes that was expected of us was not on par with what was happening at other universities that offered teacher education in South Africa and at international universities for that matter" (Interview H).

In Professor Smith's view, the "critical theory" approach adopted by Professor Duncan was a clear attempt to use education for a political agenda. For Professor Smith, Professor Duncan's version of critical theory was based on the understanding that "whites owned everything and enjoyed life while blacks were being exploited and had to suffer all the time." Professor Smith noted that, although he was white and Afrikaans-speaking, he did not come from a wealthy background and

had to struggle to become an educated professional, he therefore found it unacceptable that an education module could suggest that that all white people achieved a higher status in life without having to overcome economic difficulties. In his view, the critical theory approach to South African social history as proposed by Professor Duncan, was "not a good" approach to teacher education because it was only one of the approaches to knowledge. He noted that as HOD he had proposed other pedagogical approaches during the conceptualisation phases of the module but his views "were not taken seriously at that stage because of the strong transformation agenda that prevailed at the time." (Interview H).

Given that Professor Smith objected so strongly to the inclusion of "political content", I asked him to explain how he would have approached the transformation of the module had he been its author. His reply was as follows:

Professor Smith: If I had a choice I would have used my own approach that I think is an acceptable model for teaching students how to be teachers which would enable them to deal with the practical problems of teaching.

WD: Please explain your approach.

Professor Smith: In my approach, the student is the client and we must therefore offer our students what they are expected to teach in the classroom and prepare them for that.

WD: Why this approach?

Professor Smith: Education must not be used for political agendas; I don't believe that that is the best way to educate teachers.

Professor Smith thus suggested that the "transformation agenda" in the education module assumed an intellectual superiority over other forms of knowledge and was a means of politicising education. I did not manage to obtain evidence that Professor Smith applied this thinking in his Department. It would seem very unlikely, however, given the strong views that he held (and his bodily hexis which also reflected his passionately held opinions) that "political" education was dominant in the curriculum that he managed in his Department (Interview H).

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In sum, this discussion has provided some insight into the processes that shaped the construction of the curriculum. The differences of opinion between the HODs, some lecturers and Professor Duncan with respect to the continuity between the new module and the Fundamental Pedagogics approach would require substantial fine-combing of course material to establish the merits of each argument. Such an exercise was not possible for reasons that should by now be well-known. In my view, however, the discussion of the above viewpoints suggests that the positions that HODs hold tend to afford them the opportunity and power (bureaucratic capital) to alter the original intention of the curriculum designers at Departmental level. The viewpoints of Professor Duncan and that of his detractors creates the impression that there was a dominance of objective structure over agency in that the HODs have

the required volumes of bureaucratic capital to determine how the module was implemented at Departmental level. It is also apparent from their differences that the academic habitus of the HODs may have influenced their position-takings with respect to how they apprehended and implemented the module. I therefore examine these traces of habitus-inspired approaches to curriculum content more closely in the discussion below.

6.5.6 Field and habitus: incorporated social history and curriculum construction

...people are structured by society...I developed the concept of habitus to incorporate the objective structures of society and the subjective role of agents within it. The habitus is a set of dispositions, reflexes and forms of behaviour people acquire through acting in society. It reflects the different positions people have in society...It is part of how society reproduces itself. (Bourdieu 2000:2)

For Bourdieu, the habitus is only activated when it encounters a field. As I have discussed in chapter two, the habitus concept is used by Bourdieu to account for the subjective actions that individuals take within fields based on incorporated social history that unconsciously influence their schemes of perception and appreciation. The relationship between habitus and field thus provides a sociological basis for analysing the continuous shaping effects of the dialectical relationship between structure and agency. Below I discuss why the concepts of habitus and field were useful for analysing how the dispositions of agents (particularly those in positions of power) have the potential to affect curriculum transformation in particular ways.

I use the viewpoints of Professor Smith and Professor Cloete as examples of *position-taking*. As I have already noted above, much of the tensions around the process to construct the content and pedagogy of the module centred on the right to classify the nature of the knowledge embedded in the new module. I argue that the views expressed by Professor Smith and Professor Cloete, when deconstructed using Bourdieu's notion of "classification", are revealing of their academic habitus and potential position-taking on curriculum construction in their Departments. It is important to repeat here that the discussion below concentrates on expressions of points of view which suggest socio-political and scientific position-taking that are reflective of academic habitus. This study has, however, not empirically established the scientific habitus of the agents and the force that their scientific capital had on the process of curriculum change. The classifications of knowledge by agents in the discussion below are therefore at best speculative suggestions of the influence of academic habitus. These impressions of academic habitus have, however, assisted this study to suggest that the relationship between habitus and field have potential determining effects on the apprehension of knowledge in the process of curriculum transformation.

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To explain Bourdieu's understanding or notion of "classification" I use the following extract as the basis for its application in this discussion.

Taste classifies and it classifies the classifier. Social subjects, classified by their classifications, distinguish themselves by the distinctions they make between the beautiful and the ugly, the distinguished and the vulgar, in which their position in the objective classifications is expressed or betrayed. (Bourdieu 1984:2)

In Bourdieu's view, people express themselves using a variety of social distinctions as classificatory systems (expressed as tastes) that tend to reveal their schemes of perception and appreciation and therefore aspects of their habitus. In this discussion of my analysis of the habitus-inspired position-takings of the agents involved in constructing the education major, I use Bourdieu's understanding of classification to show how their habitus is exposed through the use of forms of distinction about knowledge production.

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To start with Professor Smith. In my view his approach to the philosophy of post-apartheid curriculum change suggests neo-liberal⁵¹ position-taking. As an HOD his world-views have a strong likelihood of being expressed in the production of the curriculum. Although I cannot verify if it did, I think it is reasonable to assume that he would not have allowed Professor Duncan's module to displace his position-taking that students should not be overly politicised as teacher educators. Professor Smith's academic habitus and field position may thus have contributed toward bureaucratic agency that produced a neo-liberal approach to the implementation of the education module.

