*ALTER*NATION

Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of the Arts and Humanities in Southern Africa Special Edition 23 (2018) – Open Issue #01
Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN 2519-5476

* *Alter*nation is an international journal which publishes interdisciplinary contributions in the fields of the Arts and Humanities in Southern Africa.
* Prior to publication, each publication in *Alter*nation is reviewed by at least two independent peer reviewers.
* *Alter*nation is indexed in The Index to South African Periodicals (ISAP) and hosted online on the UKZN platform, on OJS, and by EBSCO
* *Alter*nation is published every semester. Special editions may be published p.a.
* *Alter*nation was accredited in 1996.

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Cover artwork: *The ascension of the purple figure*, 2016. © Mary Sibande

CORRESPONDENCE ADDRESS

The Editor: Alternation, Univ. of KwaZulu-Natal, Priv. Bag X10, Dalbridge, 4041, DURBAN, South Africa; Tel: +27-(0)31-260-7303; Fax: +27-(0)31-260-7286; Web: http://alternation.ukzn.ac.za
e-mail: smitj@ukzn.ac.za; hlongwan1@ukzn.ac.za; chettd@unisa.ac.za; vencatsamyb@ukzn.ac.za

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN 2519-5476

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Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of the Arts and Humanities in Southern Africa

*Alter*Nation
Open Issue #01

Guest Editors
Johannes A. Smit,
Nobuhle Ndimande-Hlongwa,
Denzil Chetty
and
Beverly Vencatsamy

2018

CSSALL
Durban

Acknowledgement of Reviewers

We wish to acknowledge the participation of the following reviewers in the production of this issue of *Alter*nation.

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About the Cover

Mary Sibande: The Purple shall Govern

The purple shall govern, the exhibition of work by Standard Bank Young Artist Award winner for 2013, Mary Sibande, concluded its national tour at the Standard Bank Gallery, with an exhibition from 23 April – 07 June 2014.

This exhibition took Sophie, the elaborately costumed figure for which Sibande is best known, to a new level: a deeper, somewhat darker exploration.

Sophie, the complex alter ego through whom Sibande has negotiated the personal narratives of three generations of women in her family, has served Sibande well as the vehicle through which she has explored the construction of identity in a post-colonial South African context.

Now Sibande has decided that it's time to move on, to 'let Sophie go' and allow new ideas to take root and grow.

The transition is dramatically staged. A terrible beauty is born (2013) and shows Sophie clothed in purple, being stripped of the white apron and bonnet that symbolise her domestic servitude, by the Non-Winged ceiling beings (2013) which extend from her body and garment and to which she appears to be giving birth. Sophie appears to be in a trance, occupying a space of uncertainty.

The admiration of the purple figure (2013) reveals a different relation of the subject to the crowd that surrounds her: a moment of welcome and veneration. The 'new' Sophie looks more in control and the creatures that crowd around her feet appear to be looking up in admiration, vying for her attention and rejoicing at her emancipation.

The struggle to let go of the old, and welcome the liberation it brings, is further evidenced in A reversed retrogress scene 1 (2013), in which we see the 'old' Sophie and the 'new' in an encounter that is unequivocally tense but veiled in ambiguity.

Standard Bank Gallery
Cnr Frederick and Harrison streets
Johannesburg
Edited words in abstract with acknowledgement from:
https://sponsorships.standardbank.com/groupsponsorship/Arts-&-culture/Standard-Bank-Gallery-/Past-exhibitions/Mary-Sibande:-The-Purple-shall-Govern

Cover of *Alter*nation Open Issue #01 (2018)

This mythical body is at different stages of morphing and transforming into another figure (red Figure, hence the red under her garment), evoking it as an ethereal and non-fixed idea. The red is the new body of work I am currently working on. My work is continually evolving, changing, seeking and climbing (going upwards, towards the top), hence the pedestal that has steps. The title of the work is, *The ascension of the purple figure,* 2016. (Words by the artist.)

***Alter*nation Special Edition 23, 2018**
Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN 2519-5476

Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of the Arts and Humanities in Southern Africa

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PRINT CONNECTION Tel (031) 202-7766; 202-7766

Editorial: *Alter*Nation *Open Issue #01*

Johannes A. Smit
Nobuhle Ndimande-Hlongwa
Denzil Chetty
Beverly Vencatsamy

Following the opening of *Alter*nation on the UKZN platform of the Online Journal Editing System (OJS), in late 2018, we have decided to both continue publishing theme-specific issues of *Alter*nation, as well as open issues. Calls for papers for upcoming theme-specific issues will be published, on the Calls for Papers button, on our regular site, at, http://alternation.ukzn.ac.za/calls-for-papers.aspx. Starting with this issue of *Alter*nation, we shall also publish open issues, and number them consecutively, as from this, the first issue, *Alter*Nation *Open Issue #01*. As usual, we provide a brief overview of the abstracts of the papers in the issue.

Following on the publications based on J.A. Smit's 2017 International Open Access lecture (cf. Smit & Chetty 2018a; and 2018b), **Johannes A. Smit** and **Denzil Chetty** capture some aspects from his 2018 lecture. This is done in terms of what he termed, Africa's *ascendant history into openness, as a free continent*, according to our *affirmative genealogy, or genealogies, of freedom.*

Sokfa F. John focuses his research on social media platforms. Against the background of ethnoreligious conflicts and social tensions in Nigeria, digital media platforms have emerged as important socio-cultural sites that enable the engagement of historical and contemporary contestations around religion and identity. The post-election violence of 2011 and subsequent mass killings of mostly Christians in rural Southern Kaduna saw the emergence of several online groups and practices contesting these, and other forms of oppression and violence (real or imagined) in Southern Kaduna. This article details a study that applied a postcolonial perspective to analyse the content of one such online forum.

Also raising the question of identity, **Janet Jarvis** and **Ncamisile P. Mthiyane** raises questions concerning the human right – gender – education

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a1

nexus. They argue that it is essential to explore conversations at the intersection between personal religious identity and Human Rights issues in an attempt to bridge the gap between policy and practice. To facilitate this exploration, an empathetic-reflective-dialogical approach was adopted to engage with pre-service teachers in a South African Higher Education Institution. Selected pre-service Religion Education teachers were encouraged to engage in self-dialogue and to write their self-narratives. Participating in Communities in Conversation, Communities in Dialogue and Communities for Transformation provided the opportunity for empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying to take place. They argue that restorying has the potential to address the possible disconnect between the individual's personal and professional identities when considering Human Rights issue.

To overcome the effects of socioeconomic barriers on education, many independent schools offer financial aid in the way of scholarships and bursaries. This financial aid is intended to offer access to quality education for underprivileged youth; however, positive school experiences rely on more than just physical access. In their study, **Jean Fourie**, **Mabatho Sedibe** and **Fallon Thompson** explored the psychosocial experiences of underprivileged adolescent girls attending an independent affluent school. By using Erikson's psychosocial theory of development, Bronfenbrenner's Ecosystemic Model, gender differences in development, as well as the Students Multiple Worlds Model, an understanding is created of how moving between worlds of affluence and poverty may influence the identity formation of the female adolescent learner. This phenomenological study was conducted using the qualitative, interpretative method of interpretative phenomenological analysis. Using a series of unstructured interviews with each participant, information was gathered that provided insight into the psychosocial experiences of each of these girls. Findings were focused on areas of cultural identity, value formation, feelings of belonging, social comparison and perceptions of support. These findings contribute to the improved functioning of bursary programmes in independent schools and will enhance the well-being of adolescent girls in navigating between the worlds of affluence and poverty.

Stating that online violence and hate speech in cyberspace have become a major concern among previously disadvantaged groups and human rights activists in South Africa (Cuyler 2011; Ndou 2015), **Bright Nkrumah** avers that the remarkable expansion of the Internet as a platform for communication has been outdone by hate-based activity in cyberspace and extremist

websites. In his article, Nkrumah argues that the mobility and anonymity that the Internet provides has made expressions of hate and harassment easy on an abstract platform, which is often outside the remit of conventional security agencies (Lange 2007). By using technological, legal and political frameworks, his article examines the conundrums involved in regulating hate speech on the Internet. It assesses the complexities inherent in South Africa's bilateral and/or multilateral partnerships, and challenges of unilateral domestic content legislation to regulate cyberspace. Whereas the state seeks to find common ground upon which to harmonise its approach to regulation, the articles examines how technological innovations can limit the harm triggered by hate speech. The article recommends that there is a need for a broader mobilisation of citizens in order to reduce the harm often triggered by hate speakers in South Africa.

The primary purpose of the study by **Theresa van Oordt** and **Lorena Brits** was to determine whether well-designed instructional material based on motivational theory and blended learning theory has the intended impact on the learning motivation of adult learners in a distance education environment. They used Voice-over-PowerPoint™ technology as a medium to deliver subject specific instruction based on motivational theory as supplementary content to the course curriculum. This empirical study was conducted over a period of approximately two months on a sample of 57 adult learners who were enrolled for a distance education course for non-degree purposes at a tertiary education institution. Quantitative research methods were applied and data was collected using two motivation-measuring surveys: (1) The Course Interest Survey; and (2) The Instructional Materials Motivation Survey, which were both developed by Keller. Motivational strategies were designed for the chosen educational technology, Voice-over-PowerPoint™ (VoP) videos, using Keller's Attention, Relevance, Confidence and Satisfaction (ARCS) model of motivation. These strategies were then delivered via the learner management system for learners to use at their convenience.

Doras Sibanda and **Tabitha Grace Mukeredzi** designed their study to gain insights into physical science teacher-students' pedagogical knowledge, understanding of science concepts and the nature of support that they received during an in-service developmental programme. Understanding the experiences and learning gained during the programme can inform the design of future courses. The study is located within an interpretive paradigm that employs a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis. Participants (n = 156) were selected by convenience sampling from teachers on an in-

service Advanced Certificate in Education programme. Data were collected towards the end of the proramme through a questionnaire administered to 211 in-service teachers and eight teachers were interviewed. The study identified three critical aspects gained during the programme: content knowledge, teaching strategies and confidence. The findings also reinforce the need for institutions of higher learning to design programmes that provide the appropriate level of support: material, emotional, or both, for all teachers on in-service programmes.

Siseko H. Kumalo's study raises the question of whether there is a need, and whether it is possible to identify and African vocabulary that may be put into practice in Higher Education. He firstly references Lewis Nkosi's (1989) review of J.M. Coetzee's *White Writing* (1988) and Gordimer's *Essential Gesture* (1988), which highlights fundamental deficits in South African literature. Owing to inadequate resources and statutory racial divides – instituted by apartheid – Nkosi (1989) responds to these deficits through what Kumalo interprets as a series of provocations, that posit an African Vocabulary.

In their study, **Bekithemba Dube** and **Milton Nkoane** seek to problematise religious figures and politicians who use religious discourses, narratives and functions to justify oppressive hegemonic systems and structures. They show how various religious figures have amalgamated or joined together with oppressive political figures to maintain the status quo in Zimbabwe, paving the way for what they term the 'consecration' and 'enthronement' of political figures. They also show how religious figures who failed the ZANU PF's political part of their ideology, were dislodged from enthronement due to their different understanding of democracy. To problematise oppressive religious discourses used in the politics of an oppressive status quo, they position their article within critical emancipatory research (CER) discourse, by paying attention to its tenets, such as social justice, elimination of false consciousness, and emancipation.

Martin Mujinga's 'Religion as a Riding Horse of Politics?' points out that religion and politics in Zimbabwe have always been trading together. The country won the liberation struggle because of the role played by religion. African Indigenous Religion (AIR) and Christianity, both contributed significantly to the liberation of Zimbabwe, even though from opposite angles of the religious continuum. In the transitional processes of the post-independent Zimbabwe, religion and politics continued their relations through what we may describe as a 'marriage of convenience'. Some politicians took

it upon themselves to use, abuse, and misuse religion. Religion in Zimbabwe currently functions as a political platform, with AIR still dominating the political arena while the church denominations struggle between political puppets and opponents. This has resulted in the Zimbabwean church disintegrating. It has been argued that some politicians have turned African Independent Churches and some mega churches into their own havens, while pushing mainline churches to the periphery of politics as anti-progressive. Against this background, the article seeks to evaluate the extent to which the Zimbabwean church has become a 'riding horse' for politics in its socioeconomic and political transformation.

Kgothatso B. Shai follows an Afrocentric approach, in his study, in analysing the dynamics between constitutional democracy and traditional mechanisms of authority in rural communities. He uses the Maruleng sub-district of Limpopo province as a test case to analyse and critique the intersection(s) between constitutional institutions of authority and traditional mechanisms of governance in South Africa. Methodologically, he has relied on a broad-based critical discourse approach. The article's main argument is that the co-existence of traditional leadership and municipal councils is inherently problematic.

Auweis Rafudeen's 'Resisting the Statist Reduction of the Self' focuses on the recently published writings of Shaykh Yusuf in English, especially, the topic of his supposed 'anti-politics', and the 'effects' of these anti-politics. Shaykh Yusuf al Maqassari (1626-1699) is noted for both resisting Dutch expansion in the East Indies as well as his role in building the Cape Muslim community. But rather than politics, his writings focus on mysticism, in particular, the principles of the Sufi path and Sufi metaphysics. When there is a reference to politics, it is 'anti-politics' in that he advises the spiritual aspirant to withdraw participation in matters of the state. Rafudeen's article explores the effects of Shaykh Yusuf's 'anti-politics'. It argues that in the context of the post-Westphalian state, Shaykh Yusuf's 'anti-politics' was a way of resisting being inscribed by the economic logic of that state and its reduced notion of the self; that his mysticism offered alternative ways of being and acting in the world; and that these alternative ways helped the Cape Muslim community maintain its durability in the face of a number of historical pressures.

Isaiah A. Negedu and **Solomon O. Ojomah** titled their article, 'Deconstructing African History from Western Historicism'. They say that if a people were to write their own history to be solely accepted as an ideal, it

would not be abnormal for them to do so in their favour. The history of the African race as documented by Western literatures, mostly comprises the exaltation of European culture through various stereotypical labellings of African history and culture. In the same vein, most Africans would be tempted to rewrite African history in favour of the cultures/ traditions of the African people themselves. Western historicism, however, has gradually denied the African an identity, primarily by eulogising its vindictive colonial presence in Africa, with the purpose of creating a cultural superstructure for the West. Through critical analysis and the conversational method, they submit that a balanced reordering of history in a sane manner is quickened when informed African scholars in their various disciplines take up the task of historiography to create their own peculiar narrative that will provide both the scholarly agenda and its related content, to set the African people on a course of wholesome prosperity.

In their 'Academic Freedom and the Problems of Patriotism and Social Responsibility in Post-colonial Africa', **Munyaradzi Felix Murove** and **Ezra Chitando** raise the matter of the nexus between patriotism and social responsibility, for African academics. In principle, the article interrogates the meaning of academic freedom in African universities after the attainment of political independence. It explores the nuances of the concept of academic freedom and traces its appropriation in African contexts. The article contends that African scholars operate in challenging political environments due to the quest by political leaders to dabble in philosophy. African 'philosopher kings' have sought to articulate grand visions and narratives of development and they brook no dissent in this 'sacred quest'. As a result, African academics are generally expected to toe the line and endorse the grandiose philosophies articulated by the ambitious presidents. We argue that this is dangerous and results in a loss of academic freedom. They conclude, emphasising that African intellectuals can make more effective contributions to the African nations by refusing to be co-opted, and remaining faithful to the tenets of academic freedom.

In their article, 'A Holistic Approach towards Personal Transformation of Youth not in Employment, Education or Training', **Lucille Meyer** and **Rajendra Chetty** explore how young people experienced a holistic approach to personal transformation by participating in a three month residential programme for youth not in employment, education or training. The study deployed an ecological perspective that served to illuminate the influence of relationships and contexts on the development of youth. A phenomenological approach was used to understand young peoples' perceptions and experiences

of a holistic approach. The methodological framework leaned on narrative enquiry to explore the views of five youth respondents. The data was analysed using thematic content analysis. The findings illustrated that a holistic approach as one particular philosophical and developmental approach to personal transformation, has the potential to enhance the psychological capital of young people, facilitate connection with self and family and provide the impetus for them to remain on a positive developmental trajectory. As 7.5 million youth in South Africa are not in employment, education or training, a status with the propensity to foster disengagement and disconnection from self, family and social, economic, political and cultural activities, the findings offer hope that credible and innovative strategies do exist to disrupt the current 'not in employment, education or training', or NEET crisis.

Johannes A. Smit
Editor-in-Chief: *Alter*nation
College of Humanities
University of KwaZulu-Natal (Durban & Pietermaritzburg)
smitj@ukzn.ac.za

Nobuhle Ndimande-Hlongwa
Associate Editor: *Alter*nation
College of Humanities
University of KwaZulu-Natal, (Durban & Pietermaritzburg)
Hlongwan1@ukzn.ac.za

Denzil Chetty
Assistant Editor: *Alter*nation
College of Human Sciences
University of South Africa (UNISA), Pretoria
Chettd@unisa.ac.za

Beverly Vencatsamy
Assistant Editor: *Alter*nation
College of Humanities
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban
vencatsamyb@ukzn.ac.za

Designing Heterotopic Transversal Equitable Foundations for Open Knowledge: Access, Freedom & e/Quality

Johannes A. Smit
Denzil Chetty

Abstract

Following on the publications based on Smit's 2017 International Open Access lecture (cf. Smit & Chetty 2018a; and 2018b), we capture some aspects from his 2018 presentation, in this article. It further develops his exploration of the significance of Michel Foucault's triad, subject – communication – knowledge-power production in the digital paradigm, or e-episteme, in terms of knowledge-power networks (KPNs). For this, the article has two main parts. *Firstly*, it provides a theoretical framework for the empirical interpretation of the 2018 international topic for the Open Access week, seminally, incorporating the notions of the 'heterotopic' and 'transversal'. *Secondly*, in South Africa's *ascendant history into openness, as a free country*, it provides a sample of three significant events in our *affirmative genealogy, or genealogies, of freedom.* These are, *access* to the full participation in, or 'contribution' to, world civilization, or world information-, data-, or knowledge-power, or science-power productions, á la Anton Lembede; *freedom* as founded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR); and *equity/ equality/ e/Quality*, as founded in 'The Freedom Charter'. As such, the advocacy for *access, freedom*, and *equality* in South Africa's affirmative genealogy of freedom, are three of the seminal elements, and historical empirical events, for South Africa's entry into its free democratic dispensation, in 1994. The presentation was dedicated to the international celebration of the seventieth year of the founding of the UDHR, in 1948.

Keywords: Open Access, heterotopic, transversal, equitable foundations, open knowledge, Access, Anton Lembede, Freedom, UDHR, Equality, The Freedom Charter, knowledge production

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a2

Introduction

Following on the publications based on Prof J.A. Smit's 2017 International Open Access lecture (cf. Smit & Chetty 2018a; and 2018b), this article captures some aspects from his 2018 lecture. It further develops his exploration of the significance of Michel Foucault's triad, subject – communication – knowledge-power production in the post-1989 digital paradigm, or, e-episteme. For this, the article has two main parts. In the *first*, it provides a theoretical framework for the empirical interpretation of the 2018 international topic for the Open Access week, seminally, incorporating the notions of the 'heterotopic' and 'transversal'. *Secondly*, in South Africa's *ascendant history into openness, as a free country*, it provides a sample of three significant events in our *affirmative genealogy, or genealogies, of freedom.* These are, *access* to the full participation in, and 'contributions' to, world culture, or world information-, data-, or knowledge-power, or science-power productions, á la Anton Lembede; *freedom* as founded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR); and *equity/ equality/ e/Quality*, as founded in 'The Freedom Charter'. As such, the advocacy for *access, freedom,* and *equality* in South Africa's affirmative genealogy of freedom, are three of the seminal elements, and historical empirical events, for South Africa's entry into its free democratic dispensation, in 1994. The presentation was dedicated to the international celebration of the seventieth year of the founding of the UDHR, in 1948.

Concerning the brief ten year history of international Open Access week, it may be noted that, at this point, more than one hundred student organisations and more than 200 university libraries worldwide, are involved, including many in Africa. The topic, 'Designing Equitable Foundations for Open Knowledge' was released by, Nick Shockey, Director of Programs & Engagement for Scholarly Publishing and Academic Resources Coalition (or SPARC). The *Right to Research Coalition*, founded in 2009, is the main driver behind Open Access week, SPARC, as well as its annual open conference, or *OpenCon*. The main objective, of the network is to make 'open' the default position, with regard to both access to existing knowledge, and for knowledge production[1]. Its main purpose, as on the SPARC website, is to,

[1] Cf. https://sparcopen.org/people/nick-shockey/.
For more information, cf. Open 'Access Explained', at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=L5rVH1KGBCY. The official hashtag of Open Access Week is #OAweek (Shockey 2018).

> enable the open sharing of research outputs and educational materials in order to democratize *access* to knowledge, *accelerate discovery*, and *increase the return on our investment in research and education*. As a *catalyst for action*, [Open Access seeks to collaborate with] *stakeholders – including authors, publishers, libraries, students, funders, policymakers and the public* – to build on the opportunities created by the Internet, promoting changes to both infrastructure and culture needed to *make open the default for research and education* (e.a. https://sparcopen.org/who-we-are/).

So, Open Access to existing past, present and future research is the default position adopted for the networking among stakeholders, and advocacy, in the areas of research, teaching and learning, as well as community engagement (cf. further https://sparcopen.org/who-we-are/).

As such, then, the article addresses the topic of the 2018 Open Access week, 'Designing Equitable Foundations for Open Access'[2].

The presentation was dedicated to the celebration of the seventieth year of the founding of the UDHR, in 1948.

1 Theorising Space in the e-Episteme: Heterotopias, and Transversals

In the 'The African Digital Humanities (ADH) and *Alter*nation on OJS (2018 -): Innovation, Pan-African Collaboration, and Trans-Continental Integration' we found it helpful to interpret Foucault's legacy, in terms of a pre- and post-digital revolutionary framework, or, a 1989 global pre- and post-Berners-Lee, entry into the digital episteme. This epistemic demarcation is employed again, and reconfigures Michel Foucault's triadic model, within a radically different historico-contextually-relevant e-subject, and e-community digital interpretive community. In the e-episteme, this move reveals Foucault's historical analyses as historicizable diachronic heterotopic events with lesser or greater diachronic genealogical historical, event significance, in the research into the history of the present of the emergent Digital, or e-Humanities.

[2] For a comprehensive overview of issues and concerns currently involved in open access scholarship, cf. Sollner and Mittermaier's *Praxishandbuch Open Access* (2017). For Britain, Eve (2017), provides a brief overview.

1.1 Heterotopias

We front this theoretical framework, with a reflection on the notion that Foucault coined in his *The Order of Things*, ([1966] 1969), *viz*. 'heterotopia', i.e. the Greek heteros + topos = different, or other, + place, or space. In his 'The Subject and Power', where he reflects on his then previous twenty years' research endeavours, he captures his explication of his notion of the subject, and which we re-articulated in terms of the (e-)subject – (e-)communication system – (e-)knowledge-power triad, as, diachronically, and historicisably, positioned within 'diverse forms, diverse places, diverse circumstances or occasions, in which these interrelationships establish themselves according to a specific model' (Foucault 1982:787). Theoretically, this explication is quite enlightening as to the exigencies of *forms* of discourse, and discursive formations, in their deployments, in *diverse places, diverse circumstances or occasions* and, where it is specifically their *interrelations,* that are represented, or, in our constructivist approach, *produced,* according to *a specific model*, or network. This is modelled diachronically, as well as synchronically. This resonates with Foucault's use of the notion *heterotopias*, more than a decade earlier, when he reflected on Jorge Luis Borges' literary representations of different life-forms, in different times, and different places. Yet, in the e-episteme, the notion of heterotopia, could be usefully conceptualised, not in Foucault's conceptualisation of Borges' often hilarious[3] literary representa-

[3] In order to account for the hilarity of Borges's literary representations, in terms of his notion of the heterotopia, Foucault says: '*Heterotopias* are disturbing, probably because they secretly undermine language, because they make it impossible to name this *and* that, because they shatter or tangle common names, because they destroy 'syntax' in advance, and not only the syntax with which we construct sentences but also that less apparent syntax which causes words and things (next to and also opposite one another) to 'hold together'. This is why utopias permit fables and discourse: they run with the very grain of language and are part of the fundamental dimension of the *fabula*; heterotopias (such as those to be found so often in Borges) desiccate speech, stop words in their tracks, contest the very possibility of grammar at its source; they dissolve our myths and sterilize the lyricism of our sentences' (Foucault [1966] 1970:xix). In some cases, if these heterotopic representations do not elicit laughter, because of their stupidities, obfuscations, and mystifications, they might do the opposite, *viz*., heterotopically drive you to tears.

tions of forms of human life in specific spaces, of different times and climes, but more objectively, in terms of Foucault's articulation of the subject and the institution, in terms of its representations in 'diverse places, diverse circumstances or occasions', either diachronically, or synchronically, as in 'The Subject and Power'. In terms of our transition into the digital era, and concomitant digital episteme, the study of discourse, or discursive formations, should therefore not only be understood heterotopically *analytically*, as Foucault has done in his numerous studies, but heterotopically, with regard to the production of knowledge-power, and that both diachronically, and synchronically. Transposed into the digital episteme, and of nodal points along the networked information and data flows (cf. Smit & Chetty 2018b:365f), along their curves via variable connectivities, these historicisable nodal points themselves, heterotopically ground, or culturally embed, or situate, their rhizomatic rootedness (cf. Narismulu & Dhunpath 2011:13, with regard to Eco 1984:57). And, obviously, this should be studied, or analysed, in terms of their manifestations, but also articulated from within the specific culturally embedded hubs from within which knowledge-power, or discourse, is being produced, in its specific diachronic and synchronic rootedness. It is not different in South Africa, where we are building and developing a new episteme of discourse, and networked discursive formations, via inter-, multi- and trans-disciplinary approaches, since 1994. However, the emergence of this episteme pre-dates 1994, and we shall reference just three prominent nodal points, of many others, representing a few seminal events from this diachronic trajectory, and in fact, experiential, empirical, and material legacy in the rootedness of our still brief history.

1.2 Transversals

For the notion of the transversal, as well as the next section of these theoretical reflections, we draw on Foucault's reflections on the notion of resistance, and struggle. Yet, as we have suggested in the previous two articles, here, again, we should understand his modelling of resistance, in terms of pro-active innovation, and knowledge production, not neglecting the importance of the social forces, feeding into social formation mobilization, and social action. As such, the transversal must be understood in both its pre-1989 and post-1989 significance. And, we shall here briefly reflect on these two perspectives.

Drawing on Foucault (1982: 779 - 781) and our theorizing of the digital paradigm (cf. Smit & Chetty 2018a; 2018b), we may characterize our

entry into the digital episteme, more specifically, as an entry into a new economy of knowledge-power, and, as we explicated, not only the *analysis* of knowledge-power productions and their continued effects from the past, or, even their morphed horizontal structured, and structuring present, but in terms of the real challenges of and for knowledge production in the empirical present. *On the one hand*, the transversal resistances and struggles that manifested in empirical activities and mobilizations heterotopically, in the past, have been replaced by the heterotopic knowledge-power-producing embodied subjects, and knowledge formations of the new episteme. Even more importantly, is to note that despite the accommodation of Marxist, communist and socialist, strategies of the past[4], by the West-European-American elite into the liberal paradigm since the 1950s, it has now lost its moral legitimacies among its formerly supportive citizens, as is evident in today's Britain and America. We might add, too that this is in no small measure due to the transversally democratically produced knowledge(s), through science, the diverse branches of and the drive for universal literacy and education. Whereas liberal capitalism was the only world power that remained standing, following the demise of Nazism (after 1945), and then Communism (after 1989), it now too, has met its nemesis, in the dawn of the exponential multiplication of the digital network society, and the radical democratization of access to knowledge, information, and data via well-known algorithms such as Google and Facebook, as well as the rising social impacts of mass social media networks, as exemplified since the time of the Arab Spring, and the #Mustfall movements in South Africa. This, obviously has brought Humanities scholarship, in its train, transversally, with the attendant challenge for contextually-relevant knowledge productions.

So, the question of the transversal in this context, allows us to reflect on the fact that Foucault used it to denote the resistances and struggles against the various world hegemonies of colonisation, or later, Nazism, and communism, including, e.g., the political hegemonies in Europe of the 1960s, and Vietnam, and of late, the latest anti-liberal-capitalist and neo-colonising paradigms, were in fact heterotopic, and not confined to one country, or for

[4] It is today well recognized that systems such as the accommodation of labour union mobilization by Western, liberal states, universal health care, and universal literacy and education, have been copied over from Marxist, Socialist and Communist ideological systems, into Western hegemonic systems. Also, that capitalist economic forms have been appropriated in former communist blocs.

that matter, one continent. In addition, the fact is that they have also not been confined to one specific military-industrial complex, or political-economic system, but manifested as so many forms of individual and social discontent, transversally, is informative. This is even more so, now, in the digital episteme, in so far as global networks and connectivities, are aiding in what we may call transversal processes of education, as well as the general conscientisation, and, in the case of some civil society organisations, mobilization, in relation to other similar movements in different parts of the world.

As such, the variety of forms of resistance have in many cases in the past coagulated, into social forms that brought about small, as well as large-scale transformations. The same has been happening in the last decade, and, what is even more interesting, is that many of these forms of social formation, actually represent, the classes that have been mostly at the receiving end of the various hegemonic powers' knowledge-power impacts, via their hegemonic, and colonizing state and civil apparatuses, institutions, and instruments. And, that social networks and media have played a role in discourse development, as well as social mobilisation, is widely recognized. So, the question of the transversal, acquires particular importance in our empirical present, not least, because of the different kinds of freedom, that it harbours, but also different forms of threat[5]. It is as such, that transversal struggles for freedom, equity and access, during the twentieth century, may, as before, snowball into larger transversal movements, as well as counter-movements, even against democracy, and forms of capitalism, and also meet with pushbacks, from governments, for instance. These may be country-specific, but also co-ordinated amongst governments experiencing the same, transversally[6].

And, it is in this context, that knowledge-production, by locally-embedded knowledge-production hubs, as nodal points in transversal networks, may become an important strategy for socio-culturally-embedded formations, as well as their mobilization in the interests of goal-directed social and economic advancements. We may well envisage that coalitions, alliances, associations, accords, and similar formations, may ever become more

[5] Cf. the distinction between the stable and unstable (Smit & Chetty 2018b).

[6] Cf. for instance, two important studies by Kelly, Truong, Shahbaz, Earp & White on *Freedom on the Net 2017: Manipulating Social Media to Undermine Democracy*, and *Freedom on the Net 2018. The Rise of Digital Authoritarianism* by by Truong, White & Funk *et al.* (2018).

transversally organized – and recognized – than before. In the aiding of local populations, in these and related endeavours, the university, and more specifically, the Digital Humanities my yet prove to be a crucial hub in the international knowledge-power global digital networks dynamics.

2 Theorising Empirical Knowledge-Power Productions

It has recently become evident that we need to put capacity building at the forefront of research, and teaching and learning – both concerning the subject, and society/ community – in, with, and for community. This needs to be done in terms of *present challenges, in the present*, done *empirically*, and that, in *local, and regional environs*, both *heterotopically*, and *transversally*.

2.1 Empirical Knowledge[-Power] Productions

In this section, we then reflect on the knowledge side of the hyphenated notion of knowledge-power with some transposed insights from Foucault (1984). We abbreviate Embodied Knowledge Production as EKP.

- Transversal EKP may be *country- or more specifically, hub-specific*, and network-embedded, in interpretive communities, including locally, critically-informed political-economy and governance formations.
- EKPs *may assist embedded communities* in both *general and specific capacity building and development processes*, ranging from health, and well-being, through environmental care to subjective and societal capabilities and capacity building plans, projects, and realizations.
- EKP opportunities *may cover a large spectrum*, and are *focused on present relevant needs, and knowledge* and *information, data requirement productions* i.e. with regard to a range of essential knowledge, information and data generation needs, and future requirements.
- EKPs assert the *centrality* of the subject, *in relation to, and interaction with community,* and seek to maximize subjective aptitude, capacity, and capability development, while asserting life-affirming intersubjective community relations, networks, and interactions, also with a society's 'others'.
- EKPs assert the advancement of the radical subjective *knowledge competence improvement and development*, in community, for the benefits of community and society – for entrepreneurial capacity in the domains of knowledge, information, and data productions and contextually-relevant interpretations, and applications.

- EKPs promote *transparency* in knowledge competence and capacity developments and advancements.
- EKPs happens in *openness*, in so far as *access* to knowledge-power competence and capacity development and advancement, is *open*, and as far as possible, *free*.
- EKPs, are characterized by *accountability, with regard to the subject's optimum development of its own aptitudes, capabilities, and capacity*; and, *with regard to the interpretive community*, including in broader formations such as a region, or a nation's legal and related institutions, pacts, and systems, as these formations are articulated and networked with local and global connectivities.
- EKPs serve to *clarify, explain, and illuminate* about *some mystifications, dis- or misinformation or obfuscations* (or, 'fake-news') that might exist subjectively, or communally, in community, nation, and internationally.
- Subjective, and socially-embedded EKPs, may constructively assist in *social cohesion, community, as well as nation building*, in so far as they creatively move from the question, 'who are we?' to the assertion of (social) identities, dreams and hopes.

2.2 Empirical [Knowledge]-Power Productions

As empirical, embodied knowledge production, is also linked to power in the wide variety of knowledge-power production articulations, this raises the more precise issue of the *conceptualisation of power* in the subject – communication – knowledge-power production triad. Drawing on Foucault's more general focus and findings, with regard to the 'power' aspect in empirical knowledge - power productions, in the constructivist argument, they may be similarly transposed into the digital episteme, i.e. that 1) *'power is everywhere'*; 2) that, in the digital episteme, *the micro-physics of power* may impact embodied subjects in liberatory ways; and 3) that constructivist discourse formation, my productively draw on the *substance of events of liberatory power*, from the past, in the present, as the *historical events and effects of the past in the present*, ánd *for the future*.

2.2.1 Power is Everywhere

Power is everywhere, not because someone has power and then distributes it to only a select few, in a sense of how you would distribute parts of a budget

to different members of a team to then enact what the policy and budget prescribes. That too. But, more foundationally, we need to reference the systems, institutions, and structures that we humans find and develop to meet specifically human, or humane, needs and create specific contextually-relevant opportunities for members and social formations in our societies and communities, into which we are born, so to speak, but that we too create and construct, for the well-being of all. These may range from our *language, sign, symbol and communication systems*, through our *social formations, institutions, and how society is structured* – according to various socio-cultural formations, and the old base and superstructure distinctions for example – to the *scholarly, and disciplinary, and inter-, multi-, and transdisciplinary digital, and networked discourses, and their discursive formations* into which pupils, students, and academics are intellectually socialized through both the research, ánd teaching and learning education systems and practices.

In constructivist discursive perspective, all these systems are not only subject to change, in movement, and flows, and continuously evolving. Some, are subject to either planned, or unplanned piecemeal changes. Others are subject to more wholesale changes, as we have seen with the world entering into the digital era, or what we have called the Berners-Lee era. If, in previous eras we have found that 'power is everywhere' in so far as that its systems, institutions, and structures, have constricted, dominated, incapacitated, exploited, or routinized the vibrancy of human, animal and environmental life, or created opportunities only for a select few, this was radically changed as we entered into the digital, Berners-Lee era. Where it initially empowered people the world over, to provide knowledge-production opportunities at your finger-tips so to speak – with the PC, since the late 1980s and early 1990s –, of late, it has put computing in your hands, following the emergence of Smart technology in the early 2000s, with the advent of the i-Phone in 2007. The radically democratic mass production of multi-purpose smart phones, means that the notion of 'power is everywhere', not only references knowledge production in its more traditional sense, of developing and constructing knowledge constructs along traditional print-media lines from your PC. In the context of social transformation, it has put electronic media in the hands of the insignificant, and overlooked, or, even dominated and suppressed, as we have seen with the rise of the #Rhodesmustfall, #Feesmustfall, and #metoo movements for instance. Now, everyone can also record, watch, or report, and/ or forward ideas, views, images, or events, for good or ill. And, transversally,

it has provided access to and heterotopic opportunities for multi-media knowledge, information, and data production and interpretations from virtually any location in the world.

2.2.2 The Digital Microphysics of Power

Foucault's notion of the *microphysics of power*, encapsulates the wide variety of ways in which reigning ideologies, and socially-constructed systems and institutions – whether empirically built and constructed or not –, together with their 'technologies', and 'instruments', impact subjects, and that moreover, subjects, as *embodied* subjects. They impact behavior, our 'conduct' inside, as well as in relation to the systems, institutions, and structures, constructed by the powerholders, for their advantage, and those of their followers – the reigning elite – which also manifests in democracies contrary to common belief. They also regulate conduct and behavior with regard to the rules of the powerholders, and their representatives, whether in empirical interaction, by threats and occasions of brutal force, or more subtly, in terms of virtual notions of surveillance, as we have learnt from George Orwell's, *1984*, for instance.

Even more subtly, and insidiously, the micro-physics of power do not only regulate human behavior as conduct, but also coerce human subjects to *regulate* their *own* behavior, and conduct themselves, according to how they have been conditioned, by the system's instruments, techniques, according to specified rules and regulations. Universally, the most devastating of this mechanism, has been the ways in which modern colonizing systems and institutions – whether from the East, or the West –, have induced beliefs of superiority and inferiority in subjected colonized peoples over the last about 500 years. On the one hand, these systems were created to subject, suppress, and dominate people with the help, and use of technologies of the modern episteme. On the other hand, their instruments and techniques conditioned subjects to *conduct their own behavior* in line with the beliefs and practices, as well as the rules and regulations, of the colonizing forces. Foucault, is famous for exploring this dynamics of power, in his now famous trilogy on sexuality, and enlightened as to the impacts of his researches not only on power with regard to its functioning in systems and institutions, as is evident from his archaeological researches, but also more particularly, crime-and-punishment, and gender relations, with a focus on sexuality, in his genealogical researches.

Against this background, the digital episteme has provided the conditions of possibility for not only questioning the reigning systems and

institutions, that we have inherited from the past – i.e. as these are being represented in our postcolonial, and decolonising discourses and discursive formations, as to their potential continuation of life-constricting and/ or environmentally destructive institutionalised power effects. It has also opened up opportunities and possibilities, for knowledge production, with liberating, power effects, of Access, Freedom, and e/Quality (cf. below). For this purpose we have been developing knowledge production networks, not least through our locally-grown knowledge-production hubs, which includes, our national scholarly associations and academic journals. We may also add, that in our estimation, it appears that in what, George Orwell missed in 1948, when he wrote *1948*, was that the digital would at some point, very soon after 1984, start to radically democratize electronic media, or in his visionary parlance at the time, the 'speak-writer'. Together with this event, the world has also started to be swamped by information and data productions.

2.2.3 The Substance of Power as Event

With global emergence into the e-episteme – there are reportedly already 2 billion facebook users at the moment – we *have* to confront the knowledge productions of the world's past, our internationally-inherited *knowledge-power substance, or, substantial events of history*, and its continuing knowledge-power effects, in the empirical present, as a history, or the world's histories, of the present, in all its diversity, and dispersal. Not just analytically, but productively, Michel Foucault, has provided historicised examples of such engagements. And, in order to unpack this as an initial and still very partial gesture, we make just three points.

As for the *first*, we need to deal with history as substance, in all its materiality, not merely in the form of the public statues that were supposed to provide ideological rationalizations for past ideologies. That too, yes. But more significantly, for that which these statues came to represent. Specifically, in the South African context, we need to deal with the issues earlier outlined (cf. Smit & Chetty 2018b: 363), as, e.g.,

> evidenced in the material continuation of the asymmetrically racially-founded knowledge-production social networks (including academic social networks and journals), in land and property distribution, the actual urban and rural geographies that distinguish between developed infrastructure and under-developed [or stunted], the number of

> productive institutions and companies, together with the large diverse array of cross-cutting para-institutional national and international props and networks.

These knowledge-power constructs from the past are the knowledge-power constructs in the present, that continue to shape and determine, and even, in many cases keep scholarship captive in outdated last-outpost-kinds of knowledge-power configurations and constructs, registered in the paradigm paralyses we mentioned earlier.

As African researchers and academics, and intellectuals, and together with international partners, these need to be engaged intellectually, as has been done by many remarkable people, both men and women, throughout world history. As has been shown with the social engagements of the South African government on the land issue, more recently, these should also be engaged together with our communities, and societies[7]. In terms of Gerry Stahl's model, these should be engaged both horizontally, and historically. Many, also in Africa and also southern Africa have, in the past, and recent past, and present, engaged the continuing effects of these legacies, the historical substance of the material effects of past knowledge-power productions, in the present, and have done so critically, analytically, and constructive-interpretively. And, many are continuing to engage this and the related legacies of this challenge.

For the *second sub-point* under this heading of the *knowledge-power substance of history*, we need to flag the promises of our entry into electronic virtual realities. For many reasons, as have become evident in the rapidly expanding of gaming and related software and hardware productions, virtual reality productions provide possibilities for not only past, but also future imaging and scenario building and that, for either/ or mass, or networked

[7] Significantly for instance, in this regard, is the appeal by Prof Robin Crewe, Chairperson of the the ASSAf Committee on Scholarly Publishing in South Africa (CSPiSA) and the National Scholarly Editors' Forum (NSEF), at its latest meeting on 20 November 2018, Southern Sun Hotel, OR Tambo, Johannesburg, where he urged scholarly journal editors and research group leaders to also become active on facebook, twitter, and related social network and messaging services, so as to take our communities, associations and societies with us, with regard to the more general social significance of our knowledge, information, and data productions, analyses, and interpretations.

distribution, or targeted distribution as in education systems for instance. This, obviously also brings with it a myriad of ethical and related questions, not least of an ideological nature, concerning dystopic scenario and narrative building, as well as the more basic pejorative significances of ideologies, as such, and questions of fake news, and of late, with Elon Musk's initiatives, algorithm-driven fake news and information productions[8]. In this latter regard, the quest for radical, communicative interactive engagements remains the preferred procedures to follow in teaching and learning, as well as community engagement, if not research endeavours.

Finally, with regard to the points made above, in respect of the findings that *'power is everywhere'*; that, *the micro-physics of power impact embodied subjects*; and that it is through the *substance of power-knowledge*, its *materialities*, and *realities* and *reality effects*, that it impacts human bodies and the material environment, we need to raise the empirical question as well. This concerns the empirical effects of the knowledge-power currently being produced in its multiform impacts on bodies and the environment, and that globally. The question, as we engage both past and future, in the present, concerns the productions of knowledge-power that have liberating, knowledge-power effects within the framework of Access, Freedom, and e/Quality. And, as intimated earlier, the question concerns how to do this, heterotopically, transversally, and most importantly, with regard to attention to both the empirical effects of power-knowledge, not only from the continuing past, and present, but also with regard to the effects knowledge-power productions, in the present, create and produce, and as to their effects into the future. And, below, we just briefly expound on these, under the rubric of the 2018 international Open Access lecture topic, 'Designing Equitable Foundations for Open Knowledge'.

3 Praxis of 'Designing Equitable Foundations for Open Knowledge' in Context

As stated earlier, the general topic of the 2018 Open Access lectures internationally, was 'Designing Equitable Foundations for Open Knowledge'. By using the intransitive verb, 'designing', but obviously, accompanied by transitive implications, the topic assumes that the international *foundations of knowledge* that exist, are not 'equitable', and, too, that *access to this*

[8] For a preliminary critical foray into this domain, cf. Smit and Chetty (2018c).

knowledge, or knowledge formations, or even knowledge blocks, and their processes and procedures, are not 'open'. In a simple binary understanding, this means that these knowledge formations and, as earlier explicated, the discourse, or discursive formations, in which they are gestated and generated, that harbour them or represent them, but also as knowledge is disseminated, through various networks, are *inequitable*, or, in common parlance, firstly, *unequal*, and, secondly, as the opposition to *open* knowledge, *closed*. That said, this topic challenges the academic and intellectual fraternities to produce knowledge(s), as well as the how, the what happens and the how things happen, as to the systems, and institutions, including both the software and hardware, in our digital age, for opening up, and in terms of our current concerns, we may mention, for instance, race, class and gender. Because, many knowledge systems and knowledge formations are gendered, racially closed circles, and, given world history, closed in terms of economic class, or, social caste[9]. In this regard, to provide just a mere sample of what is needed from our common African perspective, and as this reflects on the substance of knowledge-power, we shall raise four issues, concerning the move from the focus on the how, to a focus on the what, or content, that is required, for achieving equity via Open access, e.g. access to the productions of modern, and modernising culture.

Whereas we reflected last year on the HOW, on the capacity, and the communication and the knowledge power systems, we want to here reflect on WHAT. With this focus, we shall also identify three of the *foundations* of this

[9] As earlier indicated, we shall not here reflect further on the how, or the what happens, or technicalities, related to datatech, infotech, techknow, techlit, or e-Learning, that, since the 1990s, also including the diverse modalities of communication and interaction that became available with the dawn of the digital, or electronic age or, for that matter, the important issue of 'multiliteracy', as it encompasses the mastering, fluency, and use (contextually-relevant mental representation) of more than mother tongue languages. Cf. for instance, Becker (2004); Brown and Van der Merwe (2015); Ellis and Goodyear (2010); Lea (2015); on MOOCs (McKay and Lenarcis (2015); Mouromtsev and d'Aquin (2016); and on Pedagogy and governance in an open society Peters, Liu & Ondercin (2012); Lea (2015); Surian (2016); and also, for the entry into the latest developments, of humanities scholars, becoming adept in code writing, e.g. Romano's *Learning Python* (2015), consistent with the notion of the Digital Humanities. Cf. also Sampson, Ifenthaler, Spector and Isaías (2014).

quest for the productions of the requisite substance or content, via openness and access. And this is what people / scholars have called our *ascendant history into openness of South Africa as a free country*. Or what is also been called our *Affirmative Genealogy of Freedom*, of dignity, of openness, of social equality, of equal social justice for ALL (both men and women) and of the collective constructive engagement of social transformation. Constructive engagement of what philosophers have called our historical ontology of the present. What has brought us here and what remains to be done. As is well recognised, these have been three vitally important drivers, in our *South African ascendant history into openness, as a free country*, which has been centrally part of our own *Affirmative Genealogy of Freedom*, of dignity, of openness, and which could be strung together as central part of in our collective historical tapestry, i.e. the centrally important events of what we could thematise as the push of access, freedom and e/Quality.

3.1 Access

With regard to *access*, Anton Lembede has played a very significant role in what has become the substance of South African history. For those familiar with colonial and apartheid Durban, one of Durban's central, and busiest streets, Smith Street, formerly named after a British Captain, was renamed Anton Lembede Street. As such, in Durban, and also within the substance of South African history, Anton Lembede has acquired some posthumous recognition in the minds and culture of the South African people. Anton Lembede was a fascinating intellectual and budding young academic, and a South African activist, who also became the founding president of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL). And, in one of his most famous statements, and taken up into the ANC Youth League Manifesto of 1943, he says,

> The African ... regards [World] Civilization [/World Culture/ World Knowledge-Production] as the common heritage of all Mankind [Humanity] and claims as full a right to make his [and her] contribution to its advancement and to live free as any White South African [South African Citizen]; further, he [she] claims the right to all sources and agencies to enjoy rights and fulfil duties which will place him [and her] on a footing of equality with every other South African racial [socio-cultural] group (*Freedom in our Lifetime* ... 1944:90).

In terms of international discourse at the time, the notion of Civilization, with a capital C, was reserved for mainly white, 'European', specifically British, American, or European, men from the elite classes. It was produced for their benefit, and they were expected to contribute to it, via a wide variety of forms of scientific and colonising exploits. 'Civilization', with a capital C, here, in context, would be better regarded as knowledge-production, the production of World Civilisation, of World Culture, with a capital C, more globally speaking. So, for Lembede to make this statement, and to found and produce the 'Freedom in our Lifetime' - discourse, was not only a statement of intent, but also a courageous statement. So, if the World Civilisation, or World Culture, is the common heritage of all humanity, then it is incumbent to provide *access* to all, equally, to fully participate in the productions of World Civilisation/ World Culture/ World Knowledge Production, and also to benefit from that equally. Moreover, Lembede asserts the African's right to live free as any white, and for that matter world citizen, of the time. Further he also claimed the right to all sources and agencies to enjoy rights and fulfil duties which will place all Africans on an equal footing and equality with all, internationally. As historical event, this statement, in South Africa's ascendant history, was extremely significant, and a central, foundational building block for opening up *access* to universal civilization, or world culture and knowledge productions. We mention this as one example amongst many, as providing the foundations of South African society as an open society, with *access* to knowledge production, to all that the natural and human sciences offer both as challenge and task. Following Lembede, and as has happened since 1994, South Africans have stepped up to take their rightful proud place as subjects of knowledge-power among the nations, and have grown from strength to strength.

3.2 Freedom

Lembede made his statement while the so-called Second World War was still in full swing. Five years later, following the war, in 1948, the then recently founded United Nations, promulgated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR). And, still amidst fierce resistance from closed academic and political systems, with ideologies rooted in racism, sexism, the capitalist exploitation of the working classes, and sectarianism, not least in South Africa, it opened ALL the people of the world to the benefits and protections of universal rights and freedoms. In its very, very significant 'Preamble', it states:

> Whereas recognition of the *inherent dignity* and of the *equal* and *inalienable rights* of *all members of the human family* is the *foundation* of *freedom*, *justice* and *peace* in the world, …

And, in Article 1, it states,

> All human beings are *born free* and *equal* in *dignity* and *rights*. They are endowed with *reason* and *conscience* and should act towards one another in a spirit of mutual humanity [brotherhood and sisterhood].
> ....

In terms of our sub-heading, the embodied subject – communication – knowledge-production unitary, and integrated triadic praxis, is positioned within the transversal and heterotopic spatial configurations and networks, as a *free* subject, with inherent dignity, and with *inalienable rights* as an integrated participating member of the *human family*. As is the case with ALL human subjects, the knowledge-producing subject is *born free*, and endowed with *reason* and *conscience*, in addition to human dignity and rights.

In addition to Lembede's thrust for the African subject's full *access* to and equal participation and carrying of equal responsibility, in the universal knowledge-power production systems of the world, we here, have the equally valid and internationally compelling and cogent assertion of, what we may term, ontological, legal, as well as internationally-guaranteed intersubjective *freedom*.

To this, and in the light of the Open access week topic, we need to also consider the importance of the UDHR's Article 26, where it asserts,

> 1. Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, ….

This is an immense challenge for the world. With the advent of technological-driven material productions displacing human labour, and in many cases, making it obsolescent, the challenge to provide access to free education to the world's populations, and also to fund the cyclic re-education, and re-skilling that future scenario builders foresee, this is a real challenge. Yet, the Digital Humanities may provide a very important avenue for addressing this matter and its related challenges. Not only will it call on the research-led education institutions to provide the universally, and

internationally-networked requisite teaching and learning, but also challenge our library systems, as they are at the moment, to transform from mainly print-based to more digitally-based practices. It is the open digital library systems, as advocated by Open Access week, who, as local hubs, together with universities' researchers, and scholarly journals, amongst others, are called upon to step into this vacuum, that has been emerging now for some time, and meet the challenges for present, and continuing education and training. Doubtlessly, as is the case presently in South Africa, free, equal access to these educational, and research hubs, will continue to be a challenge financially for institutions, families, and the state.

3.3 e/Quality

Seven years after the promulgation of the UDHR in 1955, the South African Congress of the People, adopted the Freedom Charter at Kliptown, Gauteng. This document is not only important as to its future vision, of what South Africa could, and should be like. More importantly, with regard to the foundations, of the praxis of the African knowledge-producing subject, it is rooted in *equality*. On this notion, or, transposed into our post-1989, digital framework, e/Quality, we want to make three observations.

Firstly, traditionally, the assertion of the equality of all human beings, is related to Jean-Jacques Rousseau (cf. Smit 2009). Yet, as Rousseau already recognised, we have to make a distinction between the inherent, and in-born value of a human being – which includes the aptitudes or capabilities of a person – and the actual development, through training, of those aptitudes and capabilities. The recent distinction in the literature, and also in the topic of the 2018 Open Access week, between equity and equality, reflects this distinction. Equitability, functions at the level of the equal, born, natural, dignity, including freedoms and rights of all human beings. This is foundational for *all* human beings. As such, it is incumbent on states, and their institutions, to provide equal access and freedom to all their citizens, in terms of their inherent dignity and human value, including the various systems and levels of education. So, equity, is to be guaranteed to, and provided for all equally. That is foundational.

Second, by using the notion of equality and equity interchangeably, we recognise that all human beings are recognised universally, as equal in terms of their human dignity and value, but not their aptitudes and capabilities. Similarly, e/Quality captures both the notion of equal dignity, as well as equal *access*,

and the call for the equal, and free, pro-active participation in knowledge-power productions for the benefit of the human world culture, and civilization, even as this is done according to the aptitudes, capabilities, and capacities of social formations, institutions, and individuals. Given Lembede's foundational thrust for equal and free participation, and the UDHR's foundational thrust for freedoms and rights, the challenge is indeed, to fully participate in the knowledge productions of our modern online, and offline worlds, equally.

Thirdly, and in addition to the recognition of equal dignity, and equal access according to continuous developing capacities and capabilities, e/Quality captures both the notions of the continuously advancing contextually-relevant *quality* of knowledge productions, in both the online (electronic) and offline (print media) worlds. The Subject/ e-Subject is challenged to continuously improve knowledge and skills – especially with regard to electronic data and information systems, e-technologies, and e-media – according to aptitudes and capacities, and to engage knowledge production activities heterotopically, and to do that transversally, so as to contribute to World Civilisation. Even though the contributions of individuals and institutions may vary as to the nature, and impacts of their contributions, e/Quality captures the sense of quality knowledge productions via the infotech and datatech of the digital era. In other words, what the open access knowledge foundations of access and freedom provide, is the opportunity to equally participate in knowledge productions according to the varied capacities and capabilities of the world citizens and their institutions, and to do that according to the highest measures of quality, thereby adding high quality value to World Culture.

Fourthly, if we focus these thee seminal perspectives on the freedom Charter, we see that there are multiple opportunities for engaging what has been envisioned by our forebears. This is so in so far as that it resonates with many of the sentiments and assertions of the UDHR. In addition though, it deploys the notion of being 'equal', and a variety of forms of notions of 'equality', with regard to the in-equalities that then existed, and to a large extent continue to exist in South Africa, and more broadly speaking Southern Africa. It uses the word 'equal' 10 times, also echoing the overriding rationale and motivation for the Charter. And, this is done in relation to the 10 primarily identified thematisations, and visionary objects of concern, study and, in our context, in need of e-knowledge-power production. We shall not go further into this endeavour. Suffice to say that as one of the foundational focuses in our affirmative and ascendant genealogies of South Africa's ascendant history, it

also opens the door to incisive historical researches, both *analytical*, á la Foucault's philosophy, ánd productive, as a productive interweaving of the affirmative genealogies of access, freedom, and e/Quality. Within the e-paradigm, it concerns the the value-added quality that the electronic episteme brings to knowledge production.

Conclusion

We started off this article by reflecting on our earlier publications in 2018 (cf. Smit & Chetty 2018a; and 2018b). In these two publications, we have captured the gist of Smit's International Open Access lecture, of 23 October 2017, and, in the current article, his International Open Access lecture of 22 October 2018. It followed up on the explication of the embodied subject – communication system – knowledge-power production triad, modelled after Michel Foucault's 'The Subject and Power', of 1982, and transposed into the post-1989, or Berners-Lee digital era. It also explicated the triad in the context of the Open Access week's topic, viz. 'Designing Equitable Foundations for Open Knowledge'. We have shown that it should be done as a continuation of historical events that provided such 'foundations', and that this chould be done heterotopically, and transversally. Access, Freedom, and e/Quality, are just three of many other conceptualisations of the *foundational* thematisations, that are cornerstones for addressing the issues of making 'open knowledge' the default measure for research, in 'both infrastructure and [scientific/ scholarly/ publishing] culture'[10], in (South) Africa, and Africa more broadly speaking. As just three examples, this model may be helpful in exploring South Africa's *ascendant history into openness, as a free country*, our *affirmative genealogy, or genealogies, of freedom,* in the present. Similar to other countries, South Africa has its own distinctive foundations, and trajectories of *access* to the collaborative contributions to advancement of world culture, i.e. science, technology, and information, and data productions, or, knowledge-power, á la Anton Lembede; *freedom* as founded in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

[10] It is noted that, with regard to the transposition of Foucault's triad, we should engage it as an e-subject – e-communication – e-knowledge-power production triad. In both the presentations, by Smit, and the Smit & Chetty publications, and the published articles, Foucault's modelling was also transposed into, and extended, to accommodate the dynamics of the digital episteme that the world entered into with Berners-Lee's mapping of the internet at CERN, in 1989.

(UDHR), and *equity/ equality/ e/Quality*, as founded in 'The Freedom Charter'.

In the final instance, the paper called for action, with regard to the objects as identified in The Freedom Charter as both part of the vision of a then future South Africa, and a research and knowledge-production task in the present. The question is, whether it is not incumbent on South Africa, and equally, the people of Southern Africa, to engage on knowledge production processes, related to its existing and developing decolonising research hubs and digital networks, to both analytically and productively engage the knowledge productions the country and the continent need. That the historical focus is important in this regard, goes without saying, and as already indicated in Smit, van Wyk and Wade (1996a), this is a continuing task, in the building of our alter-nation. And, as already indicated with regard to the historical study of SALit, in Smit (1996b: 209 - 223), some of the seminal approaches to engage in the broader theoretical framework in which empirical, embodied knowledge production is positioned, in socio-culturally and socio-historically conceptually-relevant researches, need not coagulate into the historicising of thick colonising 'descriptions' of historical cultural formations, but shift the focus onto the tracings of the *affirmative genealogies of freedom*, in Africa's rise into *openness, in its ascendant history as a free continent.* In our three publications, we have attempted to outline some insights into some basic considerations, that could assist in this endeavour, as we engage the requisite knowledge-production challenges, not least, for the Digital Humanities[11].

