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African Journal of Non-profit Higher Education

EXORDIUM ISSUE

Non-profit Higher Education & The Social Good

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Introduction
Exordium Issue, Volume 1

South Africa's private, non-profit educational institutions made three major contributions to societal change and higher education during the last century and before.

As a first contribution they served as the original format and architecture for the majority of the public universities – in most cases taking the form of theological colleges before growing into the multi-disciplinary institutions of today. Non-profit institutions secondly offered an alternative space for critical debates on justice and societal transformation when the organisation and structure of higher education followed the politics of racial segregation that dominated all parts of society. These histories are prominent in and as the origin narratives public institutions continue to articulate, and rightly so. This holds true also for Cornerstone Institute that commemorates its 50th year since its establishment in 1970 as a Bible School on the Cape Flats that accepted and taught black and white students together.

A third contribution, and one that in scholarly literature seems to be the most neglected of themes, is its dedicated focus on the practice, rather than the scholarship of learning and teaching. Read from a praxis perspective one may argue that the latter contribution have been the most critical contribution of non-profit higher education, since this focus on teaching and learning for change also encouraged students to become activists. It is especially in literature on the history of the broader and student political movements of the previous century that a picture of this contribution of private, non-profit institutions emerges.

However, it oddly seems precisely the latter focus of these institutions that has caused their place in the higher education landscape to not be regarded for its scholarly contribution. Local definitions of knowledge production in recent times increasingly prioritised scholarly research as the defining feature of universities, specifically as part of the transformation of higher education during the first two decades of democracy. The comparative lack of an established body of research by academics at private and non-profit institutions in the process caused these institutions not to be recognised as fully-fledged higher education institutions. The fact that the well-established non-profit colleges as a unique cohort of institutions in the restructuring of higher educating were not distinguished from commercial private institutions compounded the situation.

Distrust of commercial interests of private institutions lead to higher education policy approaches that prohibit the recognition of private institutions as universities. Higher education policy also did not provide a mechanism for private institutions to gain such recognition. The situation has had a major impact on the functioning of non-profit institutions.

However, the situation is slowly changing as policy frameworks are shifting towards greater recognition of the sector, which demands key shifts in how private, and specifically non-profit institutions conduct and curate their scholarly contribution.

It is the history of private, non-profit higher education and societal contributions, and the more recent and relative disregard of its contribution, as much as the unresponsiveness of the scholarly communities of and at non-profit higher education institutions, which lead to the founding of this journal.

The journal therefore wants to, in particular, but not exclusively, explore the intersecting themes of non-profit higher education, social justice and societal transformation – the themes that we in our deliberations for the journal considered the key aspects of the history and mission of non-profit higher education, not only in South Africa, but continentally for African institutions broadly. Therein the journal will contribute to the shortage of scholarly journals dedicated to non-profit higher education in global and African contexts – a review of higher education journals named and focused in scope on non-profit institutions revealed very few such publications.

With this journal we therefore aim to advance an African voice in global scholarly discourses on educational theory and practice unique to the sector. Its mission is to strengthen non-profit higher education as a distinctive scholarly field in higher education studies.

We have accordingly named the journal as the *African Journal of Non-profit Higher Education* (AJNPHE).

The AJNPHE will focus on cross- and interdisciplinary research relating to the not-for-profit sector of *African* higher education in particular, and of higher education in general. We are committed to publishing high quality, (blind) peer reviewed research, using the open access model to increase the exchange of knowledge among and encourage collaboration between local South African, continental African, and international scholars elsewhere.

With the journal we also aim to establish a new and unique record of scholarly activity of the non-profit sector on higher education. Therefore the categories of content to be published include research reports, articles, book reviews, interviews, editorials and conference proceedings, as well as opinion pieces from the broader non-profit sector.

As we take our first steps with the journal we've opted to publish the first issue in two parts, namely a brief issue to launch the journal – the Exordium Issue, and a second part to complete the publication of its first volume and issue – Volume 1, Issue 1.

To set the scene for the contribution the journal wants to make to higher education studies, and to align its first volume and issue with the core themes as emerged from the history and current realities of non-profit higher education institutions, we focus the calls for papers on the theme of 'non-profit higher education and the social good'.

We accepted papers for the Exordium issue that align with this theme, and which at the same demonstrate the types of contributions the journal aims to publish. This issue therefore includes an inaugural lecture, two original research papers, a republished contribution of a Cornerstone scholar and a republished public opinion piece by a non-profit sector leader – these contributions represent the intent to contribute to original research, build a repository of non-profit scholarship and integrate reflection and action aligned with the praxis approach that underlie the history and context of non-profit higher education.

We depend and will call on the support of scholars, higher education leaders and the academic publishing community to realise the contribution to knowledge creation and sharing we wish to make.

As inaugural editor, on behalf of the editorial team, I thank you for joining our effort by reading and commenting on this introductory part of our first issue, and I kindly request your guidance as we proceed.

Please feel free to engage our team with all and any comment that may strengthen the journal.

Rev Dr Rudi Buys
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Suspect or Prophet? Private Higher Education, Hope and the Social Good

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Public inaugural lecture as Cornerstone Institute Executive Dean on 3 September 2019 at the Centre for the Book, Cape Town, South Africa

What makes hope? When debates on the ghosts of our fraught past revisits us in new debates on apartheid symbols; when commissions of inquiry into state capture abound with ever-increasing revelations of decay; when the economy grounds to a halt; when a women student is murdered and raped at a post office; when mayhem seems the only headline; what hope do we speak of?

How do we reconstruct hope when our aspirations fade to recapture the half forgotten dream of a restored nation? Is hope not more than a 'thing'; more than a private or public good to work for; more than projects of economic growth; more than the outcome of a set of circumstances; more than a belief or an attitude – more than its reduction by symbolic representation, social imaginary or political rhetoric?

Is hope not rather a face; a voice; a body; and a togetherness? Hope as an embodiment of our being human; an embodiment of lived experience that takes shape when people from vastly different realities are near each other, see and hear each other, reach out to and embrace the other. Hope as the proximities and connectedness, the shared vulnerabilities and new solidarities that we each hold together with those who on the face of it are most different from us – hope as a 'relational reality'.

Hope, I submit, is a 'Who' and a 'Who with'.

If we accept that it is the actual relationships of different people from diverse lives – lives lived amidst the complexities of a society ever in transition – that determine hope, what then is the social good?

Is the social good a realised sense of national cohesion; a collective sense of resilience that citizens draw on to overcome seemingly similar struggles in very different lived realities? Is the social good not more than the best interest of society at large; more than the private good of each of its citizens; more than the public good of the collective; even more than a resilient democracy that ensures basic rights and freedoms are realised? Is the social good not rather 'not a good at all'?

Is it not rather a deeply rooted sense that we are capable to reflect and act? A human agency as the social good; as an appreciation of self, others and the world that persuades us of our inherent authority to triumph over our failures; an agency to re-imagine and enact hope; agency as a togetherness that

draws us nearer to one another when our fears would drive us apart. Human agency as a way of being, knowing and doing – or in meta-theoretical terms, as an ontology, epistemology and methodology of the social good (Morrow & Torres, 2002).

Agency, I submit, is the socially good and the social good we yearn for.

If we accept that hope and the social good is relational, embodied, and best represented in the lived realities of citizen agency, then it follows that our daily lives must be the theatre where the struggle to prosper plays out. Our lives, which are scarred with how disconnected we are; scarred by the social distances we all live with, enact and, yes, importantly, also protest; scarred by the societal hierarchies that permeate all aspects of South African life.

A FIRST FRAME: SOCIAL HIERARCHY

This is the first interpretive frame I propose we use to consider the possibility of hope, the social good and higher education: the lived reality of social hierarchies (Bourdieu, 1973; Mamdani, 2001; Spivak, 1988).

Social hierarchies determine some to be the powerful and others the powerless, some to have voice and others not. It sets and determines a daily struggle to shift positions on that continuum – a continuum that places you closer or further from the center of power and voice. Such a hierarchy promises mobility, but it only offers suspicion. Suspicion of the other when the powerful must protect its power and the powerless must gain or disrupt it – binaries that leave everyone a 'perpetual suspect'.

That is where we find ourselves, having to negotiate our positions and positionalities of power and voice.

However, in-between the places we are each bound to negotiate, there is a positionality that seeks to disrupt the established order; to break new ground, to build a new imaginary that sets citizen agency as its goal. That is the space of the 'prophet' – in-between, with new knowledge, new identities and new courage and energy to enact hope and the social good (Popkewitz, 2010).

Do private higher education as an arena of knowledge intersect with a nation's hope to achieve what is socially good, and if so, how? In what ways do higher education respond to a relational view of hope and agency as the social good? What place does agency have in the social and corporate architectures of private higher education? Does higher education conform to the established hierarchies of society, and of knowledge production, of the powerful and powerless – to be the suspect – or are there instances of a prophet; of the renegade driving at a new imaginary?

This is the question I raise: is private higher education the suspect or a prophet?

Two considerations make the question of private higher education and the public (social) good an urgent one.

Firstly: a *persistent ambivalence* regarding private higher education in higher education policy, in a protectionist engagement with the sector by public authorities, and in declarations by political actors of private education as a haven for class and racial biases (Council of Higher Education, 2016).

Secondly: what is considered an *explosive growth* of higher education mainly for private benefit as a sector of the economy (Council of Higher Education, 2007).

Political and governmental regard of private higher education in South Africa during the first decade of democracy were initially very positive. The sector was considered a partner for the expansion and massification of higher education, such as with an initial phase of partnerships between public and private institutions to offer combined qualifications, among others. However in the latter part of

the decade the emphasis shifted to suspicion for several reasons. In the main this was due to concerns for the quality of education offered by the sector, concerns for the impact of a growing private sector on the sustainability of public institutions, and concerns for private institutions' commitment to and contribution to the public good.

Compare the assessment of the Council of Higher Education in this regard in its review of the first decade:

"The second major change in the higher education system was the spectacular growth in private higher education, which has challenged, if not undermined, the public higher education system just as it was emerging from its apartheid legacy. This unforeseen expansion of private higher education has created political, policy, and legal dilemmas about the appropriate nature and degree of governmental action in response to what has become a powerful, transnational phenomenon in the post-Cold war period." (Council of Higher Education, 2007: 163).

The subsequent second decade focused on increasing regulation of private provisioning. Increased regulation limited the freedom of private institutions to claim an equal and comparative status to public institutions – they were not to be registered as universities, but only as "private higher education institutions". They were not to name senior academic positions as per higher education practice, e.g. not vice-chancellors, but only chief executive officers. They were not to award professorships; and all public funds for scholarly research and student fees were directed to public institutions.

The resulting environment entrenched the divide between public and private higher education and limited the ability of private providers to contribute to national policy discourses and, more critically, to knowledge production through research, if not undermining the sustainability of especially *non-profit* private higher education institutions.

However, in recent years several developments improved the relationship of the private higher education sector and public authorities. These include firstly an increased efficiency of quality control systems and oversight of the South African Qualifications Authority and the Department and Council of Higher Education.

Secondly, a greater responsiveness to oversight by private higher education institutions, and thirdly greater participation of private institutions on their own initiative in national policy discourses.

As a result a second major shift in higher education is emerging that promises a return to the initial appreciation of private higher education as a partner in the transformation of society in general and higher education in particular[1]. The shift arguably results from two factors, namely the difficulties public higher education faces to respond to societal demands, as well as progress of private higher education in becoming a (academically) well governed and managed sector.

Higher education in general and public institutions in particular face an increasing realisation that we've achieved insufficient progress in transforming the sector. The funding crises of public higher education, and the slow pace of institutional transformation in the main represent this assessment (Breetzke & Hedding, 2018; Luckett & Naicker, 2019; Luvalo, 2019; and Mbembe, 2016).

In addition to increasing student numbers in, and the diverse corporate models of private institutions, the sector struggles to position itself in relation to public institutions in terms of scholarship and institutional identities. So for instance, the fact that private institutions

[1] The Higher Education Amendment Act, Act 9 of 2016, which allows for additional registration categories for private institutions, such as to be registered as fully-fledged universities, illustrates this shift.

may not as yet be registered or are recognised as fully-fledged universities does not in any way diminish their efforts to increasingly specialise in teaching and learning, research and community engagement – the requirements for university status, and as a result increasingly identify as universities. Still, due to the current limits, private higher education institutions struggle to attract research funding and senior academics.

An established hierarchy of higher education seems to unintentionally limit the private sector's contribution to the public good, if not the social.