Although this is speculation on my part, there is a correlation between Professor Smith's apolitical, neo-liberal stance on post-apartheid higher

⁵¹ The basic definition of neo-liberalism and its specific reference to education is generalised from Apple (2007) and Giroux (nd). In their view neo-liberal approaches to education (similar to that expressed by Professor Smith) privileges the university's relation to the economic market. The entire enterprise of the university is thus steered through business models as a result of the influence of neo-liberalism. Apple and Giroux argue that such models depoliticises the social mission of educational institutions by attempting to classify them as corporations that sell educational products. Students who purchase goods in these apolitical markets (which is a contradiction because markets are social constructions) are thus regarded as clients or customers of the university.

education and the social trajectory of the field of UX. From the discussion of the history of the field and its relationship to the production of knowledge, the apolitical stance towards teacher education was noted as a typical characteristic of the Fundamental Pedagogics approach. Afrikaans universities were also connected to business interests which may account for Professor Smith's approach to students (as customers/clients). It could also quite possibly be a more recent influence as South African universities have become increasingly corporatised after apartheid.

It is also possible to suggest that Professor Smith's classifications and those similar to his are reflective of the effects of hysteresis. From his views the impression is created that the Faculty and the university had previously rejected the overt use of politics in the curriculum which implies that his academic habitus and therefore his scientific position-taking may have had a strong affinity with an approach to curriculum content and pedagogy that had lost its prestige (symbolic value) in the reconstituting field. Further research may verify if there is a link between Professor Smith's classifications and the implementation of the curriculum in his Department. What this brief analysis has suggested, however, is that Bourdieu's sociology provides an opportunity to analyse the relationship between individual subjectivity and curriculum construction through the habitus-revealing classifications of agents (who have the power to influence how the curriculum is implemented). Scholars working on the relationship between academic habitus and curriculum construction after apartheid should therefore consider the conceptual gain that is derived from employing the concept of classification (and hysteresis) as a heuristic tool for analysing the effects

of subjective action on policy interpretation and implementation at the site of the university.

The next example is, however, slightly more empirically suggestive of how the relationship between habitus and field can assist to analyse the process of curriculum construction. In my view, the recurring theme (classification) of the perceived "radicalisation" of the content of the module and its "debilitating effects" represents a very clear example of the relationship between field, habitus and curriculum change. Given the social history of the field and its inhabitants, such objections are not surprising. But how did it affect the implementation of the revised module? In my discussion of this second example, I examine the viewpoints of Professor Cloete which I think provides an example of how the classifications of agents inhabiting a field that is experiencing hysteresis suggest forms of agency that could have determining effects on curriculum construction.

In the discussion above, Professor Cloete characterised white Afrikaans students as fairly traditional and conservative. In his view, their family and schooling background would not have exposed them to South African politics and they would not have regularly socialised with students from other racial and cultural backgrounds while at school. From Professor Cloete's representation, there was thus a disjuncture between the rapidly changing history of the field and the habitus of first-year Afrikaans students. Professor Cloete noted that this disjuncture came to a head when he introduced the students to the material suggested by Professor Duncan. He also noted that the reading material provided in the module did not follow the familiar text-book tradition with logically arranged content and a coherently summarised

conclusion (which Professor Duncan argued encourages uncritical rote-learning). In Professor Cloete's view, this frustrated many Afrikaans students. But more importantly, he noted, the education module focused on the history of South African schooling and covered the "1976 student protests against Afrikaans, and what happened in Sharpeville which caused conflict between white and black students in the classroom" (Interview I). Professor Cloete indicated that because it was his responsibility to manage the problems that were occurring between black and white students in the first-year classroom he decided not to expose students to the revised course until they had reached their second-year and were "more mature" (Interview I). Thus despite being convinced that students had to be exposed to the history of education in South Africa, "hulle moet die goed hoor" (they must be exposed to this material), Professor Cloete removed the module because he was concerned for the level of conflict it caused (Interview I) (I should add that I cannot provide evidence that Professor Cloete removed the module from the curriculum or if he altered the way in which the course material was presented to students to make it more acceptable to them).

If the concepts of habitus and field are applied to Professor Cloete's decision, then it would appear that his solution (agency) was prompted by the conservatism of his students and some of his staff (habitus) which led him to use his position (bureaucratic capital) in the structure of the Faculty (field) to act in a manner that influenced the process of curriculum transformation.

In my view, if Professor Cloete's habitus had been influenced by a field shaped by a different social context and historical trajectory, he may

have opted for a different form of agency. If he had, (like me) been a student and lecturer at a historically black university, he may have considered other options to dissolve the tensions in his Department. For example, instead of attempting to solve problems in his Department and in the lecture-hall by not exposing students to "radical content", he could have used teaching methods that are sensitive to managing classroom conflict generated by cultural difference. From the many studies into how the latter challenge can be dealt with, none suggest that the challenge should be postponed or avoided.⁵²

In an institution such as UX it would have been exceptional if individuals did not display some form of resistance to new knowledge, particularly when it challenged the foundations upon which their world-views are constructed. Bourdieu argues that the habitus tends to protect itself against threats to its structural origins; students from conservative backgrounds would thus have felt as if they were under attack given that the habitus is largely unconscious of its historical production (Bourdieu 1990a:61). Desmond & Emirbayer's (2010: ix) views represent some of the consensus around the approach to dealing with conflicts over identity in the classroom which could have been applied in a context where students were struggling to deal with the social history of South Africa and the racial and cultural (and other) differences that it generated:

Let us begin a conversation...a conversation through thick and thin. This conversation might make you feel uncomfortable, since topics as important and as personal as race are often difficult to discuss. You might feel a bit unsteady and awkward, clumsy even. You might feel exposed and vulnerable. Your words might trip and stumble at times, and you may say things you later regret. Take

⁵² See for example Mckinney (2004) and Jansen (2009).

courage in the fact that many of your classmates (and perhaps even your professors) feel the same way. This is a difficult conversation for all of us: white students are often left feeling guilty or nervous, and black students are left feeling alone or frustrated, their heartbeats returning to normal only hours after a class discussion. But we have to interrogate race...

