

# Common origins, common futures: Reflections on identity and difference in education

**MOKUBUNG NKOMO AND NADINE DOLBY**



*MOKUBUNG NKOMO is seconded as a professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of Pretoria and is a Senior Research Fellow at the Human Sciences Research Council. He holds a dual appointment at both institutions. He obtained his PhD from the University of Massachusetts.*

*For the past five years Nkomo has served as the chair of the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), a statutory body responsible for the development and implementation of the National Qualifications Framework. He is the co-author of Reflections on School Integration and author of numerous articles in academic journals.*



*NADINE DOLBY is Assistant Professor of Curriculum Studies at Purdue University. She is the author of Constructing Race: Youth, Identity, and Popular Culture in South Africa, and co-editor (with Greg Dimitriadis & Paul Willis) of Learning to Labor in New Times. She has published in numerous journals including Harvard Educational Review, Comparative Education Review, British Journal of Sociology of Education, and Teachers College Record. Her areas of research interest include race and education, popular culture, global youth culture, national identity, and citizenship education.*

## Abstract

*The history of human evolution is fascinating and complex indeed. Modern science as revealed by the disciplines of archaeology, palaeontology, and genetics presents strong evidence about the common origins of humankind. Dispersal from the birthplace over millennia has produced a mosaic of identities that are cultural artefacts or social constructs and determined more by psychology, sociology and ideology than by biology. The environmentally induced differences that largely shape identity have often been the source of conflict and wars. The questions asked are: Are conflicts and wars natural and immutable human dispositions? And, how can the negative aspects of identity and difference be managed in such a manner that the proclivity towards conflicts and self-annihilation is minimised or undermined through the education process? The articles in this volume grapple with the issues of commonality, difference and identity from different perspectives and situational circumstances using the education domain as an instance of reflection and action. Through the learning process, a healthy understanding of identity that is not parochial or chauvinistic, and tolerance of difference can be achieved. Healthy learning environments can play an important role in promoting a better, sophisticated understanding of human nature and that difference in whatever form it is manifested is a matter of social expedience – not fundamental.*

## Introduction

Before 'difference' there was 'sameness' or 'similarity'. Such was the simplicity of life in the beginning. Then 'sameness' and 'difference' co-existed with greater intimacy and lesser contradiction, that is if we go by modern, scientific, archeological knowledge about the common origins of *homo sapiens*. This knowledge is now further supported by mitochondrial DNA tracking that can take us back millennia to our ancestors – the hominids. In his riveting chronicle of part of the story of evolutionary biology Bryan Sykes concludes:

We are all a complete mixture; yet at the same time, we are all related. Each gene can trace its own journey to a different common ancestor . . . . Our genes did not just appear when we were born. They have been carried to us by millions of individual lives over thousands of generations (Sykes, 2002, 359).

The overwhelming weight of current scientific evidence indicates that Africa is the cradle of humankind (Tobias, 1970; Isaac & McCown, 1976; Leakey, 1981; Leakey & Roger 1992; Soodyall, 2003; Sykes, 2004), which makes nonsense of all the claimed innate differences that were the basis of colonialism, apartheid, racism, sexism and all the other intolerances in the modern world. Fundamentally then, we are all carved out of the same genetic block with common origins: Africa.

In the long march of history, through the twists, turns and vagaries of human genetic evolution, simplicity has mutated to complexity, and difference now overshadows sameness despite scientific evidence to the contrary. In the contemporary world, difference, whether racial/ethnic, gender, socio-cultural or religious has come to occupy centre stage and become a source of conflict or even war. Difference is a critical ingredient of identity serving as a differentiating variable. 'Us' and 'them' or 'othering' discourses are potent social devices that define many societies for good or for evil. The latter predominates. Crucially, it bears remembering that identity is largely a social construct that can have a positive or negative use. Around the world, and in South Africa, we have seen manifestations of the latter in a most perverse way. In South Africa it found expression in the apartheid ideology, a social construction that inscribed itself deeply in the institutional structures and psyche of all segments in society – victim and perpetrator – that still lingers with stubborn tenacity even after its official dissolution (Nkomo, Mkwanazi-Twala & Carrim, 1995). The inscription is so deep that it has been taken for granted as natural and axiomatic despite its artificiality.