Whereas the argument for higher education as a public good is uncontested, as is the right to private education, how the private sector engages the *tension between public and private goods* remains in flux (Marginson, 2018; and Tilak, 2008). Different institutions in mission and programme offering locate themselves on a continuum of priority commitment to the public good on the one hand, and priority commitments to share price on the other – as represented on the face of it in non-profits on the one and more corporate models of mergers and acquisition on the other (Marginson, 2011)[2].

The sector must also deal with a second *tension of a closer or more distant engagement* of higher education policy and curriculum discourses, such as on decolonisation, among others. The private sector, for instance, only has limited representative bodies that mediate its contributions to national policy – it is a sparsely organised sector; and in reality the sector at best has a lacklustre uptake of the project to decolonise curriculum – its perceived emphasis seemingly remains on curriculum in service of market demands, rather than curriculum in service of social transformation[3].

Using the notion of 'social hierarchy' to make sense of the place and future of private higher education, I conclude that the sector finds itself at the margins of higher education – the place of the 'suspect other'.

This is so not only because public policy and the need for expansion and massification foregrounded public education. It seems private providers have played to the suspicions held by the broader higher education community that it engages only for private interest – a role as the suspect that private higher education in general adopted, continuous to enact and struggle to break free from.

To be fair, deeply entrenched and dominant social and knowledge hierarchies disallow those at the center and those at the margins to construct other roles than what the hierarchy determines. At the center one must struggle to retain your powerful position, and at the margins you have little option but to conform to the landscape to survive. The #MustFall-movements arguably represent the mirror that reveals this dynamic in South African higher education.

Irrespective of your position at the center or the margin, what defines your thinking and doing is what the hierarchy decides – a directive from outside of yourself to determine who you think you are, what you think you know and what you think you are capable of, or not.

A SECOND FRAME: TRANSITIONALITY

However, hierarchies enacted in the lived experiences of our people and institutions make for only half the story. If our daily lives create the theatre where the struggle for hope and the social good plays out, then its backdrop is painted by the transitions of

[2] It is important to note that the view that profit-driven educational enterprises and institutions are unwilling or able to contribute to the public good is a contested one, which I do not explore in this paper, but consider a critical investigation for further inquiry. The view reveals to what extent the dynamic of suspicion, as an expression of social and knowledge hierarchies, has taken hold of the higher education landscape.

[3] See note 2.

an emerging society – 'transitionality' as a second interpretative frame I propose we use to explore who we are, suspects and prophets alike (Buys, 2017).

As a rule, theories of change locate societies in transition on a pathway from a past to a future. These approaches position the present as a temporary location troubled by our struggles to break free from the past and realise an imagined future.

In the same way as the landing in-between the two staircases that lead from one floor to the next in a high-rise building is only a temporary stay, societies in transition are considered in a temporary moment en route to elsewhere (Bhabha, 1994).

This understanding causes what we think and do at that landing to be determined by the floors you come from and head to – we consider the landing to have less meaning in itself. In such a space and at such a time the social imaginary holds sway over both the floor I came from and the floor I go to – from and to what you perceive those places to be. Since you are present not at one or the other of the two floors any longer, what is, was and will be is a matter of memory and imagination – the social imaginary.

This reality makes the in-between space a transitional landscape of society with its own structure, demands and hopes (De Zepetnek, 1999; and Kalua, 2017).

Such is our society – a transitional space where our shared imaginary for our future is largely based on a contested imaginary of where we come from and where we're at, and on its underlying social architecture.

What a transitional, third space offers us is the never-ending option to re-imagine (Bhabha, 2009) – the understanding that we are not our past, but that much of our past remains our present; that we are not our future, but that much of what we imagined for our future is already present; and that we are the authors of the twists and turns of that storyline of our nation. It is in the transitional spaces that citizens discover their agency. This is so because transitional spaces lead people to particular ways of being, knowing and doing.

Inbetweenness defines who we are.

Inbetweenness is a sense of self that yearns to meet the stranger, to discover new worlds and to embrace the unfamiliar. It makes for a community of strangers and bridge-builders that represent a new togetherness (Buys, 2017 and 2018).

Inbetweenness represents a new way of knowing that counters hierarchy; seeks new designs and translates meaning for a society facing the residues of past injustice; a continuous struggle with ambiguities, contradictions and complexity; a fluidity of meaning that requires a society to reinvent itself without pause. It is a new way of doing change that invites difference and reaches across divides to build solidarities; that uncovers what lies hidden; that struggles not to avoid the past, but to drive through our imaginaries of its legacy to reconstruct hope and the social good.

The struggle of transitionality for me remains best illustrated in the 'Talking Heads', by Storm Thorgerson, used as the cover of the Pink Floyd album, Division Bell (Thorgerson, 2015).

The single eyes of the two faces looking at each other become the two eyes of a single face looking at you – an optical illusion that reveals an underlying in-between reality of being, knowing and doing; of transitionality.

The 'third face' of transitionality is at once there and not there… every day offers new perspectives on the three faces of the Talking Heads even as all three are always there, without pause present in the field.

Similarly, seen and not seen, definitive and not, the different ways of the being, knowing and doing of inbetweenness are clearly visible when you look at its performances,

The Division Bell, Pink Floyd album artwork (Thorgerson, 2015)

but only intuitively present when you focus on the more familiar performances of social opposites in the lived realities of our social (and knowledge) hierarchies.

A NEW DIRECTION

This is precisely what a transitional society makes possible – an underlying new knowledge that struggles to emerge against a rampant hierarchy, and thereby offers direction to higher education as a performance of hope and for the social good.

Its positionality in-between the opposites of the established hierarchies of higher education offers private higher education the opportunity to uncover and embolden new communities of togetherness and design.

Its *shape* allows for integration of citizen agency as a practice of knowledge and, most critically, a theme of curriculum.

Its *nearness* to established academic hierarchies and the corresponding identities and commitments to academic (senate) governance and deep learning enables private higher education to reshape the landscape by redefining its sense of self and place.

The sector will run free when it takes hold of its underlying third positionality – not to yearn for the center or live with the winds at the margins, but to become a driver of change – the prophet status of inbetweenness.

In order to do so the sector must lead its own way to build a new scholarship. A scholarship that is responsive to a continent's need to recast itself; responsive to a nation's need to hear new voices and see different faces; and responsive to a sector's need to find its agency in a landscape burdened with remnants of (colonial) power hierarchies and vast social distances. Agency enacted through combined voices and focused reflective practice – agency as it emerges from an intentional enactment of hope as a social good of a transitional society.

For our part, as Cornerstone, we hope to build a third positionality and voice by strengthening scholarship on and for the sector. We'll do so firstly with an inaugural scholarly journal to publish its first edition by June 2020 – the 'African Journal of Non-profit Higher Education'.

Secondly, we call on our sector to build a policy voice through a representative forum for non-profit institutions – that part of the sector that as yet has no dedicated platform for engagement – a call to establish a forum we propose to be named, 'Non-Profit Higher Education South Africa' or NOPHESA.

However, most important of all, we will engage the struggle for human becoming (Freire, 1996); to teach our nation to embrace the stranger; to build (global) citizens that reach across divides, uncover hidden worlds and together design and construct futures beyond social hierarchies; we aim to embrace our inbetweenness and become prophets of agency; of hope and of social good that matters.

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Exploring an inclusive educational system to enhance positive identity formation and agency

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this investigation was to explore students' views and attitudes towards critical citizenship when incorporated into curricula at three art departments at universities in South Africa, Nigeria and Tanzania. Data were collected from postgraduate students through group interviews. This revealed some initial resistance from students and indicated that values underlying critical citizenship existed within students' indigenous knowledge bases. The experiences of students from the various art departments differed, but highlighted problematic issues in terms of critical citizenship and helped to make suggestions on how critical citizenship could be incorporated into curricula in future. The data also highlight the critical issue of identity and agency in a teaching and learning environment. This research is meant to stimulate further exploration of how educational curricula could negotiate their past in the present and define the indigenous in a global postcolonial context.

1. INTRODUCTION

The African Union's Agenda 2063 (2013) is a blueprint and master plan for transforming Africa for attaining inclusive and sustainable economic growth and development. Agenda 2063 includes goals such as an Africa of good governance, democracy, respect for human rights and justice and an Africa with a strong cultural identity, common heritage, values and ethics. The United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals have similar aspirations, which focus on establishing a development-oriented international partnership aimed towards addressing issues of education, environmental sustainability, poverty, sickness and health and encouraging educational institutions to promote socially sustainable ways of living (United Nations, 2015). Critical citizenship education can be used to this end, as it promotes democracy, social reconstruction and social justice (Johnson and Morris, 2010). The condition of critical citizenship education and democracy is, however, a concern in Africa.

In 2011, an extensive study on perceptions of democratic citizenship was conducted in Africa at Nairobi, Cape Town and Dar es Salaam universities by the Centre for Higher Education Transformation and the Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa. The study was specifically concerned with the role of higher education institutions in critical citizenship development and democratisation (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011). There was no significant difference in the disdainful attitudes of students in Tanzania and Kenya compared to the public regarding non-democratic and authoritarian forms of rule. However, there was a significant difference in the attitudes of South Africans. Approximately 50% of 20- to 23-year-old South Africans rejected non-democratic forms of rule, while 90% of university students of the same age rejected a non-democratic rule (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011). This is an indication that higher education could play a major role in educating democratic and critical citizenship, but that more work needs to be done to understand and promote critical citizenship education in Africa.

Our research explored the perceptions and attitudes regarding critical citizenship of a small group of postgraduate art students at three institutions in Africa, namely Stellenbosch University in South Africa, the University of Benin in Nigeria and the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. The research originated following a conference on critical citizenship at Stellenbosch University after which lecturers from the three universities located in three different regions of Africa, namely South, East and West Africa, involved in this research returned to their respective universities to interview students concerning their views and opinions on the inclusion of critical citizenship in their curricula.

2. THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

2.1 Contexts

The contexts of South Africa, Nigeria and Tanzania differ, but they are all influenced by colonisation, past knowledge hierarchies and political conditions. Said (1994) argues that colonialism did not only affect people geographically but also impacted them by means of what he refers to as 'positioned superiority', by which knowledge and culture were also displaced by colonial expansion. Deliberate hierarchies were formed between the coloniser and the colonised, which deemed citizens in society worthy or unworthy. This led to the notion of differentiation between coloniser and colonised. The voice of the colonised was excluded in the recording of the history of the colonised.

The idea of European universities as sources of knowledge and supreme power was instrumental during the establishment of universities in many parts of Africa (Department of Science and Technology, 2014). This led to the formation of a fixed, universal ideology of what was accepted as legitimate knowledge. Unfortunately, scholars have not broadly inquired into the legitimacy of the normalised Western knowledge system (Department of Science and Technology, 2014). African knowledge systems experience continuous pressure to 'prove' themselves against the Western knowledge system. However, in reality, it is not only the efforts of one group that aids in the establishment of a knowledge system. Such a system is formed over many years through the accumulation of many ideas.

Political conditions affect South Africa, Nigeria and Tanzania. South Africa is facing post-apartheid problematic realities of land issues, unemployment, corruption, wasting of resources, persistent elitist arrogance, cheap populism, and so forth. Stellenbosch University used to be the cradle of apartheid, and as a result, social transformation issues

remain sensitive. In Nigeria, civil unrest and hostility have resulted from issues such as land disputes between settlers and original owners, corruption, ethnic conflict and a culture of impunity as well as an absence of religious freedom. Nigeria is also one of the most ethnically diverse and politically divided countries in Africa, with over 260 languages and ethnic groups. Tanzania had been bedevilled by a high level of bribery and corruption, and there is often debate over the extent to which elections are free and fair in the country (Heilman, 2010). The governments and economic leaders of these three countries are often not examples of responsible and critical citizens.

The private sector or the market cannot be solely responsible for the creation of a democratic society. Reddy (2004:35) suggests two opposing views: On the one hand, financial resources for higher education can be reduced according to economic demands and requirements, while the contrasting view proposes that there could be a "humanist emphasis expecting universities to empower individuals to assume the identities of active agents of a democratic society". Groener (2006) advocates that economic development and social transformation can be stimulated by education. With these problematic issues facing South Africa, Nigeria and Tanzania, it has become necessary to seriously consider including moral or citizenship education in the curricula.