It is also in this spirit, that we have dedicated these publications, to the celebration of the seventieth year of the existence of the UDHR, in 2018.

[11] We believe that perspectives and perceptions developed by Dilthey ([1887] 1997), and Geertz (1973), for instance are in need for further developing in our new theoretical conceptualisation and framework, as transposed into the post-1989, digital episteme. And, as far as meaning generation in our digital episteme is concerned, centrally involving the subject, the work represented by Jaspers ([1913] 1997; 1951), Bruner (1990), Prain, *et al.* (2015), and, in this issue, by Jarvis and Mthiyane (2018), are helpful. Cf. also Kenning (2013), and the very brief but seminal broaching of these, and similar issues by Joranger [2019, forthcoming]. Importantly, this is where the subject/ e-subject, is the subject-/ e-subject of contextually-relevant knowledge-power productions, through its various communication systems and e-knowledge, and e-networks, as central to the African Digital Humanities. Cf. also Parkhurst (2017).

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Johannes A. Smit
Editor-in-Chief: *Alter*nation
College of Humanities
University of KwaZulu-Natal
smitj@ukzn.ac.za

Denzil Chetty
Assistant Editor: *Alter*nation
College of Human Sciences
University of South Africa
chettd@ukzn.ac.za

Genocide, Oppression, Ambivalence: Online Narratives of Identity and Religion in Postcolonial Nigeria[1]

Sokfa F. John

Abstract

Digital media platforms have emerged as important socio-cultural sites that enable the engagement of historical and contemporary contestations around religion and identity against the background of ethnoreligious conflicts and social tensions in Nigeria. The post-election violence of 2011 and subsequent mass killings of mostly Christians in rural Southern Kaduna saw the emergence of several online groups and practices contesting these, and other forms of oppression and violence (real or imagined) in Southern Kaduna. This article details a study that applied a postcolonial perspective to analyse the content of one such online forum. It identified two dominant narratives on the forum. In the first, users represent Southern Kaduna Christians as oppressed and experiencing genocide; and in the second, forum users reveal an ambivalence of admiration and revulsion in the ways they construct the identity, religion and privileges of Hausa-Fulani Muslims, viewed as the oppressor. The study also shows that forum users were more likely to be critical of religion during conversations about preferences regarding political candidates and elections. I argue, among other things, that the self-descriptions of Southern Kaduna people as oppressed and endangered, are more than mere descriptions of experiences but can also be viewed as forms of identity. Thus, to better understand peoples such as Southern Kaduna and their experiences in the context of social conflicts, their identities need to be analyzed beyond the usual limited focus on religion and ethnicity.

Keywords: Religion, identity, digital platforms, conflict, genocide, ambivalence, Southern Kaduna

[1] This article is being co-published with *OLH*, with minor changes to fit the requirements of *Alternation*. Cf. John (2018) for the full reference.

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a3

Introduction

Digital media constitute a site for the narration, performance and experience of conflicts, wars and their commemoration, observes Adi Kuntsman (2010). Reports and digital museums of wars, conflicts, genocides, postwar trauma, protests, personal memories and histories are numerous on digital platforms; and offline conflicts and wars are sometimes accompanied by propaganda and information warfare online. He further argues that the way human beings feel, witness and recollect traumatic events is being changed by digital media, which operate as a site for literal and figurative conflicts where past tensions are conjured up and new ones shaped. Although concerned with a different context to this study, Kuntsman explores the content and user practices of several social media platforms used to explore the issues and experiences prevalent in Nigeria, especially those concerned with historical and contemporary events, hostilities, conflicts and grievances in Kaduna, Nigeria.

Kaduna state is the site of some of the most intense conflicts and contestations that have shaped Nigeria over the past three decades. In their engagements with these contestations, scholars predominantly construct religion as a politicized form causing or aggravating conflicts, and/or as an identity around which people are mobilized for conflicts (Ibrahim 1989; Kukah 1993; Ayantayo 2009; Onapajo 2012; McCauley 2017). In addition to the spaces in which ethnic and religious identities are articulated and contested, digital media platforms have emerged as sites utilized for mobilization, sectarianism and for pursuits and practices that reflect offline tensions and grievances, but where also where alternative ways to redress them can be sought. However, there is a dearth of studies exploring 1) these emerging social and cultural spaces in Nigeria, and 2) the religious forms and ideological practices that are (re)produced and invoked in such spaces to engage, sustain or attempt to redress ethnoreligious tensions and grievances. This paper presents some of the findings from a study that explored these issues, with a particular focus on the articulation and contestation of religion and ethnicity by members of a closed Facebook forum for Kaduna, Nigeria.

Kaduna state, with over six million people, has over 50 predominantly Christian ethnic groups, which commonly identify as Southern Kaduna due to shared geography, histories, similarity of cultures and shared socio-political visions and aspirations. Some of these include Atyap, Ayu, Ham, Adara, Gwong, Gure, Fwantswan, Gbagyi, Takad, Sholio, Tsam, Bajju, Atachaat,

Ninzo and Oegworok[2]. The state also has a large population of Hausa-Fulani, one of Nigeria's three largest ethnic groups, dominant in northern Nigeria and predominantly Muslim[3]. While Hausa-Fulani and Southern Kaduna communities have benefited each other as neighbours, relations between them have also been shaped by oppressive power dynamics, inter-ethnic and interreligious animosities and political grievances that sometimes translate into violent conflicts (Kazah-Toure 1999; Blench 2010; Harris 2011; Gandu, 2011; Ochonu 2013).

After a violent post-election conflict in 2011, Kaduna experienced several violent attacks by suspected members of the extremist group Boko Haram. Perhaps more troubling for the people of Southern Kaduna, however, was a series of attacks on rural communities by Fulani herdsmen, which caused major loss of lives and properties, and displacements (HRW 2013). The persistence of these violent attacks and mass killings prompted responses from civil society organizations, activists and some politicians. It also saw the emergence of several online forums and platforms on which these killings were challenged, and several other historical and contemporary grievances were discussed: religion was widely invoked in this process. This paper discusses two of the primary narratives on one such forum. These include narratives of oppression and genocide, where forum users represent Southern Kaduna

[2] The latest Nigerian census (2006) puts the population of Kaduna state at 6,113,503 (NPC, 2006). It is difficult to estimate the population of the people in the identity category 'Southern Kaduna', since the headcounts did not take ethnicity into account. Kaduna also has a large migrant population from within Nigeria and beyond.

A simplistic categorization of all Southern Kaduna peoples as Christian and all Hausa and Fulani as Muslims is not intended here. While the majority of Southern Kaduna people identify as Christians, there are some who practice Islam and while Hausa-Fulani people are predominantly Muslims, there are some who adhere to Christianity.

[3] Hausa and Fulani are two distinct groups, with the Fulani being historically a dominant minority and Hausa a dominant majority (Osaghae 1998). The two are compounded as Hausa-Fulani because of the high level of integration between them, and their intertwining histories and religion in Nigeria. I am aware of opposition to the use of the hyphenated term. Its usage here is for analytical reasons, and because most scholarship and statistics use it this way.

Christians as an oppressed people experiencing genocide; and the narratives of revulsion and attraction, which reveal an ambivalence in the ways forum users construct the identity, religion and privileges of the Hausa-Fulani Muslim Other, portrayed as the oppressor and aggressor. The study shows, among other things, that forum users were more likely to be critical of religion during conversations about preferred political candidates and elections; and more likely to unquestioningly accept and reproduce ideas about religion–especially Islam–when discussing violent and painful events such as killings in Southern Kaduna. Past conflicts and grievances also reemerged and were redirected to inform narratives and identities, and current feelings about such events become useful for making sense of the past. I argue that to better understand peoples such as those in Southern Kaduna and their experiences in the context of social conflicts, it is useful to analyze their identities beyond the ethnic and religious to include conceptions of themselves and others, which might appear as mere descriptions of experiences, but are, and function as, identity types.

Narratives, Identity and Representation

Margaret Somers (1994) argues that identities are constructed through locating oneself or being located in social narratives. Nancy Ammerman (2003) also observes that narratives are helpful as metaphors for understanding identities. Narratives assist with the framing of conversation and language as important sites for analyzing identity. By linking them to historical and special practices and relationships, people come to understand their experiences, and events become part of a plot through narratives (Somers 1994). Thus, 'we may understand identities as emerging, then, at the everyday intersections of autobiographical and public narratives' (Ammerman 2003: 215). Narratives further enable people to define who and why they are, through representation–the language used to imbue events, social conditions, groups and social practices with meaning (Wenden 2005).

Central to the question of identity, narrative and representation are social relationships, often involving identification and social comparison (Stets and Burke 2000). Thus, Karkaba suggests that identity, in postcolonial thinking, is destabilized and fragmented because of the 'increasing awareness that it is a question involving the relationship between the self and the other' (2010: 93). In his seminal work *Orientalism*, Edward Said (1978) exposes the discursive construction and representation of identity through media, force and

different knowledge regimes in the historical relationships between the West and the Arab world. The West mirrored itself as superior to an imagined Other, which it considered uncivilized, exotic, and barbaric and thereby legitimized western domination. This critique also inspired investigations into European creation and representation of Africa, and Africa's role in reinventing itself (Mudimbe 1988; Appiah 1992; Mudimbe 1994; Biakolo 2006).

Religion and ethnicity are the primary categories through which many Nigerians identify themselves and navigate their social, political and economic challenges (Akinade 2014). Traditionally, 'majority' and 'minority' are the main categories for describing Nigeria's ethnicities, descriptors that were highly contested since these categories are not always separable from regional, religious and other political identities (Osaghae & Suberu 2005). Egosha Osaghae and Rotimi Suberu (2005) argue that such categorizations are limited because they are based on an understanding of Nigeria's ethnicities as primarily linguistic, ignoring the importance of self-definition and definitions by outsiders. They also note that the minority-majority distinction in Nigeria emerged out of power configurations of colonialism and regionalism. This traditional grouping remains politically relevant and active with the Yoruba, Igbo and Hausa-Fulani considered majorities and others as minorities. Moreover, indigene, migrant and settler identities have gained prominence in citizenship contestations, but these are based on ethnicity and region; and on the practice of excluding settlers, migrants and non-indigenes from rights and access to resources and services (Osaghae & Suberu 2005).

Among Hausa-Fulani Muslims, religious identity is often more salient than ethnic identity (Osaghae & Suberu 2005). This is sometimes also true of ethnic minorities in northern Nigeria whose shared Christian identity is also of considerable importance for forging political alliances (Campbell 2013). This is significant given the view that Nigeria's minorities are:

> Culturally, linguistically, territorially, and historically distinct groups, which because of their diffusion, numerical inferiority and historical evolution within the modern Nigerian state, have been subjected to subordinate political, social and economic positions in the federation and its constituent units (Osaghae 1998: 4).

Addressing this condition has been the focus of the politics of many elites of minorities (Osaghae 1998: 4). Osaghae also notes that this does not apply to

certain minorities, such as the Fulani, which is historically a dominant minority. Furthermore, while minorities in other parts of Nigeria are mainly ethnolinguistic, several in the north are, additionally, religious minorities. Thus, in his categorization, Osaghae classed several northern minorities as 'non-Muslim minority groups' marked by their resistance to Islamization and Fulani domination since the Jihad of 1884, and their openness to Christian and Western influence. The proximity of Southern Kaduna groups to Zaria, a major center of Muslim Hausa-Fulani politics and dominance, made them more accessible for internal colonialism and made resistance more daunting, unlike minority groups that resisted from a more regional standpoint (Osaghae 1998).

Sociohistorical Development of Conflicting Identity Categories in Kaduna

Tunga Lergo (2011) illustrates how regional identities based on majorities and dominant groups alienated, silenced and blurred diversity because, to access political and economic resources, minorities had to identify with their respective regional majorities. The north had also developed a hierarchy of ethnicities with Hausa-Fulani at the top, followed by Muslims of any background, then other regional majorities (Igbo & Yoruba), and northern non-Muslim minorities at the bottom (Lergo 2011). This has contributed to the disavowal of the north by several minorities in the middle belt region. As Lergo rightly observes, the question, 'who is a Northerner?' animates a vibrant discourse among minorities as they struggle for separate identity from the Hausa-Fulani.

These issues highlight the need for a deeper exploration of the postcolonial dynamics of identity and representation in the context of perennial memories of past violence, collective trauma and an unaddressed history of sub-colonization in northern Nigeria. Historical scholarship and studies on social conflicts in Nigeria indicate that sub-colonialism, in the shadow of indirect rule, was a major encounter between the Hausa-Fulani and Southern Kaduna that continues to shape how they define and interact with each other[4].

[4] The term 'sub-colonialism' is from Moses Ochonu's *Colonialism by Proxy* (2013) and denotes the system whereby the task of colonizing minority ethnic groups in northern Nigeria was outsourced to the HausaFulani Muslim authorities because those minority groups were viewed by the British as too

The jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio, a Fulani Islamic teacher, in the 1880s, which aimed to expunge from the practice of Islam imported pre-Islamic Hausa practices and led to the establishment of the Sokoto Caliphate (Falola & Heaton 2008), had major implications for non-Hausa, non-Muslim groups in the region. Southern Kaduna groups were closer in proximity to Zazzau (Zaria), one of the most important emirates of the Caliphate, who saw Southern Kaduna people as legitimate targets for frequent slave raids (Kazah-Toure 1999). Narratives from this slaving era still surface to fuel conflicts (Blench 2010).

When the British conquered the Sokoto Caliphate in 1903, making it the Protectorate of Northern Nigeria, their indirect rule system applied only to the Hausa-Fulani. Moses Ochonu (2013) has rightly argued that for the several nonMuslim minority groups in the region, it was a case of sub-colonialism or colonialism by proxy. The British viewed these minority groups as ungovernable and uncivilized due to their lack of centralized authorities, and thus, extended the political and administrative structures and institutions of the Caliphate into these communities. Hausa-Fulani agents were deployed to 'civilize' them without any consideration of the 'troubled precolonial status and semiotic resonance of Hausa as a socio-political category in the non-Muslim sector of northern Nigeria' (Ochonu 2008: 100). KazahToure observes that the colonial government in northern Nigeria viewed the Sokoto Caliphate, its emirates and ruling circles 'both in theory and practice, as the most ingenious, intelligent, cultured and politically sophisticated' in the territories (Kazah-Toure 1999: 115). Although they viewed Islam as inferior to Christianity, it was, in their imagination, the highest form of spirituality that Africans could attain, superior to indigenous religions and offering the level of civilization they could not find in the cultures of minorities in the region (Weiss 2004). Non-Muslim groups were described as raw pagans, savages, uncivilized, primitive, and of 'inferior stock' and these representations impacted how Hausa-Fulanis – deployed to these communities as Native Authorities (NA) – carried out their colonial responsibilities; and the violent ways both the Hausa and colonial authorities responded to minorities' grievances and resistance (Galadima & Turaki 2001: 88).

backward for indirect rule. Moses Ochonu (2013) describes how the Hausa-Fulani agents, who saw themselves more as agents of Muslim civilization than of the colonial agenda, oppressively and ruthlessly exercised their sub-colonial powers, thereby leaving a legacy that still shapes contemporary conflicts.

Both the British and Hausa-Fulani elites imagined non-Muslim groups as needing monotheistic governance and colonization. Thus, the British tilted existing struggles to the advantage of the Hausa-Fulani, and equipped them with superior resources to aid their physical, political, economic and religious dominance and suppression of resistance (Ochonu 2013). The violence of this system grounded a persistent perception of the Hausa-Fulani as the oppressor among minority groups in northern Nigeria. While Nigeria received its independence from British rule in 1960, the sub-colonization of non-Muslim groups in northern Nigeria remained as its structures were left untouched and continued to shape life and relationships for nearly four decades. Additionally, political leadership at different stages of the evolution of contemporary Kaduna has been successively dominated by Hausa-Fulani Muslims since independence, with the exception of the circumstantial emergence of a Southern Kaduna Christian, Patrick Yakowa, as Governor in 2010 and his shortlived election into the same office in 2011, punctuated by one of the most violent conflicts Nigeria had seen (Bello 2015). These and other events aggravated several conflicts often involving ethnic and religious identities and expressions including minorities' resistance to Hausa-Fulani Muslim dominance and structures, the search for independence from the Zaria emirate, conflicts over attempts to implement Sharia in the state, and post-election violence (Suberu 1996; Ochonu 2008; Weimann 2010; Suleiman 2011; Angerbrandt 2011; Bello 2015). They also serve as key sources for identity, differentiation and othering narratives.

Methodology and Forum Characteristics

Two years' content (2013 - 2014) of a closed Facebook group owned by a Kadunabased socio-political pressure group was investigated. Available documentation shows that the group was founded by a few professionals to unite members of the diverse ethnic groups in Kaduna to pursue the emancipation of Southern Kaduna people from oppressive socio-political conditions and poor self-esteem. It also aimed to enlighten and empower people to tackle daily life challenges. During the study period, the group's online membership was one of the largest among similar groups, comprising over 11,000 users of various Southern Kaduna ethnicities, living in Nigeria and the diaspora. The group also describes itself as a non-religious and nonpartisan group, and clarified on several occasions that religion was not a

membership criterion. Members needed to be indigenous to Southern Kaduna by birth or through their parents. Nonetheless, the result of an online survey administered for this study indicated that 99% of the 108 respondents were Christian, and 1% did not indicate their religion[5]. Thus, I treated the group as Christian on this basis, also considering the heavily Christian rhetoric on the forum and the explicit identification of Southern Kaduna on the forum as primarily Christian[6].

The online forum enjoys membership and participation from known politicians, academics, professionals of different fields, activists, civil servants, religious ministers as well as other individuals of varying levels of education, economic status, and social status. The majority (80%) of respondents were between the ages of 20 and 40, and 15% were aged 41 – 50. This is, perhaps, indicative of the age range of persons with sufficient literacy, political awareness and involvement, as well as familiarity with and access to social media among the Southern Kaduna population[7]. The online forum investigated was very busy, with several posts by different people every day.

[5] This survey was not intended for use as primary data, but was administered to help develop a better idea of the forum and assist with interpretation of content analyzed. Figures from this survey are not precise, but suggestive of general trends among users.

[6] Nigeria's population census does not take account of religion and ethnicity as variables. Thus, it is difficult to tell the current Christian - Muslim composition of the Kaduna state, or to verify claims to religious majority status. The last census to include religion was conducted in 1963 and like subsequent ones, is surrounded by controversy (Okafor, Adeleke, and Oparac 2007). Literature generally affirm that the vast majority of Southern Kaduna people are Christians and Hausa-Fulani are majorly Muslims. After the violent conflicts of 2000 and 2002, there was a huge migration of people towards areas of the state inhabited by members of their own religion and ethnicity: Muslims to the north and Christians to the south of Kaduna state (Harris 2011: 293).

[7] Statistics show that 54% of the population of Kaduna state are between the ages of 15 and 64, and 43% between 0 and 14. Youth literacy in the state is up to 79% (for literacy in any language) and 67% (English), and the Southern Kaduna Senatorial District has up to 88% literacy rate (any language) and 77% (English) compared to Kaduna North Senatorial District with 64% (any language) and 33% (English) (National Bureau of Statistics 2010).

In the two-year content examined, an identifiable average of about 20 users posted more frequently (daily or every couple of days) on political topics, but not consistently for the entire two-year period; and there were several other posts by users who did not have any identifiable pattern of posting. Many more members posted on incidences of violent attacks in Southern Kaduna. Thus, while some frequent posters and commenters could be identified, they did not dominate conversations. Comments and reactions to posts, especially about killings, political and other topics on the themes of marginalization and fears of extinction, could number in the hundreds.

Membership and activity on the online forum indicate an appetite to transfer political struggle to online social media platform and outside the traditional loci of political action. The online platform allowed for the circumvention of traditional channels and hierarchies. It allowed actors to mobilize and to utilize diaspora relations in the pursuit of their interests. It also seemed to enable users to deal with the negligence and misrepresentation of minorities' issues by established traditional media.

The online content collected covered different events, as discussions were often tied to specific issues and events in Nigeria. Since the online forum was started in 2011, content from 2013 to 2014 was preferred because discussions and behavior on the forum appeared to have become more determined and purposeful after about a year of consistent growth and activity. Difficulty in accessing older group posts on Facebook partly contributed to the choice of the period. However, such recent data also provided access to more current ideas and development on the forum and society. Attempts to capture content dating back to early 2014 and 2013 using various algorithms failed. Thus, many search terms and keywords were generated based on familiarity with the nature of conversations on the forum, the nature of content that was accessible, and my research objectives and questions. Many different key term combinations and formats were also used within the group's page. These keywords returned results on the exact search terms, or parts thereof, going back to 2012. This method allowed access to older data without browser freezes or crashes, which was a problem with previously used methods. The content obtained was printed in PDF format. The fact that several different keywords returned the same content enhanced rigour in the data collection process as it indicated that the search was thorough. While this method returned a high volume of content, there was no way of determining whether the process gave access to *all* the content for the targeted period. The data were

thematically analyzed using Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke's (2006) guide to thematic data analysis. The content was also specifically read with a postcolonial optic to identify representations and narratives of religion and identity. Having met the ethical requirements of the University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, I received full ethical clearance for the study (reference number: HSS/1080/014D).

The online forum is an extension of an offline politically involved group and the online and offline are shaped by each other. Many of its members obviously met and interacted in person, and knew each other offline. They also organized and executed offline events together some of which were discussed online. This onlineoffline connection enabled the forum to monitor the identity of its users and the kinds of content they shared, because it appeared to be invested in maintaining its integrity both offline and offline. Some members also had reputations and personalities offline which they sought to protect online; others sought to protect their online reputation offline. A reminder to observe 'decorum' was pinned to the forum's page, such that it was the first thing users saw when they access the group or any of its contents. This included expectations of respectful participation, civility and other forum principles and objectives. Members could invite others to participate, but joining the online forum required approval from the forum administrators. There were occasions in the period reviewed when posts considered inappropriate were reported to the administrators and discussed, and when the identity of some users was questioned to guard against intrusion and espionage. The online-offline connection and interaction of forum users increased the chances that the online content accurately represented the views of members.

Narratives of Oppression and Genocide

The overarching narrative on the online forum is that the people of Southern Kaduna are oppressed and experiencing gradual genocide. This is the lens that focusses how users interpret history and ongoing events in the state and in Nigeria. For example, in a reflection about the challenges of the people of Southern Kaduna, a frequent forum user in 2014 posted '[t]he annihilation of my beloved southern kaduna people has started'. 'We are killed like animals', wrote another user (March 2014), and a year earlier (March 2013), another user had expressed frustration against 'the carefully orchestrated and sustained

pogrom of the Southern Kaduna people … the Extinction agenda of Southern Kaduna by Feudalistic and Religious zealots'. Such conversations – employing terms such as 'pogrom', 'annihilation' and 'genocide' – are rife on the forum, especially in reference to attacks on rural Southern Kaduna following the post-election conflicts of 2011. This is often reinforced by media shared by group members and any material that gives credence to feelings of oppression and genocide. Forum users also reported their visits to the scenes of such attacks and shared their experiences, sometime supported with images.

While members often engaged each other in debates on almost any topic, the content examined indicates that most users agreed, first, that the killings and destruction of communities in Southern Kaduna were an intentional, carefully planned gradual genocide. Second, while these killings were specifically reported as carried out by Fulani herdsmen, forum users did not always make a distinction between Fulani herdsmen and Hausa-Fulani as an ethnoreligious category. Stories of Fulani violence were woven into narratives of Hausa-Fulani hegemony, and applied to support the view of Hausa-Fulani as the oppressor and aggressor. Thus, third, forum members conflate these killings with ethnoreligious conflicts, religious extremists' violence, and the other historical and contemporary contestations between minorities and the Hausa-Fulani. Fourth, forum members take for granted that their 'Faith and Tribe' (18 May 2013) were the key reasons for their oppression and ethnic cleansing. Content was sometimes shared and discussed that reinforce the widely held belief that there is an 'Islamization agenda' in Nigeria, whereby Muslims have a grand, longstanding scheme to Islamize Nigeria by all means possible. Conversations about this draw on events such as the Jihad of Uthman Dan Fodio in the 1880s, the registration of Nigeria in the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) in 1986, the several sharia debates in Nigeria's constituent assemblies after independence, the efforts to implement Sharia in northern states (and consequent violence), and regionalism (Weimann, 2010; Simon, 2011; Bello 2015).

Forum users further view the people of Southern Kaduna as marginalized and excluded politically and economically. This often emerged in conversations about political leadership and civil service employment. For example, the fact that there had been only one Christian and Southern Kaduna democratic governor in Kaduna state despite Southern Kaduna Christians constituting a significant population; the political and ethnoreligious violence that followed his victory in 2011 and his demise in a plane explosion about a

year later indicated, for forum users, the commitment of Hausa-Fulani Muslims to the oppression of Southern Kaduna. The governance structures in Kaduna were also viewed by forum members as systematically marginalizing Southern Kaduna because the number of electoral wards and constituencies was significantly higher in Hausa-Fulani- and Muslim-dominated locations than in Southern Kaduna, making it difficult for democratic processes, such as voting, to favour Southern Kaduna Christians. Several vocal members took their views of oppression further by using the rhetoric of slavery. One user, responding to seeming undermining of the purpose of the forum by others retorted, '[f]or most [users] it [participation in the forum] is a passion, passion for the emancipation of a people from the shackles of mental, political, historical and economic slavery' (06 January 2013). Members employed such rhetoric to emphasize their perception of the nature and depth of Southern Kaduna social, political and religious conditions. Forum members' responses to the Fulani herders' violence indicate that narratives of oppression are increasingly retuned and redefined to emphasize genocide and heighten fears of extinction among users.

Narratives of Attraction and Revulsion

Narratives posted by users of the online forum reflected their ambivalence about first, their imaginary of Hausa-Fulani Muslims and Islam in northern Nigeria; second, the status and relationship of Muslims to the Nigerian state; and third, the privileges that Hausa-Fulani Muslims are perceived to enjoy. In these narratives, members reviled some perceived characteristics and privileges of Hausa-Fulani Muslims and were attracted to others. For example, when members engaged media about the impenitent attitude of an arrested suspected mastermind of a Boko Haram bombing, a user noted, 'I condemn his heretical disposition to non-muslims and what they stand for. I also wish most of us with feeble minds, copy his unwavering and stonehard mind…'. This is a typical response which does not always make a distinction between extremists and other Muslims, but views the attitude of extremists as typical of many Muslims in northern Nigeria. Thus, while the bomber was defined by users as the enemy, the qualities he appeared to portray, such as commitment and unflinching support for Islam, were praised and valued as ideals to be emulated by Christians. Another member once said, for example, that 'they

(Muslims) r dedicated @ all times, infact we shouldn't complain but take dat as a challenge, they can do anything 4 their religion and politics' [Muslims are dedicated at all times, in fact we shouldn't complain but take that as a challenge, they can do anything for their religion and politics] (28 January 2014). Members generally engaged such content and particular events in ways that represented Hausa-Fulani Muslims as a people who take their religion seriously, look out for each other, and are united and unwavering in their pursuit of Hausa-Fulani and Muslim interests.

Yet Hausa-Fulani Muslims and Islam in Nigeria were also explicitly constructed by participants as evil. For example, a video showing one of the Boko Haram leaders, Abubakar Shekau, claiming responsibility for the abduction of over 200 girls in Chibok on 14 - 15 April 2014 was shared. In it, he threatens Nigerian Christians, as well as Muslims who have social relations with Christians, claiming that Boko Haram was defending Allah and following Allah's will. Several forum users drew on this video as evidence that violence and inhumanity are enshrined in and sanctioned by the Qur'an, and that when some Muslims are violent they are only being true to their religion. A member, for instance, reacted, 'I now know it … they pretend, but their koran told them to killed anybody that don't follow their ideology' (May 5, 2014).

Such views of Islam are also contested by members who consider such negative sentiments and generalizations to be unacceptable because they lead to intolerance and stifle efforts towards peace. A member, for example, once enjoined, 'we should have respect for other religion. religious tolerance is expected of us!' (07 June 2014), while another argued that, 'd muslims I kwn re swt n loveable pipo n so also d Islam dai preach 2 me' [the Muslims I know are sweet and lovable people and so also the Islam they preach to me] (18 July 2014). Most members did not dispute depictions of Hausa-Fulani Muslims in Nigeria as aggressors and Southern Kaduna as victims. However, many did not think this warranted generalizations and demeaning commentary about Islam. While such positive counter-representations of Islam and Muslims existed on the forum, there was generally a more dominant sense of aversion and this was heightened during conflicts, extremist violence and loss of lives in which Muslims are implicated.

Additionally, Muslims and Islam in Nigeria were admired and envied insofar as they were perceived to be privileged and accorded a certain high status in Nigeria, leaving them immune to state laws beyond the reach of law enforcement. For forum members, this explains Muslims' impunity for

violence in the country and the unfair treatment that non-Muslims were believed to receive. When, for example, it was shared on the forum that officers of the Nigerian police interrupted a church service to make arrests, members generally agreed with a post stating that 'this cannot happen in a mosque' (12 January 2014). Other incidences were reported by forum members as indicative of disregard of Christian religious spaces, events, and religious life by government and law enforcement authorities. A typical observation by members was that such could not happen to Muslims. One member observed that if such things happen to Muslims, '… bloodshed will follow', while another stated that 'the whole nation would have reacted' (12 January 2014). Muslims were constructed as easily offended by comments about Islam; and as feared by authorities because they were prone to register their discontent through violence, and had more control over political power in Nigeria. Members viewed these factors as working together to deny religious freedom to Christians in Nigeria. Members, for example, would argue that interrupting a religious programme to make arrests is a disregard for freedom of worship. For these forum members, religious freedom also meant having the space and freedom to practice one's religion without any interference by the state. This perception appears also to be extended to other forms of association in religious environments. Since Muslims were believed to be privileged and operating religiously beyond the state, they were considered to enjoy religious freedom, and this was admired by members who encouraged each other to be more like Muslims in terms of piety and politics.

Representations of Religion

In addition to the narratives and representations specifically of Islam and Christianity in Nigeria, forum members also engaged in two dominant representations of religion. These depictions of religion emerged mostly from heated debates about Nigeria's 2015 general elections and the place of Southern Kaduna interests in state and federal politics. Most frequently in the last quarter of 2014, debate occured over disagreements about which candidates to support and whether religion should matter in such decisions. The study generally shows that members were more likely to be critical of religion when discussing politics and political candidates than when discussing other events on the forum.

The first key idea about religion on the forum was that religion stalls

thinking and evokes unwarranted emotional responses, therefore posing a problem for society and democratization. One member, for example, challenged the way others responded when religion entered conversations on the forum, by noting that 'just the mere mention of religious affiliation then all sense of reasoning goes ablaze. Religion truly is the opium of the masses' (14 October 2014). This member also challenged the inaccurate representation of some issues, and the uncritical weaving of stories that appear to affirm already held views into already existing grand narratives. Forum members who advanced this line of thought challenged fixations on religion and the tendency among members to interpret events through religious lenses. They also argued that using religion as the basis for decisions on voting is regressive. They suggested that other values should take precedence because religion detracts from important issues. This position did not seem to be in keeping with the overwhelming invocation of religion on the forum; nor the fact that conversations and activities of members during the period analysed largely revolved around different kinds of ethnic and religious contestations and tensions in Nigeria.

The second representation of religion was that it is an intrinsic part of society. This was often expressed more specifically in relation to politics. For example, while challenging arguments for the separation of religion from politics, a member asked, '[d]id religion not birth politics? How can the two then be apart?' (20 February 2014). While this member did not ground his claim, he sought extensively – and with the support of other members – to show that there is a deep and inseparable link between religion and politics, and therefore efforts to separate them are futile. Such arguments reveal ambivalence towards Islam, as well as an attraction to the perceived lack of separation between religion and politics in Islam. One user argued that '[w]hat makes Islam politically palatable and fascinating is that it has never attempted … to divorce religion from politics' (20 February 2014). These members branded secularist positions on the forum as 'fake liberal' ideas, arguing that liberals had either internalized their oppression or that their suffering had caused fear of religion. The view that religion is intrinsic to society and politics also shaped expressed political decisions whereby some members explicitly declared their intention to support only political candidates of their own religion, partly because this is what they believed Muslims did. They considered the prioritization of religion in political and other decisions to be a mark of true religiosity, citing Muslims as example.

Conclusions: Religion, Identity, Ambivalence and the Opportunities of Alternative Spaces

Relations between the people of Southern Kaduna and Hausa-Fulani from pre-colonial to postcolonial times have been widely documented in the literature on northern Nigerian conflicts and the grievances of the people are often discussed as causal factors in these conflicts (Salawu 2010; Suberu 2011; Sulaiman 2012). Emerging reports also attempt to examine and explain Fulani herders' violence. Media reports on this violence in the past five to seven years have shifted from labelling them as attacks by 'unknown gunmen' to identifying the attackers as Fulani herders, and more recently, describing them as conflict between farmers and Fulani herdsmen. This shift could be an indiction of growing understanding of the conflicts, the politics of naming, or the different dynamics of the violence. Chom Bagu and Katie Smith (2017) observe that criminals and conflict entrepreneurs who take advantage of Boko Haram violence, insecurity and existing tensions for economic purposes, are responsible for the violence. They argue that these criminals rustle Fulani cattle and carefully orchestrate attacks on rural communities across Nigeria in ways that create tension and suspicion between farmers and pastoralists. However, a report by SB Morgen Intelligence (2017) observed that most of the many outbreaks of deadly violence in the Southern part of Kaduna in recent years were inflicted by Fulani herdsmen. The report also argues that this violence must be understood in the context of broader incidences of attacks on rural communities by herdsmen, and reprisals in northern Nigerian states; as well as the previous history of conflicts between Southern Kaduna and Hausa-Fulani dating back to the 1980s. As with other reports, including that of the Human Rights Watch (2013), the SB Morgen report argues that the violence might have been retribution or revenge by Fulani herdsmen over loss of relatives, cattle and other properties in previous conflicts, and also that perpetrators in recent attacks might have included herders from other west African countries. Yet the frequency and prevalence of these attacks and the impunity enjoyed by perpetrators remains a major source of concern (Human Rights Watch 2013). In the face of mounting local and international pressure, the Kaduna State governor Nasir El-Rufai in 2016 made the highly criticized claim to have tracked down the Fulani herdsmen responsible and paid them off to end the killings and destruction of communities in Southern Kaduna (Vanguard 2016). These explanations show the complex and evolving character of the violence.

The literature also indicates that many of the grievances and feelings expressed on the online forum existed long before the forum came into existence. Toure Kazah-Toure (1999), for instance, illustrates how the view of Hausa-Fulani as the oppressor of minorities emerged during colonial times. Thus, the online forum serves as a space where historical and contemporary grievances are aired, interpreted, translated, worked out, and to an extent, transformed without offline limitations. The identities of forum members as marginalized, Southern Kaduna, and/or Christian were not caused by participation in the forum, and members did not seem to embrace these identities through participation. It is more plausible that the forum is a symptom of existing group identities, since people who already embrace these identities gravitate to this and similar forums of like-minded people. However, the forum reinforces these identities, heightens their significance and value; and contributes to their further development and transformation into identity-constructs through narratives.

The narratives of genocide and oppression illustrates this process and the ways grievances are distilled, mobilized and return to find new meanings and expressions. They show that any experience can become a part of, and reinforce, a narrative and identity if it has value and supports the interests that drive and sustain the narrative and identity. This is consistent with Landon Hancock's (2014) findings in Northern Ireland, where historical narratives of old conflicts persist and consistently resurface as a framework for interpreting new ones. They are used in the production of identities informed by fears of extinction, that is, a fear of domination and anxiety that a group's survival is under symbolic, cultural, and physical threat. Hancock argues that fears of extinction work like 'self-fulfilling prophecy' in that they are strengthened and spread through the negative interpretation of provocations and events, leading to further escalations and full-blown conflicts (Hancock 2014: 433). However, unlike in Hancock's case, there is no evidence of conversations on the online forum leading to escalations or full-blown conflicts. Moreover, the examined narratives indicate that current events and provocations give rise to further narratives that are also used to interpret historical events. Thus, while the narratives of genocide emerged specifically in relation to recent violence, past conflicts have been reread to argue that, to an extent, everything had been working towards the ultimate goal of the extinction of Southern Kaduna people.

In their treatment of identities in Nigeria there is a tendency to focus

on ethnic or religious identities and mobilization, and to treat other factors as grievances that cause or contribute to conflict. However, some grievances also reflect other forms of identity that are laden with memories and meanings, and evoke emotional responses. The narratives presented in the present article suggest that the self-definition of Southern Kaduna as an oppressed or marginalized people and as a people facing genocide is as important as religious and ethnic identification in this context, and not mutually exclusive. The self-understanding as 'marginalized' seems to have gained the same weight as other labels of self-definition or self-categorization – almost synonymous, for this group, with the unifying 'Southern Kaduna Christian' identity. Thus, 'marginalized' could benefit from being analyzed as a type of identity. Identity, in social identity theory develops through self-categorization, or identification (in identity theory). It is the awareness or knowledge, by an individual or group, of belonging to a social category or group (Stets & Burke 2000). Identity is also formed through social comparison, whereby people similar to the Self are viewed as belonging with the Self (in-group) and others, different to the Self, to an out-group category (Stets & Burke 2000). This process is observed in the group not only in relation to the categories 'Christian' and 'Southern Kaduna', but with the category 'marginalized' as well. It is also what distinguishes them from the 'oppressor' or 'aggressor', a Hausa-Fulani Muslim outgroup category, and from Christians in other parts of Nigeria who do not have the same experience of oppression or genocide. The emphasis in the forum on the pursuit of unity and collective engagement of shared experiences reflects a self-categorization process whereby special significance is attached to in-group similarities and outgroup differences, emphasized and sometimes exaggerated, to construct the (group) self as unique (Lawler 2008). Through this process, insignificant differences with the outgroup may be amplified and important similarities downplayed, and differences become imagined as natural or obvious, rather than produced (Lawler 2008; Ellison 2013). The existence of a 'marginalized' identity category also holds true when the narrative practices of the online forum are viewed through the lens of identity theory where the Self and Other are identified as 'occupants' of a role or position in society. The meaning attached to these roles and their performance become incorporated into the way an identity is understood, as a yardstick for behavior (Stets & Burke 2000: 225 – 226).

The narratives of attraction and revulsion are a curious response to the

Other. The French theorist René Girard (1996) might have highlighted this when he observed that people do not only imitate the behaviours of others, they also mimic their desires. Desiring other people's desires leads to mutual desire for the same thing, hence competition and rivalry. While imitation means, for Girard, the positive reproduction of other people's desires, he uses the term mimesis to highlight the downside of rivalry. Mimesis can become metaphysical, whereby a person does not merely desire the same object as their mediator, but desires to be their mediator, and this can result in violence (Palaver 2013). Mimesis does reflect some of the dynamics in the narratives of revulsion and attraction. Hausa-Fulani Muslims mediate and shape the preferences and desires of Southern Kaduna Christians expressed online. However, there is no indication that Southern Kaduna Christians desire ***the same thing*** that Hausa-Fulani desire. What the Hausa-Fulani desire is not known from the content analyzed. Thus, the data indicates more of imitation in terms of a desire to ***be like*** (rather than ***to be***) the Other, and to imitate certain qualities the Other is imagined to possess, such as piety, commitment and superiority.

To be sure, forum users imagined Muslims to enjoy a certain elevated and privileged status, and they desire the same, perhaps seeking to find it in the free, disembodied, and exclusive space offered by the online platform. The digital space could be viewed as offering forum members a sort of freedom: a sense of being beyond the reach of the state and its restrictions, and of being on a plane where they could be as religious as they pleased without fear of confrontation or interference. Thus, if the online rhetorical practices on the forum are to be viewed as religious expressions, practices and productions, then it represents an ideal space for religious freedom. It is not only a space for contesting the status of Islam in Nigeria, but an opportunity to also enjoy similar privileges and envied status. The online space allows forum members a certain amount of immunity too and lets them operate on a higher plane while at the same time contesting the status of Islam or pursuing the same status offline. However, this can only be deemed a mimetic desire if there were indications that Hausa-Fulani Muslims desire the same thing[8]. Thus, mimesis is applicable only when it can be confirmed that both the imitator and the mediator share the same desire.

[8] This might be determined through a study of Hausa-Fulani social media forums, which has not been attempted here.

The ambivalence of revulsion and attraction on the forum is more consistent with Peter Stallybrass' and Allon White's suggestion that 'disgust always bears the imprint of desire' (1986: 191). In their study of the bourgeois subject, they argue that the bourgeois construct their identity through the act of exclusion of what they considered to be repulsive, dirty, contaminating and low. The low, which is othered and expelled, evokes 'nostalgia, longing and fascination' (Stallybrass & White 1986: 191). Thus, 'the difference of the other becomes a displaced and intensified facet of the same, the object of desire and disgust' (Dollimore 1991: 247). Postcolonial theorists also recognize this ambivalence in racial and other relations of domination, which suggest a necessary connection and dependence between the savage and the civilized. This is disguised through distinction, as both categories and the meaning attached to them depend on each other for existence (Ashcroft *et al.* 2013; Young 1995). Thus, despite the negative representation of Hausa-Fulani Muslim Other on the online forum, the Other returned as an object of longing and fascination.

The representations of religion on the forum reveal a greater likelihood of being critical when engaging religion during conversations and disagreements about politics and suitability of political candidates than when discussing other events and issues. More users were willing to question the religious bases for political decisions, and more open to engaging critical comments on religion and to offering reasoned arguments when talking about political candidates than on any other occasion. This shows that while religion is consistently invoked and serves as a key unifying factor in identity, it is capable of being overridden by political concerns, unless it forms a part of the political question or strategy. Additionally, depictions of ethnic and religious identities were stronger, more violent, and more unanimous when responding to posted media reports about violence or when there were strong feelings of marginalization. Thus, online representations of ethnic and religious identities are not fixed but situational and dependent on the intensity of the conflicts that evoke or fuel them.

The idea that Muslims do not separate religion from politics or create a distinction between the religious and the secular is prevalent in Nigeria (Onapajo 2012). Ezra Laguda (2013) argues that while Nigerian Christians historically distinguished between the sacred and the profane, and applied this to religion and politics respectively, Muslims saw their religion as applicable to all spheres of life. Given northern Nigeria's history of Islam, early partisan

politics were tied to Islam and religious concerns formed important political agenda (Onapajo 2012). Toyin Falola (2009) notes that Islamic symbols remain effective for political ideology and legitimization in Nigeria. However, Ibrahim Uthman and Lateef Abbas (2014) argue that it is a question of the relationship between Islam and modernity rather than a mere mixing of religion with politics in Islam. They observe that Islam upholds a different vision of modernity and critiques Western ideas of modernity and progress. Thus, while differing and conflicting views exist within Islam about modernity, there is a common vision that diffuses 'Islamic principles and values in both the intellectual and political projects of modernity' (2014: 171).

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Sokfa F. John
Postdoctoral Fellow
Programme in Religion & Social Transformation
Pietermaritzburg
University of KwaZulu-Natal
sokfa.john@gmail.com

Conversing at the Intersection: Religious Identity and the Human Right to Gender Equality in a South African Teacher Education Context

Janet Jarvis
Ncamisile P. Mthiyane

Abstract

This article argues that it is essential to explore conversations at the intersection between personal religious identity and Human Rights issues in an attempt to bridge the gap between policy and practice. To facilitate this exploration an empathetic-reflective-dialogical approach was adopted to engage with pre-service teachers in a South African Higher Education Institution. Selected pre-service Religion Education teachers were encouraged to engage in self-dialogue and to write their self-narratives. Participating in Communities in Conversation, Communities in Dialogue and Communities for Transformation provided the opportunity for empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying to take place. This restorying has the potential to address the possible disconnect between the individual's personal and professional identities when considering Human Rights issues, and in this case, gender equality in particular. Conversing at this intersection has the potential to increase the individual's identity capital and to transform classroom practice to classroom praxis and this can possibly impact the wider society.

Keywords: Empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying, Communities in Conversation, Communities in Dialogue, Communities for Transformation, Human Rights

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a4

Introduction

As underpinned by the South African Constitution (Republic of South Africa 1996), Human Rights issues are embedded in the 'Policy of Human Rights Across the Curriculum' (2003) (Department of Education 2003a). The teaching-learning (Jacobs, Vakalisa & Gawe 2011) of democratic values is outlined in the 'Manifesto of Values, Education and Democracy' (2001) (Department of Education 2001). In the school curricula and, in particular, in the Life Orientation curriculum which focuses on the social, personal and physical development of the learner, there is space for the exploration of human rights related issues, including that of gender equality. Life Skills (Grades 4 - 6)/ Life Orientation (Grades 7 - 12) is a compulsory subject in the South African school curriculum that focuses on the holistic development of the learner. Religion Education is an integral inclusion in this curriculum.

The Religion and Education Policy (2003) (Department of Education 2003b), promoting as it does, a co-operative model when dealing with religious diversity, encourages intra- and inter religious dialogue not only about religion per se, but especially about the articulation of religious discourse when addressing social issues and in particular human rights issues. When looking at gender equality as a human right, religion, and the associated dominant discourses which influence social intercourse, can play a central role in maintaining patriarchal mores, this, in spite of a very progressive Constitution. Religion can either support the promotion of human rights or present a barrier to the same. There is often disagreement even within the same umbrella religion. This signals clearly the need for reflection, both on the part of the individual, and for the collective.

Religion Education can draw on social intersectionality (Crenshaw 2003; Shields 2008) and affect the whole teaching-learning space. Central to any human rights conversations is the individual's substantial (personal) and situational (professional) identities (Nias 1989). According to Roux (2012:41) 'teachers cannot mediate or facilitate knowledge and skills pertaining to human rights without understanding their own position, identity and beliefs'.

In this article the conventional approach to Religion Education is troubled. This is done by focusing on a human rights issue and, in particular, the human right to gender equality is explored. This takes places in a South African Higher Education Institution and with a view to possibly being a catalyst for social transformation in a country that continues to struggle in

reality with an unequal society, not least when it comes to gender equality.

The voice of the Religion Education teacher can either entrench gender inequality or promote gender equality. Drawing on Wetherell (1996), it can be maintained that while pre-service teachers are born into specific religious contexts, each individual has the power to design his/her own religious identity. If pre-service Religion Education teachers have not engaged in self-reflection and negotiation of their own religious identity, it is reasonable to assume that when human rights issues are addressed in Religion Education lessons, there is the potential to create less than the intended outcome as expressed in the Religion and Education Policy (2003) (Department of Education 2003b).

The Religion and Education Policy (2003) (Department of Education 2003b) and the implementation thereof in the Life Orientation curriculum has presented both challenges and opportunities with regard to Religion Education teachers' policy image (their situational identity) and their personal (substantial) religious identity.

In this article we engage pre-service teachers who will be teaching Religion Education and we consider how their religious identity[1] intersects with the human right to gender equality. Empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying as an approach to teaching-learning (Jarvis 2013a; 2013b; 2018) is presented. In this context, we used this approach to demonstrate a method for generating data while simultaneously requiring pre-service teachers to engage with their substantial as well as situational identities. Drawing on self-dialogue and self-narrative, empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying has the potential to transform Religion Education classroom practice into praxis[2] (McCormack & Kennelly 2011).

Empathy refers to the capacity of individuals to understand and respond to others with an increased awareness of the other person's thoughts and feelings and that these matter (Abdool & Drinkwater 2005). Drawing on McCormack & Kennelly (2011) we define reflection as the examination of responses, beliefs and premises resulting in the integration of new

[1] Referring to the religious identity of these pre-service teachers includes those who perhaps have no specific religious persuasion and who might consider themselves to be atheistic or agnostic.

[2] While classroom practice refers primarily to a technical skill, classroom praxis refers to the teacher's ability to be reflective and to engage with new knowledge so as to inform new knowledge.

understandings into experience. Dialogue refers to the search for meaning and understanding, recognising that each person has something of value to contribute (Allen 2004). It is about opening up to the possibility of learning from the other (Ipgrave 2003).

Empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying provides Religion Education teachers with the opportunity to reflectively engage with their own religious identity by way of self-dialogue and then to express this through self-narrative. They are also provided with the opportunity to empathetically search for meaning and understanding of perspectives which are different from their own as they engage in Communities in Conversation (CiC) (Roux 2012; De Wet & Parker 2014) and Communities in Dialogue (CiD) (Roux 2012). This has the potential to be emancipatory and transformational. This approach reinforces and facilitates Nicolescu's (2012) theory of the Included Middle which conceives 'of people moving to a place where they become open to others' perspectives … valu[ing] premises and belief systems … letting go of aspects of how they currently know the world' (McGregor & Volckmann 2013:62).

A space for dialogue and knowledge generation was created. For this empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying to be effective, this needed to be a safe space (Du Preez & Simmonds 2011; Roux 2012) where substantial and situational identities could intersect. This safe space does not only refer to literal or physical safety, but rather, denotes the figurative and discursive use of the notion (Du Preez 2012; Redmond 2010; Stengel & Weems 2010). In this space, pre-service Religion Education teachers engaged in a Community in Conversation (CiC) and a Community in Dialogue (CiD). As they engaged with human rights issues, the strength and potentialities that emerged from these encounters had the potential to be transformative (McGregor & Volckmann 2013). This was further explored in a Community for Transformation (CfT).

Theoretical Framework Underpinning Empathetic-reflective-dialogical Restorying

The following bricolage provides the framework for empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying. The theories are drawn from a fairly recent study (Jarvis 2013).

Dialogical Self Theory

The dialogical self provides a link between self and society. Hermans' (2011) Dialogical Self Theory advocates that individuals live not only in external spaces, but also in the internal space of their society-of-mind. Possible identity re-creation can result from the dialogical self in action. This occurs when the individual moves from one *I* position to another in the self as a way of gaining understanding about the self in relation to the world (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka 2010). An example of this, when engaging with the human right to gender equality, would be the adoption of a counter-position to both individual and collective dominant voices in the individual's society-of-mind that promote male hegemony.

Self-narrative

Self-dialogue can be expressed through self-narrative. Various scholars (Gonçalves & Ribeiro 2012; Nothling 2001; Nuttall 2009; White 2012) make the link between narrative and agency, arguing that self-narration can help individuals to make sense of their lives, past and present. Self-narrative has a role to play in enabling individuals to discover the degree to which they are entangled with their other (in this case, men/women) and, furthermore, the extent to which it might be possible to become disentangled from their other (men/women) and thus be freed to build new identities (Nuttall 2009). In this sense the self-narrative can be emancipatory and empowering in addressing male hegemony, fragmenting and re-interpreting dominant discourses (Lawler 2008). The articulation of this agency however, depends greatly on the extent and strength of a teacher's identity capital.

Identity Capital

The basic assumption in the concept of identity capital (Côté 1996; 2005) is that every person has it to some extent. 'Identity capital' refers to the stock of resources, or 'set of strengths' individuals have when constructing, framing and presenting their identity in social circumstances (Côté & Levine 2002:164). Identity capital comprises two assets, namely tangible resources such as social group membership and intangible resources which could include the ability to reflect, and negotiate self-identity. The accumulation of successful identity exchanges, namely the social interaction of an individual

with others, increases an individual's identity capital. Hermans (2010; 2011), in his Dialogical Self Theory, contends that it is in his/her mind that the teacher possibly finds agentic power by voicing implicitly or explicitly, and/or practising, a counter-position to gender discrimination in his/her personal, social and professional domains. It is the extent and the strength of identity capital that is at stake in concrete situations. It can be argued that as a teacher's identity capital increases, he/she will be able to voice and practise in increasing measure and with increasing confidence counter-positions to male dominance in his/her society-of-mind. Increased identity capital can constructively inform his/her classroom practice/praxis.

Restorying

It is the contention of Ter Avest (2011) that stories which have the greatest potential to transform readers are open space stories which allow hearers/ readers sufficient space to deconstruct and reconstruct what they receive. The possibility then presents itself that as pre-service Religion Education teachers engage in open conversations they might restory what they know, as new interpretations are applied in the light of clarified or new understandings of dominant discourses (Thomas & Stornaiuolo 2016; Foote 2015; Slabon, Richards & Dennen 2014; Willis 2009). This can potentially lead to the co-production of new knowledges as individuals previously locked into their religious traditions, embark upon personal journeys of restorying. In this project, the restorying takes place in and through the following conversations.

Community in Conversation (CiC)

A Community in Conversation (De Wet & Parker 2014; Roux 2012) provides the opportunity for an informal sharing of information in conversation in a safe space. In the case of gender equality for example, men and women meet separately. This conversation is referred to by Green (1999) as negotiation and collaboration. Informally exchanging perspectives and personal experiences, can foster respect, trust and tolerant understanding as 'divergent ways of thinking and speaking' (McCormack & Kennelly 2011:522) are reflected upon. This reflection entails the examination of responses, beliefs and premises resulting in the integration of new understandings into experience (McCormack & Kennelly 2011). This process of reflection is very relevant within CiCs

where it is anticipated that as men and women, separately but reciprocally, share their self-narratives they will reflect on the position of men and women (and their others) in their religious discourses. Their intersection with other organizing principles in society (Wetherell 1996) could also be considered.

Community in Dialogue (CiD)

A Community in Dialogue (Roux 2012) fosters the opportunity in which the other is disclosed to his/her other (women/men) in a dialogue which includes a rhetoric that questions and a rhetoric that reveals respect, and inspires reciprocal exchanges with tolerant and empathetic understanding and collaboration initiatives for transformation. Conversations could be designed around unpacking religious discourses and the lived experience thereof and the implycations for gender equality as expressed in the 'Bill of Rights' (Republic of South Africa 1996) and the 'Gender Equality Act*' (*Ministry of Children and Equality 2013). The aim of the CiD would be to understand self-respect and own positionality and inspire reciprocal exchanges with empathetic understanding.

Community for Transformation (CfT)

A Community for Transformation (Jarvis 2013; 2018) aims to explore how, in this case, new knowledges about substantial and situational identities and the human right to gender equality could inform teaching-learning about human rights for transformative classroom praxis. The CfT could identify challenges and possibilities for constructive engagement that could lead to new layers of consciousness (White 2012) which has the potential to lead to action.

Self-dialogue (to an internal audience) is expressed as self-narrative (to an external audience) in the spaces created by a CiC, CiD and CfT. As pre-service Religion Education teachers explore how their religious identities intersect with the human right to gender equality, the possibility exists for restorying to take place.

Methodology

This article draws on what emerged from a qualitative small-scale project that employed a narrative research design, conducive to the exploration of the ways

in which the participants construct, interpret and give meaning to their subjective experiences with regard to gender equality. It also provided the space to describe and explore how people are similar to, but also different from, one another (Newman 2011; Silverman 2010).

Narrative inquiry as a methodology within narrative research (Chase 2010; Clandinin, Murphy, Huber & Orr 2010; Luttrell 2010; Squire, Andrews, & Tamboukou 2008) and with a strong representation in the field of education (Clandinin 2007), refers to 'the authentic accounts of real life experiences' (Nothling 2001:153). Squire, Andrews and Tamboukou (2008:4) add to this idea of narrative contending that it is 'always multiple, socially constructed and constructing, reinterpreted and reinterpretable'. Narratives can be used to maintain the status quo, but can also have an emancipatory function, transforming individual lives and the broader culture (Plummer 1995).

The project was located at a South African University in the College of Humanities and more specifically in the School of Education.

Participants

Twenty-four Religion Education students registered for a Bachelor of Education Honours degree, and more specifically a module called 'Contemporary Issues in Life Orientation' agreed to participate in this project. It so happened that there were twelve men and twelve women ranging from their mid-twenties to fifty years of age. The ethical code of conduct and requirements set for narrative research by the tertiary institution's ethics committee was adhered to. Participants signed consent forms and were assured that their anonymity would be protected and that pseudonyms would be used when citing their responses.

The Life Orientation module focused on various components of the research process. Students were tasked with choosing a particular topic from a broad list of Life Orientation related topics including human rights related issues. They read about their topic, or a particular aspect thereof, presented their substantiated perspectives to the class, and submitted an annotated bibliography. Students were then required to design a mini-proposal for a small-scale project that would further research the topic presented in class. The literature review constituted a separate assignment for assessment. In a discussion about research methodologies, empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying served as a demonstration of a data collection method.

Empathetic-reflective-dialogical Restorying

Students were informed that while empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying (Jarvis 2018) can be used to engage with numerous human rights issues, for the purposes of this module, it would be used to explore how the religious identities of the participating Religion Education students intersect with the human right to gender equality. Their self-dialogue and self-narrative contributed to their engagement in a CiC, CiD and CfT. The researchers who co-teach this module explained the process, locating it within the theoretical framework outlined previously. They introduced and asked the students to consider three questions at levels 1 and 2. A female and a male participant were asked to lead the separate CiCs on level 3. Levels 4 and 5 were guided by the researchers. Audio recording, with the consent of the participants, was used in levels 4 and 5. The table below (table 1) presents the 5 levels and what took place in each.

Table 1: Empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying – 5 levels (Jarvis 2018)

Levels	Process	Audience	Result
1	• Self-dialogue	Society-of-mind Internal Audience	Negotiation of various *I*-positions and re-positioning of voices in the society-of-mind
2	• Self-narrative written text	Male and female Religion Education pre-service teachers	Production of own meaning and knowledge

3	• Self-narrative shared with an external audience • Community in Conversation (CiC)	External audience. At this level male and female pre-service teachers are separated and in a CiC they share their self-narratives exchanging perspectives and personal experiences in a space comprising their own gender.	Co-production with writers/ storytellers
4	• Self-narrative shared with an external audience • Community in Dialogue (CiD)	External audience. At this level male and female pre-service teachers share their self-narratives with one another.	Co-production with writers/ storytellers
5	• Group narrative • Community for Transfor-mation (CfT)	External audience. Male and female pre-service teachers.	Co-production of possible new narrative for transformation

On the **first level** the participants were given the opportunity to consider the dominant individual and collective voices informing the internal *I* positions which they hold in their society-of-mind with regard to the position of men and women in their religious discourses. They were asked to consider the following questions:

- How would you describe your religious identity?
  (Gender equality has been defined by Subramanian (2005) as women and men being equal to one another in quality and identical in value with women and men having the same rights and opportunities.)
- Do you think your religious identity affects the way in which you view the Human Right to gender equality? Please explain.
- What does your religion say about your position as a woman/ as a man?
- What does your religion say about your role and responsibilities as a woman/as a man?