It also appears that Professor Cloete's decision did not take into consideration those white Afrikaans students who were not conservative and who may have enjoyed exposure to forms of knowledge very different to what they had encountered at school. The learning opportunities for black students would also have been affected by his decision (although they were very small in number in the Faculty during this period).

I must indicate that I accept that his decision was difficult and that he could not have been expected to act in accordance with what are essentially my personal viewpoints expressed as an outsider to the field. He may also have been under pressure from his superiors in the field (which I could not verify). But I do believe that the decision to delay the exposure of students to uncomfortable forms of knowledge has revealed how the concepts of habitus, capital and field can assist to explain the subjective role that agents play in curriculum construction.

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In the above discussion, Professor Smith and Professor Cloete's viewpoints and "decisions" were certainly influenced by the relationship between the social history of the field and its incorporation into the habitus. The classifications by students and academics of the content and pedagogy as "radical", "debilitating" and "political" revealed their

social trajectory (habitus) and are reflective of the fracture between their dispositions and the social history of the field. From the above classifications by students and academics it is suggested that a state of hysteresis had been induced as a result of the radically altered symbolic capital of the previous field to which their dispositions were perfectly adjusted. When this stable relationship was shifted through post-apartheid transformation it appears to have triggered a "crisis" of habitus given the strong emotions felt toward the content of the new curriculum. These "field conditions" appear to have compelled Professor Cloete to remove the module (parts of it). In my view, he used his structural position as HOD to deflect the effects of hysteresis on his staff and students by possibly reinstating the form and content associated with the knowledge taught in the previous field (not verified). It could therefore be argued that he temporarily restored the congruency between field and habitus for the affected students and staff. While this may have seemed like a pragmatic strategy under the circumstances, it was contrary to the transformation logic of the reconstituting field. Professor Cloete's agency thus suggests that hysteresis may lead agents in positions of power to use their bureaucratic/academic habitus to either hold back or vary the pace of curriculum transformation out of concern for the instability that it creates in the field (at universities like UX it is likely to suggest resistance to transformation). This kind of action may be among the factors responsible for the incremental nature of post-apartheid curriculum change. Researchers should therefore attempt to understand, with empirical data, how the state of hysteresis not only affects academic habitus but also the rate at which universities can transform the curriculum.

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Based on the above discussion I am of the view that Bourdieu's concepts of field, habitus and hysteresis have assisted this study to represent the structure/agency relationship and have shown the possibility for deeper sociological understandings of the effects of individual habitus on the process of curriculum change at the site of the university. In essence, it has suggested that relational sociology has much to offer the analysis of the implementation of curriculum policy in the context of post-apartheid transformation particularly with respect to the subjective action of powerful agents on the content and pedagogy of the transformed curriculum.

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A question that emerged for me from the discussion of the domination of structure over agency due to the endowment of bureaucratic capital of the HODs was whether it was possible for agents to influence curriculum change if they were not in control of its power structures (legitimate authority). Put differently, I was interested to know whether the activities of agents seeking to transform the curriculum were completely circumscribed by the limitations in their endowment of institutional power. In the discussion below I briefly explored this question with Professor Duncan who had attempted to challenge the power of the HODs with "subaltern" strategies (Interview G).

6.5.7 The dominated inhabitants of a field: Changing curriculum without bureaucratic capital

Conflict is built into society. People can find that their expectations and ways of living are suddenly out of step with the new social position they find themselves in...Then the question of social agency and political intervention becomes very important. (Bourdieu 2000:2)

Professor Duncan indicated that after the education major was implemented he remained the co-ordinator of the module. In his view, the HODs undermined the intellectual integrity of the module through "massive casualisation and juniorisation of the teaching staff" (Interview G). According to his observations, casual lecturers "would arrive to collect the material to teach the important transformative parts of the course a day before the time." He therefore argued that the new module was taught by staff who did not have an in-depth understanding of the pedagogic aims that was associated with its content. As the co-ordinator for the module, Professor Duncan decided to "cohere a small team of people consisting of lecturers teaching on the course" to work against the "conservative, bureaucratic thinking" of the HODs. The strategy, according to Professor Duncan, was to "work in subaltern ways beneath the formal structures of the Faculty" (Interview G).

It is notable that the former Dean may have been away on leave at the time of Professor Duncan's subaltern agency. From a Bourdieusian perspective, it would appear that the temporary bureaucratic capital held by Professor Duncan had lost its force within the configuration of power in the field (I cannot account for how long the former Dean was absent from the Faculty although some documentary material suggests

that he was on leave at the time that Professor Duncan was attempting to work outside of the power structures of the Faculty).

While this “subaltern” approach provided for some “tightening” of the intellectual content of the course, Professor Duncan noted that working beneath the objective structures of the Faculty was very ineffective. He felt that it was difficult to hold constructive planning meetings similar to that conducted by HODs. Without a formal budget, he had to request money from Faculty management for refreshments and other materials every time he wanted to have meetings with his team of lecturers. Professor Duncan thus felt that without “institutional power”, it was difficult to control how the module was taught (Interview G).