2.2. Critical citizenship

Critical citizenship is an existing concept related to critical thinking, which could assist with individual transformation as well as with developing responsible individuals who are able to accommodate other members within multicultural communities. Similar to the majority of sociological and philosophical theories of which we are aware, critical citizenship originated in the USA and Europe. The colonial years in Africa, and other parts of the world, were periods in which marginalisation, stigmatising, exclusion and 'othering' of societal members played a significant role. These problematic factors were some of the leading causes of the rise of citizenship education. Often, solutions to the myriads of problems in Africa have been sought through examining the causes and consequences of the colonial and postcolonial periods in Africa, but this seems not to have yielded positive outcomes.

Citizenship education is based on the promotion of a "common set of shared values (e.g. tolerance, human rights, and democracy), which prepare young people to live together in diverse societies and which reject the divisive nature of national identities" (Johnson and Morris 2010:77-78). Citizenship education "contributes to the promotion of social justice, social reconstruction, and democracy" (Johnson and Morris 2010:77-78). However, what is lacking in these definitions is the critical perspective. By adding the word 'critical' to 'citizenship education', the term is redefined to include critical thinking as well as critical pedagogy (Johnson and Morris, 2010). Critical thinking is often referred to as a higher-order thought process, which is utilised to willingly formulate multiple perspectives and to place assumptions under scrutiny. Critical pedagogy in its practical form originates from the Frankfurt School. It is linked closely to Freire's (1975) *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, in which educators are encouraged to employ dialogue to expand the critical consciousness of lecturers and students by developing context-specific educational methods.

Johnson and Morris (2010) developed a framework for critical citizenship education that could be a guiding tool for the content of critical citizenship modules. They suggest addressing issues of political (ideology), social (collective), self (subjectivity) and praxis (engagement). The political category includes history, social systems, injustice and dominating power structures. Under

the social category, the non-dominant, non-mainstream and indigenous knowledge would be brought in, and the interconnectedness of culture and power should be emphasised. Under the self category, the own local context, culture, position and own sense of self should be taken into consideration. Under praxis are included skills in acting collectively, challenging the status quo and the ability to imagine a better world. Strategies for teaching this knowledge include critical analysis of historical, political and social issues. It also involves skills to listen and converse and the ability to compromise and engage logical and holistic thinking (Johnson and Morris, 2010). One of the needed skills in this regard is deep self-reflection and the ability to speak with one's own voice.

A critical citizenship curriculum could be a veritable catalyst for shaping student development. However, the challenge of forming a bridging device between educators and students within an academic setting lies not only in policy and curricula writing, but also in aiming to confront occurrences resulting from conventional socio-cultural exchanges. Barnett and Coate (2008) mention the 'hidden curriculum', which refers to a curriculum embedded in a curriculum. This concept suggests that what is stated in print or within educational policies does not always correspond with actual educational interactions. According to Barnett (2004), curricula should engage with and react to the challenges of a complex and postmodern world.

Critical citizenship education should also include other theoretical perspectives, such as decolonisation. Tuck and Yang (2012) maintain that the decolonial project is different from the Freirean project, because it does not focus on the liberation of the oppressed, but the dismantling of oppressive colonial structures. Zembylas (2018) argues for the inclusion of both perspectives, as they can contribute in different ways. Andreotti (2011) suggests that it is better to include a variety of different perspectives or theories, as one theory could emphasise certain aspects, while others are neglected. A variety is needed to unmask the hidden workings and effects of colonial domination and exploitation in our current contexts. Luckett (2016) calls for a critical deconstruction of the colonial archives and canons, because, as Chirikure (2016) argues, Africa requires its own knowledge that addresses its needs and challenges. However, Chirikure (2016) also says that African knowledge systems cannot exist in isolation from global systems. Dei (2000, cited in Le Grange 2016:6) points out that various knowledges constantly impact one another and that depicting one as 'good' and the other as 'bad' creates a false dichotomy. Decolonised curricula could, however, give indigenous African knowledge systems a valid status among the knowledge systems in the world (Higgs, 2016).

2.3. African philosophy of learning

Indigenous knowledge historically and currently plays an important role in the thinking, behaviour and welfare of communities in Africa (Modi, 2009). Several researchers, including Hoberg (2004), Kamwangamalu (1999), Le Roux (2000), Nakusera (2004), Van Wyk and Higgs (2004), Venter (2004) and Waghid (2004), argue for the use of an African philosophy of learning for enhancement of multicultural educational curricula. However, Mapesela (2004) is doubtful whether the understanding of indigenous knowledge is sufficient enough for it to be incorporated into the curriculum and emphasises the changing nature of indigenous knowledge over time.

Indigenous knowledge is often associated with *ubuntu*, translated as 'humanness'. *Ubuntu* originates from the phrase "Umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu", meaning a person is a person because of other people (Mbiti 1970, cited in Van der Walt 1997:33). Archbishop Desmond Tutu (1999:31) says that *ubuntu*

is not "I think therefore I am", but rather "I am a human because I belong. I participate. I share". Vedan (2009:144-145) describes *ubuntu* principles as "[i]nculcating honesty, ethical behavior (integrity, compassion, generosity), respect for others, sharing of resources, showing compassion, promot[ing] lawful living". Venter (2004) advocates that the *ubuntu* view and the teaching of humanity should be included in education, and urges educators to teach humanity with the emphasis on humanness instead of race.

Gade (2012) interviewed people in sub-Saharan Africa on the concept of *ubuntu* and found a variety of meanings connected to the concept; either as a moral quality of a person or as a philosophy or worldview. His study also shows that the meaning has changed over time. Similar terms to *ubuntu* are used in other regions in Africa, such as Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Mozambique, Egypt and the Democratic Republic of Congo. In Tanzania, the word *bumuntu* is used (Kamwangamalu, 1999). In Nigeria, the word *omoluabi* among the Yoruba is similar to *ubuntu* and means courage, hard work, humility and respect.

Matolino and Kwindingwi (2013) believe that the promotion of *ubuntu* after 1994 in South Africa is an elitist project so conceived by the new black elite. They argue that it started with the aim to restore black identity and dignity, but warn that it only benefits the black elite. They state that *ubuntu* "is only advanced to serve a certain Africanist agenda when it best suites the elite. When used by ordinary people, it amounts to nothing more than a catch phrase with soap opera soothing qualities" (Matolino and Kwindingwi, 2013: 202). Modi (2009:5) remarks: "*Ubuntu* is not just an African concept; it is a reality that modern people deny". Modi (2009) believes that *ubuntu* and these values that we deny should become part of the educational system and that it should be taught as a way of life.

Enslin and Horsthemke (2004) question the uniqueness of *ubuntu* as an educational philosophy and argue that certain aspects of the philosophy might not be suitable. Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003) argue that with the colonial Western school system, the traditional African holistic, lifelong and utilitarian type of education was fading. They admit that some aspects of the African educational system are problematic, such as a discouragement of experimenting with the unknown, and because of that, resulted in little innovative or critical thinking skills in young people. Adeyemi and Adeyinka (2003:439) argue for a balance between Western and African traditional education to produce "all-round citizens: people who are able and willing to appreciate and utilize the values of both traditional and modern educational systems".

Khosa (2011) also argues against some aspects of traditional African education and says that abuse is predicted when unconditional respect for the elderly and people in positions of authority is expected from those in subordinate positions. Respect for those in higher positions might be so ingrained in the African educational system that people in positions of authority are able to abuse the public (Khosa, 2011). He also points out that the Western focus on individualism has advantages, such as contributing to the development of the individual and the welfare of society. However, that individualism could also negatively embody "opposition to authority and to all sorts of controls over the individual, especially when they are exercised by the state" (Khosa, 2011:441).

Adeyanju (n.d., para. 1) describes tribalism as a cultural term, a "way of thinking or behaving in which people are more loyal to their tribes than to their friends, countries or social groups". He argues that it is a natural phenomenon because it is "founded upon intense feelings of common identity that leads people to feel tribally connected" and adds that it is often "more about [a] 'feeling' of commonality than actual commonality"

(Adeyanju n.d., para. 2). He refers to Nigeria, were presidential elections show that voters vote mostly on the basis of their ethnic identity because people often feel that one's "destiny is intrinsically and exclusively linked with one's ethnic, linguistic and religious identities" (Adeyanju, n.d., para. 9). However, this loyalty to tribes affects the fight against corruption. It stalls exposure or prosecution of fellow tribesmen for offences committed (Adeyanju, n.d.). Uzokwe (2009) argues that different barometers for measuring corruption are used, depending on where the perpetrators hail from. Adeyanju (n.d.) also argues that tribal rivalry hampers economic and political imbalances and that it could be the breeding place for ethnic militias such as Boko Haram. These often politically driven tribal agendas create a "legacy of hate and suspicion which the successive generation carries like a mantle" (Adeyanju, n.d., para. 11).

In South Africa, tribalism also existed before colonialism and apartheid, but through the introduction of homelands during apartheid and privileges given to certain ethnic groups, hatred between groups escalated. Tribalism is troubling South Africa despite the country being more than two decades into democracy, and it is visible in "almost all government departments, and especially in South African police" (Dlanjwa, 2015:5). Baloyi (2018:2) argues that "[a]s part of the injustices of the past, tribalism is playing a crucial role in delaying the reconciliation and unification of society, which has been fragmented for a long time now" and continues that "tribalism cannot be innocent if we want reconciliation in South Africa". Dlanjwa (2015) argues that South Africa needs to talk openly of it, but few have the courage to challenge tribalism.

Tribalism is not unique to Africa. It exists in all civilisations in the past and present. It is part of human existence, but this is exactly where critical citizenship education should come in – to talk openly about the different manifestations of skewed power relations and discrimination, regardless of racial or tribal affiliations. People who benefit from an unethical or corrupt system based on racism or tribalism would not speak up as long as they are advantaged. In Tanzania, Julius Nyerere introduced policies aimed at specifically downplaying tribalism and focusing on reducing ethnic differences. Addressing tribalism (in the same way as racism) in educational institutions in the form of critical citizenship would fail if governmental institutions do not set an example and address it in policies and specific interventions. The challenges of incorporating aspects of critical citizenship education into the Arts curriculum were explored further in this research study.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The questions that guided the research were: What are the common perceptions and attitudes of students regarding critical citizenship; and what revelations can be gleaned from their reactions regarding their immediate and broader realities? Group interviews were conducted with postgraduate art students: 25 from Stellenbosch, seven from Benin and 12 from Dar es Salaam. The students were between the ages of 21 and 25. Art students were approached because the researchers are Art and Art Education lecturers.

The research took place within the qualitative and interpretive paradigms, making use of the case study method with group interviews. The interpretative paradigm is utilised to understand the context and qualities of specific cases. The interpretive approach requires reflection on how the data are socially constructed and sensitivity to contradictions, distortions and biases of the data collected (Klein and Meyers, 1999). Qualitative research involves dynamic and reflexive engagement (Seale, 2012).

Participation was on a voluntary basis, and all students who were approached participated. All participants had the option to withdraw from the interviews at any stage of the research. All data collected from the group interviews were kept strictly confidential. The identities of all participants were shielded by the use of codes. The code 4S6, for instance, would signify the following: 4 = the student's year of study (4 for honours students and 5 for master's students), S = Stellenbosch (with B for Benin and D for Dar es Salaam) and 6 = the student's number. Data were collected by means of handwritten notes and electronic voice recordings. The information was transferred to a computer and also copied onto an external hard drive as backup.

Inductive qualitative content analysis (Creswell, 2005) was utilised to steer the analysis. By making use of inductive content analysis, the researchers intends to scrutinise the data qualitatively, thereby investigating how the participants view and understand issues with the aim of arriving at clusters of meaning. During inductive qualitative content analysis, the text is read first, after which segments are identified that correspond with the research objectives. This process leads to the creation of codes, which are then reduced or combined to form themes. Inductive content analysis involves investigating all data in detail. During this analysis, researchers were aware of the possibility of silencing certain participants' opinions due to researcher bias (Ali and Kelly, 2012).

4. FINDINGS OF THE STUDY AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Findings

A definition adapted from Johnson and Morris (2010) was used in this study, which states that critical citizenship is the promotion of a common set of shared values such as tolerance, diversity, human rights and democracy. In a pedagogical environment, critical citizenship encourages thinking and reflecting on the past critically, in order to conceptualise a potential future moulded by social justice. This acts as a preparatory foundation to teach people to exist harmoniously within communities of a diverse nature. Before engaging the students involved in the research, they were familiarised with the definitions and with critical citizenship education.