It is on this level that the participants negotiated their self-dialogue and considered or adopted counter-positions to male hegemony as they engaged their dialogical self in action (Hermans & Hermans-Konopka 2010). Their self-dialogue would find expression in level two where they wrote their self-narratives.

At **level two** both female and male participants, in response to the above questions, were required to write their self-narrative. According to Gonçalves and Ribeiro (2012:302) this self-narrative is 'the outcome of dialogical processes of negotiation, tension, disagreement, alliance and so on, between different voices of the self'. Ellis (2004) contends that the self-narrative or writing for the self, can be therapeutic as it causes the individual to pause and to think about their positionality in relation to gender equality. This can also be empowering as their writing exposes a new sense of consciousness and a greater sense of control in the present and for the future (Paul, Christensen & Frank 2000).

At **level three** the participants were separated into two groups, one for the men and the other for the women. In each group or CiC they were afforded the opportunity to share their written reflections orally in response to the questions below. Sharing their self-narratives provided the opportunity for them to individuate as 'equal … dignified partner[s] in constituting reality and

constructing the world' (Becker 2012:89).

- What does your religion say about your position as a woman/man?
- What does your religion say about your role and responsibilities as a woman/man?
- What does your religion say about possible privileges that you have as a woman/man in your personal, social and professional domains?
- What does your religion say about possible expectations of women/men in their personal, social and professional domains?

At **level four** the participants together enter into a CiD. This fostered the opportunity in which the other was disclosed to his/her other (woman/man) in a dialogue which includes a rhetoric that questions and a rhetoric that inspires reciprocal exchanges with tolerant and empathetic understanding. The researcher facilitated the responses of the participants who were asked to discuss their responses from the CiC with their other (woman/man), using the following headings:

- Gender based roles and responsibilities
- Gender based privileges
- Gender based expectations of the other
- Understandings of the position of men and women, based on religious identity, and the possible impact of this on the way in which gender equality would be approached in professional spaces, namely, the school and more specifically the classroom.

At **level five** a whole group discussion as a CfT took place with the aim of exploring how their substantial identities and substantial attitudes towards gender equality inform their situational or professional practice. Constructive engagement such as this, has the potential to lead to new layers of consciousness (Ritchie & Wilson 2000; White 2012) as the participants consider self-respect and own positionality and inspire reciprocal exchanges with empathetic understanding. This could potentially lead to the emergence of collaborative initiatives for negotiating entrenched positions, disentanglement from their other, and restorying for transformation.

The researcher guided the discussion at level five with the following questions:

- How has empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying impacted your understanding of gender equality in terms of experiences, roles and responsibilities, privileges, and expectations?
- As a Religion Education teacher how has the dialogue impacted your perspectives of teaching-learning about gender issues and promoting gender equality in a Religion Education class?
- Evaluate the efficacy of empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying for the transformation of attitudes towards gender equality and for better understandings of the other in society.

Findings and Discussion

Drawing on the work of various scholars (Chase 2010; Gubrium & Holstein 2009; Luttrell 2010; Silverman 2010), narrative analysis was employed as a tool of analysis. All five levels of empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying are implicit in the discussion which follows. The written responses (level 2) and audio recorded conversations at levels 4 and 5 were crystallized (Maree 2007) to lend authenticity (Newman 2011).

Various threads emerged on how the situational and substantial identities of the participants intersect with the human right to gender equality.

Disconnect: Policy Image and Substantial Identity

The participants have a cognitive understanding of Human Rights Education and the South African Bill of Rights (Republic of South Africa 1996). However, there is a disconnect between the demands placed by this understanding on their situational identity as professionals, as Religion Education teachers, and their substantial identity as informed by their religion. This is expressed by one of the men as follows:

> … for me, human rights and gender equality are just there on paper and in policy documents … not a reality (male).

These students' self-dialogue is informed by both individual and collective dominant voices reinforcing entrenched attitudes of male hegemony. This finds its way into their written self-narratives as shared in the CiC and as discussed with their other in the CiD. It became clear that gender based roles,

expectations and responsibilities are deeply entrenched. The man is recognised as the provider, controller of finances, head of the family and the protector of the family. He is regarded as superior to women and deserving of privileges. What follows is a selection of comments illustrating this firmly held position of gender inequality.

> A man is the head of the family …. (female).
> Men are entitled to privileges - being a man is a privilege on its own. Respect for men is one of the privileges. Also the privilege of power where as a man I hold the family name. (male).
> Men must be married … men are superior to women even if a women are career woman but 'they' can go to work and come back and cook and wash for me because of my position as a man. This is also practiced in religion where I hold and carry a family name and my religion name and when we get married she has to follow my religion. (male).

The responses from the men demonstrated a sense of pride, superiority and power. The women were made to feel that they were inferior and had less value than their male counterparts. What the men highlighted as privileges, roles, and responsibilities to protect and provide for women, seemed to be in conflict with a respect for equal rights. On the contrary what was demonstrated was male hegemony. The men stressed that they are expected by society to behave like 'a man' failing which they are discredited as men in their communities.

When it comes to religion, the women were of the opinion that they have to do what their religion prescribes. One female participant said this about her position:

> I am a proud African woman and believe that in… religion there are no gender equality and human rights considered… In my position as a woman, I have to respect and serve my husband and take care of him and the whole family even members of the extended family. There is no room for gender equality and human rights for us women since men are viewed by society as heads or leaders in the family. (female).

This endorsed submissive behaviour in women who are not supposed to question religious discourses. They have not had the opportunity nor a safe

space, in which to voice concerns, needs and expectations. The collective response from women in level 2 & 3 with regard to expectations and privileges can be summed up as follows:

> We felt that as women we are supposed to serve men. We tried to identify a few privileges but we agreed that we do not have much as men do. As a woman you are not seen as going out and having a job ... but looking after the man's and family's needs. Even in church we do not have privileges; we have to do everything…For men is that they provide for us … everything. (females).

The majority of the men were resolute that women should submit to them as the providers. In the CiD the women responded to their other (men) saying that providing for the family does not exonerate the men from sharing in the household chores. The women openly expressed their frustration that when they, as women, are the main providers in the family, they are not given recognition and the respect they deserve. They are expected to go out to work to earn money and to return home to manage the housework and the children. Both the male and female participants were of the opinion that while Human Rights calls for gender equality, this is not manifest in practice as far as roles and responsibilities are concerned. Gender equality is also not promoted in their religious discourses.

Intersecting in a Safe Space

The CiD provided the opportunity for the participants to engage with one another in a safe space and to challenge gender inequality and to explore how attitudes and positions shaping substantial identities are socially constructed. Women and men were provided with the space in which to respect their inner voices and to express this in order to bring about change. One male participant commented positively about how his experience made him consider his other (women).

> How does the other party feel about my action…leads to reflection … appeal to feelings …. The strategy could work in the teaching of debates e.g. SA context issue of gender (male).

The findings show that it is important for both men and women to be secure in their personal (substantial) identities so as to be able to acknowledge their other as having equal value. One of the male participants said the following:

> As man we need to start by acknowledging women as integral part for us so that they recognise us as their husbands, we should do everything for them so that…The implications for that will be that in the working space we get to recognise and respect those young girls as much as those young boys. This implies that in order to stop perpetuating and contributing to gender inequality both men and women have a responsibility to engage in conversation and dialogue [in a safe space] so as to forge a way forward that is transformative for society. (male).

The participants also acknowledged that it is essential for both pre-service and in-service Religion Education teachers, to work through areas of disconnect between their substantial identities (as dictated by their religion) and situational identities (as Religion Education teachers informed by the curriculum). By doing so there is less chance of a hidden curriculum undermining Human Rights as embedded in the school curriculum.

As they engaged in their CiC the identity capital of individual women increased as they drew on the tangible asset of their membership of a social group of women. This identity capital was consolidated as they reflected upon and negotiated their self-identity, adopting definite counter-positions to male hegemony. They brought this with them into the CiD. The accumulation of successful exchanges in the CiD with their other (men) continued to increase their identity capital. This became clear in the way in which they interacted confidently with their other (men) and voiced in increasing measure and with increasing confidence counter-positions to male dominance. This increased identity capital could possibly constructively inform classroom praxis.

Efficacy of Empathetic-reflective-dialogical Restorying can be Transforming for the Individual and for the Classroom

The efficacy of empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying was discussed. All the participants in this project, having participated in empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying, were far more aware of their self-dialogue (level 1) and

the dominant voices in their society-of-mind that impact their self-narratives (level 2). They were also sensitised to the possibilities of their dialogical self in action as they adopted counter positions to the dominant voices (drawn in the main from religious discourses) promoting gender inequality in their society-of-mind. The CiC, CiD and CfT provided the opportunity for the participants to think critically about processes of socialisation and the possible disconnect between policy and practice and the individual's response to this in his/ her own practice.

The CfT (level 5) provided the opportunity to discuss and begin the process of deconstructing socialisation and unpacking the disconnect between substantial and situational identities. Participants were made aware of how their substantial identities impacted their situational identities and the expectations of them as professionals (policy image) to implement gender equality.

The disconnect between human rights and the implementation thereof at the intersection with substantial identities became very clear in the discussion. One of the younger male participants said the following:

> For me I think the strategy has made me realise something very important about human rights and gender inequality. It is very helpful and as I was raised by a single woman, and I respect women a lot. However, as we were discussing as men I realised that we have a lot of privileges that we are not aware of. I have never considered the amount of effort that my mother and other women put in …. The strategy has taught me to listen to my inner voice, reflect about how others feel about my actions and decisions and to change the way I do and see them … and I therefore see the strategy as transformative. (male).

The CfT (level 5) provided the opportunity for the participants to think critically about processes of socialisation, and to discuss and begin the process of deconstructing the same.

Male and female participants collectively, agreed that this strategy could be an effective tool to employ in their professional space, namely, their Religion Education lessons, to enhance teacher/learner relationships. Their views included the following:

> … this strategy stimulated the mind, gives us many possibilities ideas

> leading to critical thinking and to question yourself for better understanding and the probing questions assisted…it has a potential to be transformative. (female).
>
> I found this strategy to be helpful especially in level 1&2 where one had to listen to different voices before one takes a decision…it gives you possible ideas to question yourself to say: What can you change? How can you do that? Why should you act in that particular way? (male).

Acknowledging that the strategy allows one 'a personal space' as indicated above, one male participant said that, in addition, he found it most helpful to hear women express their perspectives about their other (men) as well as men about their other (women). While the participants (both men and women) were aware of how their particular contexts can shape their behaviour, engaging in this strategy assisted them to see that they can be agents of change. The strategy opened up a space for constructing a narrative in which they have some ability to direct future-oriented action.

In the classroom, empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying has the potential to assist, in this case, Religion Education teachers, in the teaching-learning process with regard to Human Rights Education. Participants suggested that empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying could be used to engage with various human rights issues in the Religion Education classroom. At the time when the data collection took place, xenophobic attacks were rife in South Africa. The participants specifically mentioned how this teaching-learning approach could effectively be used to engage with issues of racism and xenophobia.

Conclusion

Higher Education Institutions responsible for teacher education are professionally bound to create safe spaces for pre-service teachers to explore conversation at the intersection between their substantial and situational identities and more particularly how these intersect with human rights issues. Empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying as a teaching-learning approach creates opportunity for self-dialogue and self-narrative to be communicated in a safe space within a CiC, CiD and CfT. Facilitating as it does the intersection between substantial and situational identities and human rights issues, this

approach encouraged the pre-service Religion Education teachers participating in this small-scale project 'to see the world through the lens of others … providing space within which to grow peoples' capacity to communicate across boundaries' (McGregor & Volckmann 2013: 62-63). In particular the approach led to restorying which has the potential to address the possible disconnect between the individual's personal (substantial) and professional (situational) identities when considering Human Rights issues, and in this case, gender equality in particular. Increased identity capital, especially on the part of the women has the possibility to be personally and socially transformative (Hampson & Assenza 2012). In the classroom empathetic-reflective-dialogical restorying has the potential to transform classroom practice to classroom praxis, replacing as it does, a technicist approach to teaching-learning, encouraging learners to be both reflective and reflexive in their thinking.

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Janet Jarvis
School of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal
jarvisj@ukzn.ac.za

Religious Identity and the Human Right to Gender Equality

Ncamisile P. Mthiyane
School of Education
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Mthiyanen1@ukzn.ac.za

In a Privileged World: The Psychosocial Experiences of Underprivileged Adolescent Girls in a High Fee Independent Gauteng Private School

Jean Fourie
Mabatho Sedibe
Fallon Thompson

Abstract

To overcome the effects of socioeconomic barriers on education, many independent schools offer financial aid in the way of scholarships and bursaries. This financial aid is intended to offer access to quality education for underprivileged youth; however, positive school experiences rely on more than just physical access. This study explored the psychosocial experiences of underprivileged adolescent girls attending an independent affluent school. By using Erikson's psychosocial theory of development, Bronfenbrenner's Ecosystemic Model, gender differences in development, as well as the Students Multiple Worlds Model, an understanding is created of how moving between worlds of affluence and poverty may influence the identity formation of the female adolescent learner. This phenomenological study was conducted using the qualitative, interpretative method of interpretative phenomenological analysis. Using a series of unstructured interviews with each participant, information was gathered that provided insight into the psychosocial experiences of each of these girls. Findings were focused on areas of cultural identity, value formation, feelings of belonging, social comparison and perceptions of support. These findings contribute to the improved functioning of bursary programmes in independent schools and will enhance the well-being of adolescent girls in navigating between the worlds of affluence and poverty.

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a5

Keywords: bursaries in affluent schools; cultural identity; inclusive school practices; female adolescent development; Multiple Worlds Model; socio-economic differences in schools.

Introduction and Background of the Study

Poverty is often understood as one of the greatest challenges facing education in South Africa today (Nelson Mandela Fund 2004; Dieltiens & Meny-Gilbert 2012). The inability to pay school fees, along with the rising expenses of school uniforms, transport, stationery and equipment, increases the difficulty in accessing education, regardless of the quality (Fleisch & Woolman 2004). While the South African government aims to alleviate the impact of poverty on education through the introduction of school fee-exemptions as outlined in various legislation - The South African Schools Act of 1996, the Gauteng Provincial Legislature's School Education Act 6 of 1995; the No-fee School Policy in the Amended National Norms and Standards for School Funding of 2006 (Hall & Giese 2009); Education White Paper 6 (Department of Education 2001). However, the issues experienced in the public education sector are still numerous with overcrowded classrooms, inadequate resources and infrastructure as well as minimally trained teachers (Timaeus, Simelane & Letsaolo 2013). In contrast to the perceptions about public education, the independent or private education system is perceived as providing smaller classes, greater accountability and better-quality schooling (Hofmeyr & Lee 2004). From this viewpoint, the appeal of private schooling for everyone is obvious. However, as independent schools rely on school fees reaching as high as R80 500 per annum (Discovery Inves n.d.), they are generally inaccessible to the poor (Dieltiens & Motala 2008). This means that there is a problem in as far as equitable access to schooling is concerned.

While little information exists in the South African legislation that dictates the expectations of independent school regarding inclusion and its roles in overcoming learning barriers of poverty, many independent schools have taken on the responsibility of inclusive education (Walton, Nel, Hugo & Muller 2009). This paper, outlines the department's goal to provide educational opportunities for all, focusing on learners who experience learning difficulties and environmental barriers and who have had difficulty in continuing in the education system because of the inability of the education and training system

to accommodate the diversity of learning needs, as well as to provide for those learners who are frequently excluded from the system.

To meet the above goals, several independent schools offer financial aid for learners in way of scholarships and bursaries in an attempt to foster an inclusive education environment and in an attempt to facilitate better access to quality education for those who cannot afford it (Campbell 2013). While these bursaries and scholarships are offered to learners who excel in certain fields, there are schools who also award these financial aids to motivated learners in exceptional circumstances. In this way, these independent schools are taking steps towards eliminating certain environmental barriers, such as poverty, in the private education system (Hofmeyr & McCay 2010).

However, for adolescent girls that come from low socio-economic backgrounds, these scholarships and bursaries place them in a vastly different environment of higher socioeconomic culture. For many of these girls, the social environments of home and school differ greatly and each of these girls are expected to adapt to the different socio-economic climates, cultures and values that the school, that the majority of its learners, uphold. Although these adolescent girls have been given physical access to a high fee independent school, it is possible that the girls do not feel included in the social life of the school.

As adolescent girls are described as more people-orientated than their male counterparts (Jean Lytle, Bakken & Romig 1997), the underprivileged adolescent girls experience, while attending a high fee independent school, may have a profound influence on their psychosocial development and identity formation, especially where school identity and home identity are contrasting. For this reason, the area of interest of this study was on the psychosocial experiences of underprivileged adolescent girls attending a high-fee independent school.

While this investigation into the psychosocial experiences of adolescent girls from a low socioeconomic background attending a high-fee independent school takes place in one Johannesburg school, the information gathered here provides a starting point in the attempt to answer the question: what are the psychosocial experiences of adolescent girls from a low socio-economic background attending a high-fee independent school? The knowledge generated from this study can be considered an important contribution to the continuing research and knowledge base that currently exists within this field, enabling those in positions of management and leadership to provide

support for those learners as well as to adapt policies and school practices to ensure a more diverse and inclusive environment. The focus of this study was to obtain a comprehensive, reflective and interpretive understanding of the lived experiences of these adolescent girls within the context of their high-fee independent school, and the role that their emotions, thoughts, values, beliefs and behaviours played in their interpretation of experiences.

Identity Development in Adolescence

While adolescence is a general period of development known for its biological, psychological and social changes, these changes differ in terms of pace and gender, and are influenced by structural and environmental factors (United Nations International Children's Education Fund [UNICEF], 2005). According to Erikson's psychosocial theory of development, the successful navigation of this period of growth results in the formation of the adolescent's identity (Erikson 1963; Haggbloom *et al.* 2002). Erikson further noted that individuals could not separate themselves from their social context, thus emphasising how the individual and society are closely interrelated and that the process of identity formation should be seen in consideration of the expectations of the community - its history, culture, traditions and principles (Karkouti 2014). In other words, this implies that there is that relationship between an adolescent's development and his surrounding systems. When considering the above views in relation to underprivileged adolescent girls attending a high fee, independent school, there are a number of factors that may influence the navigation of adolescence for these girls.

Evidence suggests that adolescence psychosocial development tends to move from a focus on group cohesion and group identity towards a more individual identity (Milkman & Wanberg 2012). This early on group cohesion and identity is based on one factor, namely similarity among peers, which includes background, tastes, values and interests (Bradford Brown & Larson 2008). This entails that group belonging is an important milestone towards successful individual identity formation (Côté 2009). For adolescents who may be considered dissimilar to the majority of their peers in terms of background, values and interests, group cohesion may not always be possible. Those that do not fit in with the accepted norms of the group are often discriminated against (Trepte 2011).

Adolescent psychosocial development differs in terms of gender. As female adolescent identity development focuses more on interpersonal identity and interaction with others in comparison to male adolescents (Jean Lytle, Bakken & Romig 1997). In female identity development emphasis is placed on the interrelatedness between peer interaction and identity development (Perry & Pauletti 2011). Other gender differences noted in adolescent development is the risk that female adolescents are more prone to internalising problems of anxiety or depression and that female adolescents tend to have a lower global self-esteem (Galamboous, Berenbaum & McHale 2009).

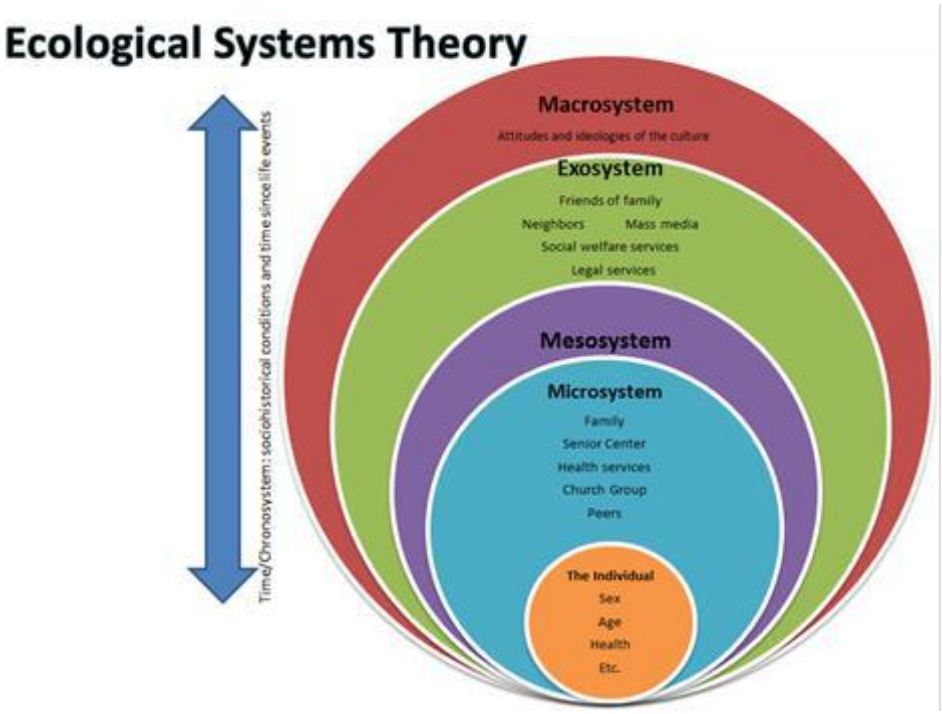
Along with gender differences, it is also evident that adolescent development is influenced by structural and environmental differences (Bluth, Campo, Futch & Gaylord, 2016). As Erikson stated that identity development should be seen in terms of community expectations, values, traditions and principals (Karkouti 2014), it is necessary to consider the opposing community expectations of home and school. In this study, these underprivileged adolescent girls attending a high fee independent school, the expectations, values and interests of home may be somewhat different to those of the school, creating conflict in the girls' own personal expectations, values and interests, as they attempt to assimilate both the home and school environment. The navigation of these two worlds necessitates an understanding of Bronfenbrenner's Proximal Interactions (David, Lazarus & Lolwana 2014) and the Students Multiple Worlds Model (Phelan, Davidson & Yu 1994).

Influence of Context

When considering the impact community has in the development of individuals' identity, Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory (1979) provides a framework in which to look at the influence environment has on individual development. This theoretical perspective regards a person's environment as a set of nested subsystems along four different dimensions: person factors, process factors, contexts and time (David *et al*. 2014). In the context of this study, person factors look at how factors such as appearance, age and gender influences interaction (David *et al.* 2014). Context factors look at each of the systems (Microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem and chronosystem), their interrelatedness and bidirectional nature (David *et al.* 2014). Process factors entail that interactions that occur directly between

people, objects and symbols are the most important in development, calling this interaction proximal interactions' (David *et al.* 2014).

The diagram below is therefore included, for the sake of indicating how each system influence each other:



Adapted from ecological system theory of Brofenbrenner (1979)

While similar in its focus on interaction, the Students Multiple Worlds Model, is a model of interrelations between the learner's peer, school and family worlds and how the meanings and understandings derived from each of these worlds influences the learner's engagement with school and learning (Cooper 2011; Cooper, Cooper, Azmitia, Chavira & Gullat 2002). This model looks at learners' interactions in their sociocultural worlds and directs attention to the nature of boundaries and borders between these worlds, as well as the processes of movement between these worlds (Duran & Ubaldo 2016). While successful

navigation is termed smooth or consistent, unsuccessful navigation is described as difficult or resisted border crossing (Ferrante 2017).

When using the Students Multiple Worlds Model (Cooper 2011) in attempting to understand the psychosocial experiences of underprivileged adolescent girls in an affluent independent school environment, one looks at the ease with which the girls cross the borders between the different socio-economic environments of their home and school contexts. While congruent worlds and smooth transitions imply that the learner experiences congruency among the values, beliefs, expectations and normative ways of behaving between worlds, patterns of transition that look at different worlds imply that the learner needs to learn to adjust and adapt between contexts owing to ethnic, cultural, religious and socioeconomic differences (Phelan, Davidson & Cao 1991). Learners can either manage this border crossing, find it difficult or are unable to cross these world borders effectively (Phelan, Yu & Davidson 1994). This theory is thus relevant in this study, and its relevance is seen when inter-relations between the learner's peer, school and family worlds and how the meanings and understandings derived from each of these worlds influence the learner's engagement with school and learning as stated in the previous section.

Navigating Multiple Contexts

The Students Multiple World's Model was used to investigate one woman's resilience in managing the difficulties she encountered within her community, family, school and peer experiences (Abbott 2014). The results indicated that the social idea of schooling presented unique contexts for the ways in which education plays a role in either mediating or aggravating the gaps between socioeconomic classes. Schools must be prepared to ease the transitions between students' home and school environments and that 'the ways in which an adolescent navigates in her home environment and the values and beliefs of her family may differ dramatically from the values and beliefs of her peer group and, yet again, from the values and expectations of the school' (Abbott 2014:57). In this study, this implies that there should be a smooth transition between the school and the adolescent's home.

Other research into the mental and emotional views of both males and females receiving scholarships at high fee independent schools found key issues of inclusive education such as access, participation and financial demands and belonging. Issues were focused around admission to the school

as well as epistemological access, a lack of access to information, and that the participants were shy, secretive and withdrawn about their backgrounds (Geyer 2014). African American girls in an 'elite' school were often marked by the desire to fit into the predominantly white, upper class practices (Horvat & Antonino 1999).

Another study investigating the adolescent identity experiences of previously disadvantaged scholarship recipients attending independent high schools yielded findings of increased pressure and expectations from schools and teachers, racial stereotyping at school, financial pressures and the need to 'adapt' to suit the predominant culture of the school (Simpson 2012). There may be a lack of understanding and appreciation of African culture and its traditions in high fee independent schools (Idang 2015). To fit in and avoid being seen as different, some learners often adapt to suit the dominant culture of the school (Simpson 2012). This poses the risk of these learners further alienating themselves from their own community. Simpson found that there was a difference between how black learners and white learners treated adults. The participants reported that while they felt that white learners still showed respect, they felt they had more respect for elders which they indicated came from the way they were raised (Simpson 2012).

Felton (2010) investigated the advantages and disadvantages of a scholarship programme in an inclusive school and found that inadequately formulated and maintained policies as well as a variety of social issues impacted on the experiences of the scholarship recipients. Social issues that arose from the study include social comparison and alienation from the home community (Felton 2010). However, it was noted in her results that the participants felt they were privileged to receive the quality of education they did, and that the quality of education they received at other schools was not as good (Felton 2010).

Research Methodology

A qualitative, interpretivistic research paradigm was selected for this study as the aim was to produce a descriptive analysis that emphasised a deep and interpretive understanding of the adolescent girls' perceived experience in a school and peer environment that differs culturally and socially from their home environment (Creswell & Poth 2017). A research design of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis was utilised in an attempt to make sense of the

participants' experiences as they themselves make sense of their experiences (Smith 2011). The setting for this study was a high-fee independent school located in a suburb of Johannesburg. This school is a single sex school that describes itself as an inclusive and nurturing environment. Due to the vulnerability of the participants, the use of a gatekeeper was necessary to initiate contact with potential participants.

Acting as the gatekeeper for this study the Head of School identified 6 potential participants with which she made initial contact. The participants were selected according to specific criteria which dictated that all participants should be female and between 12 and 18 years of age and that they were enrolled in a high-fee independent school, through means of a bursary. Within this school context, six learners were identified as meeting the criteria for participant selection, however, only 5 participants were willing to partake in the study. It is important to note that while these criteria were based on age and gender no distinction was made on the basis of race and/or religion.

This study made use of in-depth, phenomenological interview, with an unstructured interview technique that involved conducting a series of three separate interviews with each participant, lasting 30 minutes each. This interviewing technique was based on the belief that behaviour becomes meaningful when considered within the context of their lives and of those around them (Smith, Flower & Larkin 2009). The interviewer's task in the interviews was to put the participant's experience in context by asking her to tell as much as possible about herself and her experiences in a high-fee independent school. As each interview was audio recorded, the information was transcribed by the researcher (Seidman 2015).

Data analysis was prescribed by the requirements of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (Smith *et al.* 2009). This is outlined as a six-step process. The first is the reading and re-reading stage which involves repeatedly engaging with the transcriptions of each interview. The second step entailed a process of writing descriptive, linguistic and conceptual comments in which the meaning and language were analysed systematically. Next, emerging themes were identified through the written comments. The fourth step involved searching for connections across themes and entailed interpreting each of the themes and how they were related to each other. Once this was completed, the process started all over again for each interview. The last step involved identifying common themes and patterns across each of the participants' interview transcripts.

Trustworthiness and Ethical Considerations

Before commencing with the research process, permission was obtained from the University's Faculty Ethics Committee. Strict ethical guidelines as indicated in the General Ethical Guidelines for Health Researchers (2016) developed by the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA) were maintained during this study, which involved acting in the best interests of the participant; respect for participants; informed consent; and maintaining confidentiality. Due to the vulnerability of the information needed in order to identify participants, the use of a gatekeeper allowed for information to remain confidential, even to an extent from the researcher. The nature of the research design allowed for respect of the participants diverse cultural practices and beliefs and attempted to eliminate any potential bias or prejudice. Furthermore, the use of member checks allowed for each participant to supply additional information or to correct misunderstandings in the interpretation of the information to ensures credibility.

FINDINGS

Understanding One's Cultural Identity

One of the most predominant themes that emerged in all the interviews was related to the participants' understanding of cultural identity. In this study, most participants had difficulty defining what their culture entailed. The girls experienced uncertainty linked to female initiation rites and often encountered cultural ignorance from their peers and teachers. This theme is further divided into three subthemes: difficulty defining culture, uncertainty linked to initiation rites, cultural ignorance on behalf of the teachers and peers. From this study, it can be stated that more research should be conducted on female initiation in order to make them aware of the importance of cultural diversity.

When looking at the subtheme of difficulty defining culture, it appeared to be a difficult topic during the interviews. While each of the participants attempted to describe and define their culture and its practices, it appeared that the majority of the participants did not fully understand what the traditions and practices of their culture were or what they involved. One participant frequently responded with '*I don't know*' and another *'No, I don't know' [about any cultural practices]* when asked to talk about anything culture related. These participants could, however, give descriptions in context, almost as though they were unaware that these everyday activities were culture specific.

There also appeared to be an overlap between culture and religion, as several participants felt that religious practices related to church, as well as prayers, were part of their family's culture. This is evident in the statement by Participant Four *'I think the girls, they like, have to take their culture, like my mom goes to ZCC (Zion Christian Church), I think I have to become one as well'*. Participant five appeared not to understand the term culture and mentioned that she was not sure if culture is important in her family as her '*granny doesn't tell [her] anymore*'.

Another subtheme related to the participants understanding of cultural identity was that of uncertainty related to initiation rites and practices. The participants who spoke of initiation expressed an uncertainty and hesitancy towards this practice which was attributed to the secrecy surrounding the process. While both stated that they would like to experience it, they used contradicting statements when explaining why they were not able to. The secrecy surrounding these rituals appears to contribute to their fear. For example, participant one stated that *'I can't go and like force [mother] to take me somewhere where she knows I won't even survive'*. This statement indicates that she was aware of the potential dangers of initiation and appears a little relieved at being denied this cultural rite. When participant four was asked about being excited about initiation she responded *'No, I'm not. It's a bit scary though. It's like you don't know what they're going to do and stuff*'. Neither participant could give a description of what would be expected of them for this rite of passage.

The third notable subtheme falling under cultural identity was the cultural ignorance experienced both at school and in the community. Participant one indicated that cultural ignorance was a feature during her time at the school; however she did describe it as unintentional cultural ignorance. Also, she explained that she felt there was limited effort from teachers and peers in pronouncing her name and her friends' names correctly. This, she felt, reflected her peers' and teachers' lack of interest in learning about 'black cultures'. Furthermore, one participant experienced cultural ignorance from a peer through social media and felt that *'[the girls] don't understand that black people have come from such a long way'* and that there was a sense that '*when [they] come to such an environment, [they] are able to adjust to it, and [they] are able to think like the other girls*'. This participant also indicated that she often experienced cultural ignorance from her peers. Even though she felt that her peers from another racial group did not intend any harm, they were not aware that some of the things they would say could be considered racist.

Establishing Individual Values

In conjunction with establishing and understanding individual cultural identity, another theme that became evident involves the discussion of the participants' individual values in light of those of their peers, parents and families. Noted as a common theme throughout the interviews is the diffusion of cultural and social values.

The participants found that they have moved from their parents' more traditional and strict social and cultural values to a more integrated form of social and cultural values. During the interview, the participants' views on their cultural values changed as the interviews progressed. Initially, all the girls indicated that they valued culture; however, over the course of the other two interviews they expressed contradictory views and statements regarding their family's social values. For example, most of the participants verbalised that culture was precious to their parents, and that, while they valued their culture, they also tended to find it both a hindrance and limiting. Participant three indicated that '*tradition is kind of really like, [the] thing you have to go through and [I] think, but, I don't find it like, I cherish [it] and like, [my] favourite*'. Participant two indicated that culture was important to her father as he grew up that way but indicated she felt differently about it and stated that '*[she] just doesn't understand it*'. She appeared to be a lot more critical of some of the family's beliefs as indicated by her description of their visit to a traditional healer as it '*plays with her head'*. Participant Four appeared quite undecided about the level of influence culture has on her life and often used phrases such as '*I suppose so*' when describing her wish to follow in the cultural footsteps of her mother.

Linked to social values, participant one felt that her family was not as open-minded as her and considered them serious, uptight and conservative in their social values. The example she gave to support her statement included homosexuality and her grandfather's views in contradiction to hers. She also attributed her open-mindedness to the school context which allowed her to be more '*free*' (Transcription line 75). Also evident was the differing principles related to community service, as one participant indicated that her father was not supportive of her involvement in fund-raising initiatives, indicating that her father '*didn't want her to be in it*'.

A subtheme under establishing individual values includes the differences among peers. All the participants indicated, either directly or

indirectly, that there were differences between their values and those of their school and community peers. Their thoughts conveyed that they valued respect, manners and education more than their peers. Participant one stated that she felt she valued respect for teachers in comparison to those that live in her neighbourhood, who lack respect and discipline for authority. She mentioned that she is more '*goal oriented*' than those from her neighbourhood and attributes this to attending this school. During her interview, she stated that *'students who go to schools in [her] neighbourhood aren't as goal driven as [she is] and that they don't want the same things that [she does]*)'. This participant also expressed her annoyance when seeing couples in her neighbourhood. She indicated that she valued her education more than attending a co-educational school and often referred to neighbourhood peers who were more concerned with boys.

Participant three echoed this sentiment, indicating that she did not have the same values as her school peers and explained this in terms of not wanting to go to socials while her friends all wanted to. She also mentioned that she felt good manners were important and she attributed this value to her parents. Participant one felt there were boundary issues in public schools which '*we don't cross with teachers but there they [public school learners] don't really care anymore about whether you're a teacher or what not, they just, they just feel like you're one of them and I feel that is not right*'.

Feelings of Belonging and Exclusion

During the interview process was a variety of ways in which the participants described feeling excluded and these were evident in both community and school settings. Each participant, in one way or another, mentioned exclusion whether by peers, parents or the community. There were three categories of exclusion, namely, community exclusion based on school affiliation, exclusion from school activities based on favouritism and financial contribution, and exclusion because of parent beliefs.

A subtheme of exclusion based on school affiliation, was only directly mentioned by one participant. Another participant felt excluded based on her living circumstances as she felt she had no immediate community in which to belong. Participant one mentioned feeling excluded by those who lived in her community and indicated that this exclusion was based on the school she attended. She reported that she had been labelled as the '*black girl who think[s]*

they're white'. She reported that in her community, '*there is a stereotype that people in her neighbourhood automatically think just cause you go to a white school, now you think you're white*') and indicated that she was '*almost excluded from the community*'.

Self-Comparison in Both School and Home Communities

The fifth theme that emerged during the thematic analysis is that of comparison. This occurred in three noticeable ways, namely, comparison based on economic status and material possessions, comparison based on academic achievement, and comparison of the message of home versus the message of school.

Throughout the interview process, it was quite evident that the participants often engaged in social comparison. The participants reported comparing themselves in two areas, namely, financial comparison and material possessions. Participant five was quite concerned about her financial position and appeared to have had difficulty understanding the reason for the financial gap between herself and her peers. She refers to her financial status as '*blocking her*' from becoming rich. She also reported instances where friends and peers had to share food with her as she hadn't eaten.

Participant four frequently mentioned that she wished she could get what she wanted, when she wanted it and expressed frustration in having to justify her reasons to her parents. She stated that '*you can't just get things whenever you want and like, go to the shops and go there and be like, ooh can I have this? You have to get things that you need now*'. Later, she reported that she would like to have a cell phone or tablet to complete her school work and, further on, mentioned that while most of the girls in her grade have a cell phone, she does not. She directly links this need to being able to complete her school work.

In addition to social comparison based on economic status is social comparison based on school achievement. Initially, only two participants indicated engaging in social comparison based on school achievement but by means of member checking, another two participants indicated that they also engaged in this kind of self-comparison. This kind of comparison entails that the learners compare themselves to their peers based on their marks or performance in certain academic-related areas achievement.

During the interview process participant two expressed a desire to do better in her school marks, commenting to her friend about another classmate. This participant admitted to asking herself *'how she does it, how does she pull that off?'*, and saying to herself '*oh no, you're stupid, why can't you be there, like the other pupils that are much better'* when referring to a fellow classmate.

Expectations of Home versus School

Evident in the data collected is the differing views between the message from home and the message from school. When the participants spoke of home, they were referring to their extended family or their parent's birthplace; the general idea was the same whenever mentioned. These participants felt that their home circumstances sent the message that it was important to survive and get a job. In contrast, participants felt that the message they got from the school was that they could be successful and succeed in whatever they chose to do; they felt that the school motivated them. The following evidence is extracted from participant one's and Participant Four's interview transcripts. *'The difference is that my school world is more motivating than my home world'* and *'here you have high goals and [home] there isn't, just like the basic things, that you need to live'.*

Discussion and Interpretation of the Results

This study was under taken in order to provide a platform in which the psychosocial experiences of underprivileged adolescent girls attending a high fee independent school could be explored. Ideally, the findings from this study could guide continuing research as well as to enable those in positions of power to better school policies and practices, moving towards a more inclusive environment. When comparing the findings from previous studies, one can see how the information gathered in these studies may equip schools to provide better support for learners in similar positions.

While the participants in this study had difficulty defining their culture, there is the possibility that this could be attributed to a lack of understanding of their own culture in the school. Simpson's study found that there was a lack of understanding and appreciation of black culture and its traditions in independent schools. She was found that to fit in and avoid being seen as different, some learners often adapt to suit the dominant culture of the

school (Simpson 2012). These findings could also be tied directly with the diffusion of social and cultural values as noted in this study. The need to feel a sense of belonging in school could lead to a diffusion of traditional African culture with a more Westernised ideal of the school. This phenomenon could possibly explain why the participants had difficulty defining and describing their culture.

The link between culture and identity formation is highlighted. Culture is not the single defining factor in identity formation and does not entirely form someone's social identity, however, it does provide 'a tool kit of resources' (Côté & Levine 2002: 122) that an individual can use to attach meaning and to apply in their community and the formation of their identity. It is possible to infer from this that it is one's perception of culture and the meaning one attaches to it that influences one's identity formation; hence the ability to define culture and practice does not play much of a role in the formation of identity. Furthermore, the findings of cultural ignorance experienced by the participants correlated with a previous study whose findings indicated that black girls in an 'elite' school were marked by the desire to fit into the predominantly white, upper class practices (Horvat & Antonio 1999). This notion, along with the idea that black culture and tradition are not valued in these schools, may be able to explain the limited role that culture plays in the lives of the participants of this study and how this has influenced the way they view their culture.

When considering the uncertainty related to initiation rites experienced by the participants in this study, there were no similar findings in any other studies. However, Van Rooyen, Potgieter, and Mtezuka (2006) found that the information that does exist focuses entirely on the negative aspects of initiation - sickness, isolation and potentially death. This, along with the secrecy that accompanies these rites, could possibly contribute to the uncertainty and fear experienced by the participants in this study.

The larger theme of establishing individual values also has strong ties to the cultural and value diffusion discussed above. While Simpson (2012) found that there appeared to be an expectation of how learners are required to act in a private school environment, the participants in this study did not indicate outward that they had a similar experience, however, the diffusion of cultural and social values could be attributed to the need to assimilate to the culture of the school. Although it appears that the participants in this study are moving closer to the dominant values of the school, they appeared to still view

their family's traditional values as important, and found that these values often from to those of their peers.

This integration between the value systems of school, home and community seemed to influence the participants' psychosocial experiences and there appeared to be distinct and specific differences experienced by each participant. As values tend to be a core feature of culture, Sheifer Mollering and Daniel (2012) use the term 'cultural fit' to explain this process. Cultural fit looks at the degree of correspondence between the values of one individual with those of another (Sheifer *et al.* 2012). The more congruence there is, the more likely the individual's wellbeing is to be supported. This could result in internal conflict among adolescents crossing cultural borders who tend to be exposed to varying value systems. Congruence in one value system could lead to non-congruence in the other. Strong communication between the school based support team, family and community at micro- and meso-levels of the system should be encouraged to support all learners to feel included in the school (Fourie 2017).

Participants in both this study as well as the participants in Simpson's study reported that while they felt that white learners still showed respect, they felt they had more respect for elders which they indicated came from the way they were raised (Simpson 2012). This is clear in the descriptions given by the participants, as their observations tended to be linked to respect for elders which stems from traditional child rearing practices. Linked to Bronfenbrenner's ecosystemic perspective, Trommsdorff (2012) states that an important aspect of an adolescent's development is related to their values within their cultural context. The adolescent process of identity development is framed by individual and cultural values in relation to the world. They state that during this period, the individual is in the process of determining which values to adopt to guide their individual development.

While the findings indicate a movement or assimilation from traditional to western values, this is not necessarily considered a favourable outcome. Both Felton (2010) and Simpson (2012) reported findings were similar to the exclusion from community based on school affiliation as reported in this study. Participants in all three studies indicated that they had felt labelled and judged by their community based on their attendance at a private school. These findings comment on the negative perceptions that peers who were not attending an independent school have of those that are attending independent schools.

In the attempt to fit in to the predominant culture of the school, it was also found that the participants engaged in forms of social comparison. While comparisons were based on academics, comparison based on material possessions as well general ability were common. Findings in this study mirrored findings in Simpson (2012) that participants felt a longing for material possessions and often felt left out for not owning a cell phone or computer. Felton (2010) highlighted concerns that arise later in school careers when the individuals start to notice that they do not have access to the same materials. Both statements support the idea that individuals who come from an underprivileged background may engage in social comparison. Further research into the social comparison phenomenon by Dijkstra, Kuyper, Buunk, Van der Werf, and Van der Zee (2008) found that this kind of upward comparison can lower self-esteem and produce negative self-evaluation in emotional and cognitive areas. Cultural comparisons can further result in elevated levels of anxiety (Dijkstra *et al.* 2008).

Conclusion

The underprivileged adolescent girls attending this high-fee independent school appeared to have difficulty understanding their own individual cultural identity. While they had difficulty defining what their culture was, it was still clearly an important part of their identity. Some indicated that they experienced hesitancy and uncertainty related to cultural initiation expectations on account of the secrecy involved. Coming from an underprivileged background, the girls found that their social values differed from their peers, both at school and in their home community. They also felt that their values had integrated some of the characteristics of the cultural majority of the school, thus diffusing their cultural values from home. These learners also felt excluded by their home community for attending a 'white school'. Each of the participants engaged in a form of social comparison, comparing themselves to others based on financial and material belongings or school achievement.

Taking the above findings into account, there is reason to believe that the need to adapt to a vastly different cultural and economic environment on a daily basis may influence psychosocial development and the development in both positive and negative ways. This study provides a starting point in which to address the above statement. In order to further investigate this possibility, the study could be recreated on a larger scale, including multiple schools and

educational environments in which to determine any trends. Further, the inclusion of both parents and educators may also benefit further studies into the investigation into the psychosocial experiences of underprivileged adolescent girls attending a high fee independent school.

The benefits of this study, along with others similar in nature, fall within the theory, policy and practice of both public and private education. The findings may assist in management, practice and policy on a national and international level. Furthermore, this study may also contribute to the application and expansion of existing theories such Erikson's Psychosocial Development Theory, the Students Multiple Worlds Model, as well as to the policy formulation practices of schools and regulatory bodies such as the Independent Schools Association of South Africa.

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Jean Fourie
Faculty of Education
University of Johannesburg
Johannesburg
jeanf@uj.ac.za

Mabatho Sedibe
Department of Educational Psychology
Faculty of Education
Auckland-park
University of Johannesburg
South Africa
mabathos@uj.ac.za

Fallon Thompson
Educational Psychologist in private practice
thompson.fallon@gmail.com

Words that Wound: Rethinking Online Hate Speech in South Africa

Bright Nkrumah

Abstract

Online violence and hate speech in cyberspace have become a major concern among previously disadvantaged groups and human rights activists in South Africa (Cuyler 2011; Ndou 2015). The remarkable expansion of the Internet as a platform for communication has been outdone by hate-based activity in cyberspace and extremist websites. The mobility and anonymity that the Internet provides has made expressions of hate and harassment easy on an abstract platform, which is often outside the remit of conventional security agencies (Lange 2007). By using technological, legal and political frameworks, this paper examines the conundrums involved in regulating hate speech on the Internet. It assesses the complexities inherent in South Africa's bilateral and/or multilateral partnerships, and challenges of unilateral domestic content legislation to regulate cyberspace. Whereas the state seeks to find common ground upon which to harmonise its approach to regulation, the paper examines how technological innovations can limit the harm triggered by hate speech. The paper recommends that there is the need for a broader mobilisation of citizens in order to reduce the harm often triggered by hate speakers in South Africa.

Keywords: social media, hate speech, cyberspace, internet

Introduction

> First they came for the Socialists, and I did not speak out –
> Because I was not a Socialist.
> Then they came for the Trade Unionists, and I did not speak out –

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a6

> Because I was not a Trade Unionist.
> Then they came for the Jews, and I did not speak out –
> Because I was not a Jew.
> Then they came for me – and there was no one left to speak for me[1].

In the 18th century, it was often said the 'pen is mightier than the sword' (Kelly 2003:23). In contemporary times, however, it could be said that keypads of mobile phones or computers are mightier than rifles or AK-47s. The evolution of cyberspace has demonstrated some positive outcomes such as easy access to information and for businesses purposes (Lange 2007). While the Internet has these impressive features, its evolution has also witnessed an increase in certain antisocial behaviours such as hacking, hoaxes and hate speech (Rosen 2012). The proliferation of these behaviours does not only erode the quality of life of their victims, but weakens social bonds (Demirbas 2017: 2693). To this end, human rights activists have cautioned that this development will expose disempowered groups such as women, blacks and gays to contempt and ridicule (Waldron 2012; Kimmel & Kestenbaum 2015).

This paper uses the phrases 'hate speech', 'assaultive statement' and 'inflammatory speech' interchangeably to refer to all forms of prejudicial or biased communications -symbolic, written or verbal- that degrade or insult an ethnic or racial group. This definition encompasses a political speech calling for particular new policy or a strong misrepresentation of a specific group. It is, important to indicate that hate speech is not completely new in post-apartheid South Africa, and even before the emergence of the Internet in the mid-1990s (Liebenberg 2000). Nevertheless, in the days before the Internet, dissemination of racial slurs, or defamation of a target required an individual to have access to a newspaper, radio or television, all of which cost money to attain (Matsuda 1989). Nevertheless, with the relatively cost-free and much easier nature of the Internet, these behaviours have become widespread (Tepker 2017). A key feature of the Internet which distinguishes it from the

[1] Martin Niemoller. Although the exact wording and source of this quote is subject to several variations, the quote is often attributed to Niemoller. While serving as a Protestant minister, he was an early supporter of Hitler, later imprisoned for eight years after leading his church's opposition towards the Nazis.

pre-1990s medium of communication is that much of the materials posted are not easily erasable (Dauterman 2003). For that reason, when an inflammatory statement 'goes viral', it might attract a lot of attention from different viewers and perhaps remain accessible for posterity to witness (Demirbas 2017: 2693). In this vein, the primary question the next section seeks to answer is: why is there so much intolerance on the Internet in post-apartheid South Africa? In order to respond to this overarching question, the next section undertakes a brief assessment of the country's underlying values through a review of the structural conditions that enhance racial hatred and intolerance.

Conceptual Framework

What is Hate Speech?

Inflammatory statement can potentially stimulate deadly stampede or violence. The very essence of inflammatory statement is usually to make victims objects of humiliation and contempt, thereby denying them their humanity (Chabalala 2017). It is important to indicate that hate speech has been, and can be, defined in various ways. For instance, in a broader sense, article 4 of the International Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Racial Discrimination defines hate speech as 'dissemination of ideas based on racial superiority or hatred.' The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, in more specific terms under article 20(2) requires criminalisation of '[a]ny advocacy of national, racial, or religious hatred that constitutes incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence'.

Hate speech could, therefore, be simply defined as statements which are degrading, hateful and prosecutorial. It is also an instrument used to target a historically oppressed group (Kelly 2003). It can also be used to convey a message of religious, racial or other trait-based inferiority (Rosen 2012). Six golden threads seem to run through the various definitions of hate speech. To be exact, it is: (i) degrading; (ii) hateful; (iii) persecutory; (iv) targeted at a historically disadvantaged group; (v) of racial inferiority; and (vi) targets vulnerable groups (Matsuda 2018).

Hate speech can take various forms and shapes. First, are inflammatory political speeches akin to the 2015 xenophobic statement made by the Zulu King and Adolf Hitler's 'Mein Kampf' (Smith 1939; Heiden 1941; Ndou 2015). Both share the assertion that any race or group of people who are not liked by that society should be exterminated, deported, imprisoned or enslaved.

Second, are scientific theories that suggest that certain gender or racial groups are genetically inferior and should be segregated (Bobo 1988; Entman 1990). Third, is the calling of names or direct personal insult.

Yet, with South Africa's 1996 Constitution calling for equality of all races, hardly anyone in democratic South Africa maintains that prejudicial statement is acceptable (Ntsabo 2018). In other words, the norm against hate speech in South Africa is now firmly entrenched. Of course, this does not imply that the sporadic occurrence of derogation of blacks, African migrants or gay bashing does not occur. When they do, they rather receive a degree of public condemnation (Mathabane 2002). The battle against hate speech in South Africa, in sum, could be said to have been relatively won.

With the exponential growth of cyberspace as a means of communication, so has the impact of these insensitive conducts also become pervasive (Stolley 2016). In 2016, an unemployed estate agent, Penny Sparrow, fumed on Facebook that black South Africans, whom she referred to as 'monkeys' were being a source of discomfort to others on public beaches (Wicks 2017). She was ordered to pay R150 000 to the Adelaide and Oliver Tambo Foundation after being found guilty (Evans 2016). The second case is very stagy. A Standard Bank economist, Chris Hart ranted on Twitter about black people's sense of entitlement and their hatred for white people (Subramany 2016). Although he apologised later, his apology did not resonate with his employers leading to his untimely resignation (Rahlaga 2016).

It is important to indicate that the South African government is not alone in this dilemma. While hate speech is criminalised in most European nations, the right of free speech is jealously guarded without due regard to their abuse in most African Constitutions.[2] Having observed the brutality of the

[2] See Art 21(1)(a) of Ghana's 1992 Constitution; art 61 of the 2013 Constitution Zimbabwe. For instance, sec 61(1)(a) of the 2013 Zimbabwean Constitution indicates that everyone has 'a. freedom to seek, receive and communicate ideas and other information; b. freedom of artistic expression and scientific research and creativity'. Art 33 of the 2010 Constitution of Kenya indicates that 'Every person has the right to freedom of expression, which includes –

(a) freedom to seek, receive or impart information or ideas;

(b) freedom of artistic creativity; and

(c) academic freedom and freedom of scientific research.

Rwandan genocide triggered by inflammatory statement, South Africa and the African community need to pay closer attention to the inherent worth of every individual (Mathabane 2002). This inherent dignity clearly provides justification for restricting the 'right' of the chauvinistic speaker to rant prejudicial words (Wawrzynski & Stanco-Wawrzynska 2016). Allowing inflammatory statement to flourish may not only harm the victim, but the speaker as well. For instance, if granted the legitimacy of a global audience, the speaker will probably be entrenched in his or her hateful conduct.

Like Hart, typing extremist remarks on the Internet with the intention of getting a response has become a norm or a means of recreation. Within the online community, these people are disparagingly termed as 'trolls' (Solove 2007: 5). In order to make other users assume that the remark has received broad support, some trolls create several accounts to enable them post inflammatory speeches under one user and subsequently use their other accounts to add a response of affirmation (Demirbas 2017: 2693). Real life trolls, akin to the ill-favoured creature that attempted to consume the three Billy Goats Gruff by blocking the bridge, undermine the utility of Internet by terrorizing other users (Asbjørnsen & Moe 1962).

Some social scientists have argued that due to South Africa's checkered past, most citizens grapple with issues relating to racial or ethnic tensions (Moran 2005; Wawrzynski & Stanco-Wawrzynska 2016). On one level, South Africans believe in a set of mantra which perceives discrimination and racism as offensive. They see discrimination of any form as immoral. According to this mantra, all are equal in the sight of God, and everyone is either a brother or a sister (Mathabane 2002). All men are equal and the national values are highly non-discriminatory and race blind (Bell 2008). South Africans, therefore, resolve to ensure the full realisation of Desmond Tutu's 'rainbow nation' and, thus, feel disappointed when they fail in this respect (Wawrzynski & Stanco-Wawrzynska 2016).

On another level, since gender, sexual orientation and racial attitudes are acquired at the formative years of one's life, usually from playground friends and parents, people sometimes find it difficult to overcome their deep-seated dark instincts (Schraub 2016). So, regardless of these public values, some often behave according to a lower code of conduct when they are in their comfort zone or unaware that there is no third-party monitoring them (Moran 2005). As a result, a typical South African at work might feel free to refuse a promotion or an interview to an otherwise black compatriot, if she is under the

assumption that this act will not be detected by superiors (Beaman 2008). This same person with cronies at a private gathering or at a bar, might also feel freer to tell a joke at the expense of African migrants in the country, Muslims, gays and lesbians.

Nonetheless, in another circumstance, this person might act in a different way. For instance, on the Sunday after a national event (either the Human Rights Day, the Freedom Day or the Day of Reconciliation), and the pastor at the local church decides to reflect on the importance of such an occasion, this person may declare that s/he is colour blind and behave accordingly. Should s/he be standing or seated next to a coloured, Indian or black person, s/he is more likely to strike a conversation about the powerful sermon or the beautiful weather. S/he may even invite the other to a family event or go hiking (Schraub 2016). Many South Africans, in sum, behave as if they subscribe to two different sets of standards, one for private moments and another for public conduct. While the latter is carefully picked, bearing in mind the situation one finds him/herself in, the first is often intuitive.

Post-apartheid public consciousness is shaped in online editorials which all too often, are filled up with racist insults (Solove 2007). As a result, the lives of many South Africans have been impacted negatively by cyber bullying, hate speech and other anti-social behaviours (Schraub 2016). For instance**,** a YouTube video of 'the coffin assault' sparked outraged and was seen by many black Africans as invoking painful memories of the dehumanising treatment endured during the apartheid regime (Chabalala 2017). In this case, two white farmers posted a video where they were forcing a black man into a coffin and threatening to put a snake inside and set the coffin alight. The farmers were both sentenced to more than 10 years imprisonment. While the evolution of the Internet has created space for expression, the use of this medium to incite hatred could be considered as one of the major setbacks to the advancement of human rights in the 21st century (Schraub 2016). Some of these crimes span from hacking, pranks and hoaxes, scams, financial and consumer fraud, threats to identity theft (Wawrzynski & Stanco-Wawrzynska 2016). There are a number of platforms available on cyberspace for individuals wishing to make life unbearable for their targets. These include, but not limited to the following:

Blogs serve as a medium for analysing broad range of topics, ranging from the author's thoughts on a subject, the diaries or routine of the author or anything s/he (dis)approves of. In addition to these minor usages, blogs could

be used to expose government corruption and state's effort to limit freedom of speech (Hlongwane 2010). Besides these positive attributes, the anonymous nature of blogs could make it an ideal platform for perpetrators to cast aspersions against their foes or a section of the population who may not appeal to the author.

Second, popular among smart phone users, WhatsApp was introduced primarily to exchange voice notes, videos, photos and text. While playing a vital role in information dissemination, this medium has become a platform where perpetrators post on their group pages' hateful speeches about target groups (Kimmel & Kestenbaum 2015). The application, thus, allows users of smart phones (children as well adults) to view and store offensive contents distributed by authors against people they dislike in their mobile phones.

Third, as a relatively recent innovation, Twitter enables users to send and receive short messages or comments, termed 'tweets' (Gragg & Sellers 2010). Most of the comments are trivial, usually encompassing slight details of a persons' activities, meals and day. Tweets, however, may also be used by trolls to defame a particular target group, especially individuals who are well known in the news (Lange 2007).