Life is generally contradictory and inexorably dialectical. There is on one hand, great evidence in history of goodwill and continuous effort to improve conditions in pursuit of liberty, justice and happiness. The urge to improve has been at the heart of civilisations over the centuries. On the other hand, the opposite surrounds us everyday. There is an almost endless litany of human atrocities where one group visits horrific deeds on another, in most cases using identity as a mobilising force. While the deep causes may be scarce resources, identity is often cast as the *raison d'etre*. One example of this human mutual brutality is written on a church door in Rwanda, "If you knew me, and you knew yourself, you would not have killed me". ("Knowing me and knowing yourself" refers to a primordial, common past suggesting a form of self-destruction on the part of the perpetrator who is unaware and ignorant of those origins). It bears testimony to the darkness that fell over an otherwise beautiful and serene land: citizens of the same nation savaging one another in a most horrific way. Unfortunately it is not an isolated or aberrant episode. There is the dehumanising experience of slavery, the horror of the Holocaust, the lunacy of the Khymer Rouge. In Africa there are Liberia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and so on; in Europe there is the ongoing Northern Ireland religious conflict; in the Middle East the seemingly intractable Israeli-Palestine mutual annihilation; "ethnic cleansing" in central Europe; the interminable Tamil-Sinhalese conflict in Sri Lanka, and so forth.

Evidence from the historical record indicates a strong tendency among human beings to engage in inhuman practices that not only rob others of their fundamental right to life and liberty

but also a proclivity to subject others to incessant discrimination and oppression on the basis of some socially concocted difference.

Given the plethora of social conflicts and wars resulting in millions of lives lost on the visible side, and psychological mutilation on the invisible side, it seems imperative to ask the following general questions: Is this a natural and immutable human disposition? A compelling corollary question is: How can difference and identity be managed in such a manner that conflicts and self-annihilation are minimised or undermined through the education process? It is not our desire to revert to romanticism and the simplicity of the distant past. The now is here and must be addressed with all its stock in trade.

## The social construction of race

Of all the identities in the contemporary world perhaps the most pernicious, socially constructed identity is 'race'. In his preface to the sixth edition of the ground-breaking work by Ashley Montagu's *Man's Most Dangerous Myth*, John Stanfield observes that

Race as a myth is a distorting variable that convolutes and in other ways distracts attention from the variables that really matter in understanding how and why human beings think, act, and develop as they do. The extent to which race does exist, it is an experience, it is not a phenotype real or imagined. This takes us back to the fact that race is social; that is, it is learned. If we can learn race, we can unlearn race. It means that people with different cultural backgrounds can under certain historically grounded social, economic, and political conditions be made to feel like a particular 'race'. The usual way that 'race' feeling becomes sustained is through people being segregated geographically on institutional, community, societal, and world-systems levels (Stanfield III, 27 in Ashley Montagu, 1997).

The logic of the socially constructed racial identity is extendable to other identities as well. These can be classified at the macro-, mezzo- and microlevels.

- At the macro- or global level there is: human identity
- At the mezzo-level there are: national, racial/ethnic, gender, socio-cultural, family/community, etc. and
- At the micro-level there are: the individual, the teacher, the learner, the woman/man, etc.

There are also identities that are derivatives of institutions such as distinct institutional cultures that give them a unique identity or professional associations with their constitutions, logos, codes, and so on.

Given what we now know about the socially constructed nature of identity, Stanfield suggests that identity designations or adjectives such as 'black' and 'white' should "no longer be used" (27). They are, in a deeper sense misrepresentations, misnomers, artificial constructions that by and large serve a negative purpose. That they remain in common usage is a reflection of the tenacity of ideology rather than scientific rational thought.