Students from the different universities responded differently to the concept of critical citizenship education. Excerpts from interviews with students from the three universities are expanded on below. Some students from Stellenbosch felt that the terms used in the definition are too ambitious. Student 4S6 remarked as follows:

> They are all very important things. But giving them [terms such as tolerance and diversity] ... It's like putting them on a bit of a pedestal and it is ... sort of putting them at a level where we can't reach them by saying this is what we need to be one day, but what are we now? Are we the opposite of all these terms?

Student 4S5 also responded to the 'loaded terms', stating:

> I think then we can just really start relaxing and just interacting in a way. There won't be all these 'I need to be tolerant ... I need to be democratic'. All of that just creates a lot of tension. And you're just stressed; because you need to be so peacy [sic] and everything [feels] so unattainable.

The students felt that including critical citizenship in their curricula would be a way of targeting them rather than the public. They also felt that critical citizenship should start at the lower grades and high school levels and not only at the university level. Student 4S1 commented as follows:

> But are these things being taught in previously disadvantaged communities and things? Because often they say we go

> out with this set of skill, or critical thinking ... but how are we going to survive in a space where there are going to be people without that? You know ... we now are supposed to be more tolerant and respectful of all those things. I think it is a project targeted at graduates, but I don't think we should be the focus groups at all, I think it needs to be much earlier.

Furthermore, the students felt that critical thinking would be better than critical citizenship. Student 4S10 argued: "We should just strip down to just a simple thing. Instead of … going for tolerance, democracy all that … you should just start with critical thinking." One of the other students then asked how they should learn critical thinking or citizenship practically instead of only as a theory subject.

The students at Benin University felt that critical citizenship and knowledge of other people's culture are valuable. However, they were hesitant on how to resolve the issues of tribalism with the incorporation of critical citizenship into curricula. Student 5B5 remarked:

> So there you can now see the reason for citizenship education – that first the person being educated must understand where he stands in the world, where he stands within a multicultural society and where he stands within the larger world – because for you to be able to understand your relationship with another person you first have to understand yourself – now to what extent will the Ibo man accept the Hausa man? To what extent will the Hausa man accept the Ibo man? ... I don't think that it is possible in the East ... because of the issue of tribalism.

Student 5B3 added:

> If they had this kind of knowledge of other people's [other tribes'] culture, they ... probably will look at other people as significant as their own, and look at other people's religion as important as their own and look at other people's life as also as important as their own.

The researcher asked the Benin students whether they would still allow a foreigner to rule the country if and when they learn about tolerance, human rights, diversity and democracy. The conversation went as follows (R = researcher):

> R: If another man or a European man comes to Nigeria with the kind of level of education that you have ... [and] he wants to be a governor, are you likely to allow him?
>
> Student 5B2: No.
>
> R: Why?
>
> Student 5B2: You're talking about a white man, you said a white man. I'm not likely to allow him because I think ... he has to have resided in the country for a while, maybe a period of ten to fifteen years ...
>
> R: Okay, [if] he has lived [here] for fifteen years and has been part of Nigeria and he knows about Nigerian culture, are you likely to say 'Yes, he can be a governor?'
>
> Student 5B2: Well, no, I'm still not likely to say yes ...

Another student, 5B7, responded to the comment above and disagreed:

> I would say yes for that because the citizenship education ... teaches us that we should think of every one of us as if that's one, we should maintain justice in the land and everything. So I believe, like in a place like America, we had someone like Obama become the president, he's from Kenya but they accepted him because they believed that okay, this man has been passed through our education system, he's legally approved and he's a citizen, he's one of us. So I believe since he's one of us, he can become a ruler.

The Benin students also commented on trust between white and black people because of relationships that were damaged since colonial times. Student 5B7 remarked:

> ... if you go back to the international art market, you see that those patrons and mediators who were here came with the aim of developing the arts of Nigeria and Africa, [and] they ended up commercialising it by taking them back to the West and auctioning them, most of our artworks, and in doing this, it's affected the Nigerian, the African mentality that people had to reform their artworks in such a way that suited the ones that are sold in the West.

At Dar es Salaam, some students responded to the definition by arguing that critical citizenship can be related to *ubuntu* and that those critical citizenship concepts already exist in the concept of *ubuntu*. Student 5D7 said:

> ... there are so many times that Africans go out to prove themselves. That is the problem, we always have to prove and whenever you prove, there is a reason why they do these things, to prove that you are worthy but think what is there, I think maybe even in *ubuntu*, what is there? But you know when the Westerns come with the critical citizenship; you think wait a minute, we have that!

Student 5D6 felt that much of the *ubuntu* lifestyle has been lost lately and said:

> But at the moment it seems this global change for money, making money-money, liberalism, everything that [*ubuntu*] means is just the social aspect and the respect, the humanity, it has been side-lined. It is just more business, business, business.

Student 5D5 tried to explain the difference between critical citizenship and *ubuntu*:

> So it [*ubuntu*] is not something you sit in a class and learn how to be a good person, it is by watching others and by living in a family environment that you become this person who lives in an *ubuntu* type of lifestyle.

Another student, 5D3, said:

> [*Ubuntu* is] blood to blood, somebody would grow it and become like an icon to others, that is *ubuntu*. While critical citizenship is something that people had taught us, that is what I get, the difference.

Student 5D8 understands *ubuntu* as "a way of life with acceptance to tolerance but with warmth to others". Student 5D2, in reaction to the inclusion of critical citizenship in curricula, responded as follows:

> The power structures that we live within are never going to really allow us to be total and complete critical citizens ... if people really [adopt] this notion of critical citizenship and lived it totally and completely there would be a revolution.

Student 5D6 reacted to the above comment by saying:

> They [the power structures] are not going to allow you but you still have to do it. You want to be in a world that, you know, has that respect for the environment and for everybody else, so you can't, you shouldn't stop yourself from doing that, because that is like self-censorship.

Student 5D8 argued for the inclusion of *ubuntu* in the curricula and said:

> Another thing for example here in an African country, the role models are politicians. The role models, the icons they are politicians who are 99.9% corrupt. ... It comes to a point where corruption is so institutional; it becomes part and parcel of life. Therefore, it seems to be something that somebody would choose as wrong, it is just that that's the way life is. So again, if we don't inculcate this *ubuntu* it will get us to a point where ... corruption won't be

corruption and it will just be ... a normal way of life.

4.2 Discussion

All students who participated in the research felt that they understand what tolerance, diversity, human rights and democracy mean. However, some students were triggered by the term 'tolerance', believing that this was nomenclature reminiscent of the past. Tolerance is arguably something that is practised by most people within an academic, home or work setting; however, seemingly its link to the colonial and apartheid past incited some resistance by the students in general. Some young Stellenbosch students do not want to be reminded of the past because of feelings of guilt or shame. One student contended that university-level students already possess tolerance skills. Another student argued that the ability to be tolerant should be taught to a wider range of people and that this should be implemented at the lower grades and school levels.

Some students also felt that the terms involved in critical citizenship, or some of those terms, were too utopian to achieve. In this situation, the students were not truly at fault; tolerance and human rights are not necessarily encouraged by social structures such as capitalism, as such a system allows the rich to continually increase their wealth, while the poor plunge further into poverty. The current global capitalist system does not allow everybody to attain equal opportunities; although the notion of all-inclusive improvement exists inherently in the system, the exploitation of others drives the labour system (Przeworski, 1985). During the interviews, some students felt shameful or guilty. These feelings could have surfaced not only because of the critical citizenship discussions but also as a result of factors intrinsic to broader neoliberal contexts in which the students found themselves.

All existing social structures seem to have repugnant characteristics that often trigger resistance, and this probably informed students' thoughts when they remarked that terms such as 'tolerance', 'difference', 'human rights' and 'democracy' refer to unattainable states. For the students, there is the temptation to focus their energy on financial enrichment, which, they could argue, give the individual more power. Student 5D6 commented on the loss of 'humanity' or *ubuntu* because of the social structures of capitalism, with consumerism being overwhelming.

According to Student 4S3, "critical thinking is only a theory thing", and she struggled to link theory to practice. The incorporation of critical thinking should, therefore, be done in such a manner that it becomes relatable to the life of everyday people, helping them to grasp how oppressive devices, such as neocolonialism, socio-economic disequilibrium and political repressiveness, impact negatively on people's lives in the contemporary environment. Invariably, being unable to relate issues of everyday life poses a challenge to transforming into a critical and reflective thinker who is able to convert his/her thoughts into actions. In that case, critical thinking ought to become pedagogy for public deliberation and consumption (Mendel-Reyes, 1998).

The Benin student's comment about tribalism is an issue that needs to be unpacked in the African context. In many places in Africa, the policies of the existing political class in government often clash with the tenets, practices and cultural norms of the ethnic nationalities within society. It is easier for people to align with their tribal or ethnic groups than it is for them to relate to the government or the political class or elites in government, due to mistrust. This is so because the tribal or ethnic affiliations have been engrained in the minds of the people over a longer time through intrinsic culture and traditions. Such ethnic affinities often

predate colonial and even contemporary political structures.

A Benin student commented on a different aspect, namely how difficult it would be to accept a white person as the ruler of his country even if the person lived and had been educated in Nigeria. It might be difficult for that student to trust a white person after the experiences of colonialism. How, then, should white lecturers work at decolonising the Arts curriculum? Leibowitz (2016) notes that in some current debates, white people are asked not to talk on behalf of the colonised. Fredua-Kwarteng and Ofosu (2018) argue that indigenous Africans are not the only people who are concerned with the development plight of the African continent. There may be a space for white people and people from foreign countries to aid in the curriculum decolonisation process. These are the pertinent issues that need to be addressed in a critical citizenship curriculum.

Another Benin student commented on what happens in the international art market and how Africans have been exploited at that level. The same student also commented on how Nigerian artists have adapted their art to suit Western art markets in order to curry sales. Although artists everywhere do adapt to enable them to make a living, the sensitive issue that the student touched on here is the fear of losing identity. There is a feeling from the students that African identity has been hybridised by the colonialist experience of the past, and it is still a complex and unsettled issue.

One of the Dar es Salaam students argued that if critical citizenship is taken to the public, there would be a revolution. The idea that critical citizenship would cause a revolution indicates that critical citizenship education consists of knowledge (such as hidden power relations) that some people do not have and that they could revolt against it if they do obtain such knowledge. Certain knowledge is kept in higher education institutions, which often duly receive the critique of being ivory towers. There is, therefore, a need to share knowledge with the wider society in a way that would not cause a revolution, but would educate society on critical citizenship issues for the benefit of the wider society. It is easier for politicians and governments to control or influence people who are not informed and do not possess the skills to think critically and practise their rights as critical citizens. Critical citizenship education should involve the participation of everyone, not only students in higher education. Higher education could reach a larger target market by incorporating critical citizenship into community interaction and engagement.

After independence in many African countries, the focus of curricula has been on national development and modernisation (Woolman, 2001). A reclaiming of African identity was also high on the agenda of the colonised after independence. In colonial times, African culture was excluded from national curricula, also in South Africa, Nigeria and Tanzania. This caused an alienation of the people from their own culture, which could have led to people's disrespect for their own culture: a negative psychological disposition. In Africa, the disadvantages of separate development for the different races meant that many people were denied access to a proper educational system, and only minimal financial support towards African education was granted. African people were taught in the language of the coloniser rather than in their mother tongue; therefore, English was used in Nigeria and Tanzania, and Afrikaans in South Africa. The Eurocentric focus of curricula content led to a generic belief that the culture of the colonised was less valuable than that of the coloniser, causing it to be undermined. The cumulative result of these factors was that African culture was relegated to an inferior position. The harmful effects of these circumstances are still present in today's societies and also emerged in the data collected. Recently, a group of

indigenous African scholars have focused on reforming higher education curricula to be relevant to the lived experiences, realities and cultural identities of indigenous people (Fredua-Kwarteng and Ofosu, 2018). This type of reform is the aim of the curriculum decolonisation project.

Some of the Dar es Salaam students expressed that critical citizenship could be related to the concept of *ubuntu* and also commented that the content of Western concepts oftentimes already exists in Africa, but that the nomenclature often differs. This finding that emerged from the data caused the researchers to reflect on the possibility of incorporating or combining *ubuntu* and critical citizenship. The researchers recognised that there is a general connection between critical citizenship and African educational values or *ubuntu* in the way that they strive for similar aims of social responsibility and character-forming education. *Ubuntu* existed long before the notion of critical citizenship was conceptualised. Critical citizenship, which had its origins in Western philosophy, at present realises the shortcomings of an individualised society and therefore also introduces aspects such as more respect and tolerance for fellow human beings. *Ubuntu* education has a stronger focus on working for a common good and developing an ethic of sharing, which the researchers embrace.