Professor Duncan compared his experience in the Faculty to that of the newly appointed Deputy Dean to explain why curriculum change is dependent on institutional power. He argued that when the Deputy Dean was appointed to revise the undergraduate curriculum (including his education module) the position granted its holder power over the HODs which he did not have. The Deputy Dean, in his view, was therefore able to achieve “what he was prevented from doing due to a lack of power”:

The Deputy Dean is a full Professor and therefore has the institutional power at an extremely hierarchical place like UX to achieve what I had been trying to achieve for a number of years as a co-ordinator of the education major module but without the institutional authority that is required to control the process. (Interview G).

Professor Duncan thus suggests that his "failed" attempt to change how the module was taught by operating outside of the formal structures reinforced his view that the UX is a “bureaucratic place and not an

intellectual place” (Interview G). When viewed from a field-analytical perspective, it is apparent that agents who do not hold senior positions in fields are unable to effect change within its formal structures. Thus in a university (field), HODs, as a result of their control over all other positions within their Departments, have substantial influence on the refraction of the content and pedagogy of the curriculum and by whom it is taught. The holders of dominant capital in a field are thus ultimately responsible for classifying and authorising how the curriculum is transformed, although in a foundation course like the education module, it is difficult to establish who is ultimately responsible for its content as the construction process was “highly atomised” according to Professor Duncan. (Interview G).

From the above discussion it is clear that universities are constituted by structures that are not easily challenged with subaltern agency. Bourdieu's definition of the university (field) suggests that this is a relatively typical characteristic of such institutions:

...the university field is, like any other field, the locus of a struggle to determine the conditions and the criteria of legitimate membership and legitimate hierarchy, that is, to determine which properties are pertinent, effective and liable to function as capital so as to generate the specific profits guaranteed by the field. The different sets of individuals (more or less constituted into groups) who are defined by these criteria, in trying to have them acknowledged, in staking their own claim to constitute them as legitimate properties, as specific capital, they are working to modify the laws of formation of the process characteristic of the university market, and thereby to increase their potential for profit. (Bourdieu 1988:11)

In conditions in which academics compete to control the legitimate authority of the university, as described above by Bourdieu, it is difficult to see how dominated agents can overcome their subordination. The

possibilities for post-apartheid transformation in institutional settings that suggest conservative resistance to change thus appear to be impervious to subversive agency. I will discuss the issue of institutional change and curriculum transformation in my concluding comments in the next chapter. For now I want to argue that Bourdieu's field-analytical approach, as applied to Professor's Duncan's account of the process of curriculum change, has enabled this thesis to represent the arrangement of bureaucratic power and intellectual control over the production of the curriculum. It has thus, in my view, provided a practical and generative approach to how power works at the site of the university and the limitations it imposes on the possibility for curriculum change.

6.6 Constructing and transforming the curriculum: a summary

From this case-study I think it should now be relatively clear why I argue that Bourdieu's theoretical framework offers a useful way of representing the relationship between structure and agency in the process of curriculum change. By establishing the social conditioning of the field and the habitus of its agents it was possible to gain sociological insight into the agency that was produced by their interaction. The social trajectory of the field thus enabled the representation of how culture, power and history influence the habitus of the field's inhabitants which have determining effects on how the curriculum is apprehended and implemented. While the above case-study does not suggest that there is a positivistic, causal and timeless link between the history of the field and the habitus of its agents, it would be hard to argue that agent classifications of the experience of post-apartheid transformation are not inspired by the historical conditioning of the

field. This is fairly clear to see: for the incoming “leaders” of the transformation process the university is Afrikaner and conservative, for many academics who held different views to theirs, they were “radical” and “Marxist”. Thus for every classification (and its associated agency) the history of the field provides a social genesis. In my view, therefore, Bourdieu's sociology, more so than other theoretical frameworks in local studies of higher education, assists in linking history (the social unconscious), structure and agency in a dialectical relationship that is particularly useful for socio-historical research into post-apartheid curriculum change.

In closing this chapter I therefore make the broad argument that Bourdieu's field-analytical approach can assist to address the lack of attention to the representation of institutional power and agent action in institutional settings. By transposing the field concept onto the university, its various positions and their shaping effects on agency was made transparent. On its own, an examination of the structures of power will reveal what is already well known; that institutional authority determines the trajectory of the production of the curriculum. With Bourdieu's theoretical framework, I argue, however, that the historical relationships that produce power and agency are brought into the open, their misrecognition is unveiled thus offering sociological understandings of how the structure/agency relationship shapes the construction of the curriculum at the site of the university.

CHAPTER SEVEN: REFLECTIONS ON THE STUDY AND POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

7.1 Introduction.

In this chapter I will outline what I consider to be the broad "findings" of this thesis. The chapter is therefore focused on the achievements of the thesis against the set objectives encapsulated in the two main research questions which are restated below:

- 1) What is the nature of the various institutional processes and the forms of power and agency contained therein that shape the construction and transformation of the curriculum at South African universities?

- 2) What is the impact of such processes on the substance of curriculum transformation at South African universities?

I also reflect on the heuristic efficacy of the field-analytic approach and argue that this thesis has shown that Bourdieusian sociology has much to offer researchers engaged in empirical projects that investigate post-apartheid curriculum construction at the site of the university.

As is to be expected from empirical research, the data gathered in the field has moved the research focus slightly beyond the confines of the stated research questions (I ascribe this to the generative effects of field-theory). This chapter thus also examines the potential offered by relational sociology for transformative agency which is yet to be concentrated on by local and international scholars. The chapter closes

with an examination of some of the limitations of relational sociology and offers a few suggestions for future research.

7.2 The representation of curriculum construction

In this thesis I was concerned to examine the social context that generated lived experience and social action. The aim of constructing social context was an attempt to reach beyond the limitations of the concept of “institutional culture” and the general lack of a theory of action in local higher education studies. In my view, the relational analysis of the transformation of the education major has suggested that the objective structures of a field and the habitus of its occupants have powerful determining effects on curriculum construction.