Fourth, by serving as a means of Internet–based social communication, Facebook enables subscribers to contact a list of friends with whom they can receive updates and exchange messages (Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe 2007). While materials on Facebook are often not extraordinary, it could be used by individuals or groups to sabotage. This could be done through criticism or concerted hate speech against administrators, defame teachers, bully unpopular targets who arouse(s) their anger (Chabalala 2017). In addition, Facebook poses a problem of privacy, particularly for the young South African who may be ignorant of how a photograph or a candid disclosure could tarnish their reputation later in life.

Fifth, as a platform for international file sharing, mainly homemade videos, YouTube is used by perpetrators to advocate violence or attack groups or damage a political opponent, as demonstrated in 'the coffin assault' case (Lange 2007).

Sixth, apart from covering simple issues such as how to pass matric or cook a local Zulu food, websites may be used as propaganda machinery against foreigners, gays or albinos. According to Delgado and Stefancic (2004), the allegation against websites as being an instrument for spreading hate is not entirely true since visitors may choose not to visit such sites. While their observation may

hold some merits, other people who may fall outside the bracket of the target group may begin to believe the idea posted (Chabalala 2017). This idea will eventually become socially saturated and be perceived to be true (Kimmel & Kestenbaum 2015).

Finally, among the most frequently used cyberspace platforms are text messages and e-mails (Szostek 2011). While being helpful as an (un)official medium of communication, they have also been used for venting contempt and hatred against victims. Racist or perpetrators of xenophobic attempts often circulate messages on emails or text messages to mobilise support from disgruntled South Africans to attack foreigners (Gupta, Sharda & Greve 2011). For instance, list servers allow hate groups to circulate messages with relative confidence that the victim will not be privy to (Chabalala 2017). Thus, without the sender's name often detached from individualised emails, the opponents may not be able to respond since the sender may have switched off his computer or sent the message from a public terminal (Malhotra, Michelson & Valenzuela 2012).

3 Balancing Act: Reconciling Hate Speech and Freedom of Expression

In South Africa, inflammatory statement is protected from the state's interference under the 1996 Constitution. Section 16(1) of the Constitution expressly indicates that everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes artistic creativity, freedom to impart information and freedom of the press.

It must be noted that unlike other instruments such as the First Amendment of the United States, section 16(1) guarantees both freedom of expression and speech. Since the purposes of inflammatory statement is to promote intolerance and threatens the lives and liberty of those targeted, the drafters of the Constitution inserted a clawback clause to protect citizens from this form of abuse. The clause under section 16(2)(c) affirms that freedom of expression does not extend to 'advocacy of hatred that is based on race, ethnicity, gender or religion, and that constitutes incitement to cause harm'.

Inflammatory statements cannot only reinforce possibly harmful thoughts in the minds of the observers, but can also cause real psychological harm to the victims. Besides psychosomatic disease, the racist messages that prejudicial statements convey, have been shown to be linked to mental illnesses and have significant adverse impact on parenting practices (Nahay 1986).

Many observers, therefore, called on the government for an urgent legal regulation to ensure behaviour change (Stolley 2016; Wicks 2017). Against this backdrop, the government at the beginning of 2017 announced plans for tabling legislation before parliament on hate speech, termed Prevention and Combating of Hate Crimes and Hate Speech Bill (DOJ&CD 2018).

The promulgation of the bill was a response to highly-publicised matters or incidents of hateful statements which according to one observer 'shock the collective conscience of reasonable members of society' (Dube 2017). The bill, among others, seeks to criminalise hate speech triggered by prejudice (Dube 2018). The intention of the bill is a welcome development as it serves as a deterrent to would-be offenders. Given that citizens often have contempt towards legislations which do not resonate with their interest, this bill if passed, might enjoy a considerable public acceptance.

It must, however, be noted that the bill is not wholly relevant for two reasons. First, the Constitution sets out clear parameters on how the right to freedom of expression should be exercised (Van Staden 2018). In its widest possible sense, freedom of expression can be exercised except for serving as a platform for: a) advocating hatred based on religion, gender, ethnicity; (b) incitement of imminent violence; or (c) propaganda of war. The first threshold is unique in that it is the only expression in the Constitution which proscribes by using phrases such as 'incitement to cause harm' or 'advocacy'.

It is reasonable for a legislation to restrict certain kinds of freedoms, but such a limitation must be reasonable especially if that law is of general application. While the Constitution sets out only four grounds as constituting 'advocacy of hatred', section 3(1) of the hate speech bill lists an additional 13 grounds, comprising (a) sexual orientation; (b) sex including intersex; (c) political affiliation or conviction; (d) political affiliation or conviction; (e) occupation or trade; (f) nationality, migrant or refugee status; (g) language; (h) HIV status; (i) disability; (j) culture; (k) colour; (l) birth; (m) albinism; and (n) age. This overarching list broadly construes hate speech and, consequently, tramples on the freedom of the speech and freedom of expression. It reminds one the possible risk of 'insult bill' being adopted by the state to limit citizen's right to access information and censor the media (Dube 2018).

Before 1994, there were more than hundred pieces of laws all seeking to promote media censorship (Liebenberg 2000). With the collapse of apartheid, these legislations were repealed to usher in a constitutional

democracy (Judge & Nel 2008). It is, therefore, imperative that the freedom of the press is respected and protected, since the lifeblood of any democracy is an independent and investigative press (Barries 2013).

Second, an adoption of a hate speech bill will only be a duplication of the state's effort (Levy 2018). At present, there is an existing legal mechanism capable of addressing issues relating to hate speech. The Equality Court, created by the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000, is well positioned to adjudicate and order speakers to make a public apology or pay damages in light of the seriousness of the matter (Mitchley 2018). The relevance of the court is better demonstrated in the *Sonke Gender Justice Network v Malema*, where the respondent was ordered to pay R50,000 in damages to a non-governmental organisation on charges of hate speech (Sonke Gender Justice 2009).

Nonetheless, after more than two decades into democracy, South Africa still lacks a comprehensive hate speech legislation which could ensure the effective prosecution of perpetrators while deterring others. To be exact, by October 2018, South Africa has not yet passed into law the recently framed hate speech bill. It could be argued that government's inaction against perpetrators, as demonstrated in Hart's and Sparrow's cases, clearly indicates that speakers have the right to vent what they feel, irrespective of the impact of such statement. The targeted victim of abuse is entitled to state's protection, but, considering that the state cannot simultaneously protect both the perpetrator and victim, the government in most instances chooses to protect the speaker's right of expression (Van Staden 2018).

Yet, in February 2016, the state took an unprecedented turn when it handed down its first decision relating to the prosecution of this crime (Levy 2018). An estate agent Vicki Momberg made a video of her ranting about the incompetence of 'kaffirs' after being a victim of hijacking (Huffpost 2018)[3]. In 2017, the Randburg Magistrate Court found her guilty of four counts of *crimen injuria* and sentenced to two years in prison.[4] Thus, rather than adopting an extra legislation, the government must reflect on ways of making the courts more appealing to the public, especially since it has the potential of consolidating the country's reconciliation project (Barries 2013). Further, to

[3] Kaffir is a derogative term for black Africans.

[4] *Crimen injuria* refers to the use of racially offensive language to wilfully cause an injury to a persons' dignity.

ensure that the objectives of the hate speech bill do not flout other forms of freedoms, it is important that the provisions of the bill are narrowly defined to be aligned with the parameters of the Constitution (Levy 2018).

4 The Conundrums of Regulating (Hate) Speech

Government limitation of inflammatory statements seems to raise concerns among sections of the public (Judge & Nel 2008). To some, the (over)regulation of any form of speech threatens to limit important right and undermine the basic tenets of democracy. Beyond being essential for personal autonomy, freedom of speech is key to advancing individual liberty (Feinberg 1988). Regulating this freedom may not only impact negatively on persons but may also endanger democracy (Levy 2018). Over-regulation of prejudicial statements can make hateful ideas more appealing to impressionable young South Africans, while leading to lionization of racist thugs, especially when the mask of taboo is placed on hate speech (Matsuda 1989). Moreover, total bans on hateful statement can harm potential victims given that it can underpin the paternalistic notion that the vulnerable are in need of state protection, thereby turning trolls into celebrated martyrs of libertarianism (Judge & Nel 2008).

The potential regulation of assaultive statement in South Africa brings to bear ten main challenges. *First*, the dualistic nature of human dignity. Human dignity, from one context demands autonomy (Habermas 2010). The dignity of citizens may be considered as trampled upon by the state if that regime does not respect the public's beliefs and choices (Chaskalson 2000). It is imperative that a state allows its citizens to determine and shape their own identities and views, as set out in the Founding Provisions and Bill of Rights of the South African Constitution (Gross 1998). Arguably, the notions of liberty and dignity appear to be constantly at odds with each other. The concept, 'dignity as liberty' suggests that citizens have freedom of expression, whereas 'dignity-as-constraint' demands that hateful statement or unfettered contempt must not be permitted (Gross 1998). Although it may curtail the prejudicial statements of a hateful propagandist, (over)regulation of hateful speech may equally threaten human dignity.

Second, the interpretation and implementation of free speech and dignity varies at the national to the regional levels. Countries often have different approaches towards balancing these two contentious rights. For instance, sec 61(5) of the 2013 Constitution of Zimbabwe, only prohibits

freedom of the media and expression only when they cause unwarranted or malicious violation of a person's right to privacy, incite violence, advocate hatred or hate speech, and cause malicious injuries to a person's dignity or reputation. Also, whereas the collection of Nazi memorabilia is prohibited in European countries, a speech may only be considered inflammatory in the American system when it threatens to trigger immediate violence (Levy 2018). With the wide coverage of the Internet, a racial supremacist can transmit hate propaganda from an American state where it is not a criminal offence, and stream into South Africa where it is illegal (Botha & Govindjee 2014).

Third, granted that most states in the global south and north agree on a common basic system to protect freedom of expression and forestalling hate speech, it would still be difficult to achieve a global solution. This may be a daunting task mainly because historical and social context plays a key role in the process of determining which statements are inciteful and/or hurtful (Reddy 2002). Human dignity, as described by Klug (2003) is a manifestation of a sense of being which is imbedded and simultaneously personified in the engagement between the community and the individual. In similar vein, former president of the Constitutional Court, Justice Chaskalson (2000) points that human dignity embodies the right of each person not to be treated in a humiliating or devalued and respect for the autonomy of each person. The major hateful statements are those which seek to awaken dormant cultural prejudices by relying on historically established hatreds and symbolism (Tseis 2009). This provides the rationale why some scholars have intimated that considering the complexity of hate speech, there is the need for local or provincial governments to adopt different strategies and/or legislations which reflect the specific local history and practice (Patni & Kaumudi 2009; Battaglia 1990; Smolla 1990). The relevance of local differences in triggering hateful statement becomes particularly challenging in the context of the Internet – a person in South Africa may post statement possibly offensive about sexual minorities that might be mildly derogatory in this country, although perilous in the context of the historical and social situations of an LGBTI viewer in Ghana (Bakircioglu 2008). It can be challenging to limit hateful statement when the individual making such a speech is unaware of the potential negative impact that their words may stimulate in different parts of the world (Patni & Kaumudi 2009).

Fourth, South Africa's multi-racial and culturally diverse society presents further complications to regulating hate speech (Bakircioglu 2008).

The definition of hate speech, as well as its impact can differ from province-to-province and municipality-to-municipality in light of the various cultural differences. Different cultures may assign different interpretations to a word (Botha & Govindjee 2014). For instance, while being thick skinned is considered offensive in some European quarters, according to Reichman (2007), this attribute is perceived as a positive trait in some (South) African societies. The psychological impact of hate speech and its possibility to trigger violence are both possibly heightened, especially in places where traditional conceptions of honour are of cultural significance (Cuyler 2011).

Fifth, according to Johnson and Post (1996), the lack of consensus at the regional and (inter)national levels regarding the definition, content and what constitutes a hate speech has aggravated issues surrounding jurisdictions. Social networks, in effect exists nowhere in particular, but rather everywhere. Website physically located in Pretoria has equal effect on people living in Durban, as it does on people physically located in Pretoria (Cuyler 2011). Thus, although they are located 'nowhere', websites impact on individuals everywhere. Given that the Internet is not confined to state borders, trolls can post hateful messages from locations which can sometimes be difficult for state's security agencies to trace (Levy 2018). While surfing the web, Internet users have real physical position which are traced by IP addresses, a system which tech-savvy persons can alter, making it seem like the user is surfing the website from another province and with a different machine. Therefore, assigning territory in terms of the location of machines could be unsatisfying, for two reasons: first, there is no necessary connection between an Internet address and a physical jurisdiction; and second, the system is unresponsive to the physical position of these machines. Although it could be argued that online content is physically located on the servers where the data is stored, it must be noted that it is only the location in a virtual space which comprises the machine's 'addresses' between which information and messages are routed. One approach which could be used by South Africa is to monitor activities online. This strategy, nonetheless, will compromise the privacy of citizens, especially whenever they open a profile on a social networking site, read a message board or visit a chat room.

Sixth, an important argument which has been advanced is that jurisdiction can be extended based on the physical location of the registry or the corporation in charge of handing out domain names and matching content with the Uniform Resource Locator (URL). One major reason counters this

argument. First, countries with more popular companies (like the United States) will have a high amount of control over the cyberspace, leaving countries like South Africa with less domestic social networks little opportunity to address harms that might be triggered by the web within its territory.

Seventh, there are serious issues regarding the legitimacy of national regulation of the cyberspace, along with the logistical challenges in determining which state has jurisdiction. When a group of people enter into an agreement with a foreign company, or goes for a vacation in another country, they are made aware on notice that their conduct is subject to and/or must conform to the foreign law. Generally, such a notice is missing in cyberspace. Regulation of the cyberspace will subject users to different legislations of national states, subject Internet users to different overlapping and possibly even conflicting legislations. The legal challenges relating to the regulation of, and subjection of the Internet to a national legislation is better demonstrated in the 2010 Italian case where three Google executives were prosecuted for breaching the country's criminal legislation after some teenagers uploaded a video showing a disabled classmate being bullied (D'Alessandro 2010). The video, which was uploaded onto the Google owned website Google Video, climbed to the top of Google Italy's 'most entertaining' video list as it quickly attracted enormous attention. Even though the company took down the video within hours of it being called to its attention, an Italian court held that by making it accessible to viewers, the company had breached national privacy laws. As legal representatives of the company they work for, the employees were given six months suspended sentences. The judgement, in essence, placed a legal obligation on the company for not reviewing content prior to letting it be uploaded.

While the impact of the judgement at the global level may not be particularly problematic, within the national boundaries of Italy it could be ideologically challenging. It must be noted that from a human rights perspective, whereas the court's decision holds some merits, it will be difficult for the company to forestall future posting of such videos. Whereas it might be feasible to analyse a small fraction of videos posted by Italians, it is not practicable to assess the various videos accessible to all viewers in the country. Google's dilemma would be doubled if several other countries (as well as those in other regions- start to demand an enforcement of their domestic legislation) obliging the company to examine all videos in order to ensure compliance with,

for example, Uganda, Zimbabwe, Ghana, South African legislation, would be a herculean task. The result of such a liability could inhibit technological advancement, limit the availability of Internet services and hinder innovation, given that such a liability would drastically affect the feasibility of Internet services and applications in South Africa and the world beyond.

Eighth, aside the recommendation that a country like South Africa should simply refrain from regulating cyberspace is the fact that it will be unrealistic for it to implement the regulation. The string of litigation in relation to the sale of Nazi memorabilia on the web services provider Yahoo! clearly illustrates this complexity. In one case, the website created a platform for auction where people could offer items and other users could bid on. French groups filed a petition against the website when some users listed Nazi memorabilia, given that the display of such items for sale was a breach of the countries criminal law (Bellia, Berman & Post 2007). Despite the fact that the said materials were not listed on the Yahoo! Website in France (www.yahoo.fr), it was connected to the website in the United States (www.geocities.com), where one could purchase the memorabilia. The government of France asserted sovereignty by ordering the website to forestall any access to the auction service, since the damage was suffered within its territory. Although it attempted to comply with the order by amending the auction policy as well as posting warnings, Yahoo! did not take down the auction website nor block French users from accessing and viewing the prohibited items on the auction site. A US Federal Court, in a response to the French government's threat of imposing a FF1,00,000 fine, refused to enforce this decision by holding that such an order was in violation of the First Amendment to the US Constitution (*Yahoo! Inc*). As demonstrated by this case, a nation deciding that it has jurisdiction to enforce sovereignty online is not as simple. Before such a jurisdiction could have any merit, it is important that that state convinces other states of the relevance of such regulation, which could be burdensome in light of the needed resources to achieve this end.

Also, the lack of consensus among states over the proper balance between human dignity and free speech could also make the question of jurisdiction difficult to address at the national level. Simple statements concerning whether a conduct is appropriate could even be contested, presumably because different states may not share the same view on the meaning of what constitutes hate speech. Nonetheless, it can be particularly burdensome for South Africa to prosecute online behaviour effectively,

including those which have severely impacted on its sovereign boundaries due to the borderless nature of the Internet.

Ninth, another problematic solution is that of international regulation and coordination. Due to the massive amounts of information that travel online, conventional procedures that control transnational activities are not easily transferable to the Internet. The adoption of and/or universal ratification of a particular international treaty to regulate cyberspace seems to be impracticable. For instance, the International Telecommunication Regulations (ITRs), signed by 89 out of a possible 144 countries will have little impact on South Africa's attempt to regulate the Internet and the regulation of hate speech (BusinessTech 2012). The prime objective of the regulation is to guarantee greater governmental oversight of cyberspace, including the Internet. Without universal ratification (particularly with the abstention of most countries including much of Europe and the US), hate speakers from any of these non-ratifying countries could continue to disseminate assaultive pronouncements across the globe and into South Africa (ITU 2018).

Tenth, it would be challenging to frame a legislation to address Internet hate speech which is explicit enough to be meaningful but not conflicting with the domestic legislations of at least some of other nations'. First, in contrast to South Africa and the rest of sub-Saharan African countries who have signed the ITRs, the US has taken an anomalous position on the regulation of hate speech and protects it. Second, considering that most of the popular registries (or website companies), comprising the ones which administers all the websites with '.com' are positioned within its borders, the US, therefore, has a disproportionate control over the Internet, and yet not a party to the ITRs. Accordingly, any attempt to draft an international treaty with more moderate provisions towards striking a balance between freedom of speech and other fundamental rights is more likely to be frustrated by the USA's unwillingness to ratify a treaty which breaches its First Amendment.

In sum, although South Africa has demonstrated its willingness to address hate speech by drafting the hate speech bill, it remains to be seen whether the bill (if passed) could actually deter hate speakers, especially in view of the legal and technological conundrums set out above. Since it is not the objective of the paper to merely bring up problems without a solution, the paper now takes a look at some of the (un)conventional approaches which could be used by both citizens and the state to curb hate speeches in the country.

5 Deterrence: Shifting Regulation from State to Citizens

Some of the conventional remedies used to address hate speech on cyberspace often encompasses those often used by victims against their aggressors, like talking back to their attacker. Most of these perceived remedies, as will be demonstrated below, often do not yield the expected result. For instance, talking back to the hate speaker is impracticable especially for a statement that is posted on a platform of the like-minded and is anonymous.

Proponents of freedom of expression equally recommend that anytime someone reads or hears something offensive, they must not quickly run to report to the state authorities, rather they must learn to harden themselves (Massaro 1991; Bakircioglu 2008). This suggestion is highly impracticable, especially in terms of speeches that suddenly pops up on your phone or computer screen, and one does not have the ample time to toughen up beforehand. Moreover, considering that one is usually not aware that such defamation is occurring or that one's good name or identity has been impugned, it could be difficult to put this approach into effect when it comes to prejudicial statement on the Internet. Besides failing to entreat attackers to refrain from their antisocial behavior, this strategy places the onus of battling prejudicial statement on innocent and vulnerable South Africans who are victims of such acts (Massaro 1991).

An additional riposte from proponents of free speech is that victims must learn to endure without responding to hate speakers. According to Johnson and Post (1996), such speeches act as a pressure valve which allows aggressors air their feelings in a harmless manner, and that if bottled up, may later burst out in even more destructive way (Khaliq 1994; Dauterman 2003). This notion is misleading, especially within the context of the Internet. Far from pacifying the attacker and his/her followers, the first rant attracts like-minded attackers, and a response of 'likes' or 'right ons' boosts the morale of the hate speaker that his statement is true and shared widely, when in actual fact that is not the case (Castagna 2013).

Despite the few cases adjudicated by the courts in South Africa, the judiciary has given relatively little attention to hate speeches. Considering that the judiciary consider Internet speeches as falling under section 16 of the 1996 Constitution, it is more likely that the Constitutional Court will not favor any law in the form of hate speech which seeks to limit citizens right to speech on the Internet. Such a law can only pass a constitutional muster if it only seeks to forbid speeches resembling incitement to cause harm, hatred based on

ethnicity, incitement of imminent violence and propaganda for war. Given that prejudicial statements are likely to spread among loners operating in secrecy or like-minded groups, new strategies must be sought (Cuyler 2011). The next section analysis and recommends three key strategies to forestall the upsurge of hate speeches, namely, sanctions, boycotting and group contact.

The first, and often more effective weapon of gaining the attention of hate speakers is through economic sanction or protest. Some of these agitators sometimes own a business or are employees of an entity which may need either a monetary assistance from the government, an advertising account, a tax deduction, donations or funds for operations. Sanctions in the form of a letter to the South African Revenue Service calling the aggressor's business into question, withdrawal of business license and most importantly consumer boycott may gain their attention. For instance, on 13 January 2018, members of the Economic Freedom Fighters vandalized H&M stores in Sandton City and Menlyn (Makhob 2018). The boycotting was triggered by the clothing retail giant's latest advert portraying a black boy wearing a sweater with the inscription 'coolest monkey in the jungle'. According to the protesters, this inscription contravenes the country's transformation efforts (Castagna 2013). This type of sanctions will nudge attackers to behave in a less socially spiteful manner and to moderate their antisocial activity, since most groups and individuals guard zealously their own financial fortunes.

Morever, as its name implies, the approach of social contact seeks to prevent prejudicial statements by creating platforms for different sections of the population to come together and interact with one another, usually in group settings. The best approach of reducing discriminatory prejudices through social contact is by assigning similar tasks to members of different races and ethnicities (Nahay 1986). The pursuit of similar goals and objectives will help the members interact and make the prejudiced person more comfortable in mixed-race setting. Such avenues may include sports, schools and series of recreational activities. This notion asserts that much of gender, racial and sexual orientation friction and discrimination are triggered by wrong perception (Nahay 1986). From the infancy, a person internalizes an idea, mostly from playmates or parents that a section of the country's population or individuals from a particular race are not trustworthy. In order to counter this perception, the state must create several platforms for South Africa's youth to engage with other races and where necessary, with different sexual orientation. Through constant interaction, they will figure out that some of the things they

were told were not completely true (Demirbas 2017). Ultimately, they will discover that those with dark-skinned, and/or with different sexual orientation are not much different from them, with some being honest others deceitful, some nice others arrogant, some smart others dump. As witnessed in some parts of the country, some might end up being friends with members of other races. People who are raised in an environment with people of different backgrounds are more comfortable living or working with individuals of different racial group, choose companions of different backgrounds, and in the long run are more comfortable with diversity.

6 Conclusion

Whereas the Internet has brought individuals from all over the world together through a simple means of communication, it has, however, created a barrier since it allows individuals to hurt others in ways that were not possible in the past. The potentially massive audience that one can attract, coupled with the anonymity of the Internet has triggered growing and serious problem in the form of hateful speech.

South Africa's specific trajectory of exclusion and marginalisation needs to be examined within the constitutional lens of transparency, accountability and openness. Ultimately, this requires that the country strikes a balance between non-discrimination, freedom of expression as well as hate speech. Although the present hate speech bill deviates from this balancing act, it can be salvaged by narrowly defining hate speech and giving more visibility to the equality court. Besides national regulation, it would be extremely cumbersome for the international community to agree on a single treaty which addresses hate speech on the Internet, especially in light of the different perspective of nations regarding what constitutes hateful pronouncements.

Regulating hate speech can be challenging with serious repercussions involving human rights issues on both sides of the argument. Moreover, it appears that government policing or regulation of the Internet is unlikely to produce a solution to the problem. This may be due to issues of illegitimacy and the challenge of translating national jurisdiction into cyberspace as well as the disagreement over the importance of free expression. This challenge ultimately leaves the solution towards addressing hate speech largely in the hands of citizens, in the form of popular action. Given that hate speakers may be involved in an economic activity, mobilisation of citizens against such an

individual or an organisation, mainly through sanctions and boycotting any economic venture could moderate these extremes.

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Bright Nkrumah
School of Social Sciences
Howard College
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Bright.nkrumah@ukzn.ac.za

The Perceived Motivational Impact of Voice-over-PowerPoint™ on Part-time Adult Learners in a Distance Learning Environment

Lorena Brits
Theresa van Oordt

Abstract

The primary purpose of this study was to determine whether well-designed instructional material based on motivational theory and blended learning theory has the intended impact on the learning motivation of adult learners in a distance education environment. This study used Voice-over-PowerPoint™ technology as a medium to deliver subject specific instruction based on motivational theory as supplementary content to the course curriculum. This empirical study was conducted over a period of approximately two months on a sample of 57 adult learners who were enrolled for a distance education course for non-degree purposes at a tertiary education institution. Quantitative research methods were applied and data was collected using two motivation-measuring surveys: (1) The Course Interest Survey; and (2) The Instructional Materials Motivation Survey, which were both developed by Keller. Motivational strategies were designed for the chosen educational technology, Voice-over-PowerPoint™ (VoP) videos, using Keller's Attention, Relevance, Confidence and Satisfaction (ARCS) model of motivation. These strategies were then delivered via the learner management system for learners to use at their convenience. This research suggests that overall, learner motivation can be affected by external conditions such as well-designed instructional material, and further supports the ARCS model. Furthermore, the use of VoP videos as a viable medium for delivering motivational strategies in a blended, distance learning environment was validated.

Keywords: Distance education, adult learning, blended learning, motivation, ARCS Model, Accounting education, Taxation education

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a7

1. Introduction

As the educational landscape shifts to one of life-long learning[1], through numerous mediums, we as educators are faced with the challenge of motivating learners, to increase their probability of success, in a 'connected' yet isolated environment.

Higher education has transformed from elite to mass education with the aid of educational technologies and the open access philosophy adopted by many. Mega-universities have evolved as a result of the increasing demand for access to higher education (Trow 1999), sparking an increase in the use of distance education[2] and its many derivatives (e-learning[3]; m-learning[4]; blended/ hybrid learning[5], etc.).

Distance education has historically dealt with lower success rates than its traditional counterpart. The ever increasing demand resulting from open access and the 'connectedness' of the world nowadays has further contributed to the poor completion or throughput rates of distance based education. The challenges that distance learners face with regard to achieving academic success exist at an individual level (i.e. motivation, ability, academic preparedness, other personal characteristics, finances, and personal circumstances), at an institutional level (i.e. the quality of service and guidance provided), and at a pervasive level (i.e. socio-political and socio-economic

[1] Life-long learning is defined as formal and informal learning opportunities to foster continuous development and improvement in adult learners.

[2] Distance education is simplistically described as the separation of educators and learners by space and/or time, including traditional distance education (paper-based), technology based learning (e-learning), mobile learning (m-learning), a mixture of distance or face to face learning blended with technology enhanced learning (blended/hybrid learning), etcetera.

[3] e-learning is the delivery of learning, training or an education program by electronic means (also referred to as online training or learning)

[4] m-learning or mobile learning is defined as education or training through the use of portable wireless devices such as mobile phones, personal digital assistants, personal computers and small tablet PCs, to achieve the goal of mobility and interactivity.

[5] Blended or hybrid learning describes e-learning is being combined with traditional classroom methods and independent study to create a new, hybrid teaching methodology.

factors) (Subotzky & Prinsloo 2011; Moodley & Singh 2015; Khoza & Manik 2015). Learner successs is a highly complex challenge with many variables, one of which is motivation.

Motivation is an integral part of academic success and learning, especially in distance education where learners must be active and self-directed participants in their learning (Lee 2000; Strage 1999; Pascarella & Terenzini 1991). Distance learners are generally less motivated than traditional learners due, in part, to the distance or isolation that they experience (Qureshi, Morton & Antosz 2002; Inoue, as cited in Bolliger, Supanakorn & Boggs 2010). This distance is often referred to as transactional distance, being the gap or miss understanding between what the learner understood and what the educator intended to convey (Moore 1993). Implementing interventions that decrease this gap or distance creates a transactional presence that in turn fosters better understanding and may motivate learners.

Prior studies have proved that external conditions (for example instruction method and materials) can influence learner motivation (Moller 1993; Huett 2006; Gabrielle 2003; L. Visser 1998; Song & Keller 2001). Prior research has also established that the use of educational technology personalises learning by giving a voice or putting a face to the learning experience through the creation of a transactional (virtual) presence, and thereby decreasing transactional distance (Lee, Tan & Goh 2004; Van Oordt & Mulder 2016).

This Voice-over-PowerPoint™ (VoP) video study was designed to determine whether well-designed instructional material based on motivational theory and blended learning theory has the intended impact on the learning motivation of adult learners in a distance education environment.

The instructional methods undertaken in this study are well supported in the scholarly literature. Bolliger, Supanakorn and Boggs (2010) used Keller's ARCS model to develop podcasts in an online environment, the results of which indicate that overall, the users of these podcasts' motivation increased. Keller developed the ARCS model of motivation to solve instructional problems related to a learners' motivation to learn (Keller 1979; Keller 1987a; Keller 1987b). ARCS stands for Attention, Relevance, Confidence and Satisfaction, and forms the basis on which the motivation-enhancing strategies were applied in this study. Keller developed the ARCS model through the synthesis of behavioural, cognitive and affective learning theories.

Motivational theory as used by Keller (2001) is embedded in the blended learning theory, which assimilates distance learning experiences with e-learning experiences in adult education. This is done by using educational technology to impact adult learners' motivation to learn (Alonso, López, Manrique & Viñes 2005; Garisson & Kanuka 2004; Prinsloo 2007; Dahawy & Kamel 1991).

For the purpose of this study, blended learning is defined as 'the effective combination of different modes of delivery, models of teaching and styles of learning' (Procter 2003:3). Developing nations, such as South Africa, may require a blended form of distance learning that incorporates traditional distance education (paper based) and technology to meet the needs of all learners (Ferreira & Venter 2011). The challenge facing accounting educators in South Africa is to develop innovative tools to promote effective learning for distance learners.

VoP videos were designed to cover certain content in a distance education module by using Keller's ARCS model and blended learning theory. After administering the VoP videos to a sample of adult leaners, two survey instruments were used to collect and analyse quantitative data to assess motivation: (1) The Course Interest Survey (CIS) designed by Keller and based on the ARCS model, which acted as a situational measure of learner motivation in relation to the course taught; and (2) The Instructional Motivational Material Survey (IMMS), also based on Keller's ARCS model, which was used as a situational measure of learner motivation in relation to the instructional material developed (external conditions) (Keller 2010).

The problem is that distance learners struggle with motivation to learn due, in part, to the transactional distance inherent in distance-based education. This lack of motivation has a negative impact on performance. Possible ways to address this problem is to increase motivation (which could cause an increase in performance) by developing instructional material based on motivational theory and decrease transactional distance by incorporating blended learning theory into the design of instructional material. For purposes of this study, we seek to answer the following research questions:

- Do Voice-over-PowerPoint™ (VoP) videos designed based on motivational and blended learning theory, impact the learner's perception of their overall motivation as measured by the Instructional Materials Motivation Survey (IMMS)?

- Is there an inter-correlation between the four motivational factors measured by the Instructional Materials Motivation Survey (IMMS) and Course Interest Survey (CIS)?

- Does gender, age, language or student group have an impact on the overall motivation measured by the IMMS?

- Is there a difference in the overall course motivation level, measured by the CIS, of the learners who watched the VoPs as opposed to those who did not?

The primary contribution of this study is to provide educators in distance learning environments with a practical guide to develop instructional material based on motivational and blended learning theory; to use as part of their course delivery, with a proven expectation that it would lead to an increase in student motivation and a decrease in transactional distance, which may lead to an increase in student performance. It contributes to the literature regarding motivational theory and blended learning theory in that it establishes that if these theories are applied in the development of instructional material, the theoretical benefits are also practically perceived by the students.

This paper begins with a literature review that lays the context to the need to implement motivational strategies embedded in blended learning, to enable effective learning, into an adult learning taxation curriculum. This is followed by details of the research design implemented to attend to the research questions as stated above and an analysis of the data obtained. The paper concludes with a summary of the findings and a discussion of limitations and recommendations for future research.

2. Literature Review

The literature review covers the historical massification of education, including adult lifelong learning, which has led to the growth of distance education and blended learning followed by the focus area of motivation, models of motivation in a learning context, continuing with the choice of the ARCS model and the selection of Voice-over-PowerPoint™ (VoP) videos as the e-learning tool in this study. The literature review concludes with a summary of the key themes discussed.

2.1. Adult Education in the 21st Century

The dawn of the technological era has changed education into a lifelong learning process, making adult education essential to tertiary education (Martin (as cited in Brown & Brown 1994). The massification (elite-mass transition) of education brought about rapid growth in distance education in response to the participation and flexibility needs of the learner population that was interested in lifelong learning (Manik 2015).

The ubiquitous use of technology in distributed learning environments (instructional delivery via a mix of multimedia methods) through the creation of a 'virtual' presence provides the flexibility and access to learning required by adult learners (Holzinger, Nischelwitzer & Meisenberger 2008). Active, learner-centred participation in the education process is required with adult learners as they are self-directed learners who learn best when participating and not just listening to lectures (Marcy 2001). The proliferation of educational technology has made education at a distance attractive for young and old alike.

The separation of educators and learners by space and/or time simplistically describes distance education and this form of education can be traced back as far as the mid-1800s. The demands of the open access ideology brought about evolutionary change in distance education rather than a revolution (Brown & Brown 1994). The underlying theory base of teaching and learning at a distance remains relatively unchanged since its inception. What has changed, however, is the medium through which it is delivered. Trow (1999) states, 'The growing demand for lifelong learning is independent of the development of IT [Information Technology], which simply accelerates it' (p. 307).

Educational technology provides a platform to catapult distance education, in its many forms (correspondence, online, e-learning, mobile-learning (m-learning), and blended learning), into the future as the educational leader, provided that the quality of instructional material and support systems are improved significantly to stay abreast of learner demands (Trow 1999). Understanding the effect of the delivery medium on learner motivation is an important consideration.

2.2. Motivation in Adult Learners

The importance of motivation as a factor in academic success is emphasised by a variety of authors (Pascarella & Terenzini 1991; Prinsloo & van Rooyen

2007; Keller 1999a; Briggs, as cited in L. Visser 1998). Research into motivation in distance-based education is an area that needs to be further explored (Moller, Huett, Holder, Young, Harvey & Godshalk 2005; L. Visser 1998). An attempt is made in this study to add to the body of research of motivation in distance-based education.

Motivation as a critical psychological concept in learning is well supported in the literature (Means, Jonassen & Dwyer 1997; Rodgers & Withrow-Thorton 2005; Song & Keller 2001; Keller 1979; Keller 1987a; Keller 1987b; Keller 1987c). Motivation is a multifaceted topic that extends to essentially all areas of psychology. No single theory is capable of explaining all that is known about motivational processes, and it is unlikely that such a theory will be realised in the near future. Constructs in the field of motivation have established many relationships, but no common ground has been established empirically or in theory (Graham & Weiner 1996).

A synthesis of various working definitions of the motivation to learn is applied in this study, namely; motivation to learn is the effort that a person will employ towards the accomplishment of a chosen goal for self-actualisation.

The continued debate amongst theorists as to whether motivation is intrinsic or extrinsic, or whether it falls within the effective or cognitive domain is useless, according to Song (1998), if it is not guiding instructional designers. Research indicates that learner motivation can be manipulated through external conditions provided that the instructional design, based on sound educational theory, incorporates motivational components in the instructional design of the condition (Keller 2010; L. Visser 1998; Gabrielle 2003; Huett 2006; Moller 1993).

This study deals with the impact of a well-designed e-learning tool, as an external condition, on the perceived motivation of adult learners in a distance-based learning environment.

2.3. Models of Motivation

Two models of motivation were considered for this study, the Time Continuum Model of Motivation (Wlodkowski 1999) and the ARCS Model of Motivational Design (Keller 1999a). Both models are based on motivational theory and provide a systematic approach to enable the logical sequencing of orientation, design, development, and evaluation (L. Visser 1998).

The Time Continuum Model of Motivation was considered inappropriate for distance-based learning due to the lack of flexibility relating to the timing of conditions addressed at specific phases of the learning process.

2.4. ARCS Model of Motivational Design

Keller's (1987c) synthesis of human motivational theories led to the categorisation of the four-factor ARCS Model of Motivational Design, comprising Attention (A), Relevance (R), Confidence (C) and Satisfaction (S). Keller created the ARCS model to make the theory and research in the field of motivation more easily applied in actual instruction. The model should be applied as a problem solving strategy to solve motivational aspects in any learning environment through the design of the instructional material, grounded in motivational theory. The ARCS model was developed in the late 1970s early 1980s and has been applied across a broad spectrum of learning environments, including blended learning. The ARCS model is a systematic approach to influence student motivation through the inclusion of motivational tactics in instructional material (Keller 1979; Keller 1999a).

The ARCS model was developed on the premise that motivation is the drive to achieve personal satisfaction with an expectancy or possibility of success. This systematic approach is supported by three assumptions. Firstly, people's motivation can be manipulated or influenced; secondly, motivation is a means to performance, not the end goal thereof; and thirdly, motivation can be predictably influenced by the implementation of a systematic design (Keller 1999a).

A synopsis of the four basic components is as follows.

2.4.1. Attention

The first category, attention or interest, refers to attentional factors (stimuli) in the environment and is a prerequisite for learning. Gaining a student's attention is relatively easy, however, it is decidedly more difficult to maintain, especially in distance-based education. By incorporating motivational design that includes attention enhancing tactics (for example, colour, graphics, animation, structure and planning) into the instructional material, the student's attention will be gained and sustained with the appropriate stimuli, which leads to better learning (Keller & Suzuki 2004).

2.4.2. Relevance

The instructional material must meet the needs and objectives of the learner by being aligned with the current course/module objectives. Relevance should answer the question 'Why do I need to study this?' (Keller 1987a:1). In this study, the answers may include 'To prepare for the Tax Technicians Exam' or 'To assist in my work as a tax consultant'.

2.4.3. Confidence

The learners' attitude towards (perception) the likelihood of being successful impacts their actual success. Attitude affects effort-based attributions, for example, if a student believes they are incapable of attaining success, they have practically negated any chance of succeeding.

2.4.4. Satisfaction

The final category relates to the positive feeling that a student experiences in relation to an accomplishment. Here the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of a person influences their overall motivation.

Table 1 - Keller's ARCS Model Summary

Attention	**Relevance**	**Confidence**	**Satisfaction**
A1 Perceptual Arousal	R1 Goal orientation	C1 Learning Requirements	S1 Natural Consequences
A2 Inquiry Arousal	R2 Motive Matching	C2 Success Opportunities	S2 Positive Consequences
A3 Variability	R3 Familiarity	C3 Personal Control	S3 Equity

Keller (1987a; 1987b).

Each of these basic conditions originates from several areas of physiological research. The systematic approach of the ARCS model builds on

a motivation analysis, which analyses possible solutions systematically to locate and solve motivational problems. A full ten-step process of designing motivational instruction materials based on the ARCS principles has been successfully adapted to a simplified version to reduce the time required to understand and design the model for educators not trained in the use of the ARCS model of motivational design (L. Visser 1998; Keller & Suzuki 2004). This study applied the simplified version.

The ARCS model has multinational representation (Keller 1987; del Soldato & du Boulay, in Keller 1999b; Astleitner & Keller 1995; Suzuki & Keller in Keller 1999b; J. Visser & Keller 1990; L. Visser 1998) with proven validity and reliability within various learning environments (Means, Jonassen & Dwyer 1997; J. Visser & Keller 1990). The problem-solving design, coupled with the flexibility and adaptability (both important in a distance learning environment (L. Visser 1998)) of the systematic approach of the ARCS model of motivation were the considerations that led to the decision to use this model in this study.

The selection of the ARCS model of motivation was followed by the choice of Blended Learning as an underlying theory base.

2.5. Bridging Transactional Distance through Blended Learning

The motivational level of distance learners is inherently lower than traditional, on-site learners due, in part, to the sense of isolation and lack of social presence (Bolliger, Supanakorn & Boggs 2010; Lee & Chan 2007). This disconnectedness (Kanuka & Jugdev 2006) may negatively impact the motivation to learn (Inoue, in Bolliger, Supanakorn & Boggs. 2010), as well as academic success. Technology allows the 'humanising' of instructional materials (Lee, Tan & Goh 2004) and the opportunity to bridge the transactional distance through the creation of a transactional (virtual) presence (Beldarrain 2006). Transactional distance has been described as the cognitive and physiological space between the educator and the learner where possible misunderstandings between educator inputs and the learners' comprehension may occur (Moore 1993). Initiatives aimed at reducing transactional distance, including blended and distributive learning strategies, claim to positively impact the motivation to learn and to increase learner success (Oliver & Trigwell, as cited in Prinsloo & Van Rooyen 2007; Van Oordt & Mulder 2016).

Motivation is essential in learning and academic success, especially where self-directed learning is required. Blended learning is an ideal method for leveraging the strengths of more than one andragogic methodology[6].

This study is situated in the Blended Learning Theory as one of the theoretical constructs, along with Motivational Theory, which was needed to positively impact the motivation to learn. Ferreira and Venter (2011) suggest that developing nations such as South Africa should apply a blended form of distance-based learning that incorporates traditional distance education (paper based) and technology to meet the needs of all learners.

Procter's (2003) definition of blended learning was applied as it synthesised the key aspects of blended learning (e-learning/ IT, distance learning, models of teaching and learning, and learning styles) without being too broad. 'Blended learning is the effective combination of different modes of delivery, models of teaching and styles of learning' (Procter 2003:3).

Blended learning has been advocated as 'the best of both worlds,' provided that it is properly designed (Graham 2006). The possibilities are plentiful and the notion of a holistic learning environment should be exciting for any educator, provided the quality and design of such a system are safeguarded. This study sought to maximise the benefits of blended learning through the implementation of a well-designed tool using the advantages of the Blended Learning Theory to increase motivation and reduce transactional distance.

Following on from the choice of model and theory base was the decision relating to the delivery medium. Podcasting, in the form of VoP videos, was selected after matching the study objectives to the appropriate educational technology available. Bollinger *et al.* (2010) noted that podcasts may be particularly beneficial to students studying at a distance.

2.6. Podcasting (Voice-over-PowerPoint™)

Currently, podcasts are divided into three categories: audio-podcasts, enhanced podcasts, and video podcasts (Liu & McCombs, as cited in Bollinger *et al.* 2010). The Voice-over-PowerPoint™ (VoP) videos used in this study fall into

[6] Andragogic methodology is the theory that differentiates the needs of adult learners from those of juveniles and uses the term andragogy to describe the specific methods that should be employed in the education of adults.

the enhanced podcast category, also referred to as screencasts. This encompass a combination of audio and digital still images (further enhanced with on-screen animation). The advantage here is that enhanced podcast files are relatively small compared to vodcasts (video podcasts). In this study, the VoP videos consisted of screen recordings, using Microsoft® PowerPoint™ (Microsoft ®, n.d.) for the slide design, and TechSmith's Camtasia Studio as the screen recording and video editing software.

This medium of delivery is supported in the literature, as 'screencasts can have a positive effect on student performance. Further analysis of student feedback shows that student confidence was increased by watching the screen-casts' (Loch, Jordan, Lowe & Mestel 2013:256; Van Oordt & Mulder 2016).

Podcasting has four distinctive characteristics that make them appealing to learners (Donnelly & Berge 2006). Firstly, the power of the human voice and tone in communication is leveraged and personalises the subject matter more than written words alone. Lee *et al.* (2004) refers to this as humanising the instructional material with the objective of engaging students in active learning. Secondly, the learners are able to exercise greater control over their learning through being provided the option to read a textbook, listen to a podcast, or both. Thirdly, the possibility of multitasking becomes a reality for the student (i.e. they could exploit their commuting time by listening/viewing the podcast during this time). Fourthly and lastly, students' ability to learn asynchronously at a time and place that is convenient for them is very appealing. This study incorporated all four of the characteristics into the design and implementation of the VoP videos.

In this study, the integration of podcasts was intended to foster a sense of community and create a social presence, thereby reducing transactional distance. Suitably designed podcasts can promote the integration of educator-learner transactions in distance education by neutralising the negative effects of the physical separation between educator and learner (Lee & Chan 2007).
The aspects detailed above provide the basis for and relevance of this study in determining the impact of well-designed instructional materials on adult learners' perceived motivational levels. This discussion was aided by the consideration of the history of higher education, distance, and blended education in particular, continuing with the importance of motivation, based on motivational constructs. This was followed by the motivational model selected, where after it concludes with a discussion of the selected educational technology to achieve the objectives of this study.

3. Methodology

Quantitative research was considered the most suitable research method to be applied in this empirical study, as it allows for testing the relationship between the external condition (the instructional material designed and delivered as an e-learning tool) and the learner's perceived level of motivation (Creswell 2014).

A case study design was followed in developing the instructional material e-learning tool embedded in motivational and blended learning theory. A module specific topic was selected and VoP videos were designed taking into account factors affecting motivation related to Attention, Relevance, Confidence and Satisfaction (ARCS). The VoP videos were made available to students on their learning management system. After being exposed to the VoP videos for some time, students were asked to complete two surveys:

1) All students registered in the course were asked to complete the CIS (Course Interest Survey);and

2) Only students who watched the VoP videos were asked to complete the IMMS survey (Instructional Motivational Material Survey).

A descriptive statistical design was applied to gain insight into the complex area of learner motivation. This was done without delving into the complex psychological factors of motivation. A one-shot case study with post-test results was deemed a suitable probing design as the results determine whether a more comprehensive study in this regard is warranted from a cost, time and benefit perspective.

3.1. Teaching Context

The identified population comprised a cohort of learners enrolled in the Graduate Programme on Principles and Practical Application of Taxation through continuing education at the University of Pretoria (CEatUP), South Africa. This course is offered for non-degree purposes and is the equivalent of a second year degree course (or subject) at a Level 6 on the National Qualifications Framework (NQF), which counts 40 credits and is a year-module. This course was offered as an open (Grade 12 admission requirements only), part-time course via either distance learning or contact with optional

face-to-face lectures offered over 21 Saturdays between February and November 2016 at the University of Pretoria's main campus.

The enrolments for this course in 2016 comprised 186 learners, consisting of males and females from various ethnic backgrounds. Within this cohort, approximately 142 learners formed part of a fully financed bursary programme funded by the Financial and Accounting Services Sector Education and Training (FASSET), and the Sector Education and Training Authority (SETA). FASSET's objective is skills development within the South African financial and accounting services sector. The learners who had FASSET bursaries were referred to as the Intela group, which means taxes in Zulu. The Intela learners were made up of only black South African residents, male and female, who were geographically located in either Pretoria or Polokwane (260 km from the University of Pretoria). The Intela Pretoria learners attended contact lectures, whereas the Intela Polokwane learners watched the DVDs of the lectures with a tutor present. The remaining 44 enrolled learners comprised self-funded male and female learners from various ethnic backgrounds, who are referred to as normal course users (either contact or distance learners).

The learners enrolled in this course comprised 40% male and 60% female learners between the ages of 22 and 65, with an average age of 32.

The course curriculum was designed to align with the 'Knowledge and Practical Skills' component of the South African Institute of Tax Professionals (SAIT) Tax Technician Qualification. The curriculum was based on the SAIT competencies for a Tax Technician in order to adequately prepare learners for the SAIT Tax Technician Knowledge Exam at the end of each year (in November). The learning outcomes of this course provide learners with a thorough understanding of the general principles of the tax system in South Africa, including the basic application thereof.

3.2. Sampling

The VoP videos designed were made available to the group described above as the researcher had access to this group and it met the requirements of adult learners in a distance education environment. The learners participating in the survey represent a nonprobability convenience sample. The researchers acknowledge that the results of the study may not be used to infer from the sample to the general population of all adult learners in distance education. However, it may be beneficial as a probing mechanism to understand the

phenomena of how well designed instructional material can have an impact on perceived motivational levels of adult distance education learners. Figure 1 in the data analysis section of this study provides more information about the respondents in the sample and how the researchers aimed to address non-response bias.

3.3. The Instruments

Two surveys were used to measure motivation: (1) The Course Interest Survey (CIS); and (2) The Instructional Materials Motivation Survey (IMMS), both developed by Keller and based on the ARCS model. The CIS is a situational measure of motivation associated to the curriculum being taught, whereas the IMMS is also a situational measure to identify motivation related to specific instructional materials (Keller 2010). Both surveys were applied in a web-based format using the Blackboard learning management system of the University. In an attempt to bolster the response rates, repeat reminder e-mails where sent to learners as web-based surveys are less likely to attain response rates at the same level as surveys administered face-to-face, or paper-based surveys (Nulty 2008).

The Course Interest Survey (CIS) used a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 to 5 with 34 items, where nine were reverse items (Keller 2010). In relation to the course, the survey was designed to assess the learners' overall motivation score, as well as their score in terms of the four ARCS sub-components (Attention, Relevance, Confidence and Satisfaction). The survey was amended, with permission from the instrument's author, by the researcher for better application to the research context. The full CIS survey is available in Appendix A.

The CIS was considered a valid instrument with previously documented reliability coefficients, as indicated by a Cronbach's Alpha of between .80 and .95 (Gabrielle 2003; Huett 2006; Keller 2010). A total reliability Alpha of .81 was obtained on the conversion of the CIS to a web-based format (Huett 2006).

The Instructional Materials Motivation Survey (IMMS) also used a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 to 5 with 36 items, where ten were reverse items. The survey was designed to assess the learners' overall motivation score and the score of the four sub-components of the ARCS model in relation to the instructional material. The IMMS was amended by the researcher, with

permission from the instrument's author, for better application to the research context. The full IMMS survey is available in Appendix A.

The IMMS' overall Cronbach's Alpha score obtained in prior studies ranged between .80 and .96 (Keller 2010; Moller 1993). The adaptation of the IMMS to a web-based format resulted in a total reliability Alpha of between .84 and .93 in other studies (Gabrielle 2003; Huett 2006).

3.4. Application of the ARCS Motivational Model in the Design of the VoP Videos

The ARCS model of motivation is easily adapted to the needs of a group. This is evident in that it has been implemented in many educational settings, proving the flexibility of the model.

This study applied the simplified version of Keller's model of motivational design to create motivational strategies for the target population (Keller 1999b; Keller & Suzuki 2004; L. Visser 1998); this was based on the ARCS model. The simplified version was selected to avoid the use of excessive strategies and to enable the replication of this study by novice educators, especially those unfamiliar with the full ARCS model (L. Visser,1998; Song & Keller 2001).

The steps in the simplified motivational design are recognisable in the use of a matrix framework, which assisted the researcher to firstly identify the key motivational characteristics (motivational problem analysis) in (a) The learners; (b) The instructional material; and (c) The medium used (hardware or software). The next phase involved evaluating and selecting the prescribed motivational strategies based on the motivational problems that were identified (gap analysis) prior to the development of the motivational material. Finally, evaluating the motivational material was done as prescribed by most development models. The simplified version ensures that educators avoid the use of excessive strategies (as these negatively impact motivated learners) or the use of strategies based on the educator's own preference or area of interest (Keller 1999b; Keller & Suzuki 2004; L. Visser 1998).

In this study, the resulting design methodology used to identify motivational problems and evaluate motivational strategies is represented in a matrix (refer to Table 2).

The course feedback survey (administered by the course co-ordinator), and discussions with the course co-ordinator provided the basis for the

audience analysis. This assisted in the process of obtaining general information about the learners' attitude towards the course, which is dealt with in the first row of Table 2. The learners were, on average, in their 30s, indicating that they experienced multiple demands on their time and attention from various sources (i.e. work, family and friends), resulting in inherently lower levels of attention towards their studies. Most of the learners indicated that they elected to enrol in this course to further their education or careers, with many of them obtaining bursaries, which created a strong link for them to the personal relevance of this course. Confidence is generally low in distance education, and learners lack expertise. This course is linked to a professional qualification, making it highly applicable in the achievement of the learners' goals. Furthermore, the instruction in this course is provided by multiple educators, increasing the variety of teaching styles to better address all of the learners' learning styles. This could therefore result in a positive level of satisfaction.

The second row of the simplified design shows the appeal of the course, or the learners' attitudes in relation to the specific course content. The learners' initial levels of attention tend to wane as the novelty of studying a new course wears off. Relevance increases as the applicability of what is learnt is applied, however, the difficulty of the concepts causes a loss of confidence. The lack of interaction and the probability of not staying up-to-date with the curriculum impact the learners' levels of satisfaction negatively.

The third row presents the learners' attitude towards the medium of delivery of the course instructional material. The novelty of using the various course materials attracts the learners' attention initially. Over time, however, this effect tends to wear off due to the limited media used (text, lecture recordings on DVD, and for some, the lectures themselves) and the lack of variety in learning strategies, which impacts learner satisfaction as well. Confidence fades as the application of theoretical concepts changes from simple to complex.

The fourth row evaluates the identified motivational problems from Step 1, and identifies the motivational tactics to address these problems. In this study, the researcher's analysis of the learners, the instructional material, and the medium used determined that the problem areas lay in attention and confidence.

The fifth row defines the motivational objectives and the selection of motivational tactics. Extensive motivational strategies were required for attention and confidence, with only limited tactics used to improve relevance

and satisfaction in order to maintain motivation rather than to solve a specific problem. An extensive list of the tactics selected to deal with attention and confidence follows in the upcoming paragraphs. A selection of tactics was made considering Keller's strategies (Keller 1987a) for obtaining and maintaining attention, relevance, confidence and satisfaction (details of these strategies are set out in Appendix C). Tactics based on the researcher's experience were also included.

Table 2 - Simplified Motivational Design Matrix based on the ARCS Model

	Attention	Relevance	Confidence	Satisfaction
Learner characteristics	Adult (on average 30 years of age), part-time learners with multiple demands on their time (-).	Elective course for career growth (+). Most students were sponsored, therefore creating direct responsibility for someone else (+).	Most lacked technical expertise in tax, therefore low skills (-).	Multiple instructtors, likely to experience varied teaching/ learning styles (+). Highly applicable skill, leads to the Tax Technician qualification (+).
Appeal of learning task (to learner)/ attitude towards learning task	Initially, high may wear off as course continues over the course of a year (-).	Relevance improves as learners apply what they have learnt (+).	Concepts may seem difficult to apply (-).	Disappointment may set in due to demands on time (staying up-to-date with the course challenging), feelings of isolation due to limited interaction (-).

Learners' attitude towards medium: course material on learnermanagement system (Click-Up)	Initially high as novelty effect, but tends to wear off due to a lack of variation in content and learning approaches (-).	Fairly familiar, not first time Learner Management System (LMS) is used (+). Limited access to data or internet (-).	Unstable network (access to internet/data) may cause learners to be concerned (-).	Limited direct feedback other than test results (-).
Attitude towards course material	Initially high, tends to decrease due to duration of the course (year-module) (-).	Useful in future (linked to goals) (+).	Confidence fades where the application of basic theory becomes complex (-).	Little participation for distance and possibly Intela Polokwane learners too (-). Low due to a lack of personal contact (-).
Summary	Attention tends to diminish over time.	Relevance continues throughout the course, although its significance may decrease slightly over time.	Confidence is influenced by results, but is generally low as this may be a first time experience in formal tax education.	Satisfaction is not generally a major problem, especially if the other areas are addressed.
Suggested motivational tactics	Necessary to capture and maintain attention.	Minimal tactics needed.	Necessary to build confidence.	Minimal tactics needed.

L. Visser (1998); Keller & Suzuki (2004). *Note: (-) depicts negative and (+) depicts positive implications of the analysed factor in terms of the relevant sub-components of the ARCS model*

Tool selection: The selection of enhanced podcasts considered tools that were simple enough to be used by educators with limited technological proficiency, limited time, and with little to no budget. The development entailed slides generated in Microsoft® PowerPoint™, where after TechSmith's Camtasia Studio was used as the editable screen recording software to produce the Voice-over-PowerPoint™ (VoP) videos.

Tool format: The VoP videos were made available in an MP4 format to ensure the highest level of compatibility with as many devices as possible in order to increase learner access. The VoP videos were made available for download and/or viewing through the learner management system of the institution, ClickUp (Blackboard Learn™).

It should be noted that the DVDs of the contact lectures (on average 3.5 hours in length) were made available to the learners at an additional cost to the learners themselves, however, these DVDs do not form part of this study.

Timing of implementation: The VoP videos were designed to be complementary, supplementary tools for revision (Vogele & Gard 2006). They were made available to the learners a few days after the content was covered in a contact lecture, and almost two weeks before a formative assessment was written.

Content: Through consultation with colleagues, and the researcher's own experience, topics were selected based on their relevance within the curriculum, as well as the level of difficulty that the students experienced with the application of these topics. By nature, taxation is continually changing, therefore, the researcher's focus was on the application of general principles rather than specific rules or exceptions in order to ensure that it would be used again within the taxation curriculum.

The following section provides a descriptive analysis of the data obtained from the learner sample, used to determine the learners' level of motivation following the use of the VoP videos. The quantitative data was analysed using SPSS.

4. Data Analysis

The data was analysed using Figure 1 and Tables 3 – 6, these tables contain the following information:

- Figure 1: An analysis of the respondents as compared to the target population demographics. Used to address the risk of non-response bias.

- Table 3: Analyses Research Question 1 – Do Voice-over-PowerPoint™ (VoP) videos designed based on motivational and blended learning theory, impact the learner's perception of their overall motivation as measured by the Instructional Materials Motivation Survey (IMMS)?