Matolino and Kwindingwi (2013) argue that *ubuntu* cannot exist in a modern society and that it can only exist in closely-knit communal environments, but the argument of the researchers of this study is that African students would interact positively with this concept introduced in their curricula. It is, therefore, the researchers' opinion that aspects of *ubuntu* can be used in modern society. Khoza (2012) argues that for *ubuntu* education to be effective, African history, sociology, psychology, geography and culture should be taught in informal and formal education. The researchers argue for a more inclusive system where the educational systems of African, Western and other cultural groups that exist in the country are included.

The researchers emphasise the development of critical and reflective individuals that would be able to critically assess people in authoritative positions, not only to enable a democratic society but also to work for the common good of all in society. The researchers, therefore, suggest a combined strategy of *ubuntu* and critical citizenship. This includes promoting concerted efforts to becoming a moral person, promoting lawful living, developing ethics of care, having respect and showing compassion and warmth to others (Vedan, 2009). An inclusive strategy encourages the incorporation of communal perspectives as well as individualistic approaches in education.

Braidotti (2016) advanced the apprenticeship model for education. She opines that due to the influence of social media, universities are no longer prime producers of knowledge. Her apprenticeship approaches include practical components, rather than relying mainly on teaching and learning theoretically. For the purpose of this research, the focus on traditional African education is in the area of field experiences and active discovery where students would learn in the presence of a mentor. Community interaction is, therefore, crucial where practical experience is essential. Critical citizenship needs to be learned through practice, not only in theory. Marks (1998, cited in Braidotti 2013:86) refers to "the embodiment of the mind and the embrainment of the body". This differs from the traditional approach used in Western education, which relies predominantly on book and test/essay method. In educational research, it is known that memorisation and rote learning do not necessarily promote critical thinking. However, a certain amount of information needs to be conveyed at school and university level and field experience is

not always possible because it is a longer and time-consuming process. A combination of experiential and traditional methods is suggested.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The study aimed at investigating the perceptions and attitudes of art students at three art departments in three countries in Africa regarding the possible inclusion of critical citizenship in their Arts curricula. Students from Stellenbosch felt that critical citizenship is a loaded term that requires too much of students. They asked how it can become more practical instead of just theoretical, and they emphasised that critical citizenship should be taught from primary school age. Students at Benin University agreed that critical citizenship could be valuable, but issues such as tribalism and rejection of European and white rule emerged in discussions. These students noted the interplay between acceptance and critical citizenship. Students from Dar es Salaam University noted similarities between critical citizenship and *ubuntu*. For them, *ubuntu* is more African, more experiential and more of a lifestyle from a young age compared to critical citizenship taught in classrooms. They emphasised neoliberalism, unequal power structures and corruption in government as threats to the notion of *ubuntu*.

Although the research included only a small sample of students, a variety of perspectives emerged that give some indication of various viewpoints of students at these three universities. The data collected revealed scepticism of critical citizenship education by the Stellenbosch students and hesitation from the Benin students, while the Dar es Salaam students suggested that *ubuntu* values, which are closer to an African value system, be included instead of or in combination with critical citizenship. Although some students were sceptical or hesitant about critical citizenship implications, the researchers argue that the inclusion of the *ubuntu* approach in combination with the ideals of citizenship education in curricula is essential. This would equip individuals in Africa with the requisite critical mindset to assess and reflect on political and social issues. Using an African educational framework such as *ubuntu*, to which more people in Africa can relate, in combination with a Western approach, is probably a more effective option in an African context. Western culture in Africa has often been more connected to the European environment than to Africa. It is therefore essential that people in Africa learn to emotionally and psychologically accept the reality of the local context in which we currently live, and begin to adapt teaching methods and curricula for the advancement of society.

Decolonised curricula can give indigenous African knowledge systems an equal and valid place among the array of knowledge systems in the world (Higgs, 2016). The researchers argue that *ubuntu* education is not completely unique and shares many aspects with critical citizenship education, but that *ubuntu* could be a concept with which some students would rather associate. When implementing a mixed educational system such as the one we are advocating, students also learn from such combined educational approaches, and this is beneficial to everyone involved. All students and lecturers should feel like members who belong in their teaching and learning spaces (Mbembe, 2016). The psychological advantage that the inclusion of *ubuntu* educational concepts, in combination with critical citizenship, will have for many students should not be underestimated. If the psychological damage that was caused by colonial domination in many African countries is taken into account, the employment of an inclusive educational system such as that suggested in this article should enhance positive identity formation and agency, thereby improving teaching and learning.

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The influence of information sources on learner's higher education destination

A survey of Grade 12 learners in the Tshwane Metropolitan

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ABSTRACT

The higher education market is becoming increasingly complex, due to a lack of government funding and an increase in the number of private higher education providers. This study investigates the influence various information sources have on a learner's decision of where to study after completing Grade 12. The results should be able to assist higher education institutes to ascertain which information sources are the most influential and thus require more marketing attention. This study was quantitative in approach. The data was collected by means of a questionnaire which was distributed to Grade 12 learners from various high schools in the Tshwane Metropolitan. The survey found that there was significant differences amongst the various sources of information. Results indicated that parents were rated as having the greatest level of influence, with the internet being the second most influential. Social media sites such as Pinterest and LinkedIn were found to be the least influential. Technological sources of information are becoming increasingly influential. Higher education marketers should, therefore, incorporate technology to pass information on to potential students.

1. INTRODUCTION

Modern-day Grade 12 learners are in a fast-paced world with access to information at their fingertips. Access to so much information can potentially lead to an information overload. This overload can be exasperated when they are going through a major life change, such as making decisions that will determine their futures. It is, therefore, important for higher education institutes (hereafter referred to as HEIs) to provide access to the relevant and correct information in a manner that best appeals to potential students. In doing so, HEIs will not only lessen the information overload but also attract a higher calibre of students to their institutes.

Several international and local studies have been done on the influence various factors have on a potential student's choice of HEI. However, little research has been undertaken that focus on potential students who are still in the decision-making process, such as Grade 12 learners (Du Plessis and Rousseau, 2005; Hemsley-Brown and Optlataka, 2006; Mainardes, Alves, Raposo and Domingues, 2012; Reddy, 2014; Wiese, 2008). To further our understanding of what influences a student's choice of where they study, we investigated the various information sources, including the influence they have on a potential student's choice of HEI. The primary research objective was to determine the level of influence that these information sources have on potential students.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

In 2018, 800 800 learners were registered to write their Grade 12 final exams (South African Market Insights, 2019). In essence, these learners were potential students for all post-secondary schooling institutes. Both public and private HEIs are beginning to realise that the market is highly competitive due to the increasing number of private institutes opening as well as the lack of space available at public institutes (Bryde and Leighton, 2007:705; Dennis, Papagiannidis, Alamanos and Bourlakis, 2016:3049). HEIs are becoming more responsive and proactive in identifying what potential students look for in an HEI (Briggs and Wilson, 2007:58-59; Lim, Jee and De Run, 2018:225). To continue doing this effectively, HEIs must have an understanding of what potential students base their decisions on and what factors and sources of information influence them most. This will enable them to define their marketing strategies more competitively, with greater segmentation orientated towards the profile of each potential student, in their aim to attract the right students and differentiate themselves from other institutes (Amaro, Marques and Alves, 2019:213). One of the main tasks facing higher education marketers is to present learners with this information from a source which they find influential (Klasik, 2012:505-549; Lim, Jee and De Run, 2018:229; Reddy, 2012). Based on previous research (Kwang, 2019; Olivier, 2017; Reddy, 2014; De Jager and Du Plooy, 2010) information sources can be classified into four major categories, namely: Reference groups, Traditional sources, Activities arranged by HEIs and Technological sources. Reference groups can include parents, friends and teachers. Traditional sources can include HEI representatives as well as TV and magazine advertisements. Activities arranged by the HEI can include open days and sporting events. Technological sources include social media, podcasts and email. HEIs need to explore these sources to determine which offer opportunities for more effective marketing of their institution. HEIs must also be aware that their customers (the students) require information about the features of the service, how they can access it and the cost involved, in order to make an informed decision. If potential students are able to obtain the required information in a manner that suits them, they may feel that they are buying quality products or services. If this is achieved, potential students will have confidence in their choice of higher education provider (Kwang, 2019:9; Omboi and Mutali, 2011:177).

HEIs must understand that passing on relevant information is a difficult task due to the amount of information that could potentially be either relevant or superfluous. Therefore, it is important that the correct information is passed on to the relevant, trusted sources, which will, in turn, pass it on to the potential students. In the case of Grade 12 learners, who have to make career decisions, various types of personal sources might be consulted. These can include friends, family, career-counsellors, teachers, reference groups and opinion leaders. The higher education sector also increasingly makes use

of advertisements in the media and on the internet, as well as promotional material and other marketing elements such as open days (Brown, Varley and Pal, 2009:320; Kwang, 2019:13). Moogan (2011) and Paladan (2018), in their respective studies, which used first-year students, showed that the most popular source of information was the prospectus. Although the prospectus is not impartial, it is frequently considered to be relatively 'dated' by higher education institutes' marketing departments, which prefer to use technology in promoting their services. The second most popular source is the website, followed by university publications and word of mouth from teachers, friends and family (Moogan, 2011:577-588; Paladan, 2018:162-163).

In a South African study using first-year students (Wiese, Jordaan and Van Heerden, 2010:122), it was found that the black and white ethnic groups differ in their preferred information sources. Black students' first source of information was online sources such as social media and websites followed by marketing publications from the institutes, attending open days and finally word of mouth from friends, teachers or parents. Although white students' first sources of information were the same as that of the black students, it differed in the order in which they ranked them. White students preferred open days followed by online sources, word of mouth and finally, university publications. For both black and white students, the usefulness of word of mouth marketing ranked the same. The potential student's relationships with friends, family and teachers have been identified as important because these are the people whom they turn to for a more trusted source of information compared to the information provided by the institution (Washburn, 2002; Holtzhausen, 2006:220; Soetan, 2018:39).

In his study, Jain (2014:38) ranked the usefulness of information sources used when selecting an HEI. University publications were ranked the most useful and teachers came in a close second, while the least useful was advertisements in newspapers and magazines. Bajsh and Hoyt (2001:3-8) identified the main factors considered by students in selecting an HEI as quality and responsiveness of personnel (helpfulness and accessibility), research activities, social opportunities (sports programmes and social life), economic considerations and the size of the institution. Traditionally, higher education providers have been using a variety of marketing methods to disseminate information to potential students (Kieu, Mogaji, Mwebesa, Sarofin, Soetan and Vululle, 2020:24). Recruiting for higher education has typically been executed by using the traditional variety of print and web media to reach prospective students with a particular message or offer. Many of these methods are still used at a large percentage of institutions, and over the past 40 years, their tactics have deviated little (Anctil, 2008; Taecharungroj, 2017:112).

While higher education recruiting still uses print media, the use of the Web has also become commonplace as an avenue to recruit students (McDonald, 2008; Taecharungroj, 2017:113; Kieu et al., 2020:24). Technological sources include school websites, individual websites for each college, emails sent to students, banner ads, and video content (McDonald, 2008; Taecharungroj, 2017:113; Kieu et al., 2020:24). Technology such as the internet and social media platforms may provide HEIs with a more effective strategy for their recruitment efforts, especially given the limited financial resources of many higher education providers (Mahajan, 2017:9). The growing popularity of social media sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, among young people have contributed to a growing interest in their use by HEIs (Mahajan, 2017:9).

There is, however, a lack of research studies that have been conducted on this matter in a South African context, particularly studies

using Grade 12 learners. The majority of the literature available on this subject comes from the United States of America (USA) and the United Kingdom (UK) or involves first-year students who have already made their choice of HEI (Brown, Varley and Pal, 2009; Holtzhausen, 2006; Kwang, 2019; Soetan, 2018; Washburn, 2002; Wiese, Jordaan and Van Heerden, 2010). Therefore, this study created an opportunity to gather information from South African Grade 12 learners who are still in the process of selecting an HEI.

3. METHODOLOGY

For this study it was decided to use a quantitative research approach – specifically a descriptive research approach. This method was selected as it is the most effective way to determine the influence of reference groups and information sources when selecting an HEI.