By constructing the university as a field, this thesis has shown that it is possible to objectify the relations of power and subjective agency that operate inside of universities. Through representing the university as an institution with an observable life-world, this study suggests that universities are not static objective structures but are sites of struggle in which agents are perpetually engaged in habitus-inspired strategic manoeuvres to conserve or transform its logic of practice. In my view, it has therefore brought into sharp focus the analytical and methodological force of practical sociology for researching struggles over the right to classify knowledge at the site of the university. I therefore argue, with respect to the first research question, that the various institutional processes and forms of power that shape the construction and transformation of the curriculum are identifiable and can be represented as a relationship between field, habitus and capital. This dialectical relationship objectifies the processes and forms of power

that determine curriculum transformation thus addressing what I consider to be a significant limitation in the analysis of curriculum change (and other objects of transformation) in local higher education.

With respect to the second research question, I have attempted to show that the issues raised by the Soudien Report, the "Affair", and Jansen's account of curriculum change at the UP, can be investigated with a theoretical framework that lays bare the socio-historical foundations behind the agency of those whose bureaucratic capital place them at the helm of institutional power. The field-analytical approach, as is evident from the relationship between field, habitus and capital in the process to transform the education major, can thus assist to empirically investigate institutional power, academic accountability, cultural difference and the legibility of the curriculum. I therefore argue that this study has illustrated that Bourdieusian sociology enables researchers to delve beneath the public representations of curriculum transformation as a rational, linear and value-neutral process. It has, I argue, assisted in revealing how structure/agency impacts on curriculum change and suggests that culture, power and history have powerful influences on the trajectory (substance) of post-apartheid institutional transformation.

7.3 Bourdieusian relational sociology and policy analysis

In this thesis I argue that Bourdieu's theoretical framework has illustrated how agent disposition and position shape policy apprehension and implementation. This thesis thus suggests that transformation policy was reinterpreted at the site of the university through the habitus of the agents who were in command of its objective structures. The refraction of policy by the habitus, I argue, suggests that the expectation

that mandated policy leads to a linear process of implementation is unproductive. I therefore argue that at the point of conception of mandated policy, policy-makers should creatively attempt to anticipate the refractory logic of the dominant agents in the receiving context. I make this argument particularly in the light of the contention by the Committee that there is still a substantial amount of neglect of the "epistemological transformation" of the curriculum at South African universities. Put differently, if the view expressed by the Committee is accurate, and if the arguments made in this thesis are taken into account, then government policy-makers have very little empirical support for the expectation that universities uniformly implement mandated policy.

I thus argue in this thesis that because Bourdieu's ideas have the potential to assist all agents in the higher education field to "to see" how policy is refracted and recontextualised, it can assist them to avoid the assumption that policy implementation can be entrusted to a perceived affinity of habitus with receiving agents and thus a blind confidence in their personal disinterestedness and "feel for the game" of policy integration. I also argue that the field-analytical model is a methodology that government quality assurance agencies can employ to render the curriculum "legible" at the site of the university. I thus argue that Bourdieu's sociology posits a model which may offset the suggestion in local scholarship that quality assurance agencies are unable (methodologically) to detect the sociology of curriculum production at the site of the university.

7.4. Socio-analysis and curriculum construction.

This study argues that the relationship between field and habitus provides a coherent sociological explanation for the forms of subjective action that individuals take in society. As explained in this thesis, Bourdieu argues that his theoretical framework is a form of socio-analysis that is able to bring into consciousness the effects of social conditioning (through history, culture, schooling, family pedagogic action, etc) on how individuals act in particular fields. I therefore argue in this thesis that Bourdieu's sociology can achieve much more than the representation of the university as a social space. I argue that it may also offer individual agents the potential to be conscious of racial and cultural essentialism, such as that represented in the Ubuntu module or the unease caused when students and staff from different social backgrounds encounter each other in the classroom for the first time.

This is the same at the macro-societal level where socio-analysis can also bring into awareness the manner in which social history has polarised South African society along racial, class and gender lines. In my view, this thesis represents a socio-analysis of post-apartheid curriculum change which offers the university community a wider angle from which to understand the effects of habitus-generated social determinism on both self and society. The gist of this argument is captured in the following extract by Bourdieu:

Through the sociologist, a historically situated historical agent and a socially determined social subject, history, or rather the society in which the existing remains of history are preserved, turns for a moment back on itself, and reflects on itself; and through the sociologist, all social agents are able to know a little

more clearly what they are and what they are doing. (Bourdieu 1990b:186)

In this thesis I also argue that socio-analysis can assist to resist approaches to South African higher education that lay claim to the uncovering of all manner of social discrimination without providing any form of empirically-based theoretical engagement. I therefore argue that Bourdieu's relational sociology can assist researchers and policy-makers to engage with curriculum construction using socio-scientific tools that avoid unreflexive social classifications and under-theorised explanations for social action. It can surely bring, I argue, conceptual rigour to academic analysis of what is often portrayed as the perplexing and mystifying endurance of transformation inertia and racial discrimination at South African universities (the latter is sometimes referred to as "subliminal racism/discrimination" when common-sense and certain forms of socio-scientific explanation are found wanting).

In my view, Bourdieu's socio-analysis therefore has much to offer local higher education studies because of its inherently corrosive, deconstructionist properties and propensity for unveiling hidden (misrecognised) forms of social determination and institutional power. By non-moralistically theorising the production of the social unconscious and concomitantly the genesis of conflicts around class, gender and race (among others), I argue that Bourdieu's relational sociology has the potential to confront (through empirical analysis) the effects of social determinism that are said to cause so much social suffering at South African universities.