- Table 4: Evaluates Research Question 2 – Is there an inter-correlation between the four motivational factors measured by the Instructional Materials Motivation Survey (IMMS) and Course Interest Survey (CIS)?

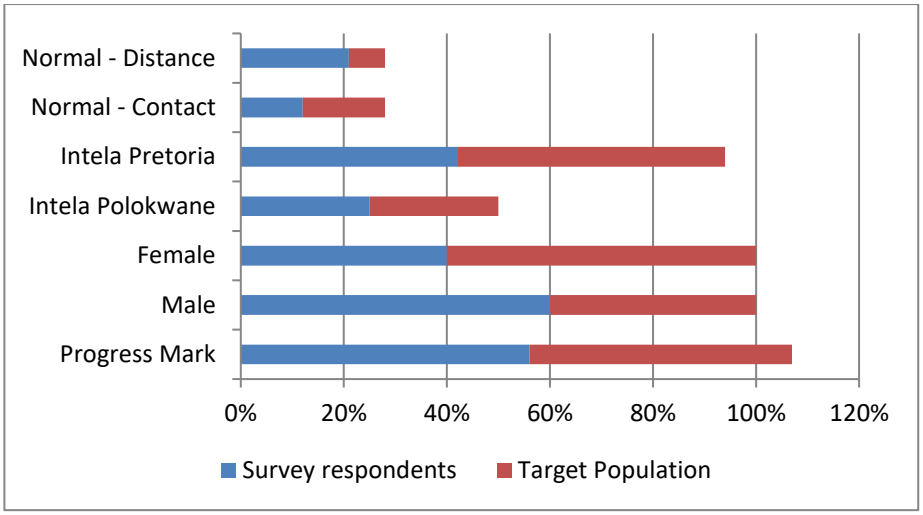
- Table 5: Assesses Research Question 3 – Does gender, age, language or student group have an impact on the overall motivation measured by the IMMS?

- Table 6: Examines Research Question 4 – Is there a difference in the overall course motivation level, measured by the CIS, of the learners who watched the VoP videos as opposed to those who did not?

Sixty-six learners (35%) of the 186 enrolled learners commenced the survey. Due to missing data, nine cases were deleted from the data set, resulting in a response rate of 31% from 57 respondents (35 of whom completed both the IMMS and CIS as they had used the VoP videos, whereas the 22 who did not use the VoP videos completed only the CIS).

Acceptable response rates of 30% for online surveys have been supported by Kelley, Clark, Brown & Sitzia (2003) and the University of Texas at the Austin Faculty Innovation Center (Austin Faculty Innovation Center 2010). The researchers recognise that the results of this study may not be used to make broad assumptions of the entire population, due to inherent non-response bias risk. In an effort to attend to the non-response bias, Table 3 explains the demographics of the total sample of learners compared to that of the respondents.

Figure 1 - Respondents as compared to the target sample



An analyses of the respondents as compared to the target sample was undertaken (refer to Figure 1). The progress mark (grade) of the respondents and the non-respondents was compared as a proxy for learner engagement in order to quell the supposition that only engaged learners would voluntarily complete a survey. The average progress mark for the respondents was 55%, as compared to the 51% of the target sample. This showed a small variance, indicating that the level of learner engagement across respondents and the target sample was relatively similar. The respondents and target sample results for student group and age (see the section on demographics above) resulted in similar dispositions. Gender revealed the only distortion, showing an almost exact inversion where 60% of the target sample comprised females, however, 60% of the respondents were male.

Table 3 determines the overall motivational level of the learners who watched the VoP videos, in response to Research Question 1. The average score for all items in the IMMS was calculated, resulting in a mean scores of the respondents ranged from 2 to 5 (M = 4.09). These results indicate that the use of VoP videos positively impacted the users' perceived overall motivation.

Table 3 lists the mean scores and standard deviation for the four sub-components of the ARCS model.

Table 3 - Descriptive statistics for all sub-components

Scales for IMMS	Mean	Standard Deviation
Overall Motivation	4.09	-
Attention	4.08	0.59
Relevance	4.08	0.45
Confidence	4.10	0.67
Satisfaction	4.09	0.63

In Table 3 the mean scores of the four sub-components yielded scores exceeding 4.0, with Attention (M = 4.08) and Relevance (M = 4.08) marginally lower than Confidence (M = 4.10) and Satisfaction (M = 4.09).

The results for Research Question 1 indicate that the use of VoP videos by adult learners positively impacted their overall level of motivation, with encouraging results in each sub-component as well.

Table 4 evaluates the inter-correlation coefficients between the four sub-components measured by the IMMS and CIS, in response to Research Question 2. The CIS were completed by all respondents, and the IMMS only by those respondents who also watched the VoP videos. The inter-correlation coefficients were determined because we compare the overall motivation level of students who watched the VoP videos with the overall motivation levels of students who did not watch the VoP videos in research question 4. The results showed that all correlations were statistically significant at the 0.01 level. For the IMMS instrument, the Attention/Confidence sub-components resulted in the highest correlation (r = 0.83), with Relevance/Confidence showing the lowest correlation (r = 0.69). The correlation coefficients generated by the CIS sub-components were generally lower than those in the IMMS. The Satisfaction/Relevance sub-components resulted in the highest correlation (r = 0.62), and Relevance/Confidence showed the lowest correlation (r = 0.45). This is consistent with the results of the IMMS correlation coefficients for these sub-components.

Table 4 - Inter-correlations between the four sub-components (IMMS and CIS)

Sub-components	Attention		Relevance		Confidence		Satisfaction	
	IMMS	CIS	IMMS	CIS	IMMS	CIS	IMMS	CIS
Attention	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Relevance	0.73**	0.57**	-	-	-	-	-	-
Confidence	0.83**	0.51**	0.69**	0.45*	-	-	-	-
Satisfaction	0.78**	0.59**	0.79**	0.62*	0.78**	0.57**	-	-

*** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).*

Prior research indicates statistically significant relationships between the four sub-components measured by the IMMS and CIS (Bollinger *et al.* 2010; Keller 2010), as does the current study in the results of Research Question 2.

Table 5 assesses the statistical impact of particular demographic factors on the motivation of learners who used the VoP videos. The reason for the inclusion of these tests is to establish whether the motivation levels of students with particular characteristics are more or less impacted by the use of well-designed instructional materials. To achieve this objective, a Pearson's Chi-Squares test (χ^2) was conducted between the various sub-components and gender, age, language, and student group to determine whether any differences were statistically significant.

Table 5 - Demographic factors impact on motivation

Demographic factor	Chi-Squares (χ^2)	*p*
Gender	31.81	0.32
Age	60.95	0.37
Language	30.06	0.45
Student group	89.36	0.49

Gender - More male learners (weighted) showed motivational levels of four or more as compared to their female counterparts. However, the

difference in motivation levels of male and female respondents proved to not be statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 31.81$, $p = 0.32$).

Age - The learners responses were split into three age brackets (20 – 29, 30 – 39, and 40+) based on their responses to Item 2. Learners in the 20 – 29 and 40+ age brackets were more motivated (weighted) by the use of the VoPs with 100% of learners' motivational levels at 4 or 5. Learners in the age range of 30 – 39 showed a slightly lower motivational impact with 86.7%, scoring motivational levels of 4 or 5. Although differences in motivational levels exist, they prove non-statistically significant as indicated by the results of the Pearson's Chi-Squares test on age ($\chi^2 = 60.95$, $p = 0.37$).

Language - The respondents were divided into two groups (first language English and second language English). This was done by categorising those that responded in English to item 5 as first language English speakers, and all other responses being classified as second language English. The results indicated no statistically significant association between first or second language English on the motivational impact of the VoP videos ($\chi^2 = 30.06$, $p = 0.46$).

Student group - The learners were divided into four groups according to their responses to Item 7 (Intela Polokwane, Intela Pretoria, Normal course user – contact and Normal course user - distance). Although close to 100% of the learners scored motivational levels of 4 or 5, the Normal course user – Distance had the lowest (level 4 or 5 scores when weighted) of only 90%. No statistically significant difference in the learners' overall motivation was indicated by the Pearson's Chi-Squares test between the four groups ($\chi^2 = 89.36$, $p = 0.49$).

In ***summary***, for Research Question 3, although differing motivational levels existed within the demographic factors (gender, age, language and student group), none showed any statistically significant differences. It can therefore be concluded that the well-designed instructional material used in this study did not have more or less of an impact on students with specific characteristics, but had an equal impact on all students.

Table 6 examines whether any statistically significant difference in the learners' motivational level existed between the learners who watched the VoP videos and those who did not. The two variables were not normally distributed, and the two distributions had different shapes. Therefore, a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted to compare the mean rank.

The respondents were separated into two groups (watched VoP and did not watch VoP) based on their responses to Item 8 and Item 9 in the

questionnaire. The results of a Mann-Whitney U test indicated that the group that watched the VoP videos had the highest mean rank. The higher course motivation level of the learners that watched the VoP videos was statistically significant (U = 233, p = 0.02), as compared to the learners who did not watch the VoP videos. These results may indicate that users associated the use of the VoP videos with the course content, and were therefore more motivated than those who chose not to use them. In their respective studies, Huett (2006) and Gabrielle (2003) both found that their treatment group results, as measured by the CIS, showed increased levels of motivation as compared to the control group.

Table 6 - Difference in motivational levels of learners who watched the VOP videos

Components	Mean Rank	*Mann-Whitney U test*
Watched the VoP video(s)	33.03	$U = 233$, $p = 0.02$
Did not watch the VoP video(s)	22.10	
Attention: Watched the VoP video(s)	32.61	$U = 248$, $p = 0.031$
Attention: Did not watch the VoP video(s)	22.81	
Satisfaction: Watched the VoP video(s)	34.01	$U = 197.5$, $p = 0.003$
Satisfaction: Did not watch the VoP video(s)	20.40	

Interestingly, when the U-test was calculated for the four sub-components of the ARCS model, Satisfaction produced the most statistically significant difference between the two groups (p = 0.003), with Attention a close second (p = 0.03).

4.1. Summary of Findings

For the first research question, the quantitative outcomes indicated that there was a positive impact on learner motivation with mean scores of 4.09 for overall motivation, as measured by the IMMS. Furthermore, the mean scores of all four sub-components (Attention, Relevance, Confidence and Satisfaction) of the ARCS model scored 4.08 or higher.

For Research Question 2, the inter-correlation between the four sub-components of the IMMS and CIS were calculated with all correlations, indicating a strong linear relationship. This was indicated by a correlation coefficient in excess of 0.510, except the Relevance/Confidence relationship in the CIS instrument, which had a lower correlation coefficient ($r = 0.45$). The Attention/Confidence sub-components for the IMMS and the Satisfaction/Relevance sub-components for the CIS resulted in the highest correlation ($r = 0.83$ and $r = 0.62$ respectively). For both instruments, the Relevance/Confidence relationship resulted in the lowest correlation ($r = 0.69$ for IMMS and $r = 0.45$ for CIS).

A test for any association between the demographics and the sub-components was investigated through Research Question 3, where the difference in overall motivation was tested for statistical significance. The results indicated no statistically significant difference in motivational levels for these factors (gender, age, language and student group).

Lastly, to explore Research Question 4 the results of the Mann-Whitney U tests indicated statistically significant differences in overall motivation, satisfaction and attention regarding the course for learners who watched the VoP videos when compared to those who did not.

5. Conclusion

Educators in distance education, including taxation in the accounting field, are confronted with challenges to attend to the learning needs of adult learners, of which motivation is but one fundamental factor in academic success (Strage 1999; Pascarella & Terenzini 1991).

In order to address the challenges, educators should ensure that the process of instructional design is embedded in sound andragogic learning theories. Blended Learning Theory is advocated as a means to addressing the flexible learning needs of adult learners (Garrison & Kanuka 2004; Graham, Woodfield & Harrison 2013; Van Oordt & Mulder 2016) as well as a tool to bridge the transactional distance. Motivational theory is a critical psychological concept in learning and academic success (Means *et al.* 1997; Rodgers & Withrow-Thorton 2005; Song & Keller 2001; Keller 1979; Keller 1987a; Keller 1987b; Keller 1987c; Pascarella & Terenzini 1991; Prinsloo & van Rooyen 2007; Keller 1999a; Briggs, as cited in L. Visser 1998). Previous literature proves that motivational levels can be impacted by external

conditions such as well-designed instructional material (Keller 2010; L. Visser 1998; Gabrielle 2003; Huett 2006; Moller 1993).

This study describes the implementation of a blended e-learning tool, designed to impact learner motivation, based on motivational theory, and aims at determining, quantitatively, whether the use of such tool impacts a learners' motivational level. The four component ARCS model (Attention, Relevance, Confidence and Satisfaction) of motivational design was used to design the instructional material (VoP videos) and the impact thereof was measured using the IMMS (Instructional Motivational Material Survey) and CIS (Course Interest Survey).

It appears that the majority of learners were motivated by the use of the VoP videos at an overall motivational level as well as showing strong results in the targeted sub-components of attention and confidence. The four sub-components of the ARCS model showed strong correlations in both the IMMS and CIS instruments. None of the tested demographic factors (age, gender, language and student group) had any statistical impact on the overall motivational level of the learners. Finally, the motivational level of learners who used the VoP videos was statistically significantly higher than those who did not use the e-learning tool.

The most important outcome of this study was the finding that the use of external conditions, in the form of VoP videos, clearly impacted overall motivation positively. These findings further confirm the ARCS model as an effective tool designed to increase overall learner motivation. It also validates its effectiveness in adult learning and distance education (Keller 1979; Keller 1987a; Keller 1987; Means *et al.* 1997; Song & Keller 2001).

Nevertheless, the validity of the independent components of the ARCS model fell beyond the scope of this study.

Furthermore, the introduction of new digital multimedia in a curriculum appears to be an effective delivery medium for motivationally enhanced tactics in adult learning. This study did not validate any assertions regarding the validity of the ARCS components that are supported by prior literature (Keller 1987; Naime-Diefenbach 1991). This study provided educators in distance learning environments with proof that if instructional material, which is well-designed based on motivational and blended learning theory, is incorporated into course content then it will cause increased student motivation with an associated decrease in transactional distance. Prior research has established that an increase in motivation and a decrease in transactional

distance leads to an increase in student performance (Prinsloo & van Rooyen 2007; Keller 1987). Educators can therefore use well-designed instructional material with confidence to meet the needs of students and institutions.

The researchers recognise the various limitations to the study, due to the narrow scope of the study. Many alternative learning and motivational theories exist that may also address the educators challenges in the taxation and accounting field. An exploration into all these theories lay beyond the scope of this study. The study was conducted over a short time period therefore increasing the duration of a future study with multiple survey intervals could indicate statistically significant differences in the motivational impact thereof over time, considering that levels of motivation vary. An assortment of e-learning tools, suitable for a blended learning approach, exist that could be included into a curriculum and further studies could be conducted to determine the best delivery medium to improve learner motivation, for instance, delivery via a live streaming webinar that allows learners to interact with the educator in real time. True experimental or quasi-experimental research design could be followed to strictly isolate the effect of external conditions (designed to impact motivation) on learner motivation by controlling for elements that impact motivation. This approach would be a valuable contribution to the body of literature. There is still a lot that could be done to explore motivation of adult learners in distance education ((Moller, Huett, Holder, Young, Harvey & Godshalk 2005; L. Visser 1998). This study is a step towards practically suggesting ways in which educators can use well-designed instructional material to have an impact on motivation of adult learners in distance education.

Acknowledgements
Thank you to my Master's degree supervisor, who encouraged me to write this article and felt it would be valuable research to share.

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Lorena Brits
Department of Taxation
University of Pretoria
britsl@unisa.ac.za

Theresa van Oordt
Department of Taxation
University of Pretoria
theresa.vanoordt@up.ac.za

Physical Science Teachers' Insights into Pedagogical and Content Knowledge, and the Nature of Support of an ACE In-service Programme

Doras Sibanda
Tabitha Grace Mukeredzi

Abstract

This study was designed to gain insights into physical science teacher-students' pedagogical knowledge, understanding of science concepts and the nature of support that they received during an in-service developmental programme. Understanding the experiences and learning gained during the programme can inform the design of future courses. The study is located within an interpretive paradigm that employs a qualitative approach to data collection and analysis. Participants (n = 156) were selected by convenience sampling from teachers on an in-service Advanced Certificate in Education programme. Data were collected towards the end of the proramme through a questionnaire administered to 211 in-service teachers and eight teachers were interviewed. The study identified three critical aspects gained during the programme: content knowledge, teaching strategies and confidence. The findings also reinforce the need for institutions of higher learning to design programmes that provide the appropriate level of support: material, emotional or both for all teachers on in-service programmes.

Keywords: ACE Physical Science, learning, support, teacher-students, programme

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a8

Background of the Study

The Advanced Certificate in Education programme, which was offered at several South African universities, was born out of recognition that although teacher qualifications had improved, the majority of teachers were not sufficiently equipped to address the educational needs of a growing democracy in the twenty-first century (Department of Education (DoE) 2006).

In the post-apartheid period, the South African Government embarked on several initiatives to achieve education quality; among them, addressing the skills deficit arising from inadequate training policies of the previous government (Council of Higher Education (CHE) 2010). For instance, the South African national performance in science and technology lagged far behind or was, in many instances, worse than in economically poorer countries. Poor teacher quality has been blamed for poor learner performance in benchmarked tests in mathematics (CHE 2010; Spaull 2013). In this regard, the supply of mathematics and science teachers was inadequate and the teachers were poorly trained (Taylor 2009). The Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) indicated that these inadequacies underpinned the need for improving the quality of teacher education in the country in order to address learner underperformance (DHET 2015). Accordingly, the government initiative to provide 'more teachers' and 'better teachers' was driven by the conviction that good teachers are indispensable drivers of good quality education (DoE 2006; Robinson & Latchem 2002). Quality education to fulfill a country's needs depends primarily on teachers' academic qualifications and pedagogical skills (Chung 2005).

With this in mind, the South African government launched teacher in-service education and training programmes (CHE 2010). The suite of such programmes included both short courses and full credit bearing qualifications, such as the Further Diploma in Education (FDE), which offered teachers opportunities for re-skilling or upgrading their initial teaching qualifications through a three-year teaching diploma (CHE 2010; Parker, 2004). The FDE was designed with several advantages for teachers: they could re-skill, have avenues opened for new career paths, change their teaching specialization and by upgrading their initial qualification from an M+3 to an M+4 gain access to higher degree studies, such as a BEd (Hons) (CHE 2010; Parker 2004).

When the Norms and Standards for Educators policy was introduced, the FDE was renamed Advanced Certificate in Education (ACE) (DoE 2000).

The ACE became a multi-purpose qualification for teacher upgrading or re-skilling, and for enabling access to higher-level programmes (CHE 2010). The programme was a 120 NQF credit, Level 6 qualification. It has been described as 'further specialised subject / learning area / discipline / phase competence, or a new subject specialisation in one or more of the roles as an advanced study. The qualification was intended to 'cap' an initial or general teaching qualification, through which graduates were able to proceed with studies at NQF Level 7' (CHE 2010:106). The ACE was therefore, conceived as a continuing professional education programme designed to equip teachers with skills, competencies, aptitudes and proficiencies, or to allow change of their career path to new teaching roles (DoE 2006). Further, the key objective of the South African Education Revised National Curriculum Statement (RNCS) was to develop knowledge, skills, and values of learners (DoE 2006), which influenced goals of all staff development programmes designed for teachers.

The prerequisite for admission into the ACE programme was a three-year teacher diploma; bachelor's degree in education (BEd) or, a postgraduate certificate in education (PGCE) for those in Educational Management (CHE 2010). The physical science ACE programme, introduced in response to poor teacher quality in science (Spaull 2013) was offered to candidates who already possessed an NQF Level 6 teacher qualification, and who were already teaching physical science at high school.

The ACE Physical Science (ACEPS)

The ACE qualification in Physical Science (ACEPS) was one of the subject specialization programmes offered by one South African university within the suite of ACE programmes launched by government. The objectives of the ACEPS were to develop teachers' content knowledge and practical skills for teaching in the Further Education and Training phase (FET). The programme thus required teachers to study two professional modules and six content modules. The content modules comprised three 16-credit chemistry modules and three 16-credit physics modules.

The programme was delivered through mixed mode at the university and at satellite learning centres in KwaZulu-Natal province. Students interacted with learning materials on their own, and attended face-to-face contact sessions, facilitated by tutors. The contact sessions of seven hours per

day, for each module were run over eight days per semester, generally over weekends and school holidays.

Pedagogical approaches used during the face-to-face encounters involved student-centred interactive strategies, including pair work, group work, individual engagements, research and presentations. The teacher-students each received two physical science textbooks as well as guides for their self-study. The latter clearly outlined instructions on activities and preparation for subsequent sessions. To enable access to the university library and laboratories, the practical components for the content modules were offered only at the university.

The teacher-students were each issued with a science kit. The kits contained equipment and instructions for teaching FET Physical Science practicals. While still at university, before taking the kits away, the in-service teachers were given time to go through the instructions therein, and practice the experiments, carrying out all activities under supervision. They were also given time for questions and reflections.

Rationale for the Study

The contribution of education and training to a country's economic development has been documented (see for example Bernstein 2011; Mahlangu & Pitsoe 2013). Acquisition of knowledge, skills and competencies through education is vital for citizens' effective performance in any field, thereby contributing to national economic and social development. However, given that good teachers are essential drivers for quality education, such acquisition needs an education system with teachers who possess the necessary knowledge, skills, competences, and dispositions for effective curriculum delivery (DoE 2006; Robinson & Latchem 2002). The launch of the ACE programme was prompted by awareness of teachers' poor knowledge of the content and skills needed for effective discharge of teaching duties, which was reflected in poor learner performance particularly in mathematics and science (Spaull 2013). Hence, through the ACE upgrading programme offered in various specializations in the country, the goal of the government was to address the content and skills deficit among teachers (Council of Higher Education (CHE) 2010; Robinson & Latchem 2002; Spaull 2013).

Despite the overall aim of the ACE programmes being to address the gap in both subject knowledge and pedagogical skills of practicing teachers,

not much research has been carried out to explore the learning that these in-service teachers received on the developmental programmes. Aluko (2009) investigated the impact of the ACE programme on the professional practice of graduates and found that the program was beneficial to graduates' personal development, professional practice, schools, learners, and colleagues. On the other hand, Stears, James and Good (2012) explored professional identities of physical science teachers also on the ACE and found that very little conceptual change had occurred through the programme. However, these two studies while they were on the ACE programme, investigated different aspects from the current study. This study therefore sought to understand their learning and so contribute to knowledge on this aspect.

Research Question(s)

1. What do ACE Physical Science teachers say they learnt through the Physical Science programme?
2. What kind of support did the teacher-students receive during the programme?

Theoretical Framework

This research, which investigated the kinds of knowledge that the ACE Physical Science teacher-students learnt, is informed by concepts related to teacher knowledge. Shulman (1987) categorized professional knowledge for teaching into seven domains, the first four of which are relevant to this study:

1. Content knowledge
2. General pedagogical knowledge
3. Pedagogical content knowledge
4. Curriculum knowledge
5. Knowledge of learners and their characteristics
6. Knowledge of educational contexts e.g. schools and wider communities
7. Knowledge of educational ends, purposes and values

The first four categories, content knowledge (CK), general pedagogical knowledge (GPK), pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) and curriculum

knowledge, are often regarded as the building blocks of the knowledge domains (Cogill 2008; Grossman 1990). Shulman defined PK as the broad principles and strategies of classroom management and organization that go beyond subject matter. Thus, some general PK may be gained from practice. Content knowledge (CK) is 'the knowledge, understanding, skill and dispositions that are to be learned by school children' (Shulman 1987:8-9). Curriculum knowledge constitutes the teacher's 'tools of the teaching trade', for example knowledge of learning materials and any classroom documentation. As an amalgam of content and pedagogy, PCK is exclusive to the teaching profession.

Since Shulman had identified the seven domains many other models and theories of teacher professional and pedagogical knowledge and skills have been developed (Cogill 2008). Some scholars criticised Shulman's (1987) model for not reflecting the in-depth linkages between domains and their implementation, and how these would shape teachers' pedagogy (Banks, Leach and Moon 1999; Sai 2008). In particular, Sai asserted that definitions of some knowledge types, such as curriculum knowledge and pedagogical content knowledge, need further expansion, and argued that using content knowledge, as a starting point for teachers or prospective teachers may be inappropriate in situations where they enter teacher education with previous experiences and specialist subject knowledge (Sai 2008).

With this background, Banks *et al.* (1999) re-conceptualized and extended Shulman's model. Their model, illustrated in Figure 1 below, comprises four domains: GPK, CK, school knowledge (curriculum knowledge) and personal constructs. The GPK, CK, PCK and Curriculum Knowledge are closely linked to teachers' values, beliefs and experiences. A major difference between this model and that of Shulman's relates to the dynamic nature of teacher knowledge. Shulman (1987), on the one hand, viewed teacher knowledge as external and fixed, not constantly changing, although it could be improved through the teacher's own on-going learning. On the other hand, Banks *et al.* (1999) argue that a teachers' knowledge is derived from their *Subject knowledge*, *Pedagogical knowledge* and *School knowledge*.

Subject knowledge corresponds with Shulman's Content Knowledge (CK). *School knowledge* subsumes both Shulman's Curriculum Knowledge and his PCK. Thus, school knowledge refers to how CK is taught in schools and includes understanding the processes necessary for transforming knowledge to make it accessible to learners. As does McNamara (1991), Banks *et al.* do not

regard S*chool knowledge* as an intersection of Shulman's CK and PK. Instead, they think that school knowledge involves firstly, mastery of school curricula in a subject, and then what happens at the intersection of school knowledge with the curriculum leads to teachers creating their own PCK (Cogill 2008). Banks *et al.* (1999) suggest that such learning is dynamic, continuously being interpreted and re-interpreted at different levels.

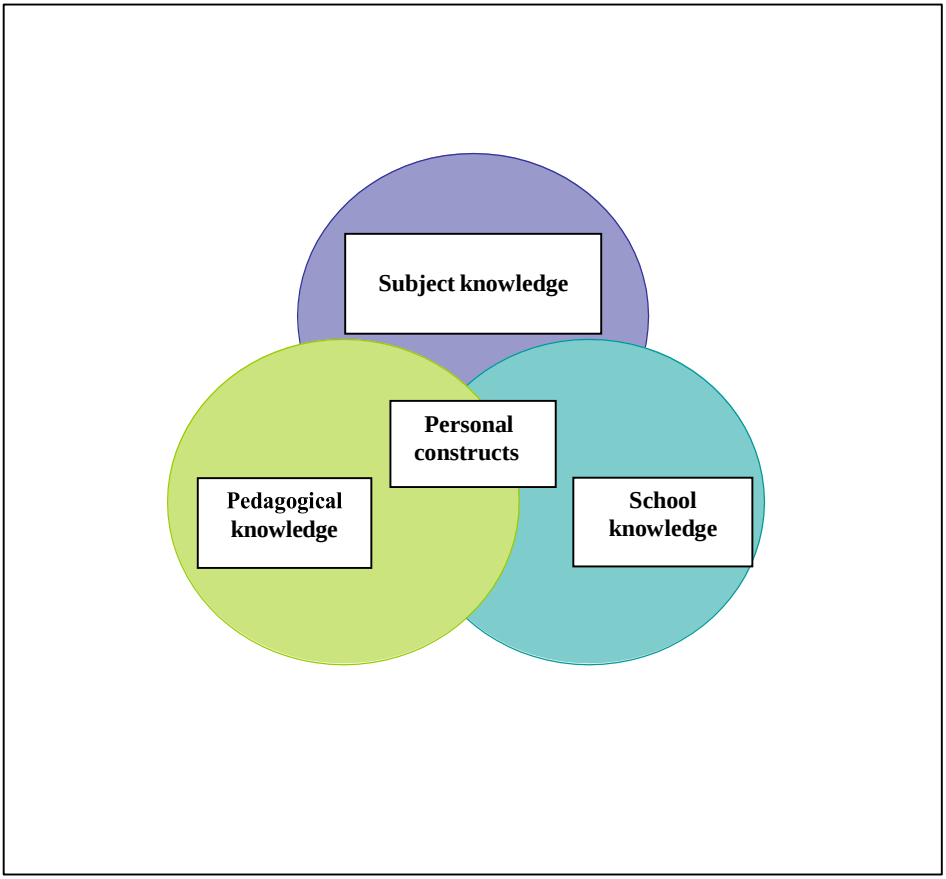

Figure 1: Teachers' professional knowledge (Banks *et al.* 1999: 94).

Pedagogical knowledge is similarly constantly changing and closely integrated with CK and PCK. Central to Banks *et al.*'s (1999) model is *Personal constructs,* which are a teacher's 'complex amalgam of past knowledge, learning experiences, personal views of what constitutes good teaching, and belief in the purposes of the subject' (Cogill 2008:6). Thus, a teacher's *personal constructs* emanate from their experiences, and underpin their professional knowledge and these are continuously being re-evaluated throughout a teacher's career (Banks *et al.* 1999).

Methodology

This study sought to understand the learning and support that the ACE Physical Science students had received through the programme. The study is located within an interpretive paradigm, which led to a qualitative approach of generating data, firstly through a questionnaire, with both closed and open-ended questions, and then by interviews. Reeves and Hedberg (2003:32) note that the 'interpretivist paradigm stresses the need to put analysis in context'. Hence, understanding the world as it is through the subjective experiences of individuals directs the interpretive paradigm, and this understanding attempts to explain the subjective reasons and meanings that lie behind social action. Grover (2004) argues that qualitative research allows researchers to understand people has lived experiences and provides the stories behind the numbers. This study aimed to understand the learning and support received, according to the participants' perspectives.

Convenience sampling was used. All the in-service teachers who were enrolled in the programme participated in the study. Hence, sampling was based on accessibility of participants. According to Creswell (2014), a convenience sample draws largely on participants' convenient accessibility and willingness to participate. While a convenience sample has limitations in terms of accuracy, it can nevertheless, provide useful insights into the situation under study. Therefore, notwithstanding that results should not be over-generalized they could be applicable to similar contexts and populations.

Data Generation

The questionnaire used for this study was developed by the ACE programme leaders to generate data as part of a larger project; that is, gathering information

to build a strong argument supporting teacher development through Continuing Education. The institution's higher degrees and ethics committee granted ethical clearance for this study in 2011 as part of the larger project, which investigated all in-service teachers on the ACE programme across all specialisations. For the current study, we administered the questionnaire to 211 ACEPS in-service teachers at or towards the end of their final year of study. There were 156 questionnaires completed and returned. The questionnaire required the teacher-students to indicate their experiences relating to tutors, learning centres, university communication and the kinds of knowledge gained from the programme that they thought had improved their teaching. Eight teachers who had indicated interest in being interviewed and who taught at schools that were close by were subsequently interviewed in order to gain deeper understanding of their experiences and the support they had received from the university.

Data Analysis

In qualitative research data, analysis involves working with the data: organizing them, breaking them down, synthesizing and searching for patterns, discovering important aspects, and what is to be learned from the aspects, and deciding what you will tell others (Creswell 2014). In the survey teachers responded to statements using a Likert-type scale of strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree and strongly disagree. In the analysis we aggregated strongly disagree with disagree as 'disagree' and strongly agree with agree as 'agree'. The results in Table 1 represent that aggregation. For the interviews, both researchers read each participant's interview transcript repeatedly. Subsequently the teachers' responses were coded using a framework suggested by Banks *et al.* (1999). The coding focused on the four aspects of their model: GPK, CK, personal constructs (attitude, confidence and experience), and school knowledge. These aspects were then coded as Nodes using computer software Nvivo 11. Data were analyzed using the wizard query search matrix. The matrix results were then exported to Microsoft Excel for further analysis. Findings from the Survey and interviews are presented and discussed together.

Results

The results in Table 1 represent the responses from the survey questionnaire, aggregated as described above. The results are reported as percentages, to the

nearest whole number. DP is Duly Performed certificate, which students earn through continuous assessment, and without which they would not be allowed to write the final examination in the module.

Table 1 Percentage of Physical science ACE students who disagreed, were neutral or agreed with each statement [n 156]

Questions	Responses			
What can you say about the tutors on the programme?	**No response**	**Disagree**	**Neutral**	**Agree**
knew the content very well	4.49	2.56	16.67	76.28
were able to explain the content well	2.56	1.28	17.95	78.21
were always well prepared	1.92	4.49	25.00	68.59
were considerate and empathetic to our situation	7.05	1.28	17.31	74.36
treated us as adults and colleagues	1.92	1.28	3.85	92.94
What can you say about the learning centre?				
the conditions were good for learning	1.92	8.34	17.31	72.43
there was sufficient resources	0.64	12.18	27.56	59.61
the university appointed centre manager was available and useful	3.21	11.54	28.21	57.05
the centre owner/manager was welcoming	1.92	23.08	25.00	50.00
we felt welcome at the centre	0.00	6.41	31.41	62.18
What can you say about communication by university?				
the process of the calculation of the DP	0.00	16.03	14.10	69.87
DP appeal process	1.92	18.59	42.95	36.54
Special requests	4.49	12.82	28.85	53.85
timetables	0.00	5.77	14.10	80.13
Feedback on tests and assignments	0.00	4.49	8.97	86.54
registration details	0.00	14.74	21.79	63.46
examination results	0.00	8.98	11.54	79.49

To what extent has your participation in the ACEPS improved your Teaching Practice.				
my *content knowledge* has improved	0.64	0.00	1.92	97.43
my *teaching strategies* have improved	1.92	0.00	10.26	88.15
my *confidence as an PS teacher* has increased	2.56	0.00	7.69	89.74
The *PS results* of my learners have improved.	5.77	1.28	28.85	64.41
My studies were made easier because				
the materials (guides) were readable, clear and useful	1.28	5.77	27.56	65.38
the tutors were supportive	1.28	1.92	10.90	85.90
the tutors were knowledgeable	1.28	3.85	12.82	82.05
link between was taught and assessed	1.28	14.75	30.77	53.20
the other students in my class were supportive and helpful	5.77	0.00	14.10	80.12
My studies were made easier because				
I had a supportive family network	1.28	13.47	31.41	53.85
I had support from my school management and colleagues	1.28	25.64	35.26	37.82
I found the contact sessions to be well paced and not too intensive	1.28	25.00	27.56	46.15
I had sufficient time to study	1.28	30.77	37.18	30.77
The centre is not very far away from me.	1.28	33.98	19.23	45.51

Findings from interviews are presented in Figure 1 below, as a graph of the frequency of utterance for each of the different aspects. The coding involved the utterances and, as such, the frequency represents the number of times, the participants mentioned such a response.

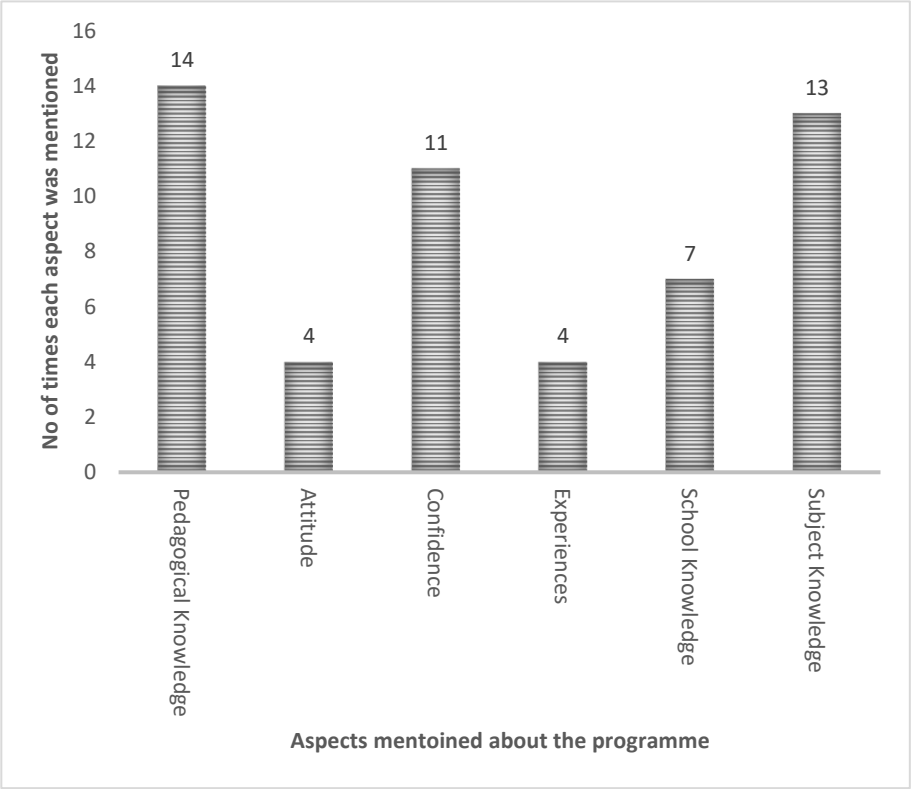

Figure 1 Teachers' experiences of the programme

With regard to their tutors, data from the survey indicate that the teacher-students valued their own status, with 93% indicating that tutors treated them as adults or colleagues. This relates to findings by Mukeredzi and Mandrona (2013) who established that student teachers valued being respected, appreciated and acknowledged as colleagues.

The teacher-students (78%) also praised their tutors for being able to explain content clearly to enhance understanding. While they were generally happy with university support regarding timetables, registration and examination information, assessment and feedback, these ACEPS teacher-students indicated unhappiness over limited support related to Duly Performed (DP) appeals (37%) and Special requests (54%), which were especially

relevant, given their off-campus study status. Nonetheless, issues around DP are often thorny, even for resident students because few accept an unsatisfactory grade for the final DP mark without an appeal.

With regard to improvement of personal Teaching Practice due to participation in the ACEPS, in the survey, the teacher-students indicated positive outcomes from the programme for three aspects, improved content knowledge (97%), teaching strategies (88%), and confidence (89%).

The interview data were further analysed using Banks *et al.*'s (1999) model, in order to understand the nature of teacher-students' learning on the programme. Figure 1 shows a summary of the data for the aspects most often mentioned regarding learning and improvement as related to GPK (14), CK (13) and confidence (11). These results affirm the findings from the survey data, where the majority of the teacher-students indicated that participating in the ACEPS programme had improved their content knowledge, teaching strategies and confidence.

Content or Subject Matter Knowledge

Subject matter knowledge refers to a body of knowledge and information, in a subject or content area, that is taught by teachers and which students are expected to learn. It encompasses the facts, concepts, theories, skills, dispositions and principles that are involved in a specific academic course (Cogill 2008; Shulman 1987; Banks *et al.* 1999). Thus, CK is the knowledge that teachers should have of the subject matter that they are teaching (Shulman 1987). The argument that the ACEPS students had developed content knowledge over the course of the programme is supported by the following data extracts:

> For example if we are talking about zinc powder and zinc lumps, I can easily explain the difference between [the] two to learners because they can physically see it.

> I had never done elasticity with my learners before because I never knew it. I didn't even attempt it from the textbook because I never understood it. After doing it in Physics 1A or 1B modules through the programme, I became confident enough to do it on my own in my class.

> The content modules for Physics were very important. For instance, the module we are currently doing had some topics I have never done before (Nuclear Physics and Electricity) and I found it helpful.
>
> My knowledge of Physical Science concepts and content has improved. I am familiar with the content and now find it to be easier to teach than before.

The comments above support McNamara's (1991) claim that teachers with deep CK often teach in a more interesting and dynamic manner than would those with little CK. The latter may shy away from the more difficult concepts of the subject, or approach teaching them in a more didactic manner. McNamara (1991) adds that CK is essential, not only for teaching, but also for evaluating textbooks, computer software and teaching media.

General Pedagogical Knowledge (PK)

The survey results in Table 1 show that 88% of the participants considered their teaching strategies to have improved due to the learning on the ACEPS programme. Similarly, in the interviews this domain was mentioned 14 times. Pedagogical knowledge includes elements of pedagogy that are applicable to teachers, regardless of their specialized subject matter knowledge. This kind of knowledge, as Shulman (1987) indicates, is informed by principles of child development and the corresponding approaches to teaching, classroom management, and student control. One teacher-student in the interview pointed out that:

> But being a knowledgeable person I am able to use different methods each time I am teaching. For example, there are question and answer methods, and narrative methods. Because I am now confident in the subject, I can vary these and I can deliver better than before.

Such indications that the programme had improved both CK and GPK for teachers may suggest that the main purpose of the programme, improving teacher knowledge, is likely to have been, at least partially, addressed. Further, that the improvement in both participants' CK (97%) and their PK (88%) suggests that the teachers had in effect gained PCK, which may be seen as an

amalgam of the two. This is in accordance with Shulman's (1987) model, where PCK lies at the intersection of CK and GPK and Banks *et al.*'s (1999) view that PCK involves, not only mastery of school curriculum in a subject, but also teachers creating their own PCK at the intersection of these two 'knowledges'. It would therefore appear that these teacher-students had developed in this aspect. Descriptions offered by participants suggested that the PK that they had gained enhanced their lesson delivery and developed their confidence.

Another important aspect of PK raised by the participants related to the use of media. While this aspect had not come up in the survey, as there had not been a question addressing it, it is highlighted in the interview extract below:

> I am now able to present topics well [sic] than before using the apparatus that you provide us. When discussing topics in the classroom I am able to take out the apparatus and show the learners what I am talking about. The learners do not have to imagine what I am talking about they can physically see it.

People learn abstract, new, and novel concepts with more ease when the concepts are presented in both verbal and visual configuration (Bransford, Brown & Cocking 1999; Willingham 2009). In other words, visual media can make concepts more accessible to learners than text or print media alone. They can also help capture students' attention and maintain their interest, which will assist students with later recall, as reflected in the participant comment below:

> We now start with teaching them theory and then do practicals, learners become very excited, and you find that learners are able to remember what they have learnt because of the practicals using the apparatus from the programme.

Apart from helping the teacher to capture students' attention and maintain their interest in the theories and concepts under discussion, students can see theories and concepts in action. In more than a figurative sense, theories and concepts leap from the screen to students' minds (Bransford *et al.* 1999). Students can experience worlds beyond their own, especially if the media differs sharply from their local environment. As indicated in the comment above, teaching through media then helps them to retain concepts and ideas.

Furthermore, in the interviews, other teachers talked about their contexts as well as handling learner diversity, for example:

> We learn to understand a good teaching environment and the learners we are teaching and it enables us to implement different teaching methods effectively to learners with different learning abilities.

A good teaching environment is one that is conducive to learning and devoid of both physical intimidation and emotional frustration. It thus enables all students to participate and exchange ideas freely.

The aspect of handling learner learning diversity, as mentioned in the comments, is also crucial. Awareness of learner diversity is essential for effective teaching because teachers need to understand that students in a classroom are, and will always be, different from one another in a variety of ways (Ruggs & Hebl 2012).

Although the in-service teachers talked about their content and pedagogy having improved due to participation in the programme, only 64% of them agreed that their own learning had improved their learners' performance. Instead, it is noteworthy that about one third of the participants thought that their own learning and development had not translated into improved performance from their learners. This deserves further investigation. Another issue emerging from the survey regards a mismatch between what was taught and what was assessed in the ACEPS programme, in other words the exam questions were perceived to be not closely aligned to the learning guide, which was the set book for the course. When results for disagree and neutral are aggregated, nearly a half (46%) of the students indicate that there was no link between the two – what was assessed and what was taught. This is surprising, as students had indicated that they indeed learnt content (97%) and pedagogy (88%). One is left to wonder how this mismatch could happen, because it was exactly such learning that should have been assessed. To gain further insight, the assessments should be compared with the course content to confirm whether or not there had indeed been a mismatch.

Confidence

Many students highlighted in their survey responses (89%) that their confidence had developed through participation in the programme. Likewise,

in the interviews, confidence was mentioned 11 times as an important aspect where learning had subsequently influenced their teaching, as reflected in the comments below:

> I am more confident now. In the past, I use to pay very little attention on some topics because I felt as though they were not important. After gaining more information on these topics from the course I realized how important that they are. Now I am confident to teach these topics to great depth.
>
> It has helped me a lot. I am a lot more confident now than before. There used to be topics I was not clear about but that are not the case anymore. For examples, I am able to teach all topics in the classroom with confidence.
>
> It greatly helped improve my confidence. In order to be confident in teaching you must have knowledge of what you are teaching. Hence, developing knowledge helps develop confidence in the teacher.

Confidence may be viewed as being certain about ones abilities, which is related to self-esteem, and belief in positive achievements and self-awareness about ability to judge one's own performance (Prince, Snowden & Mathews 2010). From a South Africa study, Graven (2004) concluded that confidence is vital for learning. While the concept of confidence is often understood from a psychological or cognitive viewpoint as being connected to internalized knowledge and beliefs, Graven shows that from a social orientation, confidence is about the ability to engage actively in a teacher community. Growth of confidence was acknowledged by the teachers as emanating from knowledge or ideas that they had gained in the programme, in which they had learnt collaboratively.

The ACEPS teacher-students indicated that they worked in school environments where there was, sadly, limited support with regards to their own learning: only 38% reported receiving support from school management and only 31% of the teacher-students felt they had had sufficient time for their studies. Instead, about half the participants (54%) highlighted the support received from family and colleagues. Support is needed to find balance and to promote academic success.

Discussion

What ACE Physical Science Teachers Say that they Learnt through the Programme

The study investigated the nature of knowledge gained, and support received, on the ACEPS developmental programme. Findings from both survey and interviews indicate that participants gained CK (97%), PK (88%), and confidence (89%). The findings from our study thus support the notion that the objectives of the ACEPS programme had been fulfilled. The programme was intended to develop FET Physical Sciences teachers' CK, PK and practical skills, as well as the necessary PCK. These findings also support those of Mukeredzi (2009), where ACE School Library (ACESL) teacher-students also indicated that they had gained CK and PK.

CK, which is the knowledge of the discipline's main facts, ideas and concepts and the links among them, is vital for effective teaching. Emphasizing its value, Grossman (1990); Chapman (2013); and Mukeredzi and Sibanda (2016) concur that a teacher would find it difficult to judge a given piece of content unless they have good CK. CK affects the way teachers teach, because it influences their planning, choice of learner activities, questioning, explaining, giving feedback, and assessment (Shulman 1987). Content knowledge enables the teacher to use that knowledge and organize it more effectively for their students to understand, he or she can respond to needs of any particular students and recognize those who struggle, and can easily change the way concepts are presented to make them more comprehensible (Hattie 2011). A deep and flexible understanding of subject matter knowledge enables teachers to help their students to create useful cognitive maps, relate ideas, and address misconceptions (Ball, Thames & Phelps 2008). Teachers need to see how ideas connect across fields and with everyday life. The vital knowledge that teachers need to carry out their teaching work is thus knowledge of the content they teach and what students are expected to master. Hence, teachers need relevant and appropriate CK in order to teach effectively and make appropriate teaching decisions and choices.

Pedagogy is the act of teaching, together with its attendant discourse; it is therefore the knowledge a teacher needs to have and the skills he or she can command to make and justify the decisions, of which teaching is constituted (Leach & Moon 1999). Pedagogical knowledge therefore pertains to all teachers; regardless of their specialist CK. General pedagogical knowledge is

vital for effective classroom management. It therefore comprises such aspects as maximising classroom activities and instructional time; directing and pacing learning; understanding learning processes; supporting and fostering individual student progress based on various cognitive and motivational learning strategies; a command of various teaching methods and knowing when and how to use them; understanding forms and purposes of assessments; how different frames (social, individual, criterion-based) impact students' learning; planning and evaluation; structuring objectives and lesson processes; handling classroom diversity and student characteristics (cognitive, motivational, and emotional heterogeneity); use and value of prior knowledge; student motivation (Voss, Kunter & Baumert 2011). In this study, notwithstanding the gains in CK and PK, a large group of the teachers (36%) indicated that their learning had not translated into improved learner performance. Studies in South Africa by Ono and Ferreira (2010) and Graven (2004) concur that most teacher learning programmes have not brought any significant changes in teacher practice and learner performance when the teachers return to their classrooms.

Given the noted gains in CK and PK reported by the in-service teachers studied, and the understanding that PCK is the special amalgam of content and pedagogy required for teaching the subject, these suggests that the teacher-students also acquired this kind of knowledge. PCK includes understanding of what makes learning of some specific concepts easy or difficult, as well as, for regularly taught topics, the conceptions or preconceptions held by learners of different ages and from different backgrounds and carried into to the learning situation (Ball *et al.* 2008). This awareness provides teachers with a foundation of how to make concepts accessible to students (Shulman 1987). In addition, PCK bridges knowledge of content and teaching practice, ensuring that content discussions remain relevant to teaching, while discussions of teaching reflect back to content (Ball *et al.* 2008). It is thus teachers' unique sphere – a content-based form of professional knowledge which provides an ability to organize and present lessons under the real time constraints of the classroom, allowing for 'deep and integrated understanding' by students (Magnusson, Krajcik & Borko 2012; Maoto 2014).

Another key issue that emerged from both the survey and the interviews concerned the confidence that the teachers had gained through participation in the programme (89%). It remains unclear whether development of teacher confidence is peculiar to South Africa, where former apartheid

education policies had undermined the self-confidence and self-efficacy of the majority of the population (Bertram, Muthiyane & Mukeredzi 2013). Further, educational reforms since 1994 of introducing a new learner-centred, outcomes-based school curriculum had seemingly placed pressure on teachers and done little to improve their confidence and competences (Graven 2004). Confidence is linked to teacher performance because it increases their motivation, perceptions and thought processes (Prince *et al.* 2010). More confident teachers, tend to be better at expressing themselves, more daring, take more risks, are more open to learning, and freely seek assistance when they do not understand. These are vital aspects for helping teachers develop reflective practices and so enhance their skills. Teacher confidence influences how students react to teacher instructions and communications (Prince *et al.* 2010) so teachers' lack confidence may have implications for their teaching practice. This study suggests that many teacher-students gained confidence from studying in the programme. Teacher confidence is embedded in the personal constructs aspects of Banks *et al.*'s (1999) model, which may be re-evaluated throughout a teacher's career. It can be suggested that teacher-students developed through the programme because of the confidence boost, which may be directly linked to their learning (Graven 2004). The findings of this study clearly show that teacher development programmes should be ongoing in order to promote teacher confidence, among others outcomes. The findings on confidence from the current study are similar to those of Noble (2016) who found that the majority of in-service teachers felt that they were confident to teach science. In the same study, Noble also found that there were fewer teachers who were prepared to teach in the same way as that suggested in the literature. The study by Noble shows that teachers' confidence might improve, but would have limited effect on results in terms of learner achievement. Despite gaining confidence in teaching science, only 64% of the in-service teachers in the current study agreed that their increased knowledge influenced learner's achievement.

Use of media was another aspect singled out by teacher-students as having benefitted their teaching, because it offers both cognitive and affective experiences for the students. Media can be used to provoke discussion and assessment of one's values in scenarios with strong emotional context (Bransford *et al.* 1999). Media can also be used to develop conceptions through illustrative examples, and, where teachers keep materials and examples up-to-date, it connects students with relevant events.

Kind of Support ACE Physical Science Teachers Received during the Programme

With regard to the treatment that students had received from tutors, nearly all (93%) were satisfied that they had been treated as colleagues; Mukeredzi and Mandrona (2013) had noted a similar finding in their study of student teachers. The teacher-students (78%) also appreciated that tutors were able to explain content clearly. However, of concern, was the issue regarding DPs and Special requests. Many ACE teacher-students, whose semester attendance records and class marks were below a certain threshold, indicated that they had received little support from the university in the appeals processes that might have allowed them to sit for final examinations. Only 37% of respondents had positive experiences with the appeals process, and 54 % felt that the special requests to write examinations had not received a fair hearing. While the guidelines for the specific requirements for each module were available to all students in the university handbook which is also available on-line (University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), 2010), these findings show that these ACEPS teacher-students were not familiar with this information. One could have expected the teacher-students to read the handbook and familiarize themselves with the course requirements. This implies that such information should be incorporated into the module information sheet. Perhaps the teacher-students had not been fully inducted into the university, as would have happened for full-time students, because these mature part-time students had evidently found the whole university experience overwhelming and had not appreciated the formality of all the requirements. They certainly expected, and perhaps needed, more 'babying' than they had experienced.

Meeting the minimum attendance and class mark requirements was problematic for these students, as indicated clearly in the findings. In each of the ACEPS modules, in-order to earn a DP and be allowed to write end-of-semester examinations, the teachers-students were required to attend 75% of the lectures or tutorials. The teacher-students were also required to attain at least a 40% average mark for coursework, which was weighted 50-50 with the examination mark. Given the mixed mode of course delivery, frequently at distant satellite venues, teacher-students were seldom on campus. If they were, it was usually over weekends, when the main university offices were usually closed. Consequently, many of the affected students either did not or could not follow up on these attendance or assessment issues until it was too late. Even

though the in-service teachers could access the tutors during tutorials and the ACE administrators' offices were usually open during weekend sessions, students often could not attend to DP issues if they did not attend classes. Further, DPs were published only a few days before the end of the teaching period, which left very little time for following up errors or submitting applications to appeal. Thus, DP issues were understandably problematic for the in-service teachers. This raises the issue of whether the reality that these in-service teachers are also full time employees is accounted for in planning the mixed mode of delivery. Keeping the main university offices open over weekends, particularly during the period preceding examinations could help students address such issues.

Despite students having indicated learning from the programme, what also emerged was that these the ACE in-service teachers worked in school environments that did not support their learning. Only 54 % received family support, 38% received support from their schools and only 31% indicated that they had enough study time. These finding are in contrast to recommendations in the literature about the support that teacher get from their families, and work places (Resnick *et al.* 1997; Schaps, Battistich & Solomon 1997). A substantial body of research shows that, for good or ill, a school's social environment has a strong influence on learning and growth, including social, emotional, and ethical development for teachers (Schaps *et al.* 1997). This makes us wonder how the in-service teachers succeed at all whilst working under such unsupportive conditions. Perhaps more important than management support in the school environment is the quality of relationships teacher-students had with their students and colleagues. As John Dewey (1958: 65) observed, an effective school 'is realized to the degree in which individuals form a group'. Often when staff find their school environment supportive and caring, they are likely to become involved in activities that support their work. Accordingly, they would be more likely to develop positive attitudes toward their learners, their teaching, and themselves, and to have pro-social attitudes and behaviors toward colleagues (Schaps *et al.* 1997). Many schools foster positive learner outcomes by promoting a sense of 'connectedness' or 'belongingness' (Baumeister & Leary 1995), or 'community' (Schaps *et al.* 1997) during the school day. Of the teacher-students in this study, only 38% had had support from colleagues. This was probably the key finding. Connectedness, belongingness, and community all refer to staff and students' sense of being 'in-close', with respectful relationships among colleagues and students in a school.

Other aspects that also emerged from the data related to the in-service teachers having developed skills in creating conducive classroom environments, which are often regarded as catalysts for effective teaching, student learning and handling learner diversity. Spencer (2003) indicates that effective teachers understand and develop a positive climate in the learning environment, and use appropriate methods and language for all students to understand. Awareness of students' learning diversity requires exploring their differences in a safe, positive, and nurturing environment, understanding each individual, going beyond simple tolerance to embracing and celebrate the rich dimensions of their diversity (Ruggs & Hebl 2012).

Conclusion

The main aim of this study was to understand the nature of support and the knowledge that the teacher-students gained in the ACEPS programme. The findings suggest that the professional developmental programme provided sufficient support for students to improve their CK (97%), GPK (88%), and confidence levels (89%). More than half of the participants indicated that their improved learning had translated into learner achievement, but a third of the teacher-students were not sure about this aspect. A high number of teacher-students identified general areas of concern about the level of support they received from the university, in particular the processes involving examinations that appeared unclear for off-campus students. However, as this was a small study, these findings would need confirmation through a more comprehensive research or a larger scale survey. Given that only eight teacher-students were interviewed, more light could also be shed through interviews with a larger sample, to understand teacher-students' views about how they attempt to improve student learning through applying their improved content knowledge, confidence and teaching strategies. Although the findings should not be generalized as this was a convenience sample, they do highlight that teacher content knowledge and confidence can improve through professional development programmes. Overall, the findings from this study reinforce the need for institutions of higher learning to consider designing programmes that provide appropriate levels of support for all students.

Acknowledgements
We acknowledge the support by the UKZN Teaching and Learning Office in funding the project, Exploring the Impact of the ACE Programme, on which the paper is based.

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Doras Sibanda
School of Education
Pietermaritzburg Campus
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Sibandad@ukzn.ac.za

Tabitha Grace Mukeredzi
Adult Education Unit
Faculty of Arts and Design
Durban University of Technology
Midlands Campus
Pietermaritzburg,
TabithaM@dut.ac.za

Defining an African Vocabulary for the Exploration of Possibilities in Higher Education

Siseko H. Kumalo

Abstract

In a review of Coetzee's *White Writing* (1988) and Gordimer's *Essential Gesture* (1988), Lewis Nkosi (1989) highlights fundamental deficits in South African literature. Owing to inadequate resources and statutory racial divides – instituted by apartheid – Nkosi (1989) responds to these deficits through what I interpret as a series of provocations, that posit an African Vocabulary.

Using a narrative approach I suggest a rudimentary articulation of an African Vocabulary. I explore the negotiation of power, and ethics from an African ontological framework for the purposes of reimagining an inclusive higher education system that is decolonised. This treatise facilitates my conceptualisation of an African Vocabulary in a post-apartheid, decolonial higher education landscape in South Africa through revealing colonial attempts at the decimation of African ontologies.

Through this contribution, I aim to articulate an African Vocabulary and trouble representations of African subjectivities as static and primitive. I therefore highlight and challenge sustained colonial descriptions of a gradual African epistemic framework. I frame the use of an African Vocabulary in the South African academy as an initial move towards substantive decolonisation.

Keywords: African Vocabulary, decolonisation, *umDlakazi*, power, identity, ethics.