Having noted that identity is a social construct there are, however, those who consider it and strive to make it fixed. In reality the contrary is true. Identity is fluid, dynamic and flexible – sometimes purchasable as a commodity. One person can have multiple identities across the various layers, sets and subsets. One can be a Zulu-Sotho-Afrikaans-English-speaking South African and an African (in a continental or "original" as in the origins of the human species sense), a global or transnational (internationalist) citizen; and be a woman, a member of the working/middle/ruling class, a teacher or learner, be lesbian or gay, be religious/agnostic/atheist simultaneously. At certain moments a particular identity or even identities express themselves more than others. Sathima Benjamin captures the notion of multiple identities poignantly in the lyrics of her song titled *Many Nations in Me* (Memories and Dreams, 1983) or South African

President Thabo Mbeki in his famous *I am an African* speech (Mbeki, 1996). On 19 September 2004 the index of public consciousness of a common human heritage was dramatically driven upwards by a special Carte Blanche broadcast on SABC3. The broadcast spurred widespread public discussion among South Africans and brought to the public space what only a handful of researchers knew all along – that humanity has a common heritage, in Africa for that matter, and that the differences are more cultural than biological. What the effects of this consciousness will be remains to be seen. It bears noting that there is a solid body of work on the cradle of humankind and a growing body of work specifically on identity (Goldin, 1987; Erasmus, 2002; Wasserman & Jacobs 2003; Zegeye, 2000, 2001, 2003).

## Nation, identity, and difference

"Identity" and "difference" – the themes that structure this special issue – are at the heart of what the renowned cultural anthropologist, Renato Rosaldo (1994) terms the "renegotiation of our national contract." Rosaldo was referring to ongoing struggles over inclusion and exclusion in the United States, struggles which are also an enduring feature of the South African landscape. As the title of this special issue further suggests, understanding the power of these terms, and their continuing impact on our lives is one of the keys to creating the healthy learning and teaching environments that we desire for all our children, and for all of us as a society, nation, and world.

As South Africa moves into the second decade of a new national contract – one grounded in democratic principles of justice and equality, it is clear that these questions are far from settled. Ubiquitous phrases such as the "rainbow nation" and "unity in diversity" provided a discursive frame for attempting to reconcile a badly fractured nation, and were certainly necessary components of ensuring a smooth transition to a democratic future – a transition that, in global terms, has largely been successfully accomplished. Yet there are no pluralistic, democratic societies in the world that are not burdened by clashes over identity and difference. In South Africa tensions explode from multiple corners, as the remnants of the old apartheid order collide with new realities brought on by economic and cultural globalisation, increased immigration from other African countries, growing privatisation and neo-liberal imperatives in education, and intensified surveillance of Muslim communities throughout the world as a result of the attacks of September 11, 2001, in the United States. Such shifts and events could not, of course, have been foreseen in 1994, yet they are an ever-present context for discussions of education, democracy, and change.

Of central concern to this special issue are the contours of race, racial identities, and racism in educational policy and practice. Such terms, as we know, are notoriously slippery, as race is both an illusion and a powerful reality. Stuart Hall (1998) writes, it is "not a question of what is true, but what is *made* to be true" (290, emphasis is the author's). In Foucauldian terms, race is a "regime of truth": thus it is not a naturalised state, but one that has been named and marked by humans as a means of asserting difference in the service of power (Scott, 1995). Racism has been described and explained as primarily an individuated, psychological state, and a structural, institutional one. In the first paradigm, problems of racism are best solved at the microlevel. Thus, for example, racial tensions in a classroom among learners are best understood and confronted as instances of prejudice and discrimination, which can be eliminated through the transformation of the individual. In the second paradigm, problems of racism are best understood at the macrolevel. Here racism in the classroom is best addressed through examining, critiquing, and changing the context in which the learners are situated: the governance of the school, curriculum, access and admission policies, and the overarching national and international forces bearing down on education.