7.5. Relational sociology and transformative agency

In chapter six I noted that it seems difficult to challenge the power of dominant agents when their positions are entrenched in the field. For example, Professor Duncan argued that he was unable to subvert the control of the HODs over the curriculum with subaltern agency and negligible bureaucratic capital. In my interview with the former Dean, the latter suggested that as dominant bureaucratic capital changed hands it tended to alter the logic of practice of the field. This point of view thus suggests that in university settings, the intellectual approach to transformation may be changed, even reversed, depending on the intellectual habitus of the new holders of legitimate authority. The former Dean suggested that he got the impression that there may have been a reversal of the approach to transformation after he left the university.

Among his reasons for this view was the apparent undoing of one of his initiatives to rid the Faculty of cultural symbols that glorified the racial past of the institution. The former Dean noted that when he visited the Faculty some time after his resignation, he noticed that certain cultural objects that were unsuitable for the spirit of post-apartheid transformation had been reinstalled. For the former Dean, the return of these cultural objects was a political statement and an affront to the achievements of transformation that he “could not have imagined” would occur after he had left. In the main, his observation led him to believe that transformation must be “deep” and meaningful to prevent succeeding university managements from dismantling hard-won achievements in post-apartheid educational change (Interview E).

From the views of Professor Duncan and the former Dean (and some of their colleagues with whom they shared an affinity of habitus) there is a strong perception that the process of transformation at the university entered a new phase once the former Dean had left (through the habitus and position-taking of dominant agents rather than simply through the actions of an individual as the space of positions tend to command the space of position-taking in a field). For some it was a policy reversal akin to the return of the repressed while for others there was a slower, less intense, focus on fundamental change (without a neglect of the essential aims of transformation). These opposing viewpoints could not be verified and I therefore cannot take a position on either side that can be supported empirically. The contestations between these groups are, however, as I have argued throughout this thesis, symptomatic of the misalignment between field and habitus that characterised the institution after apartheid.

It is also suggestive of the temporary nature of a particular stance on transformation in university settings. Since dominant agents tend to hold their positions on a contractual basis (time-based/non-permanent) the potential always exists for the reversal of the logic of practice of a field as such agents vacate their positions. But what does this imply for the process of transformation if it is subject to ongoing reinterpretation as the various holders of legitimate authority lose power? Does it mean that there is the persistent possibility for a reversion to previously discarded intellectual ideas? As this thesis is concerned with “progress” in post-apartheid transformation, particularly through curriculum change, the possibility for policy reversal is disconcerting. If the potential for regression exists, then what can be done to prevent it? (I

am here returning to a question I posed in chapter six on the limits of subaltern agency).

While Bourdieu's relational sociology is very adept at holding up mirrors to agents and institutions by objectifying the historical foundations of social determination, it does not possess a theory or "programme" for social transformation. It can thus assist individuals and groups to understand *why* transformative agency is necessary but not *how* to mobilise such agency. This does not imply that the idea of social change is excluded from Bourdieu's sociology; but it is clearly the least practical component of his theoretical framework. See for example the following broad vision of social change provided by Bourdieu:

To change the world, one has to change the ways of making the world, that is, the vision of the world and the practical operations by which groups are produced and reproduced. (Bourdieu 1990b: 136).

This is of course not very practicable in already established fields and agents urgent for field-change are left to consider on their own how to change how the field was made. Bourdieu's theoretical framework thus does not assist South African scholars and students to find ways out the impasse of conservative dominant social structure at the site of the university.

It has been suggested that in South Africa, given the political impact of mass mobilisation against apartheid, dominant social structure is not impervious to collective political agency. As is well known, the collective opposition to NP racism galvanised support for the subversive agency of academics and students on South African campuses much like the Afrikaans language did for the evolution of Afrikaner

Nationalism in the 1930's and 1940's. South African students and academics, as a former senior government administrator argues (and the history of opposition to apartheid suggests), should be able to organise themselves in opposition to any attempt to reinstate conservative university policies:

We did not feel intimidated by universities in the apartheid days. The onus is therefore on South Africans to hold higher education institutions to account in post-apartheid South Africa (Interview W).

Although it would not be impossible to organise university inhabitants as in the anti-apartheid era, it should be noted that post-apartheid universities differ quite significantly from their previous incarnations. Many universities have become ordinary "markets" for the free trade in intellectual goods that have very high value in other social fields (business, government, etc). Academics can therefore enter into a university to trade and gain symbolic capital without necessarily having to have overtly disinterested dispositions aligned to the imperatives of social transformation.

The post-apartheid context is also notably different for other reasons: the racial, ethnic, cultural and intellectual separation of academics and students have "disappeared" from view and universities are now social spaces with "representative" officials present in all of its governing structures (particularly the historically white institutions). It is equally important to be aware that because curriculum change is non-linear and uneven, it does not affect all universities in the same way. At some institutions transformation processes may be relatively successful thus removing the basis for group unity similar to that experienced under apartheid. It is therefore not likely that agency against transformation

reversal will be take the shape of mass mobilization similar to that of the 1980's.

Returning to the matter of the efficacy of Bourdieu's sociology for achieving social change, I argue that it would be a mistake to ignore his theoretical framework as a means for confronting intransigent institutional power. Bourdieu's thinking on social change is deliberately non-prescriptive. It only offers its users the possibility for transformation by revealing the operation of the forms of power that generate social constraints. While many argue that a lack of a theory of change is a major limitation in his work, I don't consider the absence of a grand design for social transformation as a reason for pessimism. I argue, in support of Bourdieu, that the counter to intellectual despair about the temporary and often incremental nature of social change is to conduct sustained and rigorous research on the potential for change.