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a9

Introduction

Excavating[1] an African Vocabulary in the South African academy must be rooted in decolonising strategies to fully realise the contributions of African ontologies, in the contemporary university. *Ngizobiza amagama asemandulo,* I will call the names of an ancient time, I will become one with the rustling winds -*ngogiya ngogubhu*- and dance with the ancestors. In between the rustling winds and the resisting echoes of the trees of the veld, I will dance with my forefathers. My argument will be contentious for some, as we each lay claim to multiple identities across time and space, revealing the intersectionalities of African identities which were interrupted by the violences of colonialisms. These colonialisms plague African identities, through forced assimilation, subjugation and histories that are remembered and re-membered through tales of woe and triumph, victory and loss.

I do not maintain that my version of history is objectively correct, I merely seek to excavate the wisdom of history from my lineage through remembering the men and women who came before me. As a South African, *ngizithutha ngimemeza iThongo*, invoking the names of the ancient ones, I find myself KwaBulawayo, *koMzilikazi, oMbulaze abamnyama, izikhali zaMantungwa*. My identity constituted through this lineage is inherently linked to the dark ones, the weapons of the nation, *ibutho elenqa ngokukhaliha ngaphezu'kwamanye;* the Ndebele of Zimbabwe. Intrinsic to this historical project of (re)constructing identity along ancestral lines, and while I lay claim to a South African identity, my ancestry takes me to Zimbabwe illuminating the ill-conceived notion of citizenship identity imposed on an African subjectivity through western colonialisms. Evinced through these colonialisms are the continued violences which define identity(ies) from a western reading

[1] The concept of excavation is used here precisely because the African Vocabulary, which is constitutive of the Black Archive, has been silenced and buried owing to colonial imposition. These impositions continue to relegate African knowledge to the periphery, devaluing the epistemic contribution of Africans. The devaluation of Africans and African modes of thought denotes an ethical harm, which has been termed an epistemic injustice in the scholarship of social epistemology. For a detailed analysis of epistemic injustice, see the work of Miranda Fricker, *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press (2007).

of the African landscape. This misconstrual of the African landscape is what inspired Nkosi (1989) to suggest the development of an African Vocabulary. I subsequently take my que from Nkosi (1989) in this preliminary project of defining an African Vocabulary.

Through the invocation of the old names, *uS'hleza, uSandile, uDzanibe kaDazakatshane, uNqolo, uMahlamb'ehlaletsheni ngenxa yokwezwela ithawula* – the lives and stories of these men and women, remembered through the clan names of uScina[2] inform my ontological foundations and epistemological inclinations. In their erasure, through relegating this knowledge to the realm of mythology, a relegation similar to Maitra's (2010) notion of testimonial injustice[3], I am faced with the inherent ontological denial derived from colonial imposition continued by the contemporary South African university. A denial which manifests itself through a reinscribed and reaffirmed misleading logic which maintains that the western epistemic tradition is allegedly superior and the only legitimate knowledge framework within the academy.

Through privileging western epistemic traditions in an African locale – the gate-keeping of knowledge production and silencing experiential knowledge – the university produces what I have termed elsewhere the '*Native of Nowhere'* (Kumalo 2018), through systematic erasures that obscure Black ontologies and their sense of belonging in the academy. The concept of a *Native of Nowhere* is derived from Essop Patel's, *The World of Nat Nakasa: Selected Writings of Nat Nakasa* (1975:75), which describes Nakasa's experience of leaving South Africa on an exit permit, only to discover that no country would give him citizenship. I understand Nakasa's experience to be a violent detachment from the land of his forebears. This visceral detachment is buttressed by the reality that his host identity denied him citizenship as he could not legitimately claim a native identity other than his own, thus he becomes the *Native of Nowhere*. The concept of a *Native of Nowhere*, when applied in the

[2] The names of the Scina clan, denote and acknowledge the role of the matrilineal line ancestrally. While I am defined by a patrilineal conception of lineage, the matrilineal line defines my identity as I am formed by historic figures; omaJilajila, omaNdlangisa, oQhudeni, who constitute my ontological foundations.

[3] Ishani Maitra's contribution is in response to Fricker's notion of epistemic injustice as discussed above in footnote 1.

South African higher education landscape represents forced assimilation through epistemic impositions that demand that Black ontologies denounce their identity(ies), while never fully being embraced as Black ontology is constantly reminded of its lack of belonging in Historically White Institutions (HWIs). The act of unhoming indigeneity in the land of its forebears necessitates a reclamation of these institutions from a position which centres Blackness. The project of defining an African Vocabulary is a move in this direction.

Nat Nakasa's experience aptly describes how the contemporary university creates the *Native of Nowhere*, by inducing a state of oscillation through forced assimilation that rejects Blackness owing to its lack of belonging, while maintaining that its Indigenous identity is mythological and fictitious. Through this strategic act of silencing, which denies Blackness the status of a legitimate knower, the oscillation is derived from the continuous undervaluation of the knowledge held by Indigenous knowers, which is subsequently portrayed as incomprehensible[4]. The aims of this paper, while articulated as a coarse definition of an African Vocabulary owing to this area of scholarship being a continuation of Nkosi's (1989) project, are further to challenge the claim that would otherwise define African knowledges as incoherent and lacking intellectual rigour.

Through vexed positions of oscillation and incoherent realities, derived from incongruences in experiential knowledge pitted against institutional knowledge, I aim to continue the discussion initiated by Nkosi (1989) who proposes the development of an African Vocabulary. While I acknowledge that there might be some challenges[5] with this project my aim is an attempt at a reading of ethics and ontology from an analysis of the Nguni houses, *uMagubane noKumalo*. The use of these two houses illustrates the

[4] The concept of incomprehensible knowledge that is produced by the Indigenous knower is further evinced in the rejection of this paper without review by two South African journals prior to it being accepted by *Alternation.* This assertion claims that African/Black epistemologies are incoherent, underdeveloped and lack systematic rigour, a claim which this paper aims to disprove, while further highlighting the trite intellectual laziness of whiteness in the knowledge production economy of South Africa.

[5] The challenges ensue from an attempt at a philosophical reading of an oral historical tradition.

interplay of power through social realities, encapsulated in how the clan names of each responds to the other: one as innocent and the other as violent and destructive. The comparative exercise between these two houses (*uMagubane noKumalo*) aims to articulate an African Vocabulary. An African Vocabulary thus can be conceptualised as a lexicography which allows us to hold in tandem competing and contradictory perspectives which coincide in the manifest reality of negotiated identities. This lexicography further suggests a humble proposition of what might constitute the core of an African university. Provocatively framing an African university as premised on an African Vocabulary should not be mistaken as an elision of the institutional duties of teaching, learning and research, but rather denotes that these basic functions be undertaken in line with the intention of advancing intellectual articulations of African epistemologies in the South African context. These intellectual articulations serve the purposes of strengthening the fourth tenet, which now governs higher education in South Africa; community engagement.

Articulating an African Vocabulary

With the objective of showcasing the epistemic value and contribution of African epistemic positions through an exploratory articulation of an African Vocabulary, I begin with a dialogical recitation of the clan names of *uMagubane noKumalo*:

> *Ngibingelela koNkomose, koJiyane, koNdlandla, wena wakwaMpahle'mhlophe, ingabamnyama yeza nomdlakazi. Ngibingelela oMagubane, oNkomose, oJiyane izithuthwa ezidala, ezahamba lomhlaba, zithungatha zakh'isizwe. Isizwe esakhuluma nezizwe, kaze izikhali babezithathephi? KungezaMantungwa, oMbulaze abamnyama, abaletha ubumnyama beza nomdlakazi. OMabaso, ababas'entabeni ilanga lishona, bebikezela ukuza komDlakazi ngokukhothamisa izizwe zabangesheya koThukela! Isandla sikaMzilikazi esakha isizwe, omuzi wakhe wagcotshwa ngegazi lesitha sikaNdaba. Sikhulekile!*

When calling these names, I am constituting my being, in an historical lineage of the men and women who came before me. Through this recitation which resembles a form of libation I am forced to acknowledge that my being,

is linked to the ancestral realm of the spirits of the men and women whom I invoke when reciting the names of *oMbulaze abamnyama, izikhali zaMantungwa ezawela iZambezi 'gcwele*. This invocation is indicative of the interplay of power and ethics captured by a linguistic dialogical relation between *imizi kaMagubane noKumalo,* while revealing the dynamics of social relations in Nguni ontologies, preserved in history through clan names. Resultantly, my aim here is to discern what philosophical insights might be gleaned from historical recollections about ethics and power using a semantic analysis of the names of *uMagubane noKumalo*.

Ngibingelela

The concept of *ukubingelela* seeks to remember and re-member the ancestors as they are recalled owing to their role in history, which tells stories of how a house[6] came to be, how it conquered *ngezikhali zaMantungwa*. The abovementioned libation which can also be understood as a greeting which invokes the names of the ancestors and allows the living, liminality between two worlds, the worlds of the living and the living-dead. Grappling with the interplay between modernity and tradition Zakes Mda's tale, *The Heart of Redness* (2000), reveals this liminality through the dance of *abaThwa*[7]. Mda's tale is indicative of a reading of the African landscape through an African Vocabulary making it central to my analysis. The songs of *ubungoma*, the act of going in and out of trance, which allows one to dance in the winds with the spirits of the ancestors, is a conceivable reality from a Nguni subjectivity, while further expressing the epistemic and ontic-ontological foundations that constitute Nguni cosmology.

A discourse of denial, which defines my cosmology as mythology, lacking any epistemological value, because these modes of knowing do not meet the standards of western knowledge structures, constitutes colonial

[6] House as I use it in this context denotes the lineages that constitutes a people.
[7] The dance of the abaThwa allowed the Believes to remain in contact with the world of the living-dead through entering into trance. This dance expresses the interplay between the living and the living-dead who play a key role in influencing the moral and ethical behaviour among the living. Once offended the living-dead/idlozi have the capacity to bring misfortune and great harm upon those who have offended them as detailed in Mda's tale.

discourse which maintains and perpetuates violences on my subjectivity. While colonial discourse is constituted through a fetishizing of the Blackbody which Bhabha (1983: 34) captures aptly when he writes, 'the black is both savage (cannibal) and yet the most obedient and dignified servant (the bearer of food)', highlights the position to which Blackness has been consigned. This constriction connotes how Blackness has been conceptualised as a perpetual contradiction in the eyes of the western coloniser and serves the purpose of legitimating the actions of whiteness, which relegate Nguni epistemic frameworks to the periphery. This denial is elucidated by Minh-ha (1989: 15), who navigates the stories of women who are continually 'asked to substantiate their positions through performing their pain', and a further issue concerning coloniality is addressed by Almeida (2015) who argues that the subaltern has always existed as a substantiation of western civilization. Through the imposition of western forms of knowing, the Nguni body lives merely to substantiate western epistemology in the academy.

The argument that proclaims the contradiction, which is the Blackbody, reveals the tension between tradition and modernity. Tradition, which has been misconstrued and reconfigured through colonialisms which are synonymous with contemporary western modernity, defines my Blackness as savage, untamed and dangerous. In contrast, modernity continues the colonial narrative through defining my Blackness as the obedient subject, who has embraced the civility which came with the colonial mission. In the wake of this banal binarism, Lewis Gordon (2014) sketches out the decision which the colonised subject must make; assimilation or death. The option between assimilation and death, foregrounds the denial of Nguni ontology and subjectivity in the academy and further alludes to the violences which I explore in this argument through a systematic analysis of the names of *uKumalo*. Extensive literature explores the relationship between Blackness and colonialism see (Abarahams 2003; Lebakeng, Phalane & Dalindjebo 2006; Gqola 2001; Gqola 2012; Mamdani 2013; Das 2007; and hooks 1992), however the project of this paper is to begin defining an African Vocabulary through the exploration of oral history. Therefore, a return to Mda's (2000) text is necessary.

In *The Heart of Redness* Mda (2000) hints at the devastations (Nguni) African peoples caused one another, while revealing social organisation in traditional Nguni custom, to which I will return momentarily. In acknowledging Mamdani's (2005) caution that traditional and customary

identities are inherently descendants of colonial state legacy, I propose to tease out the ethics which governed Southern African societies expressed through the lens of pre-European-colonial imposition. In so doing, I am not proposing to define political identity through a precolonial prescriptive interpretation. Rather my aim is to work through the meeting point, the moment of contact, the decolonial moment[8]. Mda (2000: 141) nuances the decolonial moment through the contemporary squabbles between the Believers and Unbelievers, with the Believers maintaining that 'giving up land is a small price to pay in return for civilisation'. Mda's (2000) tale is instructive for two reasons. First, in the forfeiture of land in order to attain civilisation the Nguni body sold itself into the capitalist market conceptualised here as coloniality. Secondly, through land dispossession, which led to Nguni peoples being forced into the colonial market, Grosfoguel's assertions become clear, in the claim that modernity is synonymous with coloniality (2007: 218). Mda (2000) further illustrates how, at the moment of contact between Blackness and whiteness in South Africa, there was the creation of division within Nguni society, those who were working with the colonial administrators i.e. Twin-Twin and the alternative position, his twin brother Twin. In revealing the collaborations between Blackness and colonial power, Mda (2000) concurs with Mamdani's (2005) caution that cultural identity, premised on a precolonial conception fails to recognise the dialogical interchange between Blackness and whiteness. This dialogical interchange will form the premise for my claim of a pedagogy of obligation.

Falola (2008) laments precisely what Mamdani (2005) maintains happened when colonisation met resistance. Through the 'brutal subjugation' of monarchs who questioned British legitimacy in Nigeria and the 'installation of chiefs' who advanced the colonial agenda, Falola (2008: 95) illustrates how an identity formation project, located in a precolonial conception of society can be misleading as contemporary identities are influenced by colonial encounter.

[8] The decolonial moment as explained by Grosfoguel denotes the moment of contact between the colonial settler and the native subject. Historically this moment has been defined by violence and conquest, necessitating that the native engage in liberation struggles to attain their freedom, using violence – *izinyane lemvubu kalidliwanag ingwenya kwacweba iziziba* (Nxumalo & Nyembezi 1966: 158). An action of violence that is dehumanising, necessitates that the oppressor be reminded of the personhood of the oppressed.

I reiterate my aim is not to define an African identity out of an analysis of precolonial Africa. Rather, the aim is to tease out the philosophical questions which arise out of the decolonial moment and proffer preliminary definitions of an African Vocabulary which aids the articulation of a post-conflictual pedagogy[9].

In the term *Ngibingela* therefore, we begin to see the inherent complexities which are navigated by the Nguni/Black scholar, who is pressed through the act of *ukubingelela*, to remember and re-member untold histories. When invoking the names of the old ones we are confronted with a history of shifting identities, where at once, my Blackness can signify the oppressed while also being the signifier of oppression denoting the deposed monarchs and the installation of chiefs who brought about the European-colonial order. This dualistic reality of subjective history foregrounds the need for a pedagogy of obligation in our context, for the purposes of reimagining higher education. Through the systematic exclusion of this complex and intertwined experiential knowledge in the university, it is no wonder, the academy is creating *Natives of Nowhere*. Through an academic project which denies African subjectivity the tools with which to understand and interpret these historical realities, the university creates an oscillating *Native of Nowhere*.

Wena wakwaMpahl'emhlophe

Purity and innocence are heralded by this commendation afforded *uMagubane*. *Wena wakwaMpahle'mhlophe*, the one who comes from the house of purity. There are two understandings of purity which I wish to address in line with the reality of European colonialisms. The first being whiteness' move to spaces of innocence which absolve any guilt ensuing from the project of colonialism/coloniality. DiAngelo (2011) terms this retreat, *White Fragility*[10],

[9] The term post-conflictual pedagogy is taken from the work of Jonathan Jansen (2009) who writes about the challenges which continue to plague the South African pedagogical project. These challenges emanate from the historical legacy of apartheid in our context.

[10] 'White Fragility is a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and

while Tuck and Yang (2012) showcase the problematics of this retreat, by revealing how it secures white settler colonial descendent futures.

Spaces of white fragility are created when 'colonial resistance erupts' (DiAngelo 2011: 54), signalling decoloniality in praxis; a shift away from decolonisation as 'metaphor' (Tuck & Yang 2012). This shift redefines decoloniality and gives it both agency and urgency while giving legitimacy to the Nguni/Black subject, within the academy. Tuck and Yang (2012) direct me to the nature of settler colonial education, which has become the pervasive dominant epistemological position in the world and expects to be regarded as universal. In making claims for universality through what Grosfoguel (2007: 214) calls the 'sub-zero, God-eye knowing position'; western knowledge appropriates other epistemologies while erasing the progenitors of those knowledge frameworks. This erasure represents the situation in the contemporary South African academy, through the privileging of voices of whiteness and its epistemic frameworks. This situation is what ultimately led to the violent eruptions we witnessed in the academy in 2015-2016. However, I wish to turn to the second meaning of purity, the innocence of the untainted one; an analysis that precludes whiteness. As the clan-name denotes *wena wakwaMpahl'emhlophe* – w*endlu kaMagubane* – and not whiteness. Though acknowledging the dialectical relationship between Nguni identities i.e. Blackness and whiteness is imperative as it informs how we come to understand the decolonial moment, I need not exhaust this debate here as it has been dealt with in various works, of which Bhabha's (1983) work has been of immense import (see Rutherford 1990).

How then was *uMagubane* perceived, if he was praised for his childlike innocence and purity? *Ingabamnyama, yeza nomdlakazi!* Dare taint the innocence, the purity, the childlike nature of his spirit, surely that will be a force which will come with destruction. In the process of nation building, *uMagubane* – I suspect, along with his successors and those loyal to his nation building project – suppressed voices of dissent, *ngabe izikhali babezithathephi?* Through framing *uMagubane* with childlike purity and innocence, it becomes the objective of *Inyosi*, to silence those *uMagubane* has subjugated. In the complexity of the power relations which are envisaged in this process of framing and reframing history, we are presented with ethical

behaviours such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation'.

questions. Is *Inyosi* to reveal the true nature of *uMagubane*, or is he to conceal the workings of power to ensure stability and longevity to the house of *uMagubane*? To assume that the history of *uMagubane* conceals certain realities reveals how Nguni epistemology is re-membered, owing to the numerous disjunctures of colonialism and coloniality. Ensuing from the tension between the colonial settler and the native/indigenous subject, at the decolonial moment; which histories are told, what modes of reframing take place within the academy and subsequently which voices are privileged? Miriam Makeba, one of South Africa's leading anti-apartheid artists proffers a suggestion to this question,

> the conqueror writes history, they came, they conquered, and they wrote. Now you don't expect people who came to invade us to write the truth about us, they will always write negative things about us, and they have to do that because they have to justify their invasion.

The epistemic injustices through reconfigurations which manifest through the erasure of Nguni epistemologies, either through 'brute force' as detailed by Falola (2008: 89) or colonial constructions as argued by Mamdani (2005) and Mda (2000), clearly indicate the ontological negation which creates the *Native of Nowhere*. The academy continues to perpetuate the creation of the *Native of Nowhere*, through the curriculum taught and the mimetic pedagogical praxes replete within the South African university. The conqueror wrote history, and it is that history that continues to be substantiated through the relegation of African epistemic positions to the periphery.

It is from the perspectives that portray *uMagubane* with innocence, purity, and the untainted spaces, *Wena wakwaMpahle'mhlophe, Ingabamnyama, yeza nomdlakazi!,* that I maintain the need for the project of re-framing and re-membering history so as to inform new imaginative possibilities for the future of higher education in our context. In the moment at which this innocence and purity are tainted, it will come with destruction, violence and elaborate displays of power. The violence and destruction that I allude to here is envisaged in the raiding of the resources of the Unbelievers by their own families in Mda's (2000) *The Heart of Redness*. As the colonial project is advancing aided by the imposition of English law among the Xhosa people, there is the annihilation of social organisation expressed through pre-European-colonial Xhosa custom (Mda 2000). This systematic erasure,

narrated through the cautionary words of Twin-Twin (Mda 2000: 154), vividly invokes the idiomatic phrase – *impi isesendeni* – war erupts amongst the fathers' progeny. Disjunctures of colonialism are envisaged in brothers turning against each other, wives leaving their husbands and children disserting their father's houses, a sure sign that *impi isesendeni*. In the wake of these disjunctures and dysfunctions which come with colonialism and coloniality, the prophecies of Nongqawuse are nuanced by the lament of pure desperation uttered in anguish owing to the desolation of social structures and the reality of being in a foreign land, '*Baba noMama nje ng'selo'khalweni, uBaba uday'se ngam' kubafokazane – ngahlupheka. Izizwe zonke zimbonile uBaba, uBaba uday'se ngam'kubafokazane'* (Buselaphi 2012).

The above lyrical composition responds to the suggestions in *The Heart of Redness*, that land would be a small price to pay for modernity (Mda 2000). I maintain that the forfeiture and dispossession of land creates of Nguni subjectivities *Natives of Nowhere* in constant oscillation as these subjectivities neither belong to their host identity, manifesting as the coloniser nor to their native identity which has otherwise been viscerally erased. This lament gives voice to the subjugated and voiceless[11] in the nation building projects of these two houses, *uMagubane noKumalo*.

KungezaMantungwa, oMbulaze abamnyama

I now turn to interrogate the clan names of *uKumalo* with the intention of revealing colonial imposition, perpetrated by Nguni against Nguni. The arsenal represented through *izikhali zaMantungwa, oMbulaze abamnyama, abaletha ubumnyama beza nom'Dlakazi!* sums up the colonial project of *uMzilikazi*.

UmDlakazi denotes destruction, war, conquest and ultimately subjugation. *Ingabamnyama, yeza nomdlakazi*. In tainting the purity and the innocence of the image of the house of *uMagubane, weza nomDlakazi*. Claiming the innocence that is created by *Inyosi* as he reframes, remembers and re-members history, *uMagubane* is created as an innocent actor in his

[11] The concept of voicelessness is used to detail the nature in which the colonial project, whether spearheaded by Magubane, or Kumalo, coloniality functions to silence certain voices. The nation building project of both Magubane and Kumalo comes with great sacrifice through presenting two alternatives to conquered bodies: assimilate or die.

nation building project. Through the skilful prose of *Inyosi*, *uMagubane* is framed as innocent in the subjugation of those who became associated with his name. Mohanty (1993: 42) substantiates this point through the argument that distinguishes between the essentialist perspective and the post-modern conception of identity[12].

The concept of *umDlakazi* ascribes purity to *uMagubane* through contradistinction, *wena wakwaMpahle'mhlophe, Ingabamnyama, yeza nom-Dlakazi*. For darkness came with the dark ones, *oMbulaze abamnyama, izikhali zamaNtungwa*. This is the claim made by *Inyosi*, implicitly, in the construction of *uMagubane's* identity through childlike innocence. The identity performance, through the prose of *Inyosi*, leads to the pacification of those who may seek to reveal the truth about their reality, which is now subsequently reframed by *Inyosi*. The reality relayed through the words of *Inyosi* introduce the concept of *umDlakazi* bringing about the semantic dialogue rather between the house of *uMagubane noKumalo*[13]. *UKumalo* through the actions of *uMzilikazi*, becomes associated with violence, destruction and the forced assimilation of those who would reject the legitimate rule of *uMzilikazi*. Inherent to the concept of *umDalakzi*[14] is the political action of destroying those who would challenge *uNdaba – Ngoba aba ludaba ezitheni zakhe*.

The demand that African ontologies be seen as legitimate through the African Vocabulary is signalled by the contestations which rocked higher education between the 2015-2016 academic years. Understanding the violence

[12] Mohanty maintains that '[t]he most basic questions about identity call for a more general re-examination of the relationship between personal experience and public meanings' (1993: 42). Mohanty is further useful for the argument being advanced here as she writes, 'the relationship between experience and identity is a genuine and philosophical theoretical issue' (1993: 42).

[13] Understanding the role of *uKumalo* as *umDlakazi* denotes the destruction and turmoil that was associated with uMzilikazi's nation building project in Kwabulawayo.

[14] *umDlakazi* as I use it in this context should not be compared to the colonialism of white settlers, as this would be a dangerous conflation of histories tantamount to eliding the historical realities of the impacts of white colonial settlers. I will discuss this distinction in the section that follows, distinguishing between the colonialism of Indigeneity and that of white colonial settlers.

which engulfed the university sector recently through the language of *umDlakazi*, suggests that the failure to acknowledge the African Vocabulary[15] creates an imminent danger which and intimates to a possibility that this failure may herald the academy being razed to the ground. This suggestion comes as the contemporary university has continuously failed to recognise the humanity of those who have existed as Indigenous beings, well before the arrival of settler colonialism. *UmDlakazi*, as such, becomes the capacity through which Indigenous subjectivity can lay claim to a legitimate existence within the academy, owing to how it has been denied, erased and marginalised. While Nguni epistemic positions have existed, at times in fear of whiteness, this fear has continually dissipated and threatens the academy if Indigenous epistemic positions are continuously relegated to the periphery.

Mda's text reveals something of this nature. In *The Heart of Redness*, Mda makes the argument of how civilization was seen as the erasure of culture, custom and the traditions of the Xhosa people, in the 'imposition of English custom presented as Christian civilisation' (2000: 237). Christian civilisation had devastating effects in the ways in which it created *impi yesende* as argued above. The entire fabric of society became undone, as brothers of the same womb wished each other ill-will with roaring indignation. This is envisaged in how Twin and Twin-Twin come to relate to one other at the setting of the sun, with vile hate and a deep sense of loathing. Mda's (2000) text reveals these filial antagonisms and gives an intimation towards an understanding of social organisation in both the time of colonial settlement and contemporary society. *UmDlakazi* as a decolonial emancipatory tool becomes a means through which the disjunctures and dysfunctions of colonialism become comprehensible through epistemic frameworks which are neither imposed nor mimetic.

Izikhali zaMantungwa, oMbulaze abamnyama, this was the war regiment of *uMzilikazi, uMzilikazi kaNdebele, owakha isizwe kwaBulawayo* (the place of death), *omuzi wakhe wagcotshwa ngegazi lesitha sakhe*. When tracing my lineage – as a South African citizen, I find myself *kwaBulawayo* in Zimbabwe. Yet in tracing my history I cannot claim kinship to this identity

[15] The acknowledgment of an African Vocabulary should not be misconstrued as an act of merely privileging African languages in the South African university. Acknowledging the African Vocabulary suggests the creation of a lexicography which holds in tandem competing and even contradictory identities and subjectivities, with the aim of positing alternative futures.

based on the impositions of Christian civilisation[16]. As a South African citizen, living in a post-apartheid state, the arbitrary boarders imposed on our countries leave me wanting for this identity, based on the ways in which colonial segregation defined ethnicity and the native, as argued by Mamdani (2005). Mamdani's (2005) thoughts on political identity in post-colonial Africa, suggests that the meeting of black and white defines today's reality; our continued struggle with European colonialism. In the instance of an identity obfuscated by the disruptions of white settler colonialism, how do we understand identity, with all its variables in the midst of trying to excavate histories which inform contemporary identity(ies)?

Colonial settlement on the African continent which came through Christian civilisation brought with it another form of *umDlakazi*, *oweza nobumnyana* – the destroyer, who came with the aim of annihilating African ontologies and modes of being. Grosfoguel (2013) in writing about the structure of knowledge in westernised universities reveals epistemic racism and sexism on the premise of hierarchies. Through privileging western knowledge while silencing local knowledges in the university, there is a clear case of ontological negation[17] (see Kumalo 2018) arising from the epistemic injustices committed and sustained through the practices of the academy. In the use of the knowledges of Indigenous peoples without the recognition of where that knowledge originates, there is the erasure of a people, a silencing of voices and a continued privileging of western epistemological frameworks. Through continued silences, imposed by the relegation of experiential knowledge to the realm of mythology, the university continues to create the *Native of Nowhere*.

Agreeing with Mamdani (2005), when he makes the argument that the African post-colonial state remains in the clutches of collapsed coloniality, I

[16] I use Christian civilisation on two counts here; the first denoting how indigenous subjectivities such as uMzilikazi's nation building project was seen as barbaric, heathen and the celebration of his historical achievements is otherwise viewed as a form of nostalgia for this heathen way of life. The second connotation to Christian civilisation connotes the barbarism of the European colonial incursion which, through the Berlin conference of 1884, pierced apart families, peoples, and ways of being.

[17] In another argument, I have extensively detailed the negation and abjection of Blackness/ Indigeneity in Historically White Universities in South Africa.

seek to articulate the South African moment as a mutable decolonial moment through the use of an African Vocabulary. Decoloniality is intrinsically marked by the colonial moment and assumes the modality of resisting subjugation and the annihilation of the ways of life of the Indigenous being. *UmDlakazi* epitomised through the actions of *uMzilikazi*, represents both resistance against annihilation and the violence which ensues from white colonialisms resulting in the rupturing of the academy through subsequent resistance(s) to immanent colonialisms. *UmDlakazi*, the violence which Ramose (2016) calls democratic violence, can bring with it the rebirthing of the academy, for it is only in the destruction of what once existed, that there can be liberation from a system of oppression/coloniality and subjugation. Can we then make the argument for total annihilation as the only way of rebirthing the academy? In light of the chaos wrought by *umDlakazi*, *Inyosi* pacifies those subjugated by *uMagubane* through ascribing to his name purity, innocence and a childlike manner. The reframing of *uMagubane* aims to address the retelling of history in a palatable way. *UMagubane* is created as innocent, while the violence exhorted by *uMzilikazi* is exalted. Historical narratives constructed by the telling of history through the names of those who came before us, illuminates how the African Vocabulary allows us a moment's gaze into the possibilities of creating anew, the academy.

Sikhulekile

An analysis of greeting, which demonstrates customary actions involved in the process, reveals numerous epistemological positions in Zulu cosmology. At the gates, diplomatic envoys and guests – *oMagubane* would declare themselves before entering, *Sikhulekile*! *Siyakhuleka koNdaba, koMbulaze, koMashobane, nina enadla umuntu nimyenga ngeNdaba… thina bakoMagubane, bakoNdlandla, bakoJiyane, bakoNkomose, thina bakwampahl'emhlophe – ingabamnyama yezanomDlakazi…* we have arrived, we are greeting and come in peace. It is only after this moment that those who are guests can be granted access; through declaring their arrival, stating their names and invoking the names and history of their hosts, demonstrating that they acknowledge the humanity of their hosts. This was the custom, and those who did not declare themselves, *beza nomDlakazi*.

The act of entering the house of another without invitation, signals the crudest disrespect, and denial of the personhood of those whose house one

enters. The custom of greeting reveals yet another mode of complexity, as *uMzilikazi* did not subscribe to this custom in his nation building project. *UMzilikazi's* actions reveal the stark fact that in remembering and re-membering history, there is seldom room for absolute innocence, either on the part of Indigeneity or white settler-colonialists. However, a qualification needs to be made, while the charge of no room for innocence might be levelled against both Indigeneity and white colonialism, it becomes imperative to acknowledge the distinctions of destruction and discontinuities caused by each; Indigeneity and whiteness. In the academy, the traditions, mores and values which govern colonial institutions, signify the latter – an entry into the land and territories of ones' hosts – without recognition of the history and humanity of the host and without invitation from the host.

Ngibingelela. *Ngithokozisa iThongo* – giving thanks to the ancestors for your existence. *Isibingelelo* here is an ontological declaration, which necessitates a rethinking of assessment and learning in higher education (Boud & Falchikov 2007), which creates inclusive knowledge frameworks. Reconceptualising learning as inclusive of knowledges which emanate from Indigenous epistemes, allows the university to subvert its continued role of creating the *Native of Nowhere*. This subversion gives rise to the imagination of new possibilities in higher education.

Ngibingelela! I am greeting, I request a dialogue which recognises my humanity – this is what essentially lies at the core of the custom of greeting. Dialogical educational models have been discussed in the critical pedagogies tradition in South Africa, through the work of Jansen (2009) and Keet, Zinn and Porteus (2009). A dialogical approach to education underscores the agential capacity of the student, whom through experiential knowledge, inflects the teaching and learning process with new meanings. When declaring oneself, one is seeking an audience with the other, and it is only in contact with the other, that the self becomes awakened to its presence, its complexity and nuances. Through the concept of a pedagogy of mutual vulnerability, Keet, Zinn and Porteus (2009) detail this very notion of self-awareness and the acknowledgement of modes of complicity in structures of domination and oppression. Acknowledging oneself through relationality with the other makes clear the claim that African ontologies are fraught with complexity, which locates these identities at once as the victims of oppression and injustice, yet also as perpetrators of injustice which silenced others, even in precolonial history.

A decolonial starting position would suggest a concept of delinking, breaking free and away from what has defined as colonial. This entails the rupturing of the space to annihilate existence itself, as a means of creating anew. This thesis is substantiated in the call for the destruction of that which lives presently in order to prepare for the coming of the new people (Mda 2000: 244). Mda's (2000) tale elucidates Nongqawuse's prophecy, which inspired indiscriminate cattle killings ensuing from her foretelling of a new and liberated land, through the proposition of total annihilation. It is in annihilation that the system can be created anew. The annihilation comes with *umDlakazi* and foreshadows destruction and death; *umDlakazi* speaks to this very act of cruelty which can otherwise be seen as a form of mercy which creates the system anew. However, there is another alternative, which proposes radical rethinking of the paradigms which constitute our being. A paradigm shift which locates the victor and the victim in a dialogical relation, rather than oppositional binaries is most apt in post-conflictual pedagogies that facilitate the creation of new possibilities.

Barnett (2007) suggests that the development of knowledge and skill can only take place after the Black scholar realises their positionality. I propose that this conundrum, which at once calls for the erasure of history and/or a dialogical approach to the traumas of history, be understood through the lens of the recognition of Blackness. This recognition, at once locates Blackness as victor over those who are subjugated specifically in the context of *uMzilikazi*, while also locating it as the victim of centuries of oppression and subjugation. Mda (2000) explicates this very well in Camagu's appreciation of Qukezwa's ability to play *uMrhubhe* – an ancient instrument, whose sound carries with it centuries of memory. The dialectics of re-membering and reconstituting Blackness, while aiming to understand how it relates contemporarily to whiteness within the academy, reveals and underscores the role of a dialogical approach in pedagogy, otherwise conceptualised as a pedagogy of obligation. A dialogical approach embraces and recognises these histories, with the aim of teaching to humanise[18], while holding in consort, what might seem to be

[18] The concept of teaching to humanise comes from the stark reality which characterises South African society as post-conflictual. Humanising here denotes, facilitating – through the pedagogical journey – a process of learning which allows the self to identify its own humanity and that of those who would otherwise be classified as *Other*.

opposing identities. *Ngibingelela!* I am greeting, and declare myself. *Ngibingelela, Ngithokozisa! Ngibongela iDlozi*, in your personhood, I see the t/old stories of the ancestors. *Ngibingelela*, through greeting, I acknowledge these variant positionalities of knowing. *Ngibingelela*, telling history through memories.

Mda (2000) excavates this beautifully in the use of *uMrhubhe*, in its capacity to represent many worlds simultaneously. Narratives which unfold from positions of exclusion, erasure, and being conceptualised as expendable, become the narratives which define how we think through pedagogical relationality which allows us to fashion new possibilities through complex and entangled histories. The *Native of Nowhere* thus conceptualised begins to shift our paradigms, through redefining understandings of power, identity and citizenship from an African position in the academy. These positions are neither void of tension, violence nor destruction, what Ramose (2016) calls democratic violence; however, they possess the capacity of liberation through confronting the traumas of the past collectively. It is in the hopes of new possibilities that conflicts arise owing to the failsafe responses which begin, ironically, with the actions of institutional gatekeeping. When *uNdlandla* is declaring himself, when *uJiyane kaNkomose* is announcing his arrival, there is either diplomacy or war. *UZulu kaSenzangakhona kaJama – isilo –* militarises this concept of greeting and declaring oneself at the gates, therefore creating the names and houses which would tell history.

Ngibingelela, I am declaring myself. The imposition of one's positionality upon another seen as *uZulu's* militarisation of the act of *ukubingelela* demands recognition and adequate responses; responses which will take seriously the role of trauma in telling and retelling history. *Sikhulekile* requests that the gates be open. *Sikhulekile*! read through the lens of a denied request for acknowledgement and recognition suggests the militarisation of language. The move from *Ngibingelela*, to *Sikhulekile*, begins a redefinition of positionality, *sekuza ngezikhali zaMantungwa* – the act of declaration no longer signals a declaration of the self, but rather a declaration of war.

Sikhulekile, after silences and violences, now comes from a positionality of destruction, domination and subjugation as a mode of asserting ones' identity, which further brings with it the act of annihilating those who question the legitimacy of the speaker: these are the implications with which we can understand the concept of *Sikhulekile* as militarised by *uZulu* when using an African Vocabulary. Implicit in *Ngibingelela*, lies the plea to be

recognised, to be seen as a human being. Implicit in my reading of *Sikhulekile* lies the warring narrative of – *Baba kashongo, kumnyama lapho sophelela khona. Maye ngacishe ngafa, ngafel'embangweni! Bay'nqumela indaba zesizwe* (Buselaphi 2013).

Indigenous narratives, representative of experiential knowledge, do not feature in the structure of knowledge in westernised universities (Grosfoguel 2013), even as they continue to inflect our lived realities. Without the tools to read Indigenous epistemes and the histories which constitute these epistemic positions, the academy continues to deny the humanity of Indigeneity and its existence. Locating our humanity through dialogical relations with fellow Africans only becomes immutable owing to a deficiency in the capacity to see their humanity, a deficiency expressed through xenophobic attacks in the South Africa context for example. These attacks are inherently tied to conceptions of citizenship, identity and the politics of recognition. This complexity foregrounds the decolonial project, which may glean considerable lessons using an African Vocabulary.

Tales of warriors and kings, of civilizations created and annihilated, these tales constitute the Indigenous scholar. In the failure to recognise these epistemic positions, inherently lies the denial of African ontology. Through an inability to narrate these historical narratives in Indigenous languages, I suggest that the academy facilitates and 'sustains hermeneutical injustices' as argued by Maitra (2010: 196). An example of the usefulness of an African Vocabulary is witnessed in how Mqhayi's (1914), *Ityala Lamwele* reveals numerous considerations for political theory, and social organisation. It is in the quarrel between Babini and Wele (Mqhayi 1914) that we begin to understand the historical approach to matters of power and dispute resolution within Xhosa society as an example. It is through engaging with African writers and scholars that new perspectives can begin to emerge, allowing the academy to teach through an African Vocabulary. Nkosi seeks to define an 'African Vocabulary' (1989: 159) but does not suggest its complexity and abundance[19]. Again, I am not proposing that contemporary African/Black

[19] In *White Writing*, he suggests that 'if the real Africa will always slip through the net woven by European categories, the question arises whether native African languages may not be in harmony with the landscape as European languages are not' (Nkosi, 1989: 159). The creation of an African Vocabulary suggests whiteness i.e. white settler colonial descendants becoming natives of

ontology be defined from this perspective, however, I am drawing my readers attention to these complexities which through the philosophical questions they present, give us a wealth of analysis in terms of imagining social organisation, ethics and issues around power and identity in an African context understood through an African experiential framework that does not impose identities from Hull, Manchester, London and Paris. It has been my aim thus, to continue the discussion initiated by Nkosi, while attempting to suggest where we may start to locate an African Vocabulary.

Conclusion

My primary aim has been to attempt a suggestive definition of an African Vocabulary, while showcasing the complexity inherent in undertaking such a project. It has not been the aim of this work to define a prescriptive conception of Indigeneity, but rather to suggest modes of entry into an African centred analysis of power, ethics and identity. Using an African Vocabulary, I suggest that we are presented with a lexicon which contends with coeval relationships of identities that may seem at first glance – at odds with each other – but in fact can and do co-exist. It is in the exchange which takes place through greeting, wherein we are enlightened about the questions of power and identity as understood in Zulu epistemology, therefore facilitating a paradigmatic shift in the teaching and learning processes of the university, and subsequently creating a pluriversity. It is in recognising the humanity of those who are relegated to the periphery, and giving voice to the voiceless, that we begin to piece together histories, power relations and domination, which informed ways of governance in our African lineages and societies. Taking seriously Grosfoguel's (2012) argument, which challenges the hegemony of French, German, Anglo-America and British power in the knowledge production processes, we are pressed to piece together our histories and create new possibilities from our own locales.

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the land, which as Nkosi suggests '[they] would have to know the language like a native, sharing the modes of consciousness of the people born to it, and to that extent giving up [their] European identity' (1989: 159). An African Vocabulary as such denotes the creation of settler colonial identities anew; a re-creation which locates them in relation to native subjectivities and identities.

However, what are the philosophical questions which arise from this systematic analysis? I would suggest that the concept of *umDlakazi* as an option to higher education transformation signals the entry point into these questions. *UmDlakazi* here reveals the interplay between ethics and power. The interplay between ethics and power gives rise to the consideration of whether the concept of *umDlakazi* undermines dialogical pedagogical strategies which further invites the question of whether the concept of *umDlakazi* centres anyone within the pedagogical journey? Owing to how we understand *umDlakazi*, one ought to further ask, how then is the post-colonial condition defined. This, specific, question is inspired by Prah (2017). Further we ought to carefully think through the question of who is a legitimate subject/ citizen in the post-colonial pedagogical space? What are the implications of being an illegitimate subject and can education play a role in ameliorating the post-colonial dilemma? Resultantly, what is the role of the African Vocabulary in answering these questions? I would suggest that further research be undertaken with the aim of answering these questions, as such giving rise to the continued debate and development of an African Vocabulary in our context.

Reconceptualising the project of knowledge production from a perspective which is informed by indigenous subjectivity plays a critical role in centring African epistemic positions in the university. With the aim of articulating an African Vocabulary, this analysis has centred the role of oral history through the use of the clan names of *uMagubane noKumalo*. An African Vocabulary, has revealed how competing identities can co-exist, therefore, showcasing the need to include these histories in contemporary pedagogical praxes. The inclusion of these epistemic positions allows the university to navigate contemporarily envisaged challenges, which manifest as the 'contestation of visibilities' (Kumalo 2018: 3). Through a detailed semantic analysis, I have argued for epistemic justice as the recognition of Indigeneity (Praeg 2014). Resisting impositions on Black epistemology – maintained through modes of teaching and learning employed by the westernised university which finds itself in South Africa – begins by using an African Vocabulary. My aim, through proffering a suggestion of an African Vocabulary, has been to challenge hegemonic ways of thinking in the academy.

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Siseko. H. Kumalo
Philosophy Department
University of Pretoria
South Africa
jdd@up.ac.za

The Interface of Politics and Religion in Zimbabwe: Rethinking Religious Leaders as Agents of Consecration and Repudiation

Bekithemba Dube
Milton Nkoane

Abstract

This article seeks to problematise religious figures and politicians who use religious discourses, narratives and functions to justify oppressive hegemonic systems and structures. In doing so, we show how various religious figures have amalgamated or joined together with oppressive political figures to maintain the status quo, paving the way for what we term the 'consecration' and 'enthronement' of political figures. Furthermore, we show how religious figures who failed the ZANU PF's political part of their ideology, were dislodged from enthronement due to their different understanding of democracy. To problematise oppressive religious discourses used in the politics of an oppressive status quo, we position our article within critical emancipatory research (CER) discourse, by paying attention to its tenets, such as social justice, elimination of false consciousness, and emancipation. The article references our observations and findings, deriving from document analysis, on how religious leaders have related to the ZANU PF over the years. The argument is that religion, in the context of politics, should be aimed at improving human conditions, promoting social justice and achieving emancipation, and challenging oppressive political structures. It should unmask violence and represent all religious followers fairly and equally, regardless of political affiliation.

Keywords: Consecration, repudiation, education, prophetic movements, critical emancipatory research

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a10

> What Africans must be vigilant against is the trap of ending up normalising and universalising coloniality [dominance] as a natural state of the world. It must be unmasked, resisted and destroyed because it produced a world order that can only be sustained through a combination of violence, deceit, hypocrisy and lies (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013:10).

Introduction

It could be argued that, in Africa, religion is becoming a social problem, rather than presenting a solution for impediments people face in society. The problem emanates from the fragility and liquidity of religious narratives and discourses, which can be used to justify both good acts and oppressive structures and, as suggested by Paullkechukwu and Clara (2015:193), the problem arises from the level of conceptualisation. Many postcolonial states, including Zimbabwe, are flooded with religious groups who promise solutions for human problems and, in the process, produce more problems than solutions. In addition, the religious 'crisis is mainly manifesting itself at the ideological, theoretical and epistemological levels' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015:21). Hence, using religion as a counter-hegemony strategy is informed by the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO 2011:17), which states that some aspects of religious systems and knowledge impinge on national and global mindsets, and the development of critical and democratic citizens. Thus, the position of the article is that the religious narrative, in this case, the Bible, must be 'read from the perspective of the poor and marginalized, to allow social transformation' (West 1995:454). To expand in detail on the problem presented by religion, especially in the political space, we focus on two concepts, namely, consecration and repudiation.

Contextualising Religion in a Political Conundrum

Religion, in the Zimbabwean political milieu, has developed broadly in terms of consecration and repudiation. Consecration refers to religious leaders being sympathetic to a political party or the government of the day, which, in this case, is Zimbabwe's ZANU PF government, and being rewarded, by being

enthroned, promoted and supported in their religious activities. Though Mugabe's reign as the president of Zimbabwe and the leader of ZANU PF may have come to an end, some religious groups become harbingers (forerunners) of the continued reign of ZANU PF in the political space (Gunda 2012:32). In shedding light on this, we focus on the Mapostori movements under the leadership of Reverend Ndanga, and new prophetic movements, such as Magaya and Makandiwa. In this article, repudiation refers to the treatment of political figures who dislodge dissenting religious voices that champion social justice, accountability and proper governance and the voices of people who fail political tests as interpreted from the lens of ZANU PF. As will be shown in this article, repudiation processes are costly and have reminded dissenting religious leaders that embarking on the prophetic vocation of castigating politicians has dire consequences. In elaborating on repudiation of the prophetic vocation in Zimbabwe, we will refer to Pius Ncube, Nolbert Kunonga and Walter Magaya.

Theoretical Framework: Critical Emancipatory Research

We locate this article in critical emancipatory research (CER), because it is vigilant and sensitive to the dangers posed by inequity and social injustice, and the absence of freedom, peace and hope (Mahlomaholo & Netshandama 2010:10). Furthermore, CER catechesis the religious and social conditions of crisis, advocates for the transformation of prevailing tyrannical social structures, and displaces them with emancipatory ones (Sinnerbrink 2012:370). This approach has its roots in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School of Germany, which originated around 1923. The Frankfurt School seeks to discover 'how to make sense of the world, and of our consciousness of the world and our being-in-the-world, and of our capacity for subjectivity and agency, set against a background of enormous political forces and structures' (Farrands & Worth 2005:49). The framework 'emerged not only out of suspicions in the academy but also out of wider social movements and struggles against oppression' (Carrette & Keller 1999:22-23). It also emerged as a quest to move 'toward the possibilities of democratic politics and the simultaneously theoretical and emancipatory task of revealing the distortions of contemporary politics' (Anderson 2011:35).

CER has various principles that distinguish it in various fields of research oriented to emancipation and improvement of the human condition

through dealing with challenges of religious and political arrangements of supremacy that cause dehumanisation. We focus on three principles of CER to challenge the use of consecration and repudiation of citizens through the misuse of religion and its pedagogical space. These principles are social justice, emancipation and elimination of false consciousness. We emphasise these three principles, because they are love-based, rights-based and, as Honneth (1995:129) suggests, they seek to improve human conditions. Through these principles, religion is positioned to benefit society, as opposed to being viewed as an 'impediment to economic advancement, and irrelevant for modern societies' (Lunn 2009:939), and used for subjugation in the political arena.

Social Justice and the Politics of Consecration and Repudiation

Unpacking the principle of social justice 'is an erudite response nurtured by progressive human and faith development, which supports inherent human dignity, through hybridity of different actors in [a] quest to establish a just society' (Brady 2010:8). It is an element used to recover the privileges of those placated (Traitler 2015:88) through oppressive religious and political narratives, to return to participation in democratic processes, such as freedom of speech and expressing displeasure about government systems. To achieve this recovery, social justice frequently challenges 'inequities at their source and requires people to question social and power relations' (Hankivksy 2014:11). Hence, social justice is a learned response that is fostered by progressive religious and political players. This is done in a quest for inherent human dignity through a collaborative effort (Brady 2010:8).

Emancipation in the Religious and Political Landscape

The second principle of CER is emancipation. Abel and Sementelli (2002:253) note that emancipation 'challenges oppressive hegemony, where there is an exercise of power at a decipherable cost to others'. The emancipatory interest of 'critical pedagogies focus on the scrutiny of oppressive structures; practices and systems' (Biesta 2010:10). Alvesson (1992:432) argues that emancipation describes the procedure,

> through which individuals and groups become freed from suppressive

> social and ideological situations, particularly those that place socially unnecessary precincts upon development and enunciation of human consciousness.

We emphasise the role of emancipation in repudiating religious grandiloquence and political gimmicks 'that limit freedom, once these barriers have been dissolved, people can control the direction of their own lives' (Ryan 1998:260). In addition, emancipation 'awakens consciousness and brings awareness of social injustices, motivates self-empowerment and social transformation' (Stinson 2009:506).

Elimination of False Consciousness in a Mind Liberation Struggle

Elimination of false consciousness stems from a Foucauldian notion of power dynamics and the Freirean concept of critical pedagogy (McKern 2013:425). It is a principle that aims to 'solve practical problems by critical thinking and the use of knowledge which is free from superstition and prejudice' (Steinvorth 2008:400). This principle is necessary for this article, because 'it looks at, exposes, and questions hegemony, traditional power assumptions held about relationships, groups, communities, societies, and organisations to promote social change' (Given 2008:140). We concur with Freire (1990:33), that eliminating false consciousness 'enables people to amend issues of power imbalance, which may contribute to the end of religious and political oppression'. Oppression through politics and religion has led many people to accept oppressive conditions as normal. As such, revolutionary efforts that seek social transformation are rejected in favour of peace-making rhetoric, which seldom challenges oppression. Some politicians strive to create false consciousness and, consequently, religion is used to lower people's expectations of earthly satisfaction, instead, they anticipate a better future in heaven (Mtata 2013:27). Some politicians and religious leaders enjoy the reciprocal relationship of consecration. Freire (2000:144) brings this home by stating that,

> oppressed people become so powerless that they do not even talk about their oppression. If they reach this stage of oppression, it creates a culture wherein it is forbidden to even mention the injustices that are

being committed. The oppressed are silenced. They have no voice and no will.

To oppressive politicians, this thinking (oppressing people) enforces a certain level of social cohesion for the maintenance of public order (Bangura 1994:1). Hence, Marx saw religion as a drug meant to delude the masses, so that they could not raise concerns against the ruling classes, which negates efforts to achieve full democracy, social justice and emancipation in Zimbabwe. Religious teaching that is tailor-made to oppress people worsens this situation. The principle of elimination of false consciousness is crucial in this article, in the sense that Zimbabwe is under political and religious siege, and people are being encouraged to be resilient in the face of difficulties, and those who fail the political test of regime obedience are subjected to repudiation.

Situating Democracy in Religion and Political Discourse in Zimbabwe

The relationship between religion and politics has never been 'conventional rather, the rapport is intricate because of the convolutions inherent in the politicization of religion' (Oshewolo & Maren 2015:1). It is characterised by ambiguity and ambivalence. We analyse the use of religion in politics (especially when it relates to social injustice) because religion and politics have 'direct bearing on the political and socio-economic well-being of the people' (Manyeruke & Hamauswa 2013:283), especially when religion is exercised within the context of oppression. Religion in the context of the politics of ZANU PF has redefined democracy to be understood as supporting ZANU PF enthronement. Any other interpretation fails the political test, and is punishable. In essence, democracy is defined as support for Robert Mugabe (former president of Zimbabwe) and, more recently, his wife, Grace Mugabe, who is gaining momentum in the political landscape. Those who have a different view of democracy are treated as promoting a regime change sponsored by Global North forces, even in the absence of ties with Global North agents, as in the case of Pastor Evan Mawarire (Al Jazeera 2016). The implication is that religious leaders who intend to enjoy this form of democracy must be ZANU PF members who visibly support Robert and Grace Mugabe, or face the risk of being dislodged or repudiated. In a quest to remain relevant

in the context of ZANU PF, religious leaders such as Emmanuel Makandiwa promoted an anti-sanctions campaign (Sundaynews 2017:1; Chitando & Gunda 2013:21).

Conundrum of Consecration in Political and Religious Auspices

Johannes Ndanga and the Apostolic Christian Church: Politics of Consecration

The politics of consecration is dominant in the interface of religion and politics. We refer to the religious organisation called the Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe (ACCZ), commonly known as Mapostori, under the leadership of Johannnes Ndanga, who claims to present the interests of indigenous religious churches in Zimbabwe. This religious organisation has declared, as reported by Dembedza (2013:4), that 'Apostolic faith churches will continue to support President Mugabe and Zanu-PF to ensure that the party resoundingly wins the 2018 harmonised elections'. The Mapostori movement is one of the biggest religious movements in Zimbabwe, making it one of the richest hunting grounds for politicians. In most cases, Mapositori church leaders have openly pledged the support of their members to ZANU PF (Manyeruke & Hamauswa, 2013:295), making religion an issue in the electoral process (Familusi 2013:24). ZANU PF apologists never criticise ZANU PF, despite the party's obvious, gross human-rights abuses (Machoko 2013:12). Church leaders are co-opted as 'politically reliable' activists; consequently, accepting Mugabe and ZANU PF's superiority (Machoko 2013:13). In an attempt to enthrone Mugabe and his wife, some religious leaders even make themselves guilty of heresy. For instance, leaders of the Epworth, Mudzi North and Rushinga branches of Vadzidzi vaJesu, which is a branch of the Apostolic Christian Church, testified that the church eulogised Mugabe's leadership at a church service and urged congregants to support him because 'he carries the blood of Jesus' (Ndlovu 2011:2). In light of the foregoing argument, Bourdillon (1984:54) notes that politicians will always be ready to use such powerful tools as religious symbols to further their own interests. The symbols may then begin to acquire new connotations for people, connotations that might dilute the symbols of their sacred quality and rob them of their poetic power. This creates a false consciousness among religious followers, which, through the lens of CER must

be challenged and negated through all possible counter-hegemony strategies.

Because of the pledge to support ZANU PF and its programmes, Ndanga has been exonerated in scandalous issues associated with his name. For example:

> [S]ome churches, among them Mugodhi Apostolic Church, Vimbiso ya Jehovha Apostolic Church, Zion Christian Church (ZCC) and Bethsaida Apostolic Church had sent representatives to try to recover about US$400 000 which was lost through the botched housing scheme but to no avail (Zimbabwe Online News 2015:4).

Therefore, failure to prosecute on political and religious grounds is tantamount to social injustice, which the framing of the article calls for unmasking and eradication, to produce a religious and political interface anchored on social justice. Thus, we conclude this section by arguing that political consecration provides opportunities for religion to be exploited in power struggles over religion, class, race, and gender, and all the boundaries that are continually being revived by those in power, or those seeking power (Dreyer 2007).

Godfrey Nzira and Consecration

To bring closer the aspect of reciprocal enthronement or consecration in a political area, we draw readers' attention to Godfrey Nzira, the leader of John Marange Apostolic Church; under this religious banner, Robert Mugabe was the consecrated bishop The organisation's leadership asked Mugabe to allow them to spearhead ZANU PF's election campaigns for future national elections (Eagle 2010:13). Musendekwa (2011:50) reports that another apostolic followers under Madzibaba Godfrey Nzira had been pardoned by the president for his (follower) sexual abuses on 'religious members coerced members of the apostolic sect and other churches in Muzarabani to rally behind ZANU PF ahead of possible elections in 2008'. To this end, we argue that religion is used for personal gain at the expense of suffering citizens. In this regard, we agree with Enroth (1992:41), that religious leaders are holders of spiritual power and, unfortunately, such power is often abused, or used to propagate evil in society Such abusive acts should be unmasked and rejected if Zimbabwe intends to enjoy the true fruits of independence and democracy, not the fruits as interpreted by ZANU PF.

Another incident of reciprocal enthronement quoted by Musendekwa (2011:55) involves a visit by President Mugabe to the Zion Christian Church (ZCC) shrine, where he officially opened an 18 000-seat conference hall at Mbungo Estate. In return, Nehemiah Mutendi, the leader of ZCC, 'praised the president, assured support from his huge following, and declared President Mugabe a leader sent from God, despite his acts [injustices] that contradict the teaching of the God that sent him' (Gunda 2012:33). This declaration creates a false consciousness, because religious followers often believe that everything prophets say is true.

Paul Mwazha is another religious figure who told his African Apostolic Church devotees to chant ZANU PF political slogans, and who signed a ZANU PF anti-sanctions petition relating to travel restrictions imposed on Mugabe and top ZANU PF officials (Nkala 2011). Mugabe reciprocated by giving Mwazha the Order of Merit Award for his outstanding service to the development of Christianity in Zimbabwe and establishing and sustaining a five-star indigenous church (Sunday Mail Reporter 2012). In this case, religion creates a sectarian tendency that causes some religious figures to do anything in the name of religion to ensure that their adherents gain positions or offices (Afolabi 2015:49). Some church leaders have been seen to revert to corruption and a search for material goods, and, above all, ethnicity and favouritism has entered these institutions (Gumo, Akuloba & Omare 2012:34). In this case, religious followers are not emancipated to participate in the democratic process by identifying politicians who suit their needs and change their conditions, instead, they experience prejudice, fear, victimisation and violence.