Racial identities are similarly slick, as there is no guarantee – and there never was – that individuals of a particular "race" will share a common set of values and priorities. As Cameron McCarthy (1988) argues, identities are not essentialised, but "non-synchronous." In other words, individuals' and communities' raced, classed, and gendered identities are often in conflict. For

example, Crain Soudien and Yusuf Sayed (in this issue) discuss an example where black middle-class parents choose a white principal and deputy principal for their school. In this case, the parents' class identity and their desire to secure their children's futures undercut any concerns about racial solidarity, equity, and advancement for black teachers and principals. Such cases should alert us that it is impossible to "read" an individual or communities' priorities from their racial positioning, and that race and racial dynamics can never be fully understood except in interaction with other social identities, such as class and gender. For example, discourses of "authentic"(township) versus "fake" (suburban) blackness are laden with class dynamics.

The changing landscape of race, racism, and racial identities is further complicated by the desire to "escape" race – to somehow transcend or mute its power in a search for a common national identity. Such a desire is expressed in policies and practices of non-racialism, which simultaneously mark the importance of race, while stripping away its power. How do we negotiate the desire to assert the centrality of blackness to the nation, while at the same time forge a common identity that is grounded in a national, not racial identity? Such questions are at the core of the struggle over "identity" and "difference". As Phumla Gqola (2001) astutely observes, discourses such as the "rainbow nation" assert the importance of difference "at precisely the moment during which it trivialises its implications ... as it asserts its presence, it signifies absence" (658). In other words, perhaps we have been asked to do the impossible: to finally overcome a totalising white supremacy, and in that moment, not, at last, to assert the centrality of blackness, but to deny it.

Such questions, contradictions, and struggles haunt the day-to-day world of schools, communities, and learners. And while "race" is alive in the classrooms of schools across the nation, it is, as Soudien and Sayed (in this issue) argue, relatively under-interrogated, particularly in the educational literature. As Jonathan Jansen (in this issue) points out, the educational literature on "race" has focused on an extremely small number (in relative terms) of learners who will attend multiracial schools. Most learners will spend their entire educational careers in schools that are, demographically, entirely black. Yet, the policy issues and questions that swirl around these learners – questions about language, standards, centralisation, teachers, and governance are laden with the traces of race. Additionally, all of the above are also situated within a new, global reality where one old reality – racial inequality – is still very much alive. If South Africa is to live up to its promise of being a model of multiracial democracy for the world, stability, harmony, and prosperity – a promise that is also still very much alive – then the examination of race, in all its complexity and contradictions, must remain a priority for educational researchers, policymakers, and practitioners.

While the focus of this special issue is on race, Jansen's comments draw our attention to an expanded notion of "difference" – one that is not solely about race, but about the multiplicity of the human experience. As he rightly notes, even learners in all-black schools are surrounded by "difference" everyday. And schools, as vital components of the public sphere, are often the location for battles over the borders of diversity in a society. Recently France has banned the wearing of religious headcoverings in school, as a way of attempting to enforce secular uniformity on a population that is becoming increasingly diverse. While all religious headcoverings are banned, the new law will have its most impact on Muslim girls' wearing of the hijab. Here we see how growing (white) French concerns about the explosion of religious and racial diversity in France is expressed through attempts to constrain freedom in the name of trying to resuscitate a fractured and fragile unity. In the United States earlier this year, a teacher in Colorado was severely reprimanded for hanging a Mexican flag next to an American flag in his classroom at a school that is 84% Mexican and Mexican-American. Perhaps what is most frightening about this incident is the hysterical public reaction, as local residents threatened to storm the school and remove the flag by force if the principal did not remove it immediately. Again, concerns about national unity are interspersed with fear about the changing demographics of the United States, and the desperate attempts of white Americans to halt what has been referred to as the "browning" of the nation.