3.1 Sampling

The population of interest for this study was all Grade 12 learners in South Africa. For the sake of feasibility,, it was decided to focus specifically on individual Grade 12 learners in the Tshwane Metropolitan, as a unit of analysis. The Tshwane Metropolitan was selected due to it being the largest metropolitan municipality in South Africa with a diverse makeup of people who occupy the region (Statistics South Africa, 2015). A list of all the schools in the Tshwane Metropolitan was obtained, from which a number of schools were selected based on a combination of quota and convenience sampling. Quota sampling is where the researcher uses non-random sampling methods to gather data from the stratum until the required quota is met whereas convenience sampling involves gaining access to the most easily accessible subjects (Aaker, Kumar, Leone and Day, 2013:316-317; Grey, 2020:232). By means of quota sampling, eight schools were selected.

The criteria for selection were based on school fees – all schools selected had to charge a minimum of R8 000 per annum. Finally, the learners to be interviewed were selected using convenience sampling. They were asked to participate as they were in Grade 12, on the verge of leaving school. The sample size used in this study was based on similar studies done (Constantinides and Zinck, 2011:11; Reddy, 2014). Over 500 questionnaires were handed out to qualifying learners, with the final realised sample being 400 usable questionnaires. The respondents provided a reasonably representative profile of all South African learners. Replies were obtained from all races, genders and recognised South African language groupings. The gender breakdown of this study is aligned with the gender breakdown in Gauteng schools, with the female ratio being 55.1% to the male ratio of 44.9% while the gender breakdown compromised of 53.5% female and 46.5% male participants (SA. Department of basic education, 2014:22).

3.2 Data collection

The data collection method used was a self-administered questionnaire. The researcher and trained fieldworkers were stationed outside of the selected schools from where they were able to approach Grade 12 learners, inviting them to participate. Once the learners completed the questionnaires, it was collected for editing and analysis. This was done with permission from both the Gauteng Department of Education as well as all the schools involved. All participants were also over the legal age of 18.

After the necessary permission and ethical clearance were obtained, the piloting of the questionnaire was conducted. The initial questionnaire was piloted on first-year students at a local higher education provider, with permission from their lecturer as well as the institute. All the questionnaires were completed, and two errors were identified. The first was a spelling mistake, and the second involved numbers missing from one of the scaling questions. These errors were

fixed, and the questionnaire was tested once again. All the questionnaires were completed with no errors or concerns raised. After testing the questionnaire on a small scale, the reliability could be scientifically tested by using the Cronbach's alpha coefficient.

3.3 Measures

A multi-dimensional measure based on the scales used by De Jager and Du Plooy (2010) and Reddy (2014) was used to determine the extent to which respondents were influenced by each of the four information source groupings. This measure included 28 Likert scale statements of which the scale points were labelled as follows: 1 = not at all influential, 2 = slightly influential, 3 = moderately influential, 4 = very influential, 5 = extremely influential. Table 1.1 indicates which item measures each source of information. It also identifies the Cronbach alpha reliability coefficient of each of the four groupings on the scale. The Cronbach alpha is one of the most important and pervasive statistics used to test reliability (Taber, 2017:1273)

Since this measure of influence was developed by combining the scales used by De Jager and Du Plooy (2010) and Reddy (2014), the Cronbach alpha values obtained in this study could not be compared to previous research.

4. RESULTS

4.1 Results of hypothesis testing

The hypothesis focused on differences in the degree of influence between the various sources of information. The null and alternative hypothesis are stated below:

Ho1: There is no significant difference in the level of influence between different information sources.

Ha1: There is a significant difference in the level of influence between different information sources.

To begin investigating if there was a difference in the level of influence, the descriptive data were analysed. The means from question one were analysed using the scale from the questionnaire (1 = not at all influential – 5 = extremely influential) and are visually represented in Figure 1.1. The figure illustrates that a large portion of the learners found the various groupings (reference groups, traditional sources, etc.) to be moderately influential. The initial analysis shows that reference groups have the highest level of influence with a mean of 3.30 followed by activities arranged by the HEI with a mean of 3.22, traditional sources with a mean of 2.86 and finally technological sources with a mean of 2.61. The results of the descriptive tests revealed a need for further testing to determine if there were significant differences in the level of influence.

Due to the data collected being ordinal in nature; a non-parametric Friedman test was used to investigate significance. The Friedman test is an analysis of variance by ranks, i.e., observed rank scores or rank scores obtained by ordering ordinal or numerical outcomes (Eisinga, Heskes, Pelzer and Grotenhuis, 2017:2). This test

Table 1.1 Items which measure sources of information

Grouping	Items	Cronbach's Alpha
Reference groups (friends, family)	1.1, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.5, 1.6	0.65
Traditional sources (prospectus, newspaper adverts)	1.7, 1.8, 1.9, 1.10, 1.11, 1,12	0.80
Activities arranged by the HEI (open days, school visits)	1.13, 1.14, 1.15, 1.16	0.79
Technological sources (social media sites, internet-based sources)	1.17, 1.18, 1.19, 1.20, 1.21, 1.22, 1.23, 1.24, 1.25, 1.26, 1.27, 1.28	0.86

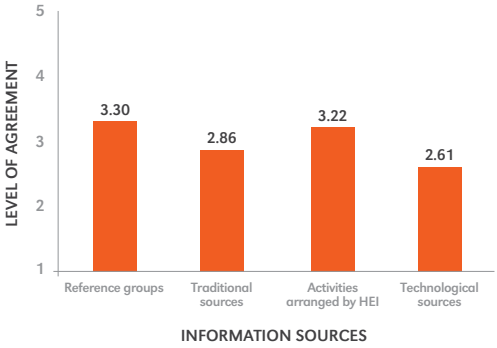

Figure 1.1 Level of influence of the various sources

was done to establish whether there were any statistically significant differences in the data that was collected. The results indicated that there were indeed statistically significant differences amongst the various information sources, and thus further testing was required. A Wilcoxon signed-rank test (with a Bonferroni adjustment of 0,5 /6=0,08) was done. The Wilcoxon signed-rank test is a non-parametric statistical hypothesis used to compare two related samples, matched samples, or repeated measurements on a single sample to assess whether their population mean ranks differ (Durango and Refugio, 2018:2). Wilcoxon tests are important for two-group comparisons and paired comparisons (Jiang, He, Lee, Rosner and Yan, 2017:1). This test was done to control any possible type 1 errors. Table 1.2 depicts the results of the Wilcoxon signed-rank test. The test revealed significant differences in the level of influence of traditional sources and reference groups (z=-8.66, p<0.5, r=0.43), technological sources and reference groups (z=-11.64,p<0.5, r=.58), activities arranged by the HEI and traditional sources (z=-6,80, p<0.5, r=0,34), technological sources and traditional sources (z=-5.651, p<0.5, r=0.28) and technological sources and activities arranged by the HEI (z=-10.36, p<0.5, r=0.51). The test did not reveal a significant difference in the influence of the activities arranged by the HEI and reference groups (z=-0.22, p<0.5, r=0.011).

The results show significant differences between all combinations, except between the reference group and HEI activities. The null hypothesis is thus rejected in favour of the alternative Ha1. Therefore, there is a significant difference between the levels of influence between the various information sources.

These results suggest that HEI marketers should focus more on traditional sources of information as well as the use of technology to disseminate information.

5. DISCUSSION

This study investigated the influence that various information sources have on a learner's choice of which HEI. To the researcher's knowledge, it is the first South African study that uses Grade 12 learners when investigating how influential each source is.

Table 1.2 Results of Wilcoxon signed rank test

	Traditional sources – Reference groups	Activities arranged by HEI – Reference groups	Tech sources – Reference groups	Activities arranged by HEI – Traditional sources	Tech sources – Traditional sources	Tech sources – Activities arranged by HEI
Z	-8.667[b]	-.223[b]	-11.646[b]	-6.806[c]	-5.653[b]	-10.316[b]
Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed)	0.000	0.823	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Accept or reject null	Reject	Accept	Reject	Reject	Reject	Reject

5.1 Summary of findings

The primary objective of this study is to identify the most important information sources that are available to Grade 12 learners who are deciding upon which HEI to study at. The higher education environment, especially in South Africa, is characterised by fierce competition from both public as well as private education providers. Higher education providers are seeking to recruit the best Grade 12 learners, and as such they should be ensuring that potential students are receiving the correct information from sources that are the most influential to them. The results of this study revealed that reference groups are still the most influential sources of information. This is in line with previous studies which also found that reference groups played a key role in a student's choice of HEI (Filter, 2010:145; Tran, 2010:58; Rika, Roze and Sennikova, 2016). An interesting result was that the use of technological-based sources was the second most influential source of information. This could be due to the fact that learners are spending more and more time using technology such as social media platforms or the internet. Reddy (2014) found that social media sites are increasingly being used to search for information about the HEIs and the various courses that they offer which also points to the increasing use of technology for higher education selection.

5.2 Managerial implications

HEIs should be aware of the shift towards learners being influenced by technological sources such as Facebook or even a simple Google search. HEI marketers should also aim messages at the reference groups that learners gather information from. By giving these reference groups accurate information, they will, in turn, pass on accurate information to learners.

5.3 Limitations

This research study was conducted only on Grade 12 learners attending schools registered with the Department of Education. Learners who are home-schooled or doing Grade 12 part-time could have been included in the study for comparison purposes. The sample used for this study was learners from high schools in the Tshwane Metropolitan. However, there are more high schools across South Africa, and the study could have included high school learners from other provinces. In addition, it could have investigated how the different information sources differ across the various provinces. This study was conducted on only South African high school learners; it could have included non-South African learners for the purpose of comparison. A further limitation was that the study only included public schools.

5.4 Recommendations for future research

As this study's focus was on urban schools, further research could include private and possibly rural schools. More research should be conducted on the various reference groups that learners find influential. This may help HEIs to understand which marketing activities will be the most successful for a particular reference group. Further research is also needed on the use of the internet in a learner's decision-making process. Taking the above into consideration, HEIs should investigate how they could capitalise on learners spending so much time on social media and how they can effectively communicate with their target market through the use of social media platforms.

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From Disempowerment to Self-belief

A Center of Hope for Vulnerable Youth in Cape Town

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In 2012, the courts sent two twelve-year-old boys, Bulelani and Liam, for protection to the last remaining education-managed youth care and education center (YCEC) in Cape Town, South Africa (SA). This chapter shares their stories of five years at the residential male state institution, where they both were enabled to heal dramatically from abusive and neglectful backgrounds. At the YCEC the boys developed self-belief – a trust in their own abilities – thanks to restorative care practices. One such practice is the "circle of courage" (Brendtro, Brokenleg, and Van Brokern 2002), which provides a behavioural support pathway toward belonging, mastery, independence, and generosity. These qualities were fostered by the boys' faith and effort, culminating in positive outcomes (Pickhardt, 2013).

Restorative care practices are increasingly recognised for their effectiveness in building strength and self-confidence in children and adolescents, encouraging them to become motivated and to develop life goals. As an emerging social science, these practices focus on restoring and building relationships between individuals by encouraging the expression of feelings, as well as strengthening community social connections (International Institute for Restorative Practices, 2016). The systemic use of informal restorative practices creates a positive milieu, an environment described by Wachtel (2013) as fostering responsibility, awareness, and empathy, rather than relying on punishment and sanctions. Initially focused on delinquents and at-risk adolescents, this practice area has broadened and developed scholarship, research, graduate education programs, and professional development courses for families and communities. Restorative justice, providing tertiary prevention after a harm has occurred, is related to this emerging modality.

The transition from adolescence to adulthood is a key period for the nurturing of a sense of self and an identity (Erikson, 1980), and both Bulelani and Liam were at this sensitive developmental stage when they were helped to overcome violent and addictive elements in their lives. Growing up in a rural village, Bulelani described his new self-belief as "wak[ing] up my mind." Liam, who was from the violent gangland of the Cape Flats, also found a belief in himself: "God helps me

and you must also help yourself." Along their paths, both boys encountered difficulties, but they experienced the benefits of care through personal connection, encouragement, love, and respect not only from staff and teachers but also from their peers. This care helped them overcome the distrust they had in their own abilities, which was fostered by the disempowering core beliefs of their traumatic childhoods. They learned to have faith in themselves, to remain committed, to persevere and try hard, and to focus on their futures.