At the risk of sounding (contradictorily) prescriptive, I consider more knowledge and the increased "legibility" of the logic of practice at the site of the university as an opportunity for socio-scientific knowledge about the social world to "change the ways of making the world" (Bourdieu 1990b:36). I am not implying a naive belief that social science can effortlessly overcome an obdurate habitus or dominant social structure with a strong dose of knowledge about the constructed nature of social values. Bourdieu has drawn attention to the limitations of such a view by arguing that "Producing awareness of these mechanisms that make life painful, even unliveable, does not neutralize them; bringing contradictions to light does not resolve them" (Bourdieu 1999a:629).

I thus argue in this thesis, while being completely conscious of its limitations, that the individual and collective agency of academics,

expressed through reflexive research projects, can bring into consciousness how culture, power and habitus implicates all field agents (government, students, academics, etc) in regressive or transformative curriculum production and university transformation. While it may not easily alleviate the problems associated with social determinism and institutional power, it always offers the potential for change for those most affected by domination. In my view, agents fully cognisant of the relationship between field and habitus (structure/agency) gain some freedom from its impositions (symbolic violence), avoid self-defeating forms of agency and may possibly devise strategies and position-takings that can effect transformation or prevent its reversal. Institutional change would thus be the product of their unique creation orientated by “transparent” and “disenchanted” knowledge of the habitus of university inhabitants and its social trajectory as a relational field (Bourdieu 1993c:17).

8. Limitations of the thesis

8.1 Access to empirical data

The use of Bourdieu's three-level model of field analysis can be difficult to apply if the researcher is not able to find or gain access to a repository of official documents. In this study I was not able to get the kind of access I would have preferred to operationalise Bourdieu's research model to its full extent. The construction of the research object in the Bourdieusian mould is thus a frustrating task and researchers opting to use it must be prepared to improvise. For example, Bourdieusian sociology requires the researcher to demonstrate the incorporation of social history and to find resonances between the latter and the action of

agents. If access to empirical material is limited, it can create a mechanistic or deterministic understanding/rendering of the dispositions of agents which is one the most enduring criticisms of Bourdieu's attempts to represent agency. Fortunately, Bourdieu's oeuvre was achieved through the use of a number of research methods which researchers can draw on for examples of how to operationalise the field-analytical approach if access to archives is restricted (his work provides many examples of improvisation when sources are limited).

8.2 Efficacy for educational policy research

Beyond the limitations of access to empirical evidence, Bourdieusian field theory requires a lengthy introduction to the "epistemological preliminaries" (subtitle to Bourdieu 1991) which is time-consuming and may render relational sociology an unattractive option for education policy research. The effort and time required before it can be applied in practice may not suit the "fast knowledge" requirements of official policy research. International education policy analysts have, however, begun to demonstrate the value Bourdieu's sociology which has led to an increase in higher education policy research that employs the field-analytical model.

8.3 Knowledge limits created by ethics contracts

The "ethics" contracts entered into by researchers working on the study of universities in South Africa can create a serious limit to what can be known about curriculum construction and transformation. While I understand that confidentiality has become the standard trade-off for access to data on university transformation, the strictly applied rules of

anonymity leads to the researcher feeling persistently on guard, even perhaps creating an unconscious form of self-censorship. The stakes are high for universities in the era of post-apartheid transformation and all of them want to accumulate the high-value symbolic capital that accrues from a positive record of achievement of post-apartheid transformation goals (public approval, access to government and private funding, higher student enrolment, attractiveness to renowned academics, etc). The restrictions that universities place on information are therefore likely to counteract any research that could be dangerous to their public image. This unfortunately hampers the quality of knowledge that researchers can gather about curriculum change.

In this study I have felt the effects of institutional protection of its public image and I have therefore had to resort to a number of “cloaking methods” to ensure that at the very least, the identity of the university does not, in error, enter the public domain. This was, however, very restrictive as information I received from respondents that were useful but difficult to conceal could not be used in this thesis.

8.4 Personal ethics

I felt unease about being critical of the viewpoints of respondents who accepted my request to be interviewed and who were very resourceful in making this study possible. I controlled this form of self-censorship (successfully I hope) by accepting the strong advice (too strong for public disclosure) that uncritical research does not assist government policy-makers, university leaders, academics and students to be reflexive about post-apartheid curriculum change. My criticisms are, however, not intended to harm any of the respondents. I have largely

expressed my point of view with the assistance of relational sociology which I hope will add to the debates about post-apartheid higher education transformation. I emphasise though that I may have (unconsciously) been too restrained in my criticisms because of my ethics contract thus adding to the analytical limitations of this thesis.

9. Reflections on future research.

The low number of local studies that attempt to engage in empirically based projects has led to the underdevelopment of knowledge of the field of higher education in South Africa. This is not unique as higher education is seldom researched on a large scale by academics elsewhere in the world (Maton 2004 & 2005). Given the scarcity of empirical research, the recent work of scholars like Schoole (2005), Koen (2007), Soudien (2010), Badat (2007) and particularly Jansen (2009) are invaluable contributions to the discourse on the state of post-apartheid higher education curriculum construction and transformation.

This study has suggested that individuals and groups at UX grapple with tensions around culture, history, race, gender, power, class and perceptions of transformation policy reversal. The restrictions of time and sources did not allow me to address these issues and it will hopefully be taken up by other researchers following the lead from the above scholars and the relational sociology of Bourdieu.

In closing, I want to restate that Bourdieusian sociology will not necessarily uncover anything new about South African higher education. The effects of culture and power on university life are fairly well known. The field-analytical model is relatively unique, however, in

that it represents the university as a life-world with thinking tools that make for research that is anti-positivist, non-romantic, coherent and systematic. This thesis thus encourages more Bourdieusian case-studies in the hope that they will have the cumulative effect of building a sustained body of relational scholarship on the sociology of curriculum construction and transformation at the site of the post-apartheid university.