The above examples point to the instability of our post-colonial moment, as the dramatic shifts in the demographics and power relations within nations have forced previously separated people and communities to negotiate shared spaces and futures. In the South African context, the specific challenge is slightly different. While countries such as France and the United States have had their national unities challenged by immigrants coming from outside (though often laden with the burden of historical colonial ties), South Africa must attempt to create unity among peoples who were previously deliberately fractured by state policy. It is no surprise, given this history and contemporary reality, that creating healthy environments for learning and teaching, indeed, for living, is difficult. At the core of this challenge is the desire to bring to life a vibrant democracy, with an involved, vocal, and empowered citizenry: such a vision is the essence of a "healthy" environment for all of us, including learners and teachers. But, it is not enough to suggest that this vision will come about through the elimination of the old. Certainly, we all hope for a world without many things: without racism, without sexism, without discrimination of any kind, without poverty, without suffering. However, we must also focus on what we will do to proactively create these healthy environments: the possibilities of building the new. Thus, for example, in conversations on racism in schools, we will not, paradoxically, create racism-free environments by focusing solely on eliminating racism. Instead, we must simultaneously be building and modelling new forms of human connection that will create the solidarities that hundreds of years of racism have prevented and destroyed. As a society, we are in desperate need of the "social capital" (Putnam, 2000) that brings people together to strengthen the social fabric of schools and communities. Such a project is made more difficult in the current global environment of neo-liberalism and decentralisation, where the state (whether a new state, in South Africa's case, or an old state) can no longer be depended upon to provide the scaffolding for people to create these bonds of a common and shared humanity.

Finally, it is important to remember that schools are only one pedagogical site in society, and that notions of race, racism, and racial identities are absorbed from multiple arenas. For example, the media – television particularly – can have a powerful impact on how people perceive the limits and possibilities of their lives. Nthabiseng Motsemme (2002), discusses how Lydia, a participant in her research study, analyses the impact of new representations of blackness on both coloured and white people in a small, rural town,

... when the channels opened up in my community, people's attitude about black people has changed...suddenly people could see beauty in you, because of role models on TV, they'll compliment you or say you look like that presenter or that presenter ... You've become accepted ... Okay, [before] it was mostly this trying to be white. All of a sudden it wasn't that anymore, suddenly it was striving to be black because they could see successful black people on TV (657).

While television is certainly not a panacea for racism, Lydia's comments are a reminder that people's worldviews are affected by the totality of discourses and practices that surround their daily lives, not solely by what they are "taught" in schools. As some scholars argue, schools are a diminishing site of influence on youth, and youth's racial identities are often negotiated in global – not national – spaces (Dolby, 2001). Racial identities, politics, and relations can no longer be constrained by national borders, and cannot be dictated by state policy. The meanings of "blackness" are thus not written in South African soil, but in the interplay of electronic media and identity, in the "scapes" that Arjun Appadurai (1996) has persuasively argued dominate the imagination of modernity.

The challenges, clearly, are daunting, and range from the micropolitics of classroom relations to the macropolitics of supranationals and global dynamics. Yet, it is important to recall – as is so abundantly evident in the case of South Africa – that reformation is possible. The history of the world is one of change, not stasis, and the potential of the second decade of the new national contract – the new South African nation – lies in front of us: still with the ubiquitous contradictions and dialectics that accompany change.

## The articles

In the first part of this special issue, *Research Articles*, authors examine the contours of identity and difference as they manifest themselves in the everyday lives of teachers, learners, and researchers. The opening articles by Loyiso Jita and Alan Wieder focus on the experiences of teachers, both today (Jita) and during the apartheid years (Wieder). In "Teachers' identities and science teaching: A South African case study," Jita explores the relationship between teachers' identities and their classroom practice. Specifically he investigates how one black science teacher uses his own personal experiences of marginalisation to create transformative classroom practices for his students. Jita indicates how teachers can use what he refers to as the "resources of biography" to develop a link between identity and classroom practice. In his article, "South African teacher stories: The past speaks to the present and the future" Alan Wieder also probes the relationship between teacher identity and education. Wieder underscores the importance of understanding how teachers' recollections of their experiences under apartheid inform contemporary educational practice. He is particularly interested in analysing how teachers' stories and personal histories of resistance can be used to inform present educational discourse on race, class, and other persistent social inequalities.