Obadiah Musindo and the Politics of Reciprocity

Another noticeable example in relation to the politics of consecration relates to Reverend Obadiah Musindo. He runs an organisation called Destiny of Africa Network Housing Development. In a quest for consecration, according to Guma (2013:4), Musindo described Mugabe as a 'Black Moses' and promised that he would recruit more than 2 million votes for ZANU PF, which he did by doling out residential stands and creating employment. A Bulawayo24 Staff Reporter (2013:4) reported that Musindo had joined a growing list of 'men of God' who had close links to ZANU PF, and who have been caught on the wrong side of religion. To reciprocate Musindo's efforts, ZANU PF exonerated

him from accusations of abuse that were levelled against him. Through this political arrangement, religion becomes an ideological tool for the dominant classes to sanction and moralise social evil, and for exploitation of the oppressed classes (Okoro 2012:251). In such cases, religious leaders become ruling party activists who may practice oppression in anticipation of favours. In this regard, a prophetic mandate is shown by Old Testament prophets, such as Elijah and Jeremiah, who condemned and disapproved of oppressive hegemony, injustice and violence.

Repudiation Process in the Context of Politics

While the reciprocal relationships involved in the politics of consecration are evident at the interface of politics and religion in Zimbabwe, the politics of repudiation is a tool for quashing dissenting voices representing democracy. The politics of repudiation is the result of efforts by politicians and religious leaders (Church and Civil Society Forum 2012:18) to cement oppressive hegemonic forces. According to Mutangi (2008:545), 'political harassment [repudiation] of religious leaders is one of the problematic areas that need to be addressed as soon as possible before it gets out of hand'. A counter-hegemony strategy has, since the independence of Zimbabwe in 1980, been inevitable, as observed by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009:22). Zimbabwe has been 'antagonising under a nationalist regime whose political essence survives through violent means against recalcitrant expressions' and, more recently, through religious organisations such as some Apostolic churches. This can be achieved by finding better ways of theorising and critiquing religion, and taking the religious struggles for liberation from hegemonic forces forward in contemporary religious conjecture (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2015:23).

In this section, we focus on religious leaders and organisations that have experienced enthronement by ZANU PF, and which were later repudiated for failing political tests, as interpreted from the perspective of Zimbabwean political narratives. We allude, furthermore, to the way the narratives of the Global North have found entry into political and religious discourse as an excuse for religious competency and accountability, which are paramount for progressive and democratic societies. In doing so, we focus on religious movements and prophets, such as Walter Magaya, Nolbert Kunonga, Pius Ncube and Evan Mawire. It is through a snap view of these people and organisations that Sanchez's (2006:25) observation, that politics is a game of

power, is valid, especially when it (politics) has a religious backing. This power, not perceived in a Foucauldian (1992) sense of emancipation, but for social control, perpetrates social injustices and eliminates perceived enemies. Religious leaders are repudiated because they are opposed to narratives that hold the masses in check (Paulkechukwu & Clara 2015:193). In addition, such prophets are arguably against 'skewed nationalism that is not progressive; a nationalism that is pandering to primordial pathologies, leaving it open to easy derision' (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2009:358), which produces religious leaders and politicians who are unaccountable and untouchable. According to Gunda (2012:39), the African public sphere is heavily 'biblified', and this 'biblification' has only helped the elite to avoid accountability by hiding behind religiosity. To ZANU PF, religion and its leaders must be kept under lock and key, and be encouraged to control and influence the general populace.

The Repudiation of Pius Ncube

Pius Ncube, a Catholic priest, rose to prominence in the political milieu when he castigated the Mugabe government for gross injustices, such as the Gukurahundi massacre in Matabeleland (Chitando, & Gunda 2013:171) and operation Murambasvina in 2005. He became famous when he prayed that Mugabe would die, so that violations of human rights could cease in Zimbabwe. Before his repudiation, Pius Ncube, in a bold statement, as cited by Unruh (2004), said:

> I am not going to be quiet when my people are suffering, I have a right to talk. That is why I was called to this office - to talk on behalf of the suffering.

Ncube also became undesired by the regime due to his international connections with the Global North, which is, according to the ZANU PF narratives, a champion of regime change in Zimbabwe; hence, there was a need and justification to dispose of Ncube (Church and Civil Society 2012:18). Since Ncube is Catholic, he was found to have contravened the Catholic law of celibacy by engaging in sexual activities with a woman, Rosemary Sibanda. The sexual escapade, whether true or not, reduced the prophetic voice of Ncube, and lead to his repudiation. However, the sexual accusation remains a

controversial issue, given that the state was one of the forerunners in wanting to find him guilty.

When we compare the experience of Ncube with that of Madzibaba Nzira, we see how politicians handle cases relating to people perceived to be friends and enemies of the state. Nzira was pardoned despite being found guilty by a court of law of raping congregants, which, on its own, was dehumanising for the victims. For his part, Ncube was involved in consensual sexual activities with Sibanda (no police report was made), yet, he was made a public figure of ridicule and shamed, because he spoke out against injustices perpetrated by the state. In the case of Pius Ncube, we see reciprocal repudiation. That is, if one speaks of the evil of that state, one must also be prepared for your own 'evils' to be exposed, whether true or fabricated. Therefore, unlike the Mapostori, Ncube succumbed to the politics of reciprocal repudiation and, since then, his involvement in issues of social justice has been tainted. He has withdrawn from the public eye and avoids the castigation of ZANU PF. The story of Pius Ncube reminds us that, often, politicians 'caricature and trivialise the religious beliefs and practices of citizens, especially if they happen to be from a religious, racial, or ethnic community different from their own' (Garelle 2002:52). In light of this, Gatsheni-Ndlovu (2015:23) is right in noting that there is a need for better ways to theorise religion, of critiquing and taking religious struggles for the liberation from hegemonic forces forward in contemporary religious conjecture, with the aim of eliminating all religion-oriented abuses aimed at self-justification and political consecration and repudiation.

The Enthronement and Repudiation of Nolbert Kunonga

Gilbert Kunonga, of the Anglican diocese of Harare - a breakaway group from the Church of Province of Central Africa under the leadership of Chad Gandiya – experienced both sides of the coin (enthronement and repudiation), confirming the claim that, in politics, there are no permanent friends or enemies. When the dancing no longer responds to the tune of the song, there is a likelihood of repudiation in politics. The Anglican Church in Zimbabwe has been divided since a breakaway bishop, Kunonga, was excommunicated in 2007 for inciting violence in sermons supporting Mugabe's party (Church and Civil Society Forum 2012:22). In February 2008, Bishop Kunonga barricaded himself inside the Cathedral with members of the ZANU PF youth militia after calling church members 'marked dissidents and traitors' (UNHCR 2010:2).

During this period, Kunonga enjoyed the enthronement awarded by ZANU PF youths and, and the ownership of the property of the Anglican Church in Harare. Consequently, Anglican members aligned with Chad Gandiya were denied access to the premises, to which they had directly or indirectly contributed to developing. From the unfolding of these events, it is clear that, when politics enters the religious world, the people aligned to the present government are likely to benefit more than those who publicly declare war or oppose the present government. While supporting the government is admirable, it should be done in such a way that it promotes social justice, emancipation and social transformation. We argue this in support of Bakare, cited by Tooley (2016:1), about the conduct of police aligned to Kunonga:

> The police officers do not only prevent but beat, harass and arrest us, having declared our church premises no-go areas.

The involvement of police in support of Kunonga affected the worship life of the Anglicans in Zimbabwe. However, the courts later declared Kunonga to be an illegitimate leader of the Anglicans and, in the process, he lost Anglican property of which, earlier, the court had declared that he was the rightful owner (*The Zimbabwean* 2012). Kunonga's fall from grace and repudiation occurred after President Mugabe questioned the significance of Kunonga's role in amalgamating ZANU PF. In Mugabe's words, Kunonga has 'too many enemies and is unnecessarily discrediting the party' (Nehanda Radio 2012:2). The ruling party had no choice but to withdraw its support of Kunonga, since he had failed the political test for his consecration; hence, the inevitable repudiation.

Ambivalence in Walter Magaya's Consecration and Repudiation

Walter Magaya is a prominent prophet who influenced the prophetic movement in Zimbabwe. We bring Magaya into this picture because of his perceived support of the ruling party. He has financial muscle, though the source of his funds is unclear. He owns one of the biggest hotels in Zimbabwe and recently commissioned 46 000 stands for housing projects. This is applauded in the sense that the housing project will improve living conditions of religious supporters (Nyoni 2016:2). However, the critical question is, how

can an individual acquire 46 000 stands, while the average Zimbabwean finds it hard to acquire one stand? What does the distribution of land among the people of Zimbabwe entail? How can one justify democracy and social justice when one has the capacity to own all these stands, while an average Zimbabwean cannot afford one? Could this also be one of the ways that politicians have seen to use Magaya and his followers for enthronement? Is the appearance of politicians in Magaya's hotel and housing projects a mere coincidence, or a political strategy for enthronement? The answers to these questions are critical for situating Magaya in the political arena of Zimbabwe, and in issues of social justice.

In the case of politics and repudiation, soon after commissioning his housing project, the prophet was summoned by the police to answer rape allegations (ZWNews 2016). At the time of writing this article, several women were presenting evidence of rape, sexual harassment, murder and corruption. It will be interesting to note how Magaya's case will unfold. Could it be time for repudiation after enthronement?

Conclusion

This article interrogated the interface of religion and politics in Zimbabwe. It emerged from the article that there are two main trends in the interface, namely, consecration and repudiation, as means to maintain the status quo as well as advance political endeavours. While religious leaders have the democratic right to be involved in the political arena, the argument of this article, informed by CER, is that involvement by religious leaders should be premised on emancipation, social justice and taking the side of the oppressed. It is in this milieu that religion 'reclaims its paramount space in social transformation and religious discourses devoid of superstition and prejudice' (Steinvorth 2008:400). Therefore, to achieve this reclamation, the article advocates for the unmasking and challenging of all religious narratives and subjects that champion individual political appetites at the expense of the suffering masses of Zimbabwe, whose rights to democracy are premised in ZANU PF and religion-informed harbingers. This goal can be achieved, as suggested by Beyers (2015:1), if we once again place on the table for debate the relation between politics and religion; so that religion can engage in social issues positively, and find new ways of expressing neighbourly love and improving the lives of all.

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Bekithemba Dube
University of the Free State
Bloemfontein
DubeB@ufs.ac.za

Milton Molebatsi Nkoane
Educational Psychology
University of Zululand
nkoanem@unizulu.ac.za

‘Religion as a Riding Horse of Politics?’ A Critical Evaluation of Political Influence in the Zimbabwean Ecclesiastical Life

Martin Mujinga

Abstract

Religion and politics in Zimbabwe have always been trading together. The country won the liberation struggle because of the role played by religion. African Indigenous Religion (AIR) and Christianity contributed significantly from opposite angles. In the transitional processes of the post-independent Zimbabwe, religion and politics had marriage of convenience. Some politicians took it upon themselves to use, abuse, and misuse religion. Religion in Zimbabwe currently functions as a political platform, with AIR still dominating the political arena while the church denominations struggle between political puppets and opponents. This has resulted in the Zimbabwean church disintegrating. It has been argued that some politicians have turned African Independent Churches and some mega churches into their own havens while pushing mainline churches to the periphery of politics as anti-progressive. Against this background, the paper seeks to evaluate the extent to which the Zimbabwean church has become a ‘riding horse’ for politics in its socioeconomic and political transformation.

Keywords: Religion, politics, riding horse, Zimbabwe, Church

Introduction

The paper titled ‘Religion as a riding horse of politics?’ a critical evaluation of political influence in the Zimbabwean church today was first presented at the Transformative Religion: Religion as Situated Knowledge in Processes of Social Transformation, Summer School hosted by the Universities of KwaZulu-

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a11

Natal, Stellenbosch, Western Cape, Humboldt University of Berlin and Seth Mokitimi Methodist Seminary (SMMS) on the 27th February – 1 March 2017 at SMMS. Using the Church-state theory of Hallencreutz (1988) the paper argues that religion and politics in Zimbabwe has always been trading as both soulmates and antagonists. The data collected from the existing literature on religion and politics in Zimbabwe in particular demonstrates that Zimbabwean liberation struggle was successful because of this good companionship in diversity (Chimuka 2013). However, in the recent years, the two institutions have a marriage of convenience. Politics use, abuse and misuse religion as and when it feels so. The situation in Zimbabwe presents a body of Christ that is divided on the political influence to the ecclesia. Politicians have embraced some denominations as their havens while treating others as opponents.

Most mainline churches which are the base of transformation through education and health have been pushed to the periphery of Zimbabwean politics as enemies and anti-productive. Politicians have taken advantage of African Independent Churches and some mega churches that have recently flourished to muddle as sheep in lion's fur. The years between 2000 and 2008 saw the religio-political engagement tension emanating from political violence, torture, human rights abuses, inflation and unemployment among other elements of direct and indirect violence that pervaded the Zimbabwean state (Munemo & Nciizah 2014:63). This paper will interrogate the existing literature on religion and politics/ church state relationship to investigate the role played by religion during and after the colonial period of Zimbabwe. It will also use the same works to voice the role played by other religions in politics. The research will also explore the concept of the 'religionization' of politics in Zimbabwe with the aim of understanding to what extent has religion become a 'riding horse' of politics in the socioeconomic and political transformation of Zimbabwe. The paper will conclude by challenging the church in Zimbabwe to be one, united and a prophetic church.

Selected Definitions of Religion and Politics

Definitions play a significant role in any writing and their primary purpose is to avoid some misunderstandings with the audience (Pepper & Driscrol 2015). Given the intensive research on religion and politics, the paper will hand-scratch some working definitions of the words. Religion in general is a system of beliefs and practices oriented toward the sacred or supernatural, through which the life

experiences of groups of people are given meaning and direction (Smith 1996: 5). In the socio-cultural context, religion aids the construction and creation of meanings and systems through shared codes, norms, values, beliefs and symbols that tell its members what to do with their lives and why. According to Smith, religion orients people to the world they inhabit thereby providing a sense of direction and purpose (1996:6). The second definition comes from McGuire (2008: 1) who defines religion as a significant aspect of social life. The third selected definition was provided by Geertz who argues that religion is one of the most powerful, deeply felt, and influential forces in human society. It shapes people's interactions and relationships with each other, it influence families, communities, economies, as well as political life (1993: 90). The definitions by these three scholars are very important, however, Geertz's definition will benefit this paper as it demonstrates how religion influences communities and politics.

The Merriam-Weber Dictionary, defines politics as the art or science of government concerned with guiding or influencing governmental policy or winning and holding control over a government[1]. Lasswell (n.d:295) further defines politics as the study of the influence and the influential. The influential are the elite who get the most of what they have to get. Elite can be compared in terms of class as well as skills (n.d.:295). Lasswell views the word class as a major social group of similar function, status and outlook. The class formation in the world of politics has the aristocracy, the plutocracy and the middle class (n.d:299). Although Lasswell did his research around the 1920s from an American perspective, his argument is still valid in the world and politics. Ellis and ter Haar further states that politics in the narrow sense is defined as the governing of a state or country while in a broadest sense, it is a process through which the production, distribution and use of resources is determined in all areas of social existence (2007:178). Although there are many definitions of politics, however the art of governing a country is what most people define as politics which emphasises on who gets what, when and how (Lasswell n.d) making this the working definition of this paper.

Party Politics in the Contemporary Zimbabwe

Zimbabwean politics is dominated by a number of political parties. The first being the ruling and the liberation struggle party called the Zimbabwe African

[1] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/politics.

National Union Patriotic Front (ZANU PF) and PF is a later development. ZANU and Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) fought for the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe. ZANU won the 1980's first democratic elections under the leadership of Robert Mugabe. Seven years later the party merged with Joshua Nkomo's ZAPU to form ZANU-PF, the governing party of the country. ZANU-PF constitutes the majority of the parliamentarians today. Research by scholars such as De Jager and Musuva (2015:17) claim that ZANU PF is the one that has caused the untold suffering in the socio-economic, political and religious life of Zimbabwe. Charles further argue that the root cause of Zimbabwe's problems can be attributed to a 'crisis of governance' and that, for many reasons, ZANU PF has failed to provide its citizens with 'safety, the rule of law, human rights and sustainable economic development' (2016:7).

The other political party is the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) which has fragmented into different political parties with each claiming to be moving agenda of MDC upon its formation. Since its inception in 1999, MDC was led by Morgan Tsvangirai until his death in 2017. The disintegration challenges resulted to each faction surnamed after the leader. For example, the party split in 2005 forming two splinter groups with the one led by Morgan Tsvangirai known as MDC 'T'. The other faction led by Oliver Mutambara was called MDC 'M'. The two leaders later became Prime Minister and Deputy respectively in the Inclusive Government that ran from 2009-2013. When Mutambara, left party politics MDC 'M' was led by the former Secretary General of the original MDC Welshman Ncube thereby renamed MDC 'N'. In 2014, another split occurred when the then MDC-T Secretary-General, Tendai Biti and Deputy Treasurer-General, Elton Mangoma pulled out of the party to form MDC Renewal which also later split into two groups. The one led by Biti, became the People's Democratic Party and another led by Mangoma, called Renewal Democrats of Zimbabwe (Nkala 2015). When Tsvangirai died on the 14th of February 2018, MDC 'T' further detangled into two factions led by his two vice presidents Nelson Chamisa and Thokozani Khupe. On one hand, Khupe maintained the MDC 'T' name with some political players arguing that it is now MDC 'Thokozani'. On the other, Chamisa also maintained MDC 'T' but later joined with other smaller political parties to form MDC Alliance which is currently the biggest opposition party in Zimbabwe.

Other political parties are Zimbabwe African People's Unity (ZAPU). Although there was a unity accord in 1987, between ZANU and ZAPU, some members of ZAPU felt that they were tricked to be swallowed by with ZANU

and they still maintain the political ZAPU led by the Former Minister of Home Affairs, Dumiso Dabengwa. Dabengwa has also joined the MDC Alliance led by Chamisa. Moreover, there is the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) led by Lovemore Madhuku. There were over 123 political parties which participated in the 2018 Harmonized Elections (eNCA 2018) and this paper is not much interested in pursuing them, neither is the researcher saying those mentioned are the most important ones but some of them are seen as having the agenda of riding religion horse for their political manoeuvres .

Zimbabwean politics has grounded the socioeconomic life of the innocent masses thereby making 2017 a meltdown year. Most workers have been retrenched and the young people graduating, are jobless. A huge number of Zimbabweans are migrating to neighbouring countries like South Africa in search of 'greener pastures' and others as asylum seekers among other reasons (Kumalo & Mujinga 2017:48). The most shocking political development has been the desire and willingness for re-election by President Mugabe who was 93 with Grace Mugabe boasting that 'ZANU PF will field Mugabe's corpse as election candidate in 2018' (News24 18/2/17). In order to achieve this, Mugabe took religion at the forefront with the machinations of wanting to remain in power.

Religio-political Engagement in Zimbabwe

The relationship between religion and politics in Zimbabwe is compromised. A number of scholars have given different views on this engagement with Majome (2016) arguing that religion and politics are Siamese twins. This inseparability is evident in two ways. On one hand, churches have benefitted from the freedom of worship, protection and independence guaranteed by the Constitution and government policies. On the other, the state took advantage of the natural docility of the church. The church is the large majority and political leadership prey for votes during the election period (Majome 2016). This point is buttressed by the cover page of one of Chitando's publications, *Players and Prayers Religion and Politics in Zimbabwe (*2013) where the image of Mugabe from Catholic tradition was portrayed wearing a garment popularly regarded as belonging to '*vapostori*' sect holding a staff at a gathering. Tsvangirai, a Methodist, was also pictured attending some church gathering seated on the floor and the Salvation Army former Vice President dances wearing a Zion Church uniform. In analysing this behaviour, Majome (2016) comments that,

politicians know when and how to turn on the charm when it matters most and the church meekly obliges. Majome (2016) concludes that, more and more, churches have started speaking against government ineffectual policies, however, the political leadership has predictably responded by warning the church to shut up or face unspecified dire consequences. According to the Zimbabwe Human Rights (ZHR) (2014), the government of Zimbabwe uses the soft underbelly to introduce their political doctrine into the church and in turn the church has largely supported political hegemony through selective application of scriptures which represents a dark underbelly. An example is the former Anglican Bishop of the Harare Province, Nolbert Kunonga who perpetrated gross human rights, in the name of God with impunity and state protection (ZHR 2014).

The politics of ZANU PF have manipulated the church in a number of ways. First, they have coerced the apostolic sects to advance their political agenda through visiting them and giving their leaders farms who in-turn declared these politicians as leaders from God. The membership of these apostolic sects is estimated to be over three million (ZHR 2014). ZANU PF has over the years managed to exercise both duress and undue influence over these sects to support their political supremacy (ZHR 2014). Second, over the years there has been a proliferation of Pentecostal churches which also command huge numbers and it is not surprising that the ruling party has managed to count most of these church members on their side (ZHR 2014). These churches in turn cherry pick some biblical texts to support the ideology that the church must respect and honour the national leaders and must not question their authority. Third, the ruling party has also used civilians in institutions like schools to advance their ideology. The magistrate presiding over the case of the End Time Message leader, Robert Gumbura, insinuates that, the state should supervise churches and their doctrines (ZHR 2014). Chitando (2013) bemoans that, politicians harness religious ideologies and concepts to their own gain. They go on to manipulate religious symbols, concepts and persons to consolidate their grip of power.

Ndoro (2015) further argues that; there is a clear demarcation between the pluralistic and diverse public sphere of the state and the private and voluntary religious space to protect religion from the state interference and protect the individual who otherwise will not want unwarranted or coercive religious influence unless voluntarily subscribed or affiliated to it. An analysis of Ndoro's view provides recognition of the independence of the public sphere of the state

from the private sphere of religion. Ruzivo (2013:10) prefers to call the political domination of religion as 'civil religion' where Mugabe is the high priest and pastor of the nation. Ruzivo avers that, the Mugabe regime demon-strates the interplay of a high priest and pastor at the burials, National Heroes Day, Independence Day, Defence Forces Day and the National Day of Prayer. Civil religion has symbols and emblems that are central to the practice of reli-gion. These symbols and emblems include the National Anthem and the Na-tional Flag (2013:10). Mugabe believes that his party is divinely guided by both God and the national spirits of the ancestors and should remain in power (2013:11). All his actions were justified by the feeling that he was following the footsteps of Mbuya Nehanda, Sekuru Chaminuka and Mukwati and others who were executed for the 'righteous cause' of the liberation of Zimbabwe. AIR and Christianity are pushed forward by ZANU PF during the campaign periods. Mugabe's justification to remain in power is nicely forwarded put by Ruzivo who states that, he swore by Nehanda that no other political party should rule Zimbabwe. In order to advance ZANU PF propaganda, Mugabe arms twist Christianity for his personal aggrandisement (2013:16). Kokosala-kis (1995), concludes that, from this religio-political engagements, the total separation of the two institutions is neither final nor irreversible. In fact con-temporary developments show that the divorce is far from being over.

Religio-political Space in the Pre-Independent Zimbabwe

The religio-political fusion in Zimbabwe has a long history although it was not an all-weathered relationship. In spite of the ideological and theological differences, the two institutions remain partners in human life and develop-ment. Chung (2006:197) holds that, from the 1890s, when the whites first entered the country, traditional religious leaders had opposed colonialism and were instrumental in organising opposition to its endeavours. One of the main leaders in the first *Chimurenga* (just war) against colonialism was Mbuya Nehanda a woman of outstanding religious and political leadership. Nehanda was famous in the 1896/7 war against the White settlers and was executed for her involvement in stirring the fighters (Bourdillion 1984:41). Both religious and political life of the colonial Zimbabwe were guided by Nehanda, Chaminuka, Mukwati and Sekuru Kaguvi who represented the Shona community cultures and political discourse (Chung 2006:198). These individuals were neither politicians nor chiefs but spirit mediums (*n'anga*), who

recruited masses into a violent rebellion against colonialism in what became known as the first *Chimurenga* of 1896-97 (Kaoma 2006:57). Chung states that, between 1896 and 1897 the Shona and the Ndebele community cultures sought *Mwari's* (God's) help in addressing the colonial crisis they both faced. With the help of the spirit mediums, the Shona and the Ndebele communities sought to reclaim their ancestral lands through violent means. In both eastern and western Zimbabwe, Whites were targeted and some of them were killed. The response from colonial master Cecil John Rhodes was brutal and furious: he declared war on the indigenous people. While the whites had the advantage of superior weapons, the Shona and Ndebele people had bows; arrows, *Mwari* (God), and ancestors on their side (2006:58). Although Nehanda was hanged by the British colonial administration, her spirit continues to be evoked in times of political discord and national crisis in Zimbabwe.

African religions were in support of the struggle and the spirit mediums' office was concurrently political, social and religious. *N'angas* were central to African life something colonial settlers missed (2006:58). In view of this, when the military struggle began to escalate in 1972, one of the first acts of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army commanders was to persuade the traditional religious leaders to support the struggle. Some of these key religious leaders like Chief Rekai Tangwena were persuaded to follow the guerrillas into Mozambique to provide spiritual and ideological leadership for the armed struggle (Bourdillion 1984:43). The argument was that; the spirits are the traditional owners of the land in Zimbabwe, whose authority the White invaders usurped. Whereas Whites had taken land away, the spirits protected the land and provided fertility (1984:43). During the liberation struggle guerrillas strengthened their legitimacy through the co-operation of spirit mediums of high status (1984:44). In every refugee and every military camp, the spirit mediums had their own separate encampment where they practised their religion (Chung 2006:198). The guerrillas relied on the spirit mediums who helped by advising when and where to go, and by predicting the movements of the enemy (Bourdillion 1984:43). The roles of the spirit mediums were to make the guerrillas familiar with the forest and teach them to read the signs of the jungle. In addition, the spirit mediums used to send messages to guerrillas with information about the movements of security forces and advice on guerrilla operations (1984:43). Those guerrillas who were killed did not listen to the spirit mediums or they had not introduced themselves to the spirit mediums so they were not known (1984:44). The impact of religion during the liberation struggle

was expressed by Chung (2006:198) stating that hundreds of prisoners of war, both white and black, were released rather than killed because of the strong influence of the traditional religious leaders. What was certain after the liberation struggle, was; when victory came, both political and traditional religious leaders were commended as heroes.

Although AIR and Christianity were credited for playing a crucial role in the liberation struggle, Chung notes that Christian missionaries were largely left alone in the rural areas in the early stages of the war. Later there were moves to kill them partly because they insisted on helping persons beaten by guerrillas, and burying persons killed by soldiers (2006:199). Nevertheless, once the war was over, it was the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Harare Patrick Chakaipa and Bishop Peter of the Anglican Church who led the church services of dedication at the independence celebrations (Linden and Weller 1984:216). In the spirit of embracing all religions, there were also songs honouring the great spirits on the celebration day. The first move that the country took, in respect of Christianity, was to appoint Rev Canaan Banana a Methodist Church in Zimbabwe clergy to be the first President of Zimbabwe (1984:216). Banana commented on the Independence Day that the churches are an integral part of the struggle for liberation. Linden and Weller (1984:216) holds that, political leaders gave the church the mandate to heal the nation and the two institutions promised to improve their engagements. In the Second *Chimurenga*, the church was criticised for not being vocal enough, appearing to be on the side of the oppressors, although some churches and missions did not join or support the struggle for independence, particularly the rural missions however, they were perceived as being on the side of the minority government (Chung 2006:200). Traditional religions were playing an increasingly important role through co-operation with the spirit mediums. During the colonial rule the church promoted peaceful and harmonious existence between various racial and social groups in society. In spite of this role, the politico-ecclesiastical relationship was questionable. Ecclesia was targeted by the state for providing moral and diplomatic support to African nationalists who struggled against injustice from the white minority regime. In the post-colonial period the church has been married to the oppressed in the fight against colonial repressive laws and elements promoting human rights at times inviting the wrath of the state security apparatus and government officials (Munemo & Nciizah 2013:63). One notes with interest the conclusion of Chabal and Daloz (1999: 65-67) that, to this day, African politics is by definition religious.

Religio-political Transitional Trajectories in the Pre- and Post-Independence Zimbabwe

According to Majome (2016), since colonialism and the war of independence, political leaders have enjoyed a rather shrewd and less than innocent love-hate relationship with the church. Religion and politics cleave to each other when it was convenient and discard each other when one feels the other has encroached into their territory (2016). The religio-political connection is historical in Zimbabwean. The political arena was occupied by the supporters of détente, namely Bishop Abel Muzorewa, Rev Ndabaningi Sithole, James Chikerema, and Joshua Nkomo (Chung 2006: 105). In the pre and post independent Zimbabwe, religion played a pivotal role in politics pointing to the fact that the liberation struggle and the independence of Zimbabwe are not complete without the ordained clergy like Reverend Sithole of the United Congregational Church of Zimbabwe, Rev. Professor. Canaan Banana of the Methodist Church in Zimbabwe and Bishop Abel Muzorewa of the United Methodist Church (Hallencreutz 1998). Sithole was one of the founding members and president of ZANU in 1963, Muzorewa was the first Black Prime Minister during the transitional period leading to the 1980 independence, while Banana was the first Black President of the independent Zimbabwe (Chung 2006:107).

Chung maintains that, Ian Smith proceeded to follow a dual strategy, one of internal negotiations with the more pliable black leaders, such as Bishop Muzorewa and Reverend Sithole (2006:108). Muzorewa, who had won a great deal of popular support during the 1970s, became the closest of Smith's allies (2006:108). Muzorewa became popular, that he could draw crowds of between 50,000 to 100,000 to his rallies and with this support, Muzorewa was certainly a credible leader (Chung 2006:229). Muzorewa had arisen as the natural unelected spokesperson for blacks. During the détente period, both ZANU and ZAPU decided to support Muzorewa and his political party- African National Congress as the voice of the black people. Unfortunately, Chung, with the aim of raising political leaders and downplaying religious leaders, comments that, Muzorewa was a peace-loving and obedient cleric who had little political experience and constantly revealed negotiating weaknesses and inexperience. His willingness to obey the Smith regime's authority unquestioningly was to cause his undoing (2006:230). This situation made him unpopular with the liberation armies. Muzorewa eventually agree to the formation of a coalition government with Smith's Rhodesian Front.

The ugly face of politics eventually led to an internal settlement to establish an interim government which was signed on March 3, 1978 by Smith, Muzorewa, Sithole, and Chief Chirau (2006:231). Immediately after signing the Internal Settlement Agreement, Muzorewa and Sithole flew to Britain to persuade the British government to accept the internal settlement (2006:232). From these actions, we note that politics had been religionized, especially as the clergy were on the forefront of agenda. Banana's role came in as those who supported the Patriotic Front of ZANU and ZAPU remained in prison when Muzorewa was the Prime Minister. An internal movement was set up by ZANU and ZAPU being led by Banana, who later became the first President of the Independent Zimbabwe from 1980-1987. At a stage when each black political party had established its own army, both Muzorewa and Sithole had received recognition and assistance from the Smith regime in setting up their own armies. In a deep political move by the religious leaders, Sithole's army was trained in Uganda by Idi Amin, one of the notorious African leaders (Chung 2006: 235).

From 1980-1987, there was turmoil in Zimbabwe. The government forces committed many atrocities in Matabeleland. This was itself a reaction to the carnages committed by dissidents against government officials (2006:236). ZANU PF speedily established a de facto one-party state through a campaign called the *Gukurahundi* massacres. The campaign was justified by its implementers as an attempt to stamp out dissident and terrorist activities which were allegedly being spearheaded by the main opposition party (ZAPU), led by Joshua Nkomo who himself was a Methodist Local Preacher (Banana 1991). ZAPU members were mainly people of the Ndebele origin. Having succumbed to pressure and a growing concern for the loss of innocent lives, ZAPU conceded to the ZANU's proposition for the formation of a government of national unity. In 1987, the two parties signed a Unity Accord forming ZANU (PF). This effectively created a de-facto one party state (Kaulemu 2010). The civil war ended in a deal brokered by President Banana, who persuaded both sides to reconcile (Chung 2006). Unfortunately, the end of these clergy members is very shameful and up to today, they are not recognized in the Zimbabwean political discourse. Whenever their names are mentioned, they are referred to as sell-outs. One of Zimbabwe's liberal singers Hosiah Chipanga composed a song in memory of these clerics and how they were abandoned by politics especially by not being given the national heroes status. This answers the statement by Kokosalakis (1985:367) that religion in the past had been used to legitimize political power.

The Twenty-First Century Religio-political Landscape in Zimbabwe

Most scholars agree that although Zimbabwe is a multi-religious country, Christianity controls a major share of the spiritual market (Mangwana 2015; Moyo 1996; Mutangi 2008). The three scholars agree that the Zimbabwean religious landscape generally refers to Christianity. A conformation of this assertion is evident in the survey conducted by Pew Research which discovered that, out of the estimated 12, 5 million Zimbabweans, (87.0%) are Christians, (0.9%) Islam, (<0.1%), Buddhism, (<0.1%) Hinduism and (<0.1%) Judaism. Those who belong to other religions are (<0.3%) (2012).This report was buttressed by the International Religious Freedom Report on Zimbabwe of 2007, which stresses that 76 of the 87 percent are Christians …thereby making Christianity a dominant religion in Zimbabwe. Chitando observes that these statistics have resulted in the institution of the church to always play a role in social, political and economic issues whether it actively seek to or not (2013:43). The understanding of religion in Zimbabwe would compel one to conclude that it is a Christian state. However, this assertion was challenged by scholars like Moyo (1996) and Ndoro (2015). Ndoro (2015) charges that 'any attempt to refer Zimbabwe as a "Christian nation" and to argue that "80 percent of Zimbabweans are Christians", is not accurate as both statements are false, reckless, unhelpful and informedly meaningless'. Zimbabwean Constitution only states 'the Almighty God' in the preamble, a phrase which has to be read as a generic reference to the Divine acknowledged by the religious and sometimes the non-religious. The phrase does not give superior status to any particular religion over others (2015). If anything is to be said about the religious life of Zimbabwe, the correct and more accurate representation according to Ndoro would be to say, 'Zimbabwe is a secular state that recognises the multiplicity and diversity of (non) religious expression' (2015; Majome 2016). Moyo (1996: vii) asserts that 'Zimbabwe is a secular state officially not committed to any particular religious faith or confession. However, inspite of the constitutional rights, Christianity has become a de facto religion of Zimbabwe given that most funeral rites are conducted in a Christian way, thereby making religion and politics two sides of the same coin' (1996:viii). Besides Christianity and African Indigenous Religions, Machingura (2012: 13-14) contends that the royal ideology around Mugabe is a synthesis of religious ideologies from AIR and Christianity and he calls this new brand of religion *Mugabology.*

Churches in Zimbabwe are divided into, the Zimbabwe Council of Churches (ZCC), Evangelical fellowship of Zimbabwe (EFZ), Union for the Development of the Apostolic Churches in Zimbabwe-Africa (UDACIZA), Council of Apostolic Faiths the Heads of Christian Denominations in Zimbabwe (HOCD), Christian Alliance and the Apostolic Christian Council of Zimbabwe (ACCZ) (Matikiti 2014: 92). The new unaffiliated categories consists of the new charismatic movements common among these movements are the United Family International Church (UFIC), Spirit Embassy, Heartfelt Ministries, Prophetic Healing and Deliverance Ministries (PHD) among others. Togarasei (2005:349) argues that this new breed of Pentecostalism tends to attract the middle and the upper class urban residents and the elite. As argued earlier politicians form the category of the elite: they frequently visit these churches to demonstrate their religiosity. Sometimes, they solicit votes or public sympathy (Ukah 2007). For example, at the PHD Ministries all-night programmes, some prominent politicians were seen in attendance. On November 13, 2015, Magaya conducted a Turnaround All Night Prayer in Harare after visiting his spiritual father T.B Joshua that was attended by senior political figures from ZANU PF such as:

> Media and Broadcasting Services Minister Christopher Mushowe, Information and Technology, Postal and Courier Services Minister, Supa Mandiwanzira, Women Affairs, Gender and Community Development Deputy Minister, Abigail Damasane, Minister of Local Government, Housing and Community Development, Ignatius Chombo, ZANU PF politburo member Tendai Savanhu, Zimbabwe Tourism Authority boss Karikoga Kaseke, Zimbabwe Football Association President Philip Chiyangwa and other foreign diplomats. During the South African crusade the Women's Affairs, Gender and Community Development Minister Nyasha Chikwinya, Tourism and Hospitality Industry Deputy Minister Anastancia Ndhlovu and Mufakose legislator Paurina Mpariwa Gwanyanya were in attendance (Online Correspondence 13 November 2015).

Although there is no clear record of Mugabe attending PHD ministries, but there are facts that Magaya went to his home during the fiftieth birthday gala and fundraising dinner celebrations of Grace Mugabe and bought a pictorial book at Fifty Thousand United States dollars (Tendai Mugabe 2015). In 2014,

Makandiwa had splashed Ten Thousand United States Dollars on the bridal shower of Mugabe's daughter, Bona (Chidza 2014). Magaya at one time described Mugabe as a 'highly blessed and ranked man' (Magaya 2015). Moreover, Makandiwa's UFIC also attracts senior political figures and he appointed the Deputy Spokesperson of ZANU PF Psychology Maziwisa to be his deputy spokesperson (News Day 24/08/14). This action contradict Makandiwa's claim that he does not support any political party (Daily News 06/10/14). In 2015, Makandiwa and Magaya were requested by ZANU PF to support the party's congress since the party was failing to raise funds for a budget of Three Million United States Dollars in a country with more than 4500 companies that closed within four years (Majaka 2015).

In addition, Paul Mwazha, Aaron Mhukuta (Madzibaba Wimbo), and Noah Taguta Momberume (Marange) involved themselves in Zimbabwean politics, supporting ZANU PF. These prophets participated in the Anti-Sanctions campaign rally in 2011 together with Makandiwa. Although religion in Zimbabwe seems to be dancing the tune of politics, Chimuka warns that in our daily life, religion poses a threat to politicians because it appeals to the deepest and most profound of human passions, in the process of creating its institutions, something which the state can never do (Chimuka 2013:20).

Religionization Process of Politics in Zimbabwe

Religionization of politics is a process whereby some members of the clergy appoint themselves to be key players in the religio-political engagement with a political bias. Meyer (2007) notes that, when religion is politicised it can be very dangerous to the political order, however, throughout history, the relationship between religion and politics exhibits a suspicious communion. Meyer adds that, on one hand, there is perceived cooperation between religion and cultural traditions and politics. On the other, there seems to be mortal conflict. These noticeable bi-contradictory trajectories have continued to characterize the relationship between religion and politics whenever they occur (Meyer 2007). Religions have been very instrumental in the political affairs of Africa in a number of ways. For example, its solutions on social capital issues in providing the moral foundation for civic education, providing services and looking after the citizens, assist in the provision of health care services and education and providing safe haven to the political violence victims and advocacy for good governance (Muchechetere 2009). In view of this point, religion in Africa

pervades all aspects of life, including politics. According to Chimuka (2013), religious movements have political bearings in Africa, especially as religion and politics tend to merge with respect to the distribution of power. In Zimbabwe religion has been used as an instrument by which political formations have been able to propagate their views and garner support ahead of elections. It is important at this stage to sample some individuals who made all efforts to religionize politics from the mainline churches, AICs and Pentecostal churches.

The first individual in open support of ZANU PF was Madzibaba Godfrey Nzira. Nzira was a leader of the Johanne *Masowe WeChishanhu* (JMC) apostolic sect. He was seen by his followers as a demi-god and was also regarded as one of the most 'faithful sons' of Mugabe (Mlambo 2011). Nzira was accused by his critics of forcing his followers to grace the ZANU PF functions that include going to the Heroes Acre (Mlambo 2011). In 2002, Nzira claimed that Mugabe is 'divinely' appointed king of Zimbabwe and no man should dare challenge his office (Nehanda Radio 2011). In contrast, when Nzira was charged of rape, 2000 members of his sect went ballistic outside the court, beating up court officials and policemen on duty. Even the magistrate was argued to have narrowly escaped death when the Masowe followers pounced on her (Mlambo 2011). When Nzira was eventually released from prison by the Presidential Amnesty, he celebrated his early release by hosting a week long party, killing two beast each day to feed the guests while trucks were delivering beer (Mlambo 2011). The party was attended by the Attorney General Johannes Tomana and the then Minister of Information and Publicity Webster Shamu from ZANU PF party. After wining and dining, Nzira went on
a tour drumming up support for Mugabe (Mlambo 2011).

The second example is the president of the African Apostolic Christian Council (AACC) Johannes Ndanga. Ndanga was caught in a controversial banning of an apostolic sect led by Madzibaba Ishmael Chokurongerwa in 2014. Although New Zimbabwe (2014) argues that the ban was on the allegation of abusing women and children, Ndanga visited the shrine with the uniformed police and the media crew (New Zimbabwe 2014). In 2011 Ndanga was accused of politicising church business by requesting ZANU PF to provide cars and allowances to church leaders who were spearheading party business (Zimbabwe Daily 2014). An analysis of this action brings religio-political confrontation. Matikiti (2014) succinctly captures the extent to which AACC is a ZANU PF political tool by forwarding two important points. First, he argues that the ecclesiastical organization was officially launched by then Vice President Joyce

Mujuru in 2010. Second, the open declaration by AACC to support the ZANU PF political agenda using ecclesiastical structures does not exonerate her from being a 'horse' being rode by politics (see Matikiti 2014:93). Matikiti decries that although AACC's aim is to unify its member churches, they are often targeted for support by politicians who find them easy to convince. As a result, they are seen to have very good attendances at ZANU PF party rallies (2014:94). If one goes by Matikiti's claim, it becomes clear that Ndanga went to Budiriro as a politician in religious attire, from a political background to accomplish a political mandate in the name of religion against the ZANU PF nonconformist.

Besides the fact that some mainline clerics were against the political abuse of authority, some of their partners joined politics in the use, misuse and abuse of the church. Such clerics include Kunonga supporting ZANU PF. His declaration comes at a time when other mainline churches were attacking Mugabe. For example, the Catholic Archbishop of Bulawayo Pius Ncube denounced Mugabe as a murderer (McGreal 2007). Ncube, mobilised the country's Catholic bishops to issue a pastoral letter calling Christians to pray for Mugabe's death (McGreal 2007). Kunonga sided with political powers to destabilize the Anglican Church in Harare. Police using the Public Order and Security Act (POSA) took sides in an internal dispute between factions of the Anglican Church, the government arrested, harassed, and prevented church attendance by Anglican clergy and parishioners of the Church of the Province of Central Africa (CPCA). They forced and barred several hundred CPCA-affiliated pilgrims from entering the Bernard Mizeki Shrine in Marondera. Buses and other vehicles carrying the pilgrims were turned away at roadblocks, and people were forced to hold the commemoration at a nearby showground[2].

In 2009, Kunonga succeeded to block all CPCA-affiliated Anglicans from performing religious services, including weddings and burials, in almost all churches in the Harare diocese being supported by the Mugabe regime. When CPCA ecclesiastical doors were forcefully closed by the police, congregants resorted to conducting Mass on sidewalks outside the church walls or renting other premises. In addition, police routinely disrupted Sunday services conducted on outdoor premises assisted by ZANU PF. Police continued to arrest and interrogate parishioners, priests, and lay leaders, charging them with committing malicious damage to property[3]. Most of the CPCA church buildings

[2] http://www.thezimbabwemail.com (10 February 2017).
[3] http://www.thezimbabwemail.com (10 February 2017).

in Harare were transformed into preschools and some Anglican offices were rented as business offices or residential quarters. There were many incidences where one notices the interference of politics in religion in support of Kunonga. In one of the incidents, a police officer in Harare Suburb of Hatcliffe denied a congregation access to church premises. The priest attempted to conduct services outside the church and was detained at the local police station. The congregation followed and conducted the full service at the police station, stating that they would gather there weekly if police continued to bother their services. In one of his gathering Kunonga openly declared his support of ZANU-PF in the 2013 Harmonized elections. He urged Zimbabweans to reject MDC-T leader Morgan Tsvangirai and his party, saying they are an embodiment of evil[4]. When eventually Kunonga lost favour from ZANU PF, one political commentator scoffed that, 'Kunonga is now out of the political equation because he does not have a constituency. ZANU-PF could not continue backing him because he alienated most of the urban areas. He has reached a dead end and at the moment he is just an unemployed doctor' (Manyuke 2012).

The fourth 'cleric' is Obadiah Msindo who presents himself as a Reverend of Destiny for Africa Network an organization registered as a company. This point was confirmed by Justice Bere, in the High Court on the matter between Destiny for Africa Network (Pvt) Ltd and Obadiah Msindo (Bere 2007). According to Guma, (2013) Msindo once described Mugabe as a 'Black Moses'. Msindo was open that in 2008, he was going to get votes for Mugabe through doling out residential stands and creating employment. Political elites in Zimbabwe tended to be associated with one of the established Christian mainline or Pentecostal churches. According to Chitando (2011), the net effect of ZANU PF was to divide the church into two broad groups – those in favour of Mugabe and those opposed to his continued grip on power'.

Chitando (2011) notes that AIC such as the Zion Christian Church and the apostolic churches like the Johanne Marange have urged their members to support the President while the likes of Levee Kadenge and Sifiso Mpofu of the Christian Alliance, Bishop Anselm Magaya of the Zimbabwe National Pastors Conference apparently sympathise with the opposition and have joined it in denouncing government repression. In spite of these controversies, Mangwana warns that those religions supporting the status quo should not be seen as collaborators whereas those who oppose it are seen as heroes. Religion is an

[4] http://www.thezimbabwemail.com (10 February 2017).

issue of conscience. And everyone has a different one. When the church provides a moral voice in a political discourse, it does not always have to be anti-establishment. All political parties are aware that churches complement or oppose their work. And naturally both politics and religion are divisive and they will always have a strained or complementary relationship (Mangwana 2015). Mangwana further charges that, if there is nothing wrong with Kadenge issuing statements against the Government, maybe there is also nothing wrong with priests like Rev Andrew Wutawunashe, who are deemed to hold either Pan Africanist or nationalistic slant in their life outlook, issuing pastoral sermons deemed to identify with the same ideals as ZANU-PF. If there is nothing wrong with Pius Ncube delivering religious edicts against the Government, what would be wrong with *Mapositori* uttering supplication for the health of ZANU-PF leadership? (2015). Mangwana's statements are an attempt to balance the political and ecclesiastical equilibrium.

In concluding this discussion, religion and politics in Zimbabwe are both soulmates and antagonists. More often, politicians always attempt to make political capital out of displays of religious allegiance or respect. ZANU PF, has caused serious economic meltdown, and as a result, they are using, and abusing the church for their advantage. If the church tries to voice, the individuals are victimised. A case in point was Pastor Evan Mawarire, the champion of the #thisflag movement, who uttered a prophetic voice, which was weakened by ZANU PF through arresting him. From the discussion held in this paper, the church in Zimbabwe has allowed itself to be a tool of political entry. The researcher is challenging the Zimbabwean ecumenical church bodies to voice to the issues that affect the body of Christ. The paper is also cautioning the self-styled prophets to separate political gains from religious faith. The question to the church in Zimbabwe, is- when is Balaam (politics) riding his (donkey) (religion) going to see the Angel of God (Numbers 22:21-39), when is the donkey of Balaam going to open its mouth so that in the process of discussion with Balaam (politics), Balaam will see the angel of the Lord and stop beating the donkey? When is the church going to realize that we are just horses that are being driven by politicians for their selfish reasons? If the church, can be used, the people can be abused and resources misused by politicians.

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Martin Mujinga
United Theological College
Hatfield
Harare
Zimbabwe
martinmujinga@gmail.com,
martinmujinga@icloud.com

Interface between Constitutional Democracy and Traditional Mechanisms of Authority in Rural Communities of South Africa: Lessons from Maruleng

Kgothatso B. Shai

Abstract

This Afrocentric article uses the Maruleng sub-district of Limpopo province as a test case to analyse and critique the intersection(s) between constitutional institutions of authority and traditional mechanisms of governance in South Africa. Methodologically, the author has relied heavily on critical discourse approach and conversations in their broadest form. The article's main argument is that the co-existence of traditional leadership and municipal councils is inherently problematic. At the centre of the problematic nature of the co-existence of traditional leadership and municipal councils lie the discontinuities of the cultural values and practices of the Black communities in Maruleng sub-district. It is concluded that there is an urgent need for the desk of traditional leadership within the local Maruleng Municipality. It is also necessary to craft a space for municipal representation in the council of traditional authority. This desk and municipal representation in each other's affairs would be instrumental in un-tangling the competition for leadership space and other challenges within and/or between the various traditional authorities and the local municipal council.

Keywords: Constitutional democracy, traditional authority, rural communities, Maruleng

Introduction

The subject of traditional leadership in South Africa has been much debated by politicians and scholars (Oomen 2000; Ntsebeza 2005; Logan 2009). It would

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a12

appear that the institution and processes involved in traditional leadership has been less understood since the dawn of the 3rd wave of democratisation in the 1990s. Gazing from the on-going scholarly and political discourse, the dominant mode of reasoning has been in favour of the need to preserve traditional leadership (Lekgoathi 2013). Despite this, there is a perception within certain circles that traditional leadership is inimical to democratic culture and practices and therefore, it should be scrapped off (Lekgoathi 2013). The conviction of this line of thought is that traditional leadership should step aside and allow municipal councils to steer political governance and socio-economic development in the rural areas (Williams 2010). Based on the Afro-centric perspective (Asante 2003), this article's overall aim is to use Maruleng sub-district as a case study to critique the intersection(s) between constitutional institutions of authority and traditional mechanisms of governance in South Africa. Particular attention is paid to Bakone ba Mametja, Banareng ba Mahlo and Banareng ba Letsoala and their interaction with elected officials of Maruleng Municipality and other government spheres. In the next section of this article, the author describes the location of the study (Maruleng) and invokes the justification for its choice and use as the case study for this research.

Geographic and Political Context of Study Site

The study site for this article is Maruleng. Maruleng is one of the sub-districts within the Mopani district, in the Limpopo province of South Africa. This sub-district is made up of 14 wards, some of which over-lap the boundaries of traditional authorities (Maruleng Municipality 2016). Since Maruleng sub-district is largely rural, its governance architecture is often characterised by a fierce struggle between traditional leaders and elected leaders (Maruleng Municipality 2016). On top of the power struggles between traditional leaders and elected leaders in Maruleng are conflicts between different traditional authorities (Letsoalo 2009; Ramajela 2011. Squabbles and disputes are also a common feature within the leadership of the same traditional authority. The complexity of the nature of conflictual relations between and/or within traditional leadership and other stakeholders in this domain often renders the existing conflict management and resolution mechanisms into redundancy.

The conflictual nature of traditional leadership and other governance stakeholders is not unique to Maruleng. It can also be observed in other sub-districts in Mopani District and other localities that have embraced mixed

governance mode between traditional leadership and elected leaders (Bank & Southall 1996; Phago & Netswera 2011). However, the dilemma faced by the institution of traditional leadership in South Africa can best be understood if it is located within the context of the uncritical embracing of liberal democracy by most independent African states (Kapa 2014). In clarifying the mix up of traditional leadership and elected leadership under the independent African state, Wamba-dia-Wamba (cited in Ramose 2002: 103) cautions that: 'the content of democratisation is determined by modes of politics. Its content is shaped by the dominant mode of politics. The transition must, therefore, be redefined in terms of the change from the mode of politics in crisis towards a new mode of politics'. What can be deduced from the foregoing expression is the urgent and pressing need to consider the best ways to re-affirm the role of traditional leaders in the era wherein non-African political and economic systems have been wrongly presented as superior and more effective than others (Shai & Iroanya 2014). It is the conviction of this article that there is no perfect system of organising the society politically or economically (Yuhas 2016). Any political system can be effective and sustained if it dovetails with the social and economic history of the people who practices it (Scheurich & Young 1997; Khapoya 2010).

In the case of Maruleng, there are three recognised chieftaincies: Bakone ba Mametja, Banareng ba Mahlo (also known as Sekororo) and Banareng ba Letsoalo traditional authorities. In terms of hierarchy, each of these chieftaincies have headmen. The headman plays the role of the traditional leader of a village whereas the chief is the senior traditional leader of the entire tribe (social group). The headman is appointed by the chief, following a certain biased criteria and the former is expected to report to the latter in terms of traditional protocol (Lekgoathi 2013). While skill, age and rank was part of the set criterion for constituting traditional leadership in Maruleng sub-district, Lekgoathi (2013: 14) adds that historically 'the chief [including headman] was drawn from a dominant lineage – royal lineage'.

For historic and economic reasons, the legitimacy of some of the traditional leaders in the Maruleng sub-district is in doubt. This should be understood within the context that before South Africa's dawn of majority rule in the early 1990s, the apartheid regime appointed and imposed certain illegitimate people as traditional leaders. This illegal imposition of traditional leadership was used by the apartheid government as a means for appreciating the ill-conceived roles of the collaborators of the white minority regime (Mzala

undated). In relation to this legitimacy crisis, Lekgoathi (2013: 14) argues that the 'democratic element of chieftainship was eroded by colonial control, but can and ought to be resuscitated'. The erosion of the democratic ingredients of traditional leadership during the colonial and apartheid era is an unfortunate and dangerous situation which has also cast aspersions on its (chieftaincy) relevance in the new constitutional order. Notwithstanding the challenges faced by traditional leaders in Maruleng and South Africa at large, it would appear that the ruling African National Congress (ANC) is in support of the institution of traditional leadership. The scores made by the ANC-led government in terms of conceiving and adopting legislations that protect the institution of traditional leadership cannot be over-stated (Republic of South Africa 2016). This position must be understood within the context that the founding meetings for the establishment of a liberation movement in name of the ANC were dominated by African chiefs, spiritual leaders and prominent educated Africans (Limb 2010; Thema 2016). As such, the room for the existence of traditional leadership in the new constitutional order in South Africa is to a larger extent the appreciation of the struggles waged by some traditional leaders in the war against apartheid and other colonial tendencies (Thotse 2014). It is also not far-fetched to argue that the ANC supports traditional leadership because this institution largely assures the party with electoral support from tribesmen and women; who are found in its traditional support bases (rural areas). Despite this, it is common knowledge that there are some traditional leaders who tolerated, submitted and cooperated with the apartheid regime and other colonialists at the expense of their people (Author 2009). Whereas it is justifiable for the democratic forces to condemn traditional leaders who had become stooges of the brutal and inhuman system of apartheid, it is unfair to condemn the institution of traditional leadership as a whole.

Flowing from the above, it is safe to state that post-apartheid South Africa has not been able to clearly and rigorously actualise the legislations relating to the retention and promotion of traditional leadership. Even though the desire to protect and sustain traditional leadership has been legislated, it is argued that there are no clear and concrete actions to put those legal postulations into reality (Phago & Netswera 2011). As such, the role of traditional leadership in South Africa remains uncertain inasmuch as they are purported to co-exist with elected councils. For Phago and Netswera (2011), in the post-apartheid era the role of traditional leaders has been limited to that of the custodian for communal resources (i.e. land) and culture. These authors add that

their (traditional leaders) roles are neither developmental in character nor action. Based on this premise, this article uses an Afrocentric perspective to determine the position of Maruleng sub-district towards the adaptation of traditional leadership in the new democratic order (Asante 2003). Against this background, the next two sections of this article outlines the methods and theoretical framework used during the operationalisation of the research for this article.

Research Methodological Framing

This article demonstrates and elaborates the nature of its research problem analytically, qualitatively and empirically. Despite the empirical shreds of this article, it shares the Afrocentrists' argument in favour of 'pluralism in philosophical views without hierarchy' (Mkabela 2005: 180). This premise implies that, unlike the Euro-American knowledge systems, African-centred epistemology does not have a provision for a binary operationalisation and characterisation of knowledge as empirical or non-empirical, subjective or objective, good or evil (Maserumule 2011). To this end, the overarching feature of the article's descriptive approach presents qualitative methods within the locus of the Afrocentric paradigm (Asante 1990; Asante 2003). Hence, Afrocentric research methodology is largely employed in this study as a re-enforcer of qualitative research methodology than an alternative to the latter (Mkabela 2005; Owusu-Ansah & Mji 2013; Welsing 2015). In terms of data collection, the author conducted a comprehensive review of scholarly, official and popular literature. This was complemented by purposive selection and interview of 5 key informants of African social origin and culture. The findings drawn from the literature review and interview exercises were analysed thematically. As provided for in the theory of Afrocentricity, which underpins this article; the latter draws from both empirical and non-empirical research traditions in order to project a holistic picture of the phenomena been probed (Maserumule 2011). In this regard, the choice of case study research design was informed by its ability to generate rich data within the context of limited respondents (Author 2016).

Afrocentric Theoretical Entry Point

The use of Afrocentricity as an alternative theoretical lens for this article was largely influenced by the fact that most of the academic works in this subject

were based on theories, ideas and concepts rooted within the Euro-American world-view (Asante 2003). As such, this article contributes to efforts for *unmuting* the marginalised voices of Africans in academy (Author 2016). Several reasons account for the Afrocentric character of this article. First, its author's epistemological identity is uncompromised throughout its conceptualisation and operationalisation. Secondly, the unit of analysis for this article is the indigenous African political institution. Thirdly, this article is fairly dependent on its author and research participants' experiences with the institution of traditional leadership. Fourthly, and lastly, the underlying drive behind this article is the promotion of African interests through the generation of a crispy understanding which is crucial for preserving traditional leadership as the political heritage of the Africans. The latter is important when one considers the violent and culturally insensitive imposition of liberal democracy around the globe (Shai & Iroanya 2014). Equally important, this article contributes to the *unmuting* of the marginalised voices in academy by employing Afrocentricity as an alternative lens for deciphering governance in a world where theories that are rooted within the Eurocentric worldview are falsely presented as universal (Asante 2003). For this reason, this article also contributes to epistemic justice by philosophically and historically showing that the Afrocentric perspective is one voice among many voices (Maruma & Dhliwayo 2018). The following part of the article shows how the interface between constitutional democracy and traditional mechanisms of authority is animating conflict in Maruleng.

Elected Councils in Maruleng Sub-district: An Alternative or Re-Enforcer of Traditional Leadership?