Analysis of the narratives of adolescents is a process that not only reveals the past but also considers the future (Cohler, 1982). In examining adolescents' life stories, professionals are challenged in conducting social research to go beyond the typical structure of a research paper: the problem statement, literature review, method, results, and discussion (Witkin, 2000). They are encouraged to explore social and cultural contexts to describe the implications of meaningful life experiences and to present coherent outputs. And so I integrated the powerful experience of working with vulnerable youths, while collaboratively making sense of narratives within their specific contexts. In this collaborative process of meaning-making, I was caught up in a hermeneutic circle.1 I listened to Bulelani and Liam interpret their lives, trying to make sense of their stories as a researcher, transforming them into a study received, applied, and interpreted by you, the reader. At times I added the voices of others to provide new perspectives; the exploration of the transformation of the boys' disempowering core beliefs, for example, was triangulated by interpretations of YCEC 's educational psychologist.

MY RESEARCH IN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

My research in high-risk schools in the Cape Flats as I pursued my master's (Johnson, 2010; Johnson and Naidoo, 2013 and 2017b) and doctoral degrees (Johnson, 2013 and 2015; Johnson and Naidoo, 2017a) measured the efficacy of interventions to prevent teacher stress and burnout. Educators were struggling with violent, disruptive learner behaviours and children suffering from HIV/AIDS. During three years of participatory action research (PAR) with YCEC teachers and staff, a dated punitive discipline approach was replaced by contextually appropriate restorative care practices (see figure 1.1; Johnson, 2019).

I was both a consultant and participant researcher at the center. For the seventy to eighty boys (aged eleven to eighteen) housed in hostels there, I was a mother figure; for the forty teachers and staff (aged twenty to seventy), I was a peer. The YCEC, formerly classified as "colored," is now multiracial: a melting pot of cultures, traditions, religions, races, and ages. Conscious of power dynamics, I tried to model humility and compassion by recognizing the strengths and abilities of others, while being acutely aware that my whiteness reflected an abusive racist history.

I came to know Bulelani and Liam as they turned eighteen and were about to leave their institutional home. Bulelani was a rural Xhosa from the Eastern Cape, a handsome, charismatic, well-built youth. Liam seemed more vulnerable; tall and slender, he was of Dutch and African descent, bilingual in

Figure 1.1 Prison-like security at a Cape Flats School, Cape Town

English and Afrikaans, and came from the urban Cape Flats. Narrative perspectives give an intimate view of the participant's world, and perhaps the ideal setting for Bulelani's interview would have been sitting around a fire under the African stars, in the heart of a rural village. For Liam, it would have been the vibrant sprawling suburb of the District Six urban setting, where colored communities used to live in close proximity to the city center before being removed by harsh separate development legislation. This land is still largely unoccupied, a barren testament to inhumane past policies. Now, in post-apartheid SA, both had found a safe space at YCEC.

After obtaining multilevel ethical approvals, I proceeded to conduct individual interviews with both young men. Each in turn settled confidently next to me on the lumpy, bizarrely bright orange and red couch in the therapeutic center's quiet counseling room. It was a darkened intimate space; there was only one small window covered by a flimsy curtain flapping in the breeze. Both were willingly engaged and reflective throughout, speaking fluently with little interruption.

The interview had three focus areas: The first was: "What brought you to the center?"; The second was: " What care have you received?"; and the third was: "What are your future goals?" Within these topics various questions were asked to encourage further insights or clarify points. They first solemnly described their difficult experiences before coming to YCEC, philosophically acknowledging their remarkable achievements at the center and reflecting on their mentors and surrogate parents, as well as difficult relationships and struggles. Finally, they contemplated life ahead as independent young adults. I met them several times, checking and rechecking their narratives, trying to ensure that the text accurately reflected their life stories. Knowledge is greatly shaped by changing sociocultural and historical factors (Schiff, 2017): their narratives helped contextualise their experiences and gave shared meaning to the care practices that prepared them for independent living after adverse childhood experiences.

THE CONTEXT OF CHILDHOOD IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa is burdened by increasing violence and abuse against children (Optimus Study SA Technical, 2016). Every year between 18,000 and 20,000 child sexual abuse cases are reported to the police; statistics from 2013/2014 reveal 18,524 cases: that is 51 incidents reported daily. One in three children have had some experience of sexual abuse, per sis tent over the lifetime and present in their daily lives. Boys and girls are equally vulnerable to sexual abuse. By the time they are fifteen years old, many children have suffered sexual, physical, or emotional abuse; neglect; and high levels of family and community violence.

The communities surrounding the YCEC have suffered a long history of colonial and racist exploitation that culminated in apartheid, a pernicious political system that entrenched white minority privilege. Sixty percent of all gang activity in the country occurs in Cape Flats, with its community members turning to crime and drug trafficking in the face of high unemployment and poverty (Plato 2012). An inhumane past and violent present provide a challenging context for children, who continue to suffer from the effects of intergenerational trauma and suffering.

In the 1970s, vulnerable children became heroes by marching for their human rights, demanding an equitable education. The June 16, 1976, uprising in Soweto – when students protested against the enforcement of the Bantu Education Act, which mandated learning Afrikaans in schools – changed the political landscape. The uprising's terrible toll was 69 children killed and 186 wounded,

marking a turning point in apartheid resistance. This event is commemorated each year as a public holiday, Youth Day. Although SA has experienced more than two decades of democracy, racial tensions still run high: the black majority still suffers from historical injustices, with children being especially vulnerable.

Child care for abused and neglected children is currently provided in community foster homes, child and youth care centers, and temporary shelters; these children are also incarcerated in secure care centers alongside juvenile offenders (Bosman-Sadie and Corrie, 2010). The phased-out YCEC model of care and education had its origins in colonial industrial schools and reform schools for juvenile offenders. As late as the mid-1990s, YCEC staff described discipline at the center as coming from the "dark ages" and being enforced by corporal punishment, with the children housed in detention cells and lockup facilities. The transformation of the care system began post-apartheid around 1996, following the release from prison of more than one thousand children; many were transferred to unprepared places with inadequate facilities, exacerbating weaknesses in the residential care system and creating a national crisis. The system continued to improve, with the Children's Act of 2005 being implemented in 2010, when provision was made for alternate forms of care. Youth care facilities were transferred from the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) to the Department of Social Development (DSD) (Johnson, in press b), and the ser vice delivery model changed to conform more to international best practices and regulations. As YCEC's educational psychologist explained, "In 2009 staff were trained in the 'circle of courage' to shift the mind, but I realised that we also needed to shift the heart."

INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

Since 1994, all SA laws addressing child care have been governed by local and international conventions. Along with 196 other countries, but excluding the United States, SA ratified an international human rights treaty, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC), that sets out the economic, social, health, civil, pol iti cal, and cultural rights of children (United Nations Children's Fund, 1989). Providing global ethical guidelines for child care, this convention considers developmental issues, but has been criticised for not including children's voices: it gives adults the responsibility to make child care decisions (McNamee 2016).

The South African Children's Act (38 of 2005) consolidates and reforms the law on matters related to children. Although a Bill of Rights is enshrined in SA's Constitution, its implementation at the community level is often inadequate. For example, children in SA have the right to be raised by their own parents in their own culture and with a relationship to both parents, but this right was not available to Bulelani and Liam. In addition, although the law states that no child should be deprived of liberty unlawfully or arbitrarily, current lockup facilities in SA for behaviourally challenged vulnerable children may be in violation. In gradually moving from punishment to care since democracy in 1994, a new ethos of care began to emerge at YCEC, which can suggest a way forward for youth care throughout the country.

ETHOS OF CARE

The "circle of courage" ethos of care originated from research with Native Americans (Brendtro et al., 2002). This theoretical circle has four quadrants – belonging, mastery, independence, and generosity – which are part of a pathway to healing. These universal values are believed to develop resilience and self-worth. The YCEC manages violent and

disruptive behaviour through a focus on children as symptom carriers of family and community intergenerational trauma. A YCEC educational psychologist explained:

> Our youth need to feel close to someone. They need to feel proud of something, like school achievement, athletic skill, peer acceptance, and good behaviour. They need adults to be present, attentive, attuned, and responsive in their interactions. In short, youth at the extreme end of behavioural breakdown have survived social ills and need a place to recover. Young people who find themselves at the end of suspension and expulsion, despite intensive proactive and preventative interventions, need specialised care to enable them to access a school curriculum responding to their needs. We propose a behaviour support pathway of multiple practices.

This pathway to healing includes elements such as narrative meaning-making, outdoor activities, substance abuse education, animal therapy, and goal setting. Within the PAR self-care research program, teachers were assisted to normalise the boys' behaviours. They came to understand that these youths are survivors, which means that the boys, in fact, were adapting to their traumatic contexts with appropriate responses: anxiety, hyperalertness, emotional volatility, and physical agitation (Courtois, 2009). Both Bulelani and Liam benefited from this pathway of support, which helped them recover from their traumatic childhoods.

BULELANI AND LIAM: EXPERIENCES OF ABUSE AND NEGLECT

Liam survived on the streets among drug merchants in a community that grew, as a result of apartheid-forced removals, on barren, sandy tracts of land far from the city. Gangsterism soon took root in his life. He shared:

> I grew up in a gangster family. I traveled from place to place as my parents did not care about me. They let me sleep on the streets. My mother, Samantha, was two months pregnant with me [when] my father died – he was a "26" gang leader, shot in the back. ... When I was about two years old, I was in an accident. That guy did pay the money out [but] my mother didn't tell me about it. I found out ... six years afterwards how she was using my money for drugs – almost like a merchant – to make her own money. When I was three years old I stayed with my grand mother, Charmaine. ... She was going out with Matthew, a Rasta guy, and so I had to stay with him [with] my sister. But he didn't treat us like he treated his own child. He was ... a merchant selling marijuana. He forced us out at 12 at night, walking 10–20 km to buy marijuana because he wanted to sell it. We didn't want to go because it was too dangerous – we could get killed. He hit us every time. ... So I ran away. ... I went to stay with Sandra, [who was] like a grand mother to me. ... One day my mother came to me and tell me I must stay with Charmaine. And I said: "Why must I stay with them? They treat me like a dog and never bring me food. If you give me money they take it off to buy drugs, to smuggle it to other people. Look at me. I am thin. I have to go from door-to-door to ask for food. Sometimes people say they don't have and I accept it.

While Liam's life of neglect and poverty reveals the breakdown of societal structures that should protect its most vulnerable members, Bulelani's village life was initially peaceful. He had a supportive mother, but was separated from her when she moved with his stepfather to Cape Town to seek employment. His grand

mother then cared for him and his younger siblings. He had to travel long distances to school, and this created the circumstances that made it possible for tragedy to strike:

> My mother and stepfather looked after us until I was six, when they left to work in Cape Town to support us better. ... I went to a Xhosa/English school with two friends of seven and nine. Transport fetched us and brought us home. One day a guy called us. I thought it was our transport. They had a gun and wanted to shoot us. They kidnapped and raped two of us and afterwards we walked home. Every time they saw us they would threaten to shoot us, threatening us all the time: " Don't tell." I felt scared and wee'd [sic] in my bed, even during the day. I tried to protect myself and fought with anyone who was a big person; I had anger. The ... threats happened for a year. My grand mother could see I was sick and asked why I was getting home so late, but I said I was cleaning the class. She got diabetes, and became blind and after that my aunty looked after me in East London, while my brother and sister moved to Cape Town to be with my mother. My aunty looked for a school for me. I was eight. The teacher saw that I was not working, would do my own drawings and I liked to fight a lot – I had quick anger.

Bulelani's aunt was a social worker and sought help for him. After staying in various institutions, including a lockup facility where his anger and violent behaviour increased, he was sent to the YCEC. There he met Liam, and together they found an environment where they could begin to heal from abuse and neglect by developing faith in themselves.

Bulelani and Liam's narratives reveal the impact of abuse and neglect at interpersonal, familial, and societal levels in a country torn apart by colonial and apartheid policies. They were exposed to domestic and community violence, crime, substance abuse, unemployment, little to no family support, poverty, homelessness, and illiteracy.

GROWING FAITH: "I BELIEVE I CAN"

A belief in one's capacity is the foundation of self-confidence (Pickhardt, 2013). In African psychology, faith in oneself is not only personal but also communal – *ubuntu* – and spiritual, drawing on a relationship with God. *Ubuntu*, an African Nguni word, focuses on the relational and inclusive nature of "being" (Nwoye, 2006): "I am because we are" (Mbiti, 1970). It calls on us to mirror our humanity for each other and to base our individual self-belief on a sense of *ubuntu*. Although originally cared for by neighbors, Liam found it hard to develop faith, being largely alienated from his family and surrounded by a violent community. Bulelani shared in the communal *ubuntu* spirit in the village, but his experiences of sexual abuse and violence shattered his faith in the community and in himself.