In the following set of four articles, the collection moves to a focus on learners. Carolyn McKinney, in "It depends on who you are: 'White' students' difficulties in dealing with the apartheid past" discusses how undergraduate white students struggle to remake whiteness in the new context. As she asserts, white students are caught between being part of the "new" South Africa, while simultaneously retaining links to the "old" through their continuing privilege and family relations. Bekhisizwe Ndimande's "(Re)Anglicising the kids: contradictions of classroom discourse in post-apartheid South Africa" continues the exploration of dynamics of power in educational settings through focusing on the concerns surrounding language, particularly in desegregated schools. Ndimande focuses on the story and experience of his nephew, Thuto, and his inability to read in his first language, isiZulu, because his desegregated school does not teach isiZulu until grade six. Ndimande questions the premise of this educational policy and examinations, and how educational practices might be decolonised. In "Imposed identities, adolescent girls' perceptions of being black and being white". Margie Gaganakis discusses the limitation of understanding "black" and "white" as preconstituted categories, and instead argues for a contextual, situational analysis of their meanings. The last article which examines learners' experiences moves to the U.S. context. In "Expanding freedoms to achieve: A case study of poor and working class African American and Latino males in an urban college preparation program in the United States," Noel Anderson interrogates the failures of the U.S. educational system fifty years after the historic *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision, which desegregated schools. Like Ndimande, Anderson questions the assumptions underlying educational practices. He argues that a narrow focus on "academic achievement" in college preparatory programs fails to take into account the economic and social contexts of youth's lives, and thus do not serve the very youth they are designed to help.

In the final article in this section "Exploring the relationship between research capacity development and forming an identity as a researcher", Arona Dison focuses on the critical issue of research capacity development through examining the identity development of young researchers. She analyses how these researchers develop an identity as researchers through participation in the practices of research communities, both local and global. In making this argument, she underlines that the development of research capacity is not solely about an individual's knowledge and competencies, but about his or her relationship to the broader community of practice.

The second section of this special issue, *Conversations*, moves the discussion out of the specific contexts of particular classrooms, and into broader dialogues about policy and the future of educational change. Crain Soudien and Yusuf Sayed "A new racial state: exclusion and inclusion

in education policy and practice in South Africa" use David Theo Goldberg's philosophical thesis on the "racial state" to understand the current post-apartheid reality. As Soudien and Sayed argue, there is more to be done to move from a non-racial to anti-racist reality. Jonathan Jansen continues the theme of assessing progress since 1994 in "Race, education and democracy after ten years: how far have we come." Jansen observes that while educational institutions have been relatively successful at racial desegregation, social integration has been much more difficult to achieve. He notes with concern the current focus on performance-based accountability in schools, which shifts focus and energy away from the critical work of creating democratic cultures in schools, and fostering the practices of citizenship and democracy in society. He also suggests that a disproportionate amount of energy has been expended on a relatively small percentage of racially integrated schools, when the demographic reality dictates that most learners will complete their schooling in all-black schools. Thus, the focus of educational practice, including curriculum, should expand to consider multiple facets of difference, not solely race. Jansen concludes with a reminder that "schools remain the life-blood of this young democracy" and what happens in schools has repercussions that extend far behind their walls. Venitha Pillay's article recounts the micropolitics and dynamics experienced during the incorporation of a college of education into a university – a microcosm of a widespread phenomenon that in recent years has also been witnessed in the further and higher education landscapes. The account grapples with the "conceptual pathways in which to understand the effects of change on the people in the change environment". In the final article of the collection, Ruksana Osman expands the discussion about a specific educational practice, recognition of prior learning (RPL). She examines three theoretical perspectives on RPL (i.e. human capital, liberal humanistic, and social constructivist), and argues for the necessity of enhanced conversations both within and between these perspectives as a way of improving the design and implementation of this educational practice.