Before the dawn of democracy in South Africa during the early 1990s, traditional leaders occupied a central position in the administration of local government in the rural areas. Municipal councils were solely meant for the urban areas. As such, traditional leaders were instrumental in the sale of land, division of farming fields, establishment and maintenance of infrastructure within their territorial jurisdiction (Lekgoathi 2013). In Maruleng sub-district, traditional leaders also facilitated the supply of cheap labour to the White-owned farms and mines within their territories and the surrounding. However, the new democratic dispensation has extended municipal councils to the rural areas. This meant that some of the roles and

functions which were usually played by the traditional leaders were then taken by elected local councillors and to a certain extent, officials of the elected provincial and national government. The wind of change that blew within South Africa's governance architecture immediately fuelled the unhealthy relationship between traditional leaders and elected government representatives. An attempt to locate the root of the problem in terms of the sour relations between traditional leadership and elected councils has often produced a representation of the blame game between the two stakeholders. That being the case, the communities have often been at the receiving end of these sour relations. Hence, the perpetuation of the conflict between traditional leaders and elected officials has often dampened the pace of service delivery in the rural areas.

In this context, Lekgoathi (2013: 14) points out that those who advocate for the abolishment of traditional leadership argue that it has 'paid little attention to the needs of [its] subjects'. Thus, the unhealthy relationship between traditional leadership and elected councils has largely deprived the communities to enjoy the full benefits of liberal democracy. This unhealthy relationship has often placed communities at loggerheads with their traditional leaders. Hence, traditional leaders are often mistaken as being anti-development. The communities have a tendency of blaming traditional leaders for retarded levels of development when traditional leadership does not avail the land required by the Maruleng Municipality for development (Lee 2014; Paret 2015). The centrality of land for the purpose of development is well articulated by Phago and Netswera (2011: 1029) as follows: 'Without land there will be minimal service delivery, if any'. Put the other way round, this authors' narrative implies that in the absence or unwillingness of traditional leaders to provide land for development, it would be impossible for the rural municipalities like Maruleng to operationalise some of their seminal developmental programmes.

That public opinion usually does not favour traditional leadership should be understood within the context that it is not elected by the majority (Nyang'oro 1989; Lekgoathi 2013). But it is hereditary. As such, elected councils tend to be appealing to the communities because they are based on principles of liberal democracy; a model which is popular and dominant in Africa due to the influence of Eurocentricity and coloniality (Ndlovu-Gatsheni 2013). Eurocentricity and coloniality have falsely

projected African traditional leadership as outdated, autocratic and undemocratic. However, Afrocentric literature has it on good authority that African traditional leadership has features of democracy (Ramose 2002; Lekgoathi 2013; Molomo 2014). It is the well-considered argument of this article that the reason why the democratic features of African traditional leadership are often overlooked can be attributed to the fact that most scholars commit transversal errors in their analysis and explanation of African traditional leadership (Azibo 2011). This is to say that the use of non-African tools and standards to analyse and think about African traditional leadership is vulnerable to the reproduction of pseudo-imaginings and factual errors (Maruma & Dhliwayo 2018). This analysis does not in any way dismiss the fact that systems borrow from one another for the purposes of self-enhancement and reinvention. But it warns that such borrowing is only useful provided it stands for the liberation of Africans from poverty and under-development to the promotion of their prosperity, development and liberation (Asante 2003). In order to provide a specific context for the progressive or regressive contribution of traditional leaders towards the democratic project, the position of various chieftaincies in Maruleng sub-district when dealing with selected cases of development challenges is explored below.

Banareng Traditional Leadership

Banareng ba Mahlo tribe is currently led by *Kgoši* (chief) Seshego Solomon Mahlo. The administrative hub of this traditional authority is located at an area that is popularly known as Mošate (Head kraal), within ward 14 of Maruleng sub-district. Equally, the Banareng ba Letsoalo's head kraal is situated at Metz, within ward 9 of Maruleng sub-district. According to the informants of the author of this article, the two clans of the Banareng have royal blood. But they are not the true owners of the land (Makhutšwe) that they are currently overseeing. Before they settled in Makhutšwe during the year 1958, the legitimate and long standing historic traditional leader of the area was Chief Mohlabe [Tsonga by origin] (Ramajela 2009). The circumstances that led to the toppling of Mohlabe as the oldest traditional leader of the Makhutšwe area are beyond the scope of this article.

What is of interest to this article is the fact that, in the recent past the traditional leadership of both Chief Mahlo and Letsoalo have had their fair

share of sabotaging government development projects within their territorial jurisdiction. For example, during the year 2014 the Maruleng Municipality has appointed a contractor to build a community hall in ward 14, near Mošate. However, till to date the project could not be started. Among some of the factors attributed for the non-building of the community hall in ward 14 is the fact that Banareng ba Mahlo traditional leadership was allegedly not consulted by the local ward councillor nor any duly elected representative of Maruleng Municipality during the project conceptualisation stage. It is interesting to note that the ward councillor of ward 14 is Ms MJ Mahlo, who happens to be related to Chief Mahlo. Apparently, Councillor Mahlo was not willing to pay homage to Chief Mahlo due to clan disputes over the rightful heir of the Banareng Chieftancy. The Banareng Chieftancy disputes were then escalated into a tense power struggle between Chief Mahlo and the Maruleng Municipal Council. At the end, family disputes of the Banareng ba Mahlo denied the Makhutšwe community a rare opportunity to have a community hall. But this fracas over chieftaincy also implied that the contractor, sub-contractors and community members missed an opportunity to draw an income from the contract by rendering their labour and other services. This is a clear indication of the extent to which unhealthy relations between traditional leadership and elected council can arrest socio-economic development in Maruleng sub-district and other areas facing more or less similar challenges. Nonetheless, Tlhoaele (2012: ii) maintains that traditional leadership 'remains an important link between local government and rural communities'.

Meanwhile, the land dispute between the two chiefs of Banareng tribe, under Mahlo and Letsoalo has also made development impossible in the Makhutšwe area. The context of the land dispute in question took a toll in the year 2014. According to Jeffrey Morema (as cited by Lee 2014) this year [2014] witnessed 'two developers who want[ed] to build shopping complexes here in the villages [around Makhutšwe]. One has bought the title deed to KT 75 Metz from Chief Letsoalo but the problem is that piece of land belongs to Chief Solomon Mahlo from Sekororo. Also, Chief Letsoalo lives on KT 75 along with other people. Chief Letsoalo sold the wrong piece of land. The people want a shopping complex but the developer can't go ahead because of the issue of land'. In relation to this, it is argued that in the rural areas the land belongs to the community or tribe and the chief is just a custodian. Therefore, under no circumstances can the chief legally claim ownership of the land and ultimately sell it without the consent of the community (Lekgoathi 2013).

Against this premise, it is fundamentally crucial to posits that it is selfish for Chief Mahlo to stop the construction of retail infrastructure simply because the contractor had paid another Chief (Letsoalo). The proximity of Chief Letsoalo to the land [farm KT 75] that has been earmarked for development also qualifies him as its caretaker, who is also entitled to royalties. Notwithstanding all of the above, the development of retail infrastructure around the Makhutšwe area has a potential to create jobs for people in this traditional authorities and beyond.

It would also make it easy for people in Makhutšwe and the surrounding areas to have near access shopping services. Hence, they currently have to travel to far areas such as Hoedspruit, Maake Plaza, Phalaborwa and Tzaneen, just to name a few; for the purpose of accessing banking and other affordable retail services. No matter the merits of the land claim under review, it is instructive to stress that the decision of Chief Mahlo to contest the legality of the land transaction between Chief Letsoalo and one of the developers is not in the best interests of his clan, tribe and people of Maruleng sub-district as a whole. In fact, it constitutes petty squabbles that are driven by his desperate desire to milk any prospective developer for the sake of maintaining his lavish lifestyle. Hence, it is the tendency of most traditional leaders in Maruleng sub-district to solicit royalties from people who do businesses within the territorial jurisdiction of their traditional authority for their selfish and narrow goals. Very little, if there is any, of the financial dividends generated by the traditional leaders in Maruleng sub-district and elsewhere are used for the benefit of the community. In some other parts of South Africa including Mpumalanga, these foreign tendencies have provided a fertile ground for the youth movement to 'rapidly and systematically' destroy chieftaincies in the 1980s (Bank & Southall 1996: 419). As such, it is important for the current crop of traditional leaders to draw lessons from the mistakes of their fallen counterparts.

Contextually, the community protests which were geared towards registering dissatisfaction and frustration emanating from the above discussed obstacles to development in Maruleng were staged. While the protesters had a genuine cause, it is disappointing that their protests disrupted schooling, made some roads un-passable, destroyed street lamp posts and other parts of the road infrastructure. The above is a synoptic representation of the confusion between the right to protest, the responsibility to protect public services and the rights of others not to take part in community protests. Unlike during the apartheid era, the new democratic dispensation has presented legal opportunities and

mechanisms for community protests. As such, there is no sound reason for the community to use violence as a means of demanding people-driven development. It is also tantamount to progressive regression if people demand development and in a process, vent their anger and frustration towards the destruction of other developmental gains of the new democratic government. As suggested by the above discussion, Tsheola's (2012: 161) expressed opinion is that in South Africa in general, a calculable number of 'violent protests have paradoxically occurred exclusively in impoverished settlements where some services were delivered, disrupting the underlying infrastructure and existing services'. In this context, it is no over-exaggeration to pinpoint that in the post-apartheid era, there is a re-emergence of the pre-1990 culture of violence in the waging of community's socio-economic struggles in South Africa (Shai & Mothibi 2015).

Regardless of the questionable actions of some community members during community protests, it is emphasised that there is no sound basis for the traditional leadership of Banareng ba Mahlo and Banareng ba Letsoalo to jostle each other over artificial traditional boundaries. Hence, legend has it that both clans have a common history and they both trace their origins from Sabie. Overtime, the two clans have experienced family/clan inter-marriages and as such, their relationship is that of blood. To appropriate the close relationship between the two clans of Banareng, they both share a praise poem (Mbewe 2010). Based on the above account of the historic and socio-cultural commonalities between the two clans of Banareng, this article submits that their ongoing tensions over land can best be explained through changes in the cultural values of Blacks in South Africa and Africa as whole (Mabelebele 2008). That is to suggest that money, material possessions, technological innovation and development have eroded the humanist essence of the African culture; which is based on humanity [*botho/ Ubuntu*] (Ramose 2002; Shai & Iroanya 2014; Author 2016). In putting the forgoing viewpoint, the other way, some of the informants of this author accuse selected traditional leaders in conniving with some of the local businessmen to sabotage the establishment of retail infrastructure in Makhutšwe and the surrounding. It is argued that even though the envisaged retail infrastructure stands to benefit the majority, the local businessmen are likely to run at a loss should a mall or plaza be built around Makhutšwe and the surrounding. Hence, they would no longer exploit the captivated cash market; which they dominate due to limited competition and/or choices that consumers have within their vicinity.

Bakone Ba Mametja Traditional Leadership

Like the Banareng tribe, Bakone ba Mametja tribe is blessed with natural endowments such as river sand, pit sand, stones and natural forests. The listed minerals have provided opportunities for small scale mining in different villages such as Willows (also known as Dingapong), Oaks (Diphuthi), Mabins A (Ga-Mametja) and Worster, just to name a few. The miners include the residents of this villages and people who come from other areas outside Maruleng sub-district. The activities in the small scale mining sector have taken three forms: legal, semi-legal and illegal. Hence, it is permissible for individual residents to engage in mining for domestic use. But those who are involved in mining activities for commercial reasons are expected to either acquire permits from the Department of Minerals and written authorisation from the traditional authority. That both the Department of Minerals and Traditional Authorities separately grants permission for businessmen to engage in mining activities has created tensions within the business community. Those who have permits from the Department of Minerals refuse to pay royalties to the traditional authorities and this tendency often produces unhealthy relations between traditional leaders and some licensed miners. On the other hand, the licenced miners often feel that the traditional leaders and government at large do not do enough to contain illegal mining. That mining can also be sanctioned by the Department of Minerals provides an enabling environment wherein traditional leaders (including Chief Mametja and her headmen) can evade accountability for the royalties generated from mining activities within their territorial jurisdiction. More often than not, financial dividends generated by traditional leaders are used for their selfish benefits and that of their families. This unfortunate tendency is in total disregard of the common understanding that minerals, land and natural forests in the rural areas are communal resources (Tlhoaele 2012; Lekgoathi 2013; Hay 2014). Ideally, their financial dividends should be used for the benefit of the community instead of just a family of the so called custodian in the name of a chief and her headmen.

In the case of the land administered by Chief Mametja, there are also business people who neither possess the permits from the Department of Minerals nor written authorisation from the Traditional Authorities to engage in mining activities. In their corners, they contest the legitimacy of the current Chief and the chieftaincy of Bakone ba Mametja as a whole. Apparently, headman Malepe is the longest serving traditional leader in his area and the

surrounding areas that are currently administered by Chief Mametja. Whether this claim is true or not, it is not the focus of this discussion. However, it has created a dark cloud in terms of the legitimacy of the Mametja chieftaincy. To make matters worse, the position of chief is contested within the Mametja clan because the current chief is a woman. Despite the fact that she is not married and she is one of the children of the late Chief Madie Mametja, tradition has it that only a male can be a chief in terms of the customs and cultural practices of Bakone ba Mametja tribe and most Black tribes in South Africa and beyond (Letsoalo 2009; Lekgoathi 2013). However, this historical and patriarchal practice of excluding women in traditional leadership positions does not find expression in the constitutional order of the new South Africa (Republic of South Africa 1996).

In the past, one of the senior members of the Mametja royal family and who was also the child of the late chief Madie was linked to opposition party, Congress of the People (COPE). This individual political alignment has served as a recipe for the deterioration of the already soured relations between traditional leaders and the ANC-led Maruleng Municipal Council. To this end, some elected leaders have exploited the psychosis surrounding the political affinity of the Mametja traditional authority to undermine its chief and to a larger extent, overlook her authority on development planning and management within her territorial jurisdiction. In the past, the constitution of an advisory council for Willows village's *Ntona* (head man) Thekwane under Chief Mametja was thwarted by ANC members because some of the people who were touted to serve in this structure (advisory council) were aligned to the United Democratic Movement (UDM) at the time. As such, the view of the ANC at the Willows was that the UDM aspire to hijack the traditional leadership of Thekwane and eventually establish a parallel ward governance structure to achieve their political goals. Nonetheless, it is the conviction of this article that political party meddling in traditional leadership affairs is unfortunate and it also cripples the traditional leaders' responsibility to co-govern rural areas and champion development initiatives for the benefit of their communities. Irrespective of these challenges facing the Mametja traditional authority, it is worth noting that its decision to appoint a female chief is well-thought of and it shows the readiness for traditional leadership institutions to adapt to the dynamic nature of South Africa and Africa's political landscape, where it concerns the appointment of women not only in national but also local and traditional areas. The following section of the article sums up the findings

of this article and on this basis, policy relevant recommendations are advanced.

Conclusion and Policy Recommendations

This Afrocentric article sees an avalanche of opportunities in the midst of the difficulties prevailed by the mixed local government model in the new constitutional order in South Africa. Irrespective of the isolated incidents of triumphs relating to the preservation of traditional leadership in Maruleng sub-district, it has been established that South Africa and Maruleng sub-district in particular, is at crossroads. While the quest for the retention of the marriage of traditional leadership and elected authorities cannot be denied, more practical measures ought to be considered by all affected parties for the sake of harnessing solidarity, interdependence, cooperation and collective responsibility between the traditional leadership and the elected officials. Whereas it is historically and culturally sensible to retain the institution of traditional leadership in Maruleng sub-district and other rural areas in South Africa, it is observed that the influence of foreign cultures on Africa does not make it an easy task to revitalise African value systems. Hence, there are various financial interests that play a role in the outbreak and escalation of tensions within the institution of traditional leadership and also between traditional leaders and elected government officials.

The findings of this article emphatically suggest that both institutions basically serve the purpose. However, the baseline for the practicalities of the dominant democratic trajectory in South Africa forces this researcher to propose the following measures for fostering peaceful co-existence between traditional leadership and elected councils:

- Both institutions can hold joint community meetings for the purposes of establishing mutual understanding.
- They can have co-ordinated community development programmes and projects.
- There should be representation of each traditional leadership and municipal representative in the various councils/forums of each institution.
- All-encompassing educational interventions and work initiatives that

appreciate and promote the diversity of governance systems should be rolled out.

- There is a need for an aggressive revitalisation of African value systems within the political and governance circles at various tiers of government.

In the final analysis, it appears that this article would serve as a stepping stone for future research on traditional leadership in South Africa and Africa at large. Given the dynamic nature of this indigenous political institution, it is important that its discourse be revisited from time to time. Such an exercise would give currency to any policy recommendations derived from this article and others related to it.

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Kgothatso B. Shai
Head of Cultural and Political Studies
University of Limpopo
Polokwane
South Africa
SKgothatso@yahoo.com

Resisting the Statist Reduction of the Self: On the Effects of Shaykh Yusuf's 'anti-politics'

Auweis Rafudeen

Abstract

Shaykh Yusuf al Maqassari (1626-1699) is noted for both resisting Dutch expansion in the East Indies as well as his role in building the Cape Muslim community. But rather than politics, his writings focus on mysticism, in particular, the principles of the Sufi path and Sufi metaphysics. When there is a reference to politics, it is 'anti-politics' in that he advises the spiritual aspirant to withdraw participation in matters of the state. This paper explores the effects of Shaykh Yusuf's 'anti-politics'. It argues that in the context of the post-Westphalian state, Shaykh Yusuf's 'anti-politics' was a way of resisting being inscribed by the economic logic of that state and its reduced notion of the self; that his mysticism offered alternative ways of being and acting in the world; and that these alternative ways helped the Cape Muslim community maintain its durability in the face of a number of historical pressures.

Keywords: Shaykh Yusuf of Macassar, mysticism, anti-politics, Islam in South Africa, modern state and the self

Introduction

Shaykh Yusuf al Maqassari (1626-1699) is widely seen as a seminal figure of Islam in South Africa. He was exiled to Cape Town in 1694 after resisting Dutch expansion in the Indonesian archipelago. Though he was in the Cape for only the last five years of his life, he played a critical role in building what has proven to be a durable Cape Muslim community[1].

[1] For more details on the biography of Shaykh Yusuf, see Bruinessen (1991), Azra (2004) and Gibson (2007).

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a13

What is curious about Shaykh Yusuf is that, despite his long-standing confrontation with the Dutch, his writings do not appear to mention them at all nor does he seem even interested in politics in general. Rather, his writings focus on mysticism, in particular, the principles and guidelines of the Sufi path and various aspects of Sufi metaphysics. When there is a reference to politics, it is 'anti-politics' in that he advises the aspiring spiritual seeker to withdraw from participation in matters of the state.

This paper argues that Shaykh Yusuf's 'anti-politics' was a way of resisting being inscribed by the logic of the state and its reduced notion of the self; that his mysticism offered alternative ways of being and acting in the world, that is, alternative views of the self, time, space and causality; and that these alternative ways helped the Cape Muslim community maintain its durability in the face of a number of historical pressures.

This essay, of course, does not claim that Shaykh Yusuf's thought is singular in this regard. Rather, it is an instantiation of the alternatives offered by Sufi perspectives in general. But more broadly still, it is an instantiation of the alternatives offered by mysticism, across religious traditions, to the re-ordering of desire ushered in by modernity and made palpable through capitalism. Christian mysticism, for example, as Michel de Certeau has pointed out in relation to European mystics of the sixteenth and seventeenth century, similarly performed the function of resisting the logic of the emerging modern state (de Certeau 1992). This is irrespective of whether mystics 'intended' such resistance or not. Rather, as we point out in the case of Shaykh Yusuf, it is the effects of their alternative ways of viewing and approaching the world that merit consideration.

The Self in Early Modernity

On the 9th January 1632, the Dutch polymath and humanist scholar Caspar Barlaeus stood before the prosperous merchants assembled in the Amsterdam Athenaeum and proceeded to give a famous lecture entitled 'Mercator Sapiens' – 'The Wise Merchant'. His intention, as quoted by Weststeijns, was 'not to condemn but to control the strivings for possessions through the reins of right reason' (Weststeijn 2012: 185). The prudent pursuit of profit was to be equated with the public good. This welding together of profit and public good represents a radical shift from the medieval past which viewed a concern for wealth in a more suspicious manner. Saint Francis of Assissi, for example,

advised his fraternity 'not to pick up money or coins [nor] to accept or to have received them in any way … for we are to have or to expect benefit from money or coins no more than from stones' (Soelle 2001: 238). Money was a necessary evil, voluntary poverty an esteemed aspiration and acquisitiveness was frowned upon. Instead, in this medieval European view all creation partook of a Great Chain of Being and played their particular roles on 'God's stage'. 'Who one is' was defined by one's duty. One was what one did. The individual self was submerged beneath that overarching sense of duty (Baumeister 1987: 171). And merchants too had their particular duties. But with Barlaeus the merchant does not now simply do his duty, namely trade. Given that his wealth equates with the public good, his acquisitiveness is quietly encouraged. He is, further, not simply another human being placed and monitored by God on a stage but, because of his particular skills, has now become 'self-acting' (Jacob 2008:10). He is both philosopher and merchant, whose cultivation of the classical humanities is crucially linked to the skills required to be successful at trade. Trained in these dual fields, he can thus assume social and political responsibilities that went beyond the remit to which he was accustomed in the medieval chain of being (Rauschenbauch 2013). He had now come into his own.

Barlaeus's thoughts reflected a gradual but radical shift in the view of the self that was characteristic of early modernity (1500-1800). According to Baumeister, this period 'came to stress the distinction between the inner self and outer self [that is, one was more than one's duty], to value individuality, and increasingly, to recognize human development and change' (Baumeister 1987:163). It was in this period, more particularly in the seventeenth century, that the concepts of self-consciousness and self-awareness became prominent. The period also saw the loosening of social hierarchies, the onset of social mobility and the rise of the middle class. The consequent decline of traditionally fixed social bonds also meant the erosion of the concept of community as the basic unit of society, to become increasingly replaced by the notion of the individual in this regard (Baumeister 1987: 165, 169). The individual self begins to break through a cosmic hierarchy that had previously, in a profound sense, anonymized it.

The emergence of the individual self, in turn, facilitated the rise of capitalism. The sovereign self, namely the self not philosophically bound by tradition, community and cosmic hierarchies, is in principle free to pursue his or her self-interest (Asad 2003: 133-134). This, of course, is the foundation for

a capitalist mindset. But capitalism itself sets into play a regimen of desires that helps shape the seemingly sovereign self in various ways. According to Bell (2012), reflecting the insights of Deleuze and Foucault, capitalism is premised on the construction of desire (and hence the self) in particular directions. If desire (Deleuze) and its corollary power (Foucault) are diffused throughout society, and in fact provides the precondition for its ordering, it is the ends to which that society is ordered that become the critical issue. In a society diffused through and through with capitalist power, the desires fostered by its regimen becomes a foundational concern. Thus, in an example provided by Bell, the seemingly daring transgression of sexual mores on display in a contemporary New Orleans Mardi Gras is not so much an assertion of the sovereign self but a product of complex marketing and commodification of desire (Bell 2012: 53-54). Capitalism is then not to be seen so much as a mode of production but as an organizing principle for thinking and, consequently, arranging society. For Bell, capitalism is a theology because 'it reflects a particular understanding of how reality hangs together – what the nature and end of the material world is, how that world operates, and the place of humans within it, including the nature of their behavior and interactions as well as their purpose and prospects …' (Bell 2012:91). The elements of this understanding include a vision of the world as being constituted of autonomous individuals (as opposed to community), free to maximize their own interests (as opposed to the common good), underscored by a view of the human being as a creature of unlimited wants and desires (as opposed to being defined by a particular *telos*), in necessary competition with one another – the war of all against all as per Hobbes famous phrase – with relationships maintained for instrumental purposes (as opposed to friendship grounded in the common good) and an approach towards justice that is wholly concerned with the enforcement of voluntary contractual exchanges (as opposed to a concern with deleterious social effects that may result from those exchanges, that is, social justice) (Bell 2012: 93-110). Such a theology obviously runs counter to those commonly found in the world's traditional religions and so works in opposition to the desires they seek to cultivate. However, the resources of the modern state are aligned on the side of capitalist desires. As Bell points out, again following Deleuze, in early modernity the state recognized that the perpetuation of its power depended upon the prosperity of its subjects. It thus developed the sciences of population (political statistics and census). However, it came to the realization that certain aspects of society were bound to escape its control,

especially the economy. Thus, rather than seeking to control this rather opaque dimension, it put itself into its service. As distinct from directly seeking wealth, the liberal state now seeks to facilitate optimal conditions for the pursuit of individual interests. The realization of these interests depends on a regimen of governing the self-wrought by civil society, for example, the regimen to which factory or office workers are typically subject. Liberalism is hence intimately involved in governance even though this does not necessitate any direct state apparatus (Bell 2012: 70-79). Selves are subtly conditioned in accordance with the economic logic of the state – a logic which in turn reflects the regimen of desires inaugurated by capitalism. It is against this, admittedly sketchy, backdrop, I believe, that we need to see the anti-statecraft politics of Shaykh Yusuf al-Maqassari of Cape Town.

The Anti-politics of Shaykh Yusuf

Shaykh Yusuf (1626-1699), born in South Sulawesi, Indonesia, is famous for his struggle against Dutch colonialism in the latter part of the 17th century, particularly from 1667 onward. The struggle, which primarily took place in Banten, Java, led to his eventual exile to Cape Town in 1694, where he was to pass away five years later, becoming an icon for South African Muslims – 'the father of Islam in South Africa' – as well as a national hero in Indonesia where his memory continues to be celebrated. But for many Muslims in both countries, he is also regarded as a saint (*walīullah*)[2] whose tomb – and he has one in both countries – is visited to seek God's blessings. Indeed, prior to taking up his anti-colonial activity, he had already achieved considerable renown as a mystic, a Sufi who was given the title *Tāj al Khalwatīyyah*, or 'The Crown of the Khalwatiyyah Order'.[3] In this regard he had authored a number of relatively short texts on Sufism, approximately 53 in all, including some that he had composed while exiled in Ceylon between 1684 and 1694 (it was from Ceylon that he was transferred to Cape Town). These texts clearly show him to be a proponent of the '*waḥdat ul wujūd'* or 'Unity of Being' school associated with the famous Andalusian mystic, Shaykh Muḥīyuddīn ibn 'Arabī (1165-1240). Remarkably, there is hardly, if ever, a reference to the Dutch in his texts, even in the ones that were written on Ceylon after his confrontation with them. There

[2] Literally, 'friend of God'.

[3] On the Khalwatīyyah see Bruinessen (1991).

is also no seeming concern with conventional politics in general, but rather we find in them a reiteration of the principles of *ṭarīqah* (the spiritual path) and *ḥaqīqah* (spiritual realities). Thus, as I have stated elsewhere, his focus on the spiritual path deals with the following principles:

> the importance of remembering God constantly, the manner of such remembrance as well as its conditions; the requirement to show fidelity to orthodox Muslim beliefs and to adhere to Islamic law (*Sharī'ah*); the requirement to follow the prophetic example (*Sunnah*) both inwardly and outwardly; the importance of fealty to one's spiritual master; the importance of showing satisfaction with divine decree and ordinance (although to be displeased with sin); the need to inculcate good character; an attitude that advocates the view that politics is beneficial only in so far as it nurtures the soul – otherwise it is better to withdraw from such politics; that the spiritual seeker should always think the best of other people and of God; that they should have a healthy fear of God; and that they should follow the spiritual quest with humility. In brief, all thoughts and all acts must be geared to the continuous remembrance of God (Rafudeen 2017).

As to the themes focused on mystical reality, these are:

> … the full awareness that, in truth, only God exists and that everything else is but a manifestation of God's reality; that it is through God's manifestations that creation comes to know Him; the perfect human being is one who is continually conscious of God's reality and thus is able to witness God in all things; that the heart of such a human being is the Throne of God; as such, the possessor of such a heart is involved in an intimate relationship with God; that the goal of the spiritual quest is extinction of the consciousness of one's self (*fanā*) and residing in a state of permanence (*baqā*) with God; and that consciousness of the self results from the distance to God and that such consciousness is the deeper root of sin (Rafudeen 2017).

What immediately strikes one is how abstract these themes are from the cut and thrust of politics – a politics with which Shaykh Yusuf, as the spiritual

advisor to the Banten court and a personal participant in the fight against Dutch hegemony, was intimately conversant. Yet he is apparently, in his thought at least, not interested in matters of state. His focus is strictly on cultivating the subjectivity demanded of his worldview which, in a word, aspires to make God a living reality in an individual's life. If anything, he is not merely disinterested in politics but actively seeks to cut his disciples off from it. While he does believe that, in an ideal politic, the Muslim ruler is guided by the Islamic scholar in fostering a healthy socio-political order, he appears to have come to the view that such an organic relationship is, at the time of writing, impossible given the deterioration of the Muslim state. Given the political circumstances – and he may have had colonialism in mind here although he does not name it as such – Muslim rulers should set their sights on the bare minimum, namely upholding the basic elements of the *Sharī'ah* as far as they could, while those treading the spiritual path should now withdraw from state matters as such. He justifies his position on the grounds that the circumstances in which Muslims then found themselves were 'times of corruption' and he adduces several Prophetic sayings (*ahadīth*) advocating such withdrawal in times of 'greed, passion, miserliness and self-conceit' to the extent that, under such conditions, even the traditional injunction 'to enjoin good and prevent evil' in a public way may be the less desirable option when compared to seclusion (*QA* 2017, *TALAA* 2017, *ZA* 2017).

Such seclusion, or to put it in another way, such explicit renunciation of the political sphere, when seen in conjunction with his overall mystical philosophy, however, does leave a social imprint. Shaykh Yusuf is motivating his readers to a worldview oriented towards the common good (one of the implications of adherence to the *Sharī'ah*), a way of living (*Sunnah*) that does not necessarily fit hand in glove with the desires engendered by a capitalist outlook; a primary fealty that is owed to one's spiritual master rather than the state; a focus on the constant recollection of God rather than, say, one's economic pursuits; a losing of the self to God rather than an assertion of the self; and, underscoring all of this, a shaping of *desire* so that one sees the reality of God in all things (and so for Shaykh Yusuf the Dutch are but one feature in this greater scheme of things) as opposed to cultivating a desire for other than God. If desire is not seen as a product (one either has desire or one has not) but rather, echoing Bell, as a typology (one has different kinds of desire in a zero-sum game) then Shaykh Yusuf's 'Unity of Being' worldview can be seen as a de-territorialization of capitalist desires fostered by modernity's assertion of

the individual self and a re-territorialization of desire for God, a desire to lose the self in the Islamic version of the great chain of being (hence his *jihād* against the Dutch becomes 'unexceptional' flowing as it does from the sense of duty that comes from belonging to this chain and hence he finds no reason to remark on it). His 'anti-politics' is thus a way – an oblique way – of resisting being inscribed within the economic logic of the state. But perhaps it is precisely because of its obliqueness that it was so successful: premised as it is on different notions of time, space and causality, it does not come into direct confrontation with the hegemonic state – although its underpinnings are profoundly subversive of that state – hence helping to ensure the durability of the Cape Muslim community, despite a law that had banned the public display of Islam in the early Dutch period (Mahida 1993: 2) as well as, more generally, the pressure of being a minority within a dominant, specifically Protestant, state-sanctioned Christian context – Muslims were given formal permission to establish South Africa's first mosque only in the 1790's, approximately 140 years after they had first come to the country (Davids 1980). But, it could be asked, what were the specific steps taken by Shaykh Yusuf to cultivate such a perspective among his followers?

Shaykh Yusuf's Cultivation of the Worshipping Self

In providing advice to his disciples in his 'A Saving Bequest' (*al Waṣīyyah al-Munjīyyah*), Shaykh Yusuf recommends that they firstly learn the key tenets of orthodox Sunni belief, especially that related to maintaining consciousness of God's transcendence under all conditions, as per the Quranic dictum. 'There is nothing similar to Him whatsoever' [Quran 42:11]. They are also required to learn the laws relating to acts of obedience in Islam and pay particular attention to upholding the obligatory five daily prayers at their stipulated times. This, of course, is a general requirement for all Muslims. But Shaykh Yusuf then recommends a set of devotional practices which structures the day of a disciple in a far more detailed way. Thus the disciple is asked to recite the formula 'There is no god but God' at least ten thousand times in a twenty-four hour cycle, provided that their work and family circumstances permit such an amount. But even if circumstances do not make this possible, they should recite, at the very least, a quarter of this amount. In addition, they should send at least one hundred salutations upon the Prophet a day (these salutations are contained in standard formulas). Aside from this, he provides a comprehensive

set of specific Quranic chapters as well as other litanies that should be read after the obligatory prayers. These litanies, like the formula 'There is no god but God' call the reciter to the consciousness that all things are in God's power and that to Him alone belongs all glory. And, in addition to the obligatory prayers, he urges his disciples to read the well-known optional prayers such as the mid-morning (*duḥā*), post-sunset (*awwābīn)* and pre-dawn (*taḥajjud*) prayers, as well as to fast at least three days every month (*WM* 2017).

Thus Shaykh Yusuf has set into motion a regimen of practices – practices that take up a considerable part of the day – that orients the disciple to desire God. The formulas and litanies prescribed are meant to bring awareness that the world is temporal and that God, the permanent and the reality behind all things, alone is worthy of all devotion. Such a regimen subverts any notion that a pursuit of economic goals – the striving for possessions as a public good as per Barlaeus – should be made a priority for the self. Of course, Shaykh Yusuf recognizes the pursuit of economic activities for livelihood as necessary. (This would form part of the obligations to one's family as required by the *sharī'ah*.) But the subjectivity cultivated by the consistent regimen of practices is undoubtedly that of a 'worshipping self' as distinct from the individual self that characterizes the *homo oeconomicus*.

But the question may well be asked: why worship? Why cultivate such a self? It appears from Shaykh Yusuf's work that such a regimen of practices, formal at first, leads to a deepening exploration, and consequent realization, of the nature of the self. So, crucially, the formula 'There is no god but God', while recited by the tongue, connects to the spiritual heart (*qalb*), seen as 'favour of Allah that pours through the openings of the physical heart' (*IK* 2017). The ritual recital of the formula is regarded as the key by which to enter the domain of this heart and to 'rejoice' in everything that is found there. But the heart is one aspect of a spiritual psychology that includes other faculties such as the soul (*rūh*), the inner heart (*fu'ad*), and the innermost essence (*sirr*) which too have their formulaic 'keys' as means to enter the perceived riches of their domains. This spiritual psychology has, of course, been the subject of wide discussion in Sufism and we have no need here to pursue its details.[4] We simply wish to make the point that its practitioners such as Shaykh Yusuf believe that the self constitutes a microcosm that, via specified training, must be explored and mined.

[4] See for example Valiuddin (1980).

But a microcosm presumes a macrocosm. In Shaykh Yusuf's view, the purpose of the self, the purpose of the cultivated exploration and mining is to become, in a profound sense, 'nothing', to again become absorbed in God and lose consciousness of its own existence. In this ontology, human beings are in reality 'non-existent' and God is the Being that truly exists – all creation being manifestations of His attributes. It is forgetfulness of God that gives the impression that the self has an independent reality and so, in order to recover our true metaphysical location, namely that of non-being, he or she needs to remember God – such remembrance being the *raison d'etre* for cultivating the 'worshipping self'.

Such a psychology and ontology presupposes a very different orientation to time, space, causality and the self than those characteristic of modernity. Time is seen as a journey to one's origin as distinct from being seen as simply linear progression. Similarly, in terms of space, this world is not seen as unending matter but rather as a place of sojourning, a testing ground beyond which one returns back to one's home, namely, God. In regard to causality, the view that each and everything in existence is directly caused by God and is a reflection of His Attributes generates a particular relation to creation – creation as various hues, so to speak, of one reality – that sits at odds with the dialectal impetus of modernity. Most pointedly, perhaps, for our purposes here, the view that fulfilment is to be sought in the negation of self-consciousness as opposed to its assertion, marks a profound break with the dawn of the modern perspective described by Baumeister earlier, and the accompanying shepherding of this individualism into the service of capitalism. And while we are not saying Shaykh Yusuf consciously set out to do this, his regimen of practices and the subjectivity it cultivated had the *effect* of resisting such marshalling and consequent reduction of the self to *homo oeconomicus* by offering an alternative way of 'how reality hangs together' to use Bell's term, an alternative way of living the self and an alternative structure of desire. Yet this alternative was not an obvious resistance to hegemony. By its nature it could not be. This is a point that requires some elucidation.

Mysticism as Oblique Resistance: Breaking out of the Prison of the Ego

In her magnum opus, *The Silent Cry*, Dorothee Soelle quotes Rumi, the celebrated mystic poet, as follows: 'Why, when God's world is so big/ did you

fall asleep in a prison/ of all places?' (Soelle 2001: 29-30).

The prison referred to here is the ego which, according to Soelle, 'does not allow the bundle of desires, drives and needs in us to come to resolution. This is precisely how it shores up in us such profound dependency on this world' (Soelle 2001: 209).

The ego, in other words, in its untrained state, is enslaved to the world. It covets the source of its imprisonment. But it is driven by mercantilism and, later, industrial and global capitalism, towards such covetousness. In her analysis of Meister Eckhart's sermon on Jesus driving money changers and merchants from the temple, Soelle notes that Eckhart (1260-1328) must have been acutely conscious that he was preaching in Cologne, at that time an emerging centre of trade between Western and Eastern Europe. For Eckhart, it was not any supposed dishonest dealing by the merchants that upset Jesus – in fact, they are described as honest and religious people – rather, it was the mercantilist spirit itself that was the source of his opprobrium. This spirit is based on creating a relationship of distance between buyer and seller, subject and object as well as a mindset that God 'owes' a person for his or her performance of good deeds. It thus leads, according to Soelle, to ego-fixation, to what in later capitalism was unabashedly called enlightened self-interest. For Eckhart, on the contrary, to be free, the ego must be made empty or 'being rid' (*ledig*). This word, as Soelle informs us, means, amongst other things, being unburdened, unencumbered, not being a serf. In other words, it must free itself from the pull of desires and self-interests that characterize the mercantile spirit and again become egoless – an egolessness that then allows the temple of the soul to be flooded with God (see Soelle 2001: 214-216; as well as Eckhart 2017)[5].

Such egolessness can only be achieved, says Soelle, not by looking at ourselves in the mirror but by 'looking at something different and being captured by something outside ourselves' (Soelle 2001:212). In the case of the Sufis' *dhikr* the resolution to the ego's unrelenting pursuit of desire is achieved by replacing 'God-forgetfulness' – of which Soelle observes the ego is a concretization – by God-remembrance, *dhikr* (the repeated utterance of God's

[5] Eckhart's sermon, under the title Merchandizing Truth' can at least partially be found at the Plough.com website: https://www.plough.com/en/topics/culture/holidays/easter-readings/merchandising-truth-an-easter-reading (Link active 6th March 2018).

name as in the formula 'there is no god but God'). That is, it is to be drowned again in God and thus lose consciousness of one's ego (Soelle 2001:210). The images which flood the ego to stoke its covetousness, and thus its existence as an 'I' in the nominative (the 'I' that makes its claim on the world) is replaced by an image, which in the zero-sum game of desire, lessens the attachment to these other images, replacing it with a desire that places that 'I' in the accusative – 'I' as an object of creation, a link in the great chain of being, an actor on a stage directed by God[6].

Soelle's reflection on the place of *dhikr*, I believe, provides us with an important opening for understanding Shaykh Yusuf's seemingly abstract writings as an act of resistance. Directly, of course, the *dhikr* formula that Shaykh Yusuf himself recommends his disciples to recite, at least 2500 times a day, would be the practice by which such egolessness is facilitated. Yet the *dhikr* itself, as alluded to in the previous section, inducts the disciple into a world where time, space, causality and the nature of the self are regarded rather differently. That is, it provides an alternative psychology and ontology as already mentioned. In Soelle's terms, it provides a 'different relation to the ego' (Soelle 2001: 212).

This relation, in the thought of Shaykh Yusuf, is viewed as real. From his perspective, his writings are a description of how things really are. It is *in effect* an alternative to the prevailing hegemony but it does not purposively set out to construct itself as such. On the contrary, its roots extend far back into the Islamic tradition, well before colonialism, to a stream of thought most notably connected with the 13th century figure of ibn 'Arabī already mentioned, but beyond this mystic to earlier ones in the Muslim tradition who had expressed similar outpourings, as well to his previous masters in the spiritual chain of the Khalwatīyyah who, like all other Sufi orders in Islam, trace their authority to the Prophet. Thus from the perspective of Shaykh Yusuf, his picture of reality is not so much an alternative, but a natural continuation of the teachings he received from his masters, and they from their masters and so forth and so, far from being just an opinion among others in Islam or, worse still, a deviation from the religion, it represents its very core. It is also important to remember that Shaykh Yusuf's teachings are still, in the postcolonial era, being actively taught by the present day successors of his branch of the

[6] See Soelle (2001)for her employment of Buber's concept of nominative and accusative in this regard, p211.

Khalwatīyyah order in South Sulawesi[7]. From these analyses and interpretations, it is thus a teaching that, in crucial respects at least, is impervious to the vicissitudes of history.

This, I think, is significant because it reflects the oblique nature of the critique made in Shaykh Yusuf's thought. His description of a different relation to the ego, to time, space and causality may be thoroughly at odds with that cultivated by the mercantilist mind-set but it is not necessarily in open conflict with the latter, except where the dictates that follow from following the *Sharī'ah* requires *jihād* or another sort of confrontation. But, mostly, it offers a *parallel* way of life. A different relation to the ego, to time, space and causality does not always require confrontation but plays out in consciousness. Human beings are made aware that there is a different mode of reality than that on offer in hegemonic discourse. Egolessness represents the culmination of the properly trained ego, a gradual emptying of dross via replacement with the wholesome. And so, from the perspective of the ego at least, egolessness does not initially present itself as a direct challenge to the ego's authority, even though the former will prove to be profoundly subversive of this latter. Similarly, Shaykh Yusuf is not directly challenging market time or market space, that is, linear time and space, but he radically relativizes linearity by according it a particular reality amidst other dimensions of time and space. Likewise, seeing God as the cause of each and every moment does not negate apparent material causes: however, recognizing God as the reality behind every appearance does result in a transformed view of how reality hangs together. The critique, then, is directed towards consciousness and awareness and this may be described as an oblique criticism of the Dutch East India Company's mercantilist mindset. But such criticism should not be seen as wholly intangible. The alternative consciousness cultivated needs to be communicated to disciples and practised and this in turn requires teaching circles, mosques and Sufi orders. And the cultivation of a new trajectory of desires accomplished through such institutions would in turn generate further ones. We have already mentioned the living tradition of Shaykh Yusuf's teaching in Indonesia. In

[7] For a list of the spiritual masters of the order up until the present day see the blog entitled PROFIL JAM'IYAH KHALWATIYAH SYEKH YUSUF AL-MAKASSARIY.
http://profilejamiyahkhalwatiyah.blogspot.co.za/ , 16 February 2016 (Link still active on 6 March 2018)

Cape Town, while the atmosphere in the 17th century was far more restrictive, institutions and recital groups have clearly been inspired by him. Indeed, as early as 1704, Muslims in Cape Town had already made his own place of burial such an institution – a *kramat* (a building constructed in honour of a saint) to be precise. The oblique critique implied in living a parallel mode of the self necessarily had a social, and consequently, political imprint. At the very least it helped ensure, together with other factors of course, that Cape Muslims had an alternative tradition by which they could reflect upon and experience reality – the survival of which tradition simultaneously contributed to their survival as a fundamentally intact community amidst a tumultuous history.

Conclusion

I think it is important not to confine Shaykh Yusuf's activities to the realm of the mystical, something that has little do with his political activity. As I hope I have indicated at least in part, there are profound interconnections between the two. Moreover, we now know through the genealogical turn in the social sciences that the construction of these fields as distinct domains has largely occurred under the impetus of the Enlightenment (Asad: 1993). From a perspective such as '*waḥdat ul wujūd*' these fields do not have separate realities. Rather, as indicated, the perspective is undergirded by specific views on time, space and causality within which *all* reality unfolds. Thus all reality has to partake of a time that is both linear but also occurs in a divine 'now', of a space that is physical but is transcended by spaces that are not visible, and a causality where, in reality, God is the direct cause of each and every act. When reality is viewed in such a way, the questions that an adherent of such a worldview would pose are rather different to one whose subjectivity has been shaped by more secular concerns. So, for example, with regard to time, the concern for the adherent of the 'unity of being' perspective would not be: what role did someone – now dead – play in history? Rather, the question would be: where is that someone *now* in relation to a continually unfolding reality. In such a perspective what we would commonly see as politics is simply part of metaphysics.

Thus Shaykh Yusuf's perspective offered the beleaguered Muslims of colonial Cape Town, namely slaves and free blacks, a radically different way of experiencing time, space and causality, that is, a parallel mode of living reality. This mode of reality offered the self possibilities of fulfilment that were

not defined, nor contained, by the economic logic of the state. In any case, as an oppressed underclass, such economic logic did not serve their interests, and they found themselves oppressed precisely because they were at the receiving end of those who were served by its logic. Thus they were certainly not invested in the status quo. Moreover, through this parallel mode, Muslim slaves and free blacks could make sense of their situation in the greater scheme of things, helping them to maintain their faith in the face of the historical odds with which they had to contend.

There may perhaps be a question worth considering here for our current decolonial moment. To what extent does resistance to coloniality imply resisting the deep assumptions – the assumptions of space, time and causality – on which it rests? These assumptions in turn rest on those of the modern project itself with which colonialism is historically and logically intertwined. The question, I think, is important because insufficient attention to the genealogy of these assumptions risks decolonial activism being inscribed in the very colonial legacy it opposes. To what extent, for example, is the existentialism that characterizes 'Black Skin, White Masks' itself inscribed in the project of modernity? (Fanon 1986). Or, conversely, how can John Mbiti's exploration of the anti-modernist nature of time in various African religions (a time that absorbs back rather than projects forward) be viewed as preeminently contributing to the decolonial project? (Mbiti 1967). Of course, we are not advocating a wholesale dismissal of modernity's assumptions nor, on the other hand, a simple embrace of the assumptions that underlie a mystical system such as Shaykh Yusuf's or in the systems explored by Mbiti. Rather, Shaykh Yusuf's mysticism should at least help prompt greater self-reflexivity regarding the underlying philosophical bases of decoloniality.

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Auwais Rafudeen
Department of Religious Studies and Arabic
University of South Africa
Pretoria
rafudma@unisa.ac.za

Deconstructing African History from Western Historicism

Isaiah A. Negedu
Solomon O. Ojomah

Abstract

If a people were to write their own history to be solely accepted as an ideal, it would not be abnormal for them to do so in their own favour. The history of the African peoples as documented by Western literatures, mostly comprises the exaltation of European culture through various stereotypical labellings of African history and culture.In the same vein, most Africans would be tempted to rewrite African history in favour of the cultures/ traditions of the African people themselves. Western historicism, however, has gradually denied the African an identity, primarily by eulogising its vindictive colonial presence in Africa, with the purpose of creating a cultural superstructure for the West. Through critical analysis and the conversational method, we submit that a balanced reordering of history in a sane manner is quickened when informed African scholars in their various disciplines take up the task of historiography to create their own peculiar narrative that will provide both the scholarly agenda and its related content, to set the African people on a course of wholesome prosperity.

Keywords: historicism, white supremacy, history, African history, race

1. Preliminary Observations

If we are to define history, we will be faced with numerous definitions, not really because there cannot be a holistic understanding of the concept, but definitions of history abound as there are numerous cultures and races. One of the primary reasons for divergence in the understanding of history is that descriptions/definitions create an ideological superstructure for some cultures and races over others. It is on this note that Wilson (2014) in the first part of

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a14

his book: 'The Falsification of Afrikan Consciousness', exposes a Eurocentric underpinning of history that makes devils out of the black race and angels out of the Caucasian race. Jahn long saw the advent of this ideology when he aptly stated: 'For those who expect to see in their fellow men fools, blockheads or devils, will find evidence to confirm their prejudices' (Jahn 1961:20). As long as a human being has a preconceived notion of the inability of his fellow human to produce good music, all he has to do is to make a hell out of every song that proceeds from his mouth. Our ability to distort the personality of people through various stereotypical images creates idols out of gods and turn mere images into witchcraft. It is on this note that history has been defined for the African as the study of the past and because there is a robust future ahead of everyone, history so defined gradually becomes an inauthentic venture since no one wishes to continue to re-live the past. But European historiography is not just a field of study; it is more of an ideology and in a world with various civilizational tussle, every culture and race strive to outperform others. Our understanding of history must take into cognizance not just the past, but the present and future of the African. History is therefore the past and the future in a mobile present.

2. Western Historicism

It was the German Philosopher Karl Wilhelm Friedrich Schlegel who first used the word historicism in describing the type of philosophy that places much emphasis on history (Beiser 2007:175). Certain scholars applied the term to the Italian philosopher Giovanni Battista Vico who held that everything is history; from neo-Kantian German philosophers like Wilhelm Dilthey and Wilhelm Windelband who held that social studies and history are caught up in the presupposition of their time, to various Hegelian and Marxist authors. Often, historicism is linked to the view that what is needed is a historical explication of the items being investigated, be it knowledge, society or human nature (Iannone 2001:245). However it is in the wake of Hegelianism that the term had its popularity. In order to dissect Western historicism, Hegel's view on Africa and Rudyard Kipling's view are necessary as they serve as template of Western historicism. Also, relevant to this is Karl Popper's criticism of Hegel even though there was no reference to Africa in his criticism. Views of these scholars would be used as an impetus to understanding historicism in the context used in this essay.

Historicism, as used in this essay, can better be understood by taking into account the established pattern of some of the major world achievements in different ramifications erroneously attributed to the Western world as a means of justifying the culture of white supremacy. The relevance of Popper's view is his criticism of historicism based on his definition, where he says of historicism, that it is:

> an approach to the social sciences which assumes that *historical prediction* is their principal aim, and which assumes that this aim is attainable by discovering the 'rhythms' or the 'patterns', the 'laws' or the 'trends' that underlie the evolution of history (Popper 2013:8).

Historicism is therefore aimed at the prediction of future social and political outcomes based on presupposed underlying laws of history. This approach to a large extent lies beneath the unsatisfactory historical accounts given by many western scholars accurately epitomized in Hegel and other scholars whose hidden trend is the culture of white supremacy. Historicism is deep-rooted in our social consciousness. For example, theistic historicism identifies God-willed laws of historical development; naturalistic historicism identifies laws of nature, spiritual historicism clings to laws of spiritual development, economic historicism depends on laws of economic development (Popper 2013:8). Western historicism relied on the trend of the supremacy of the Caucasian race.

There is a relationship between Western historicism and theistic historicism. The example of theistic historicism given by Popper is the doctrine of the chosen people that entails the interpretation of history as the playing out of a script written by God on the basis of the assumption that God has chosen a people to function as the selected instrument of His will, and that this people will inherit the earth (Popper 2013:8). In this type of historicism, the law of development is laid down by the will of God. In western historicism, it is not the will of God, but the will of the western world enshrined in the culture of white supremacy that takes the centre stage.

This Pattern or trend in Hegel's view is embedded in his concept of the absolute spirit which is itself the development of the idea of freedom. It was on the basis of the dialectic evolution of the absolute spirit that he gave his view on African history which is not just a prototype of the many western views of Africa but an embodiment of Western historicism.

3. Denigration of African History

Hegel's philosophy of history remains one of the scholarly works that buttressed the denigration of African history as espoused by many western scholars before him and after him, thus his philosophy of history epitomizes Western historicism. In his view, history involves an ineluctable movement towards the ideal, he therefore described history as the manifestation of what he dubbed the 'universal spirit' whose progress is through the unfolding of 'reason' on earth. This description is based on his aim of elucidating the idea of history as a process whereby the absolute spirit attains consciousness through dialectical process involving thesis, antithesis and synthesis. In essence, history as a rational process is a record of the development of human freedom which entails the development of the absolute spirit or reason. In the Hegelian procedure, history entails the act of the world spirit coming to explicit consciousness of itself. World history for Hegel is a long process by which the spirit develops itself to the attainment of perfect freedom and complete self-realization via the dialectics.

The above process by Hegel began in the Eastern world; the Chinese civilization where the idea of freedom was limited to the despotic emperor with the right to use his freedom according to his will. Among the Indians, freedom was limited to the caste system, but with the Persians, the dichotomy established between good and evil, light and darkness, further the development of the absolute spirit, but they failed to see the synthesis of these contradictions by identifying the unity of all things. The process of the realization of the absolute spirit moved from the East to the Greeks. Hegel attributed much of the world achievements to the Greeks; he opined that:

> Greece presents to us the cheerful aspect of youthful freshness, of Spiritual vitality. It is here first that advancing Spirit makes itself the content of its volition and its knowledge (Hegel 1956:223).

The course of the absolute spirit progressed from the Greeks' perception that was deformed by their institution of slavery and moved towards the Romans, which had institutions of law that established better ideas of freedom. The institution of slavery also marred the progress of the absolute spirit. In all, it was with the Roman Empire that Christianity established the idea of freedom by its spreading to the whole of Europe where the idea of freedom is for all men. However, the most advanced process of world spirit coming to

consciousness in Hegel's philosophy is with the Germanic civilization. It was based on this idea that Popper attributed the origin of Nazism to Hegel's philosophy.

The above general overview of Hegel's view of history of the world has no place for Africa because he viewed it as a non-historical part of the world that is yet to exhibit any idea of freedom. To this end, it was just a mere piece of land with pathetic beings that fed on roots, herbs and the milk of camels. Summarily put, it was a place of madness and absolute deep sadness of the highest order (Mudimbe 1994:8). In order to give reasons why Africa is a non-historical part of the world, he further makes a distinction of what it means to be Africa proper and what not to be termed Africa proper.

> Africa proper ... is the gold-land compressed within itself - the land of childhood, which lies beyond the day of self-conscious history, is enveloped in the dark mantle of night. Its isolated character originates, not merely in its tropical nature, but essentially in its geographical conditions (Hegel 1956:91).

The proper Africa in his view is the territory that lies south of the Sahara, the European Africa lies north of the Sahara and Egypt, a territory connected to Asia (Hegel 1956:92). Negro, which is the black race in Hegel's view, is tantamount to Africa. To this end, he relates his view of history as follows:

> In Negro life the characteristic point is that consciousness has not yet attained to the realization of any substantial objective existence – as for example, God, or Law – a in which the interest of man's volition is involved and in which he realizes his own being. This distinction between himself as an individual and the universality of his essential being, the African in the uniform, undeveloped oneness of his existence has not yet attained; so that the knowledge of an absolute Being, an Other and a Higher than his individual self, is entirely wanting. The Negro, as already observed, exhibits the natural man in his completely wild and untamed state (Hegel 1956:93).

Another characteristic attributed to the Negroes by Hegel is slavery:

> Among Negroes ... parents sell their children, and conversely children their parents, as either has the opportunity .... The polygamy of the

> Negroes has frequently for its object the having of many children, to be sold, every one of them, into slavery [the king of Dahomey had 3,333 wives], and to conclude, of slavery to have been the occasion of the increase of human feeling among the Negroes (Hegel 1956: 97 - 98).

In accordance with Hegel's portrayal of Africa, reasons for slavery and colonization are apparent because the ways to ensure that the absolute spirit reaches its consciousness in Africa is by slavery and colonization. With regards to colonization, Rudyard Kipling in his poem 'The White Man's Burden' regarded the colonized as the white man's burden, half-child and half devil. Steinvorth (2009:66) relates Kipling's view to Heidegger's view of the authentic self and concluded that:

> the West regarded itself as more authentic, less illusionary, more in contact with Being (whatsoever was meant by that word) than the rest ….

In order to justify herself as an embodiment of humanity through self-recognition imbued with authenticity, some western scholars for a very long time have been engaged in denigrating Africa, the cradle of humanity and civilization. Albeit archeological evidence and other historical facts have exposed the hidden agenda inherent in the culture of white supremacy.

4. Historiography Exposed

Western historiography on the African race begins with plunder (Williams 1987:37). If a Christian is questioned on the nature of the teaching of the gospel, he is most likely to point to the golden rule *love* (Jahn 1961:17). But if the same person from probably a cultural background different from the African is asked about the African culture, his first reference will be to the primitive man in the forest. If love is really the golden rule of the Christian religion, why will his first reference be to the negativities of the black man in Africa who is devoid of humanity? The Christian era also had its own challenges in the dark ages characterized by the inquisition and various crusades. Justice demands that if primitivity in the forest is what depicts the African, then the inquisition and not love should characterize the Christian era.

Many institutions of African studies located in Europe are controlled by western scholars and the persons who certainly determine your ideology will most likely also control your collective destiny. Africans cannot claim to be free agents simply because they have acquired education that liberates them from the shackles of the historicism of the West. And because stereotypes are not always in favour of the victims, Africans as the victims are not going to be measured by the awareness of the informed minority, but by the ignorance of the deformed majority. This same very sectarian idea about the African people made some Western scholars conclude in a rush when they saw the vast uninhabited and uninhabitable stretches of land, that there was an in-built inferiority or in-built failure in the very nature of the African (Williams 1987:45). Yakwazulu-Natali is an example of such a city that falls within this categorization; which is to the effect of the discovery of the *Yakwazulu* on *Natalis* (birth of Christ). It is not unlikely for the victims to always look for scapegoats outside their environment. However it should be stated that history also has it that the said victims have also been active participants in the philosophy of plunder. This is coupled with the fact that racial stereotyping at various times was indirectly taught by those who should be the linchpin of the colonized. Thus, it provides justification for them to accept their status but also to impact their fellow Africans and Caucasians.

Many among Africans and Caucasians alike were fed with mythological lies about the African society and the life of a black man in Africa. The land of the blacks, they were taught, is the land of barbarians where people are controlled by instinct and not reason and the consumption of human flesh is most prominent. And because cannibalism was synonymous to the African at home, the zoo was meant to be his homeland. Little wonder, Hitler's Germany bought into this narrative and created a safe haven against this 'alien race' in the zoo. But because many Africans have no sense of