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Documents

226. Document A. (no date). Paper presented by Professor Duncan on the evolving intellectual and curricular traditions in South African Faculties of Education.
227. Document B. 2003. Draft document to discuss conceptual ideas for the new education major.
228. Document C. 2005. Draft document to discuss conceptual ideas for the new education major.
229. Document D. 2004. Draft document to discuss conceptual ideas for the new education major.

Correspondence

230. Letter A. 2003. Hand-written note on an e-mail letter from Former Dean to Professor Duncan to indicate approval of the draft concept document.
231. Letter B.2005. By Professor Duncan containing a copy of the concept document with comments from the senior Professor.

APPENDIX A

1. Interview A	Professor
2. Interview B	Professor
3. Interview C	Executive Manager
4. Interview D	Dean (Students)
5. Interview E	Former Dean
6. Interview F	Dean
7. Interview G	Professor Duncan
8. Interview H	Professor Smith
9. Interview I	Professor Cloete
10. Interview J	Lecturer
11. Interview K	Lecturer
12. Interview L	Senior Lecturer
13. Interview M	Senior Lecturer
14. Interview N	Senior Lecturer
15. Interview O	Lecturer
16. Interview P	Lecturer
17. Interview Q	Lecturer
18. Interview R	Senior Lecturer
19. Interview S	Deputy Dean
20. Interview T	Lecturer
21. Interview U	Education Journalist
22. Interview V	Education Journalist
23. Interview W	Senior Government Official
24. Interview X	Senior Lecturer
25. Interview Y	Professor
26. Interview Z	Senior Lecturer
27. Interview AA	Professor
28. Interview BB	Senior official from CHE
29. Interview CC	Professor
30. Interview DD	Lecturer
31. Interview EE	Professor

APPENDIX B

1) *Early Childhood Development and Foundation Phase*

RACE	2001			2002			2003			2004			2005			2006		
	F	M	TOT															
AFRICAN				2		2	2		2	5		5	5		5	10		10
WHITE	158		158	330		330	476	1	477	607	1	608	602		602	603		603
COLOURED				1		1				2		2	4		4	7	1	8
INDIAN							6		6	9		9	15		15	18		18
Total	158	0	158	333	0	333	484	1	485	623	1	624	626	0	626	638	1	639

2) *Intermediate Phase*

RACE	2001			2002			2003			2004			2005			2006		
	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT
AFRICAN							1		1	1	1	2	6		6	9		9
WHITE	39	6	45	84	7	91	112	7	119	175	10	185	176	9	185	186	11	197
COLOURED													2		2	5		5
INDIAN	1		1	2		2	4		4	8		8	9		9	8	1	9
Total	40	6	46	86	7	93	117	7	124	184	11	195	193	9	202	208	12	220

3) *Senior Phase*

RACE	2001			2002			2003			2004			2005			2006		
	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT
AFRICAN	1		1	1		1	6	1	7	10	5	15	14	7	21	29	13	42
WHITE	27	10	37	45	17	62	79	29	108	89	41	130	121	51	172	129	64	193
COLOURED																	2	2
INDIAN				1		1	1		1	2		2	2		2	2		2
Total	28	10	38	47	17	64	86	30	116	101	46	147	137	58	195	160	79	239

4) *Further Education and Training (General)*

RACE	2001			2002			2003			2004			2005			2006		
	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT
AFRICAN							12	27	39	16	30	46	26	43	69	46	63	109
WHITE	32	10	42	90	25	115	133	45	178	193	65	258	213	85	298	235	86	321
COLOURED											1	1		2	2	1	2	3
INDIAN							3		3	1		1	5	1	6	6		6
Total	32	10	42	90	25	115	148	72	220	210	96	306	244	131	375	288	151	439

5) *Further Education and Training (Economic and Management Sciences)*

RACE	2001			2002			2003			2004			2005			2006		
	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT
AFRICAN	2	2	4	6	7	13	24	19	43	30	24	54	27	29	56	39	33	72
WHITE	16	6	22	28	17	45	39	15	54	55	35	90	59	41	100	46	27	73
COLOURED					1	1	1	1	2	1	2	3				2	1	3
INDIAN	1		1							1		1				1		1
Total	19	8	27	34	25	59	64	35	99	87	61	148	86	70	156	88	61	149

6) *Further Education and Training (Natural Sciences)*

RACE	2001			2002			2003			2004			2005			2006		
	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT	F	M	TOT
AFRICAN	1	1	2	4	8	12	7	23	30	17	34	51	18	43	61	21	64	85
WHITE	39	12	51	73	21	94	103	37	140	118	40	158	110	29	139	91	30	121
COLOURED										1		1		1	1			2
INDIAN	1		1	1		1	2		2	1	1	2	1		1	1	2	3
Total	41	13	54	78	29	107	112	60	172	137	75	212	129	73	202	113	98	211

APPENDIX C

Interview Questions (semi-structured)

1. In which year were you appointed at the university?
2. What were your initial experiences/views of the university—in contrast to your previous work experience or expectations?
3. In which year were you born?
4. Where did you study? (Which institutions).
5. What is your history as a leader/senior manager/lecturer?
6. Please briefly explain the organisational structure of your Department.
7. What official process must be followed before a new curriculum is accepted.
8. What are the main changes in the content and pedagogy of the new BEd Curriculum?
9. Do all of lecturers agree on the content and pedagogy of the curriculum?
10. What were the main issues of contestation around the restructuring of the BEd curriculum in your view?

11. Who in the university drives the need for change to the curriculum? If the university management drives curriculum change, what are the processes involved? (In general).
12. If the need for change is driven by the Department, what are the processes involved? Briefly.
13. In what ways were the curriculum changes linked to transformation in its broadest sense?
14. In your professional opinion, do you think that curriculum change has been effective for transformation? What would you like to change or advise policy-makers to consider?