We trust this volume will contribute towards a greater understanding of the complexity of human identity: that, fundamentally, the human genome is defined more by commonality than by difference; that essentialist notions of identity are misguided at best and dangerous at worst; and that both individuals and societies can have multiple identities. Do differences exist? Surely they do. They should be seen in a healthy, positive light rather than as innate, immutable and stuff over which social conflict, discrimination and destructive wars can be justified. Through the learning process a healthy understanding of identity that is not parochial or chauvinistic and tolerant of difference can be achieved. Healthy learning environments can play an important role in promoting a better, sophisticated understanding of human nature.

## References

- Appadurai A 1996. *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Benjamin, Sathima Bea 1983. *Memories and dreams*. New York: Ekapa Records.
- Dolby N 2001. *Constructing race: Youth, identity, and popular culture in South Africa*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Erasmus Z 2002. *Coloured by history, shaped by place: New perspectives on coloured identities*. Cape Town: Replica Books.
- Goldin I 1987. *Making race. The politics and economics of coloured identity in South Africa*. New York: Maskew Miller Longman.
- Gqola P 2001. Defining people: Analysing power, language and representation in metaphors of the new South Africa. *Transformation*, 47, 94-106.
- Hall S 1998. Subjects in history: Making diasporic identities. In *The house that race built*, Lubiano W (ed.), pp. 289-300. New York: Vintage Books.
- Hall S, Held D & McGrew T 1996. *Modernity and its futures*. Cambridge: Polity Press and Blackwell Publishers.



- Isaac GL & McCown ER 1976. *Human origins: Lewis Leakey and the East African evidence*. Menlo Park, California: W.A. Benjamin.
- Leakey R 1981. *The making of mankind*. New York: Elsevier-Dutton Publishing Company, Inc.
- Leakey R & Lewin R 1992. *Origins reconsidered: In search of what makes us human*. New York: Doubleday.
- Mbeki T 1998. "I am an African". In *Africa: The time has come*. Cape Town: Tafelberg and Mafube Publishers, 31-36.
- McCarthy C 1988. Reconsidering liberal and radical approaches to racial inequality in schooling: Making the case for non-synchrony. *Harvard Educational Review*, **58**(3), 67-89.
- Montagu A 1997. *Man's most dangerous myth: The fallacy of race*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press (sixth edition).
- Motsemme N 2002. Gendered experiences of blackness in post-apartheid South Africa. *Social Identities*, **8**(4), 647-673.
- Nkomo M, Twala-Mkwana Z & Carrim N 1995. The long shadow of apartheid ideology: The case of open schools in South Africa. In *Racism and anti-racism in world perspective*, Bowser BP (ed.), 261-284. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Osler A 1997. *Education and careers of black teachers: Changing identities, changing lives*. McGraw-Hill.
- Oppenheimer S 2004. *Out of Africa's Eden: The peopling of the world*. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball Publishers.
- Putnam R 2000. *Bowling alone: The collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Rosaldo R 1994. Cultural citizenship and educational democracy. *Cultural Anthropology*, **9**(3), 402-411.
- Scott J 1995. Multiculturalism and the politics of identity. In *The identity in question*, Rajchman J (ed.), 3-12. London: Routledge.
- Soodyall H 2003. *A walk in the garden of Eden: Genetic trails into our African past*. HSRC Paper. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers.
- Sykes B 2002. *The seven daughters of Eve*. London: Gorgi Books.
- Tobias P 1970. *Brain in hominid evolution*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Wasserman H & Jacobs S 2003. *Shifting selves. Post-apartheid articles on mass media, culture and identity*. Cape Town: Kwela Books.
- Zegeye A 2000. *Resisting ethnicity from above: Social identities & democracy in South Africa*. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers.
- Zegeye A 2001. *Social identities in the new South Africa*. Cape Town: Kwela Books.
- Zegeye A 2002. *Social identities in the New South Africa: After apartheid*. Cape Town: Replica Books.
- Zegeye A 2003. *African identities: Contemporary political and social challenges*. South Africa: Ashgate Publishers.