Both Liam and Bulelani bonded with peers and were cared for by teachers and staff in relational *ubuntu* at YCEC. Bulelani explained, " Here they don't toyi-toyi [a traditional dance for group cohesion], but they don't put you down. Also, Mr. M supports me. … I needed gym shoes – he bought them for me and supported me. I didn't ask; he just saw." One-on-one relationships with adults allowed the boys to develop personal and community faith, supported by relational bonds with peers. Ties with family members were strengthened at gatherings like sports and family days, which kept boys connected to their community structures. Ultimately, personal and communal faith strengthened their faith in God. Effort followed faith, as the boys were encouraged to find interests and hobbies.

EFFORT: "I WILL KEEP TRYING"

Adolescents need encouragement to keep trying, especially when their efforts do not yield immediate results (Pickhardt, 2013). Encouragement, whose importance was first recognised by the humanist psychologist Alfred Adler (1956), is an act of interpersonal communication, a character strength, and an ecological group norm (Wong, 2015). At YCEC, encouragement is reinforced both formally and informally. It is integrated into a variety of group activities, highlighted as a character strength in personal recognition and academic efforts, and is an integral part of interpersonal communication between boys and adults. While a few staff who continued with negative attitudes had an impact, Bulelani and Liam were mostly encouraged to confront and overcome disempowering beliefs that caused them to lack confidence in themselves. For example, Liam was told by a misguided teacher that he would amount to nothing; he would end up pushing a trolley in the garbage dump. He challenged this statement, questioning this belief and praying to God that this would not be the case.

At the center, Liam experienced the love and care of a family for the first time. Enjoying simple pleasures gave him a feeling of richness. He felt like he belonged, as he connected with the teachers, his counselor, and peers. He also developed an interest in cooking. With support, adversity made him stronger. He gained a generosity of spirit, reaching out to others, and resisting drugs. He explained:

> What I can tell you about this place is that it's wonderful. It's almost like, how can I say, you grow up in a rich family. You get every thing you want. If you want to go to the beach, they take you to the beach, and on weekends you have a braai [barbeque], and [on] Sunday you have a decent plate [of food]. You go to school here. Sometimes the boys don't want to go into class, but the Sirs [teachers] encourage them to go in. Sometimes they go into class, but they don't want to write and Sir says, "Do your work; t here is a benefit for you outside." Like Nelson Mandela said, "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world."

Liam also felt love and care:

> The Sirs are like fathers and teachers like mothers. My mother has five children and lives with a Black man. He doesn't know about me. She has gone to jail for trying to sell drugs overseas. Sometimes the female teachers make you feel like they are your mother – it makes me tearful, but I don't want to talk about it. They show they love you. ... I never had a father before. If people come into your life they will never be a father, but Mr. B. [his counselor] is like a real father. This is home.

However, it took time for Liam to build these relationships:

> When I came to this school, I did not listen to the Sirs. They talked to me, talked to me: "You must change your life." One Sir cursed me: "You will become nothing, you will push a trolley and scratch in the bins, you will never succeed, you will never achieve these goals." It hurt my heart. Why do you say these things to me? You talk about my background; you say I will never succeed in life. Most of the people make me believe that you can become something in life. Get on your knees and pray that you will become something. Sometimes the people encourage me to do things in a positive way; then I do it. Others say: "No, don't do it, don't give [your] full cooperation." Some boys who smoke marijuana don't give their full cooperation. They run away.

The center also gave Bulelani a sense of worth, and he felt loved and cared for. He developed a special bond with the manager, Mr. M., who

offered support during difficult times. They would sit for hours in comfortable chairs in his office, always with a bountiful bowl of fruit, seemingly limitless cups of fresh coffee, and a rescue cat curled up in the chair, giving a sense of safety and peace. Bulelani developed mastery in sports and karate, and woodworking gave him independent skills. His new confidence helped him excel and cope with challenges like controlling his anger outbursts. His generosity of spirit inspired newcomers as he became a role model:

> I am an open person and talk to the other boys and I hear the teachers' stories. I start to help myself to listen and to work on issues. The stories make me feel proud of myself, not to feel down. I also have faith in God, who brought me here to the center to be right. First, I was the stupid boy. I brought myself down. Now I hear boys say if you say something, your tongue is powerful. I would tell myself I am stupid, but now I believe in myself and can work and have a family and a big house. ... I speak a lot to Mr. M. – I told him every thing; what I want to do. ... He is like my father. ... I must take things in two [both] hands; other wise I am not right on top [pointing to his head]. A lot of things I have learnt for outside [are] what I have learnt here. They are my family. They took me as a child. I did not know them, and they did not know me; they took me in, helping me.

Even negative experiences encouraged Bulelani to try harder:

> Not all teachers were positive; [some] put me down. I went to Mr. M. [He said] you need someone to push you down to learn. Outside it will be difficult. Be glad when you are told you will not come right; it will make me stronger and stronger. ... I got a lot of support; they started to believe in me, although I did not believe in myself. [It] started to wake up my mind.

By excelling in sports, Bulelani was able to develop a positive identity. Learning karate, after focusing on kickboxing, taught him respect:

> If I started to fight, I ran to the gym. ... I punched and punched [the bags] and I helped myself, with the anger leaving my mind. [Last year] I joined karate ... which has a lot of rules and respect and I started to see the difference. ... I am proud of myself. ... Karate teaches you to be calm.

While Bulelani benefited from his physical strength and talent, learning important qualities like respect, pride, and calmness, Liam found encouragement from the sense of family that he developed at the center. In the process, they were both able to develop skills to enable them to achieve positive outcomes in the future.

OUTCOME: "I WILL AFFIRM MY APPROACH DEPENDING ON RESULTS"

According to Pickhardt (2013), an adolescent's ability to cope with disappointment and failure depends on how well he or she is able to apply faith and effort. Faith is the foundation for self-confidence; effort in turn powers self-belief. Outcomes, unlike faith and effort, are not at a person's command and depend on trust (Pickhardt, 2013). At the center, the ability to see the positive outcomes of negative experiences is a key factor in building self-belief. Liam, for example, struggled with overcoming substance abuse and addiction in order to realise his dream of becoming a chef:

> I want to do something with my life. ... This place is like the future. What you ask them for, they give to you. It was very slow, very hard for me to change my life. My friends would come, and it was like the devil was playing with my mind. I am finished with drugs – tik [methamphetamine] and mandrax [methaqualone] for a year and a

half. [For] five months I have finished with dagga [marijuana], and two months ago I stopped sniffing glue [Steelbon/Genkem]. The Sirs talk to me and encourage me and say: " Don't do that, don't do that." I see boys smoking and I want to join them, but something is pulling me back. Faith and effort can translate into many diff er ent beliefs, actions, and outcomes, as demonstrated by Bulelani's and Liam's responses to their experiences at the center. Both boys developed self-belief as they formed a positive identity and discovered their talents. Liam shared his thoughts: "God helps me and you must also help yourself. ... I don't want to become a drug addict. My dream is to be a chef on a cruise ship." Bulelani also had dreams: "I am leaving next month ... to live with my family. I would love to open my own karate dojo gym – I am a yellow belt. Karate places are very far [from community facilities]. [My family] told me they will support me."

LEARNING FROM LIAM AND BULELANI

These narratives give glimpses into the multiple ways that a restorative care ethos in state care can positively affect vulnerable youths. I was deeply touched by my encounters with Liam and Bulelani. They willingly shared the tragedies and triumphs of their lives, reflecting eloquently and insightfully on poignant experiences. We talked often about the meaning of their lives – the importance of God and the power of stories, sharing, connection, and freedom. Despite all their difficulties, they were aware of their triumphs and understood that they were not failures.

With children worldwide so often failed by inadequate institutional parenting and then leaving care (McNamee, 2016), let us consider what makes the YCEC's powerful restorative care model so effective. It takes only one positive role model to turn the life of a child around (Goleman and Lantieri, 2008; Ray, 2007), and the teacher/carer is well placed to be this change agent (Van der Heijden et al. 2015). Similarly, it takes only one restorative care center to turn a youth's life around (Johnson, 2019). This study suggests that institutional care – based on strengthening connections, encouragement, love, and respect along the behavioural support pathway – can indeed transform the disempowering core beliefs of adolescents such as Bulelani and Liam.

YCEC's institutional pathway of behaviour support relies on restorative care. Staff and teachers enable this transformation in youths by forming caring attachments. This care can take many forms. It can be a coffee break in the manager's office when emotionally volatile boys are invited for a chat, or responding to a boy's needs – like providing a pair of shoes – without him having to ask. With the development of self-belief through restorative care, adolescents become active agents in their own social worlds, confidently building on elements of faith, effort, and positive outcomes and remaining flexible and open in the face of unexpected opportunities (figure 1.2).

Despite threatened closure and change from an education-managed WCED center to a DSD care facility, the YCEC remains a high-

Figure 1.2 Youth with peace certificates, standing outside the YCC's therapeutic hostel

level support institution for behaviourally challenged children, including those who have suffered abuse and neglect. Liam has returned to his community to seek work in local restaurants; perhaps one day he will realise his dream of becoming a chef on a cruise ship. Although Bulelani was offered a free facility to start a karate center, he is training to be a chef with an international hotel group. Mr. M., the mentor and manager, was hit by a car and has recuperated from serious injuries. Every one at the center prayed for his full recovery.

NOTES

1. Brian Schiff (2017) suggests three aspects to the interpretive action, with movement going back and forth between who, where, and when in order to begin an argument for why. Text and context mutually produce one another, with psychological phenomena understood as personal and social processes.

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Telling the story of Africa's present and future

#changethestory

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This past week, on Monday, May 25, we celebrated Africa Day. We share a continent and country of great beauty with many others, and live side by side with diverse human beings.

Despite the growing leaning to the right in global politics, Africa is emerging as the place of bright present and future hope for the world. I hope that the Afro-pessimists will finally see that there are different pathways to greatness, and that Africa's slow but sure growth is in fact its strength instead of a sign of its frailty.

To Africa, in this time of global crisis, here are some reflective thoughts about us.

Let us always maintain internal peace within our borders, cultures and continent as well as with the agitators and exploiters who come from outside.

An orientation towards peace is our greatest weapon against the exploitative and divisive practices of both the West and the East. Whether we are pitching for business with each other or competing for resources, let us do so with a bias towards peace.

Let us focus on our continental well-being as the new global economic, educational and innovation leaders. Let us grow a respect for whoever enters our space.

That respect must, however, come from a deep notion of self-respect that will not allow ourselves – and others – to be subjected to slavery and exploitation again.

That self-respect will become our power against the exploitative practice of subservient loyalty. It allows no one to own us – because respect disarms the enemy. Never give in to manipulation. Whether emotional or political. Only do what serves to advance humanity and the goals of a better world.

Let us live free from greed and corruption. Material contentment insulates us against corruption. You will be surprised what you can live without. Just give it enough time. It is more cleansing and more healing to be without the opulence that far exceeds basic living needs than to be with it.

Globally, in the emerging consciousness, a minimalist orientation is the new way to live. Become aware of your convictions. It is the true you. You may say and do many things, but your convictions are the truest part of you. Have a business card that says: My integrity and my continent, country and community are not for sale nor up for auction to the highest bidder.

Always be kind. Kindness is underrated. Kindness is a legacy builder. It makes you nice

to be around. Such kindness will live on in the stories we tell about Africa to our children.

Go out of your way to do good – especially to those who are without. Design your life to be arrogance-free.

Don't seek to insert your name or your achievements into everything. Stop being important. Work on being significant. Become an inspirational asset to your community and desist from being an irritation.

Lead with humility and accept leadership reluctantly. When you enter a leadership role, plan from day one on how you will return it to others. Celebrate often. Avoid complaining. Many people will destroy things. Great people work on fixing what others have broken – in order to insert a brave and different narrative into the national discourse.

Never use your title. Always use your name. Your ego is attached to the first. Your character is attached to the second. Give more than you receive. And give often.

One of my teachers once taught me: assumption is the doctrine of fools. Deliberately develop a deep intelligence and seek understanding.

Don't move, act or speak until you know and understand. At all cost, avoid assumption. These values, when they are practised with consistency, carry the seeds of a great country and a great continent. Such are the ideas that build countries and communities that are worth believing in – and worth dying for.

Ours will be a nation and continent of greatness, of freedom, of hope and of prosperity. We will no longer only tell stories of our past, but we will relish in stories of our present, of today and of tomorrow.

That will be Africa's story.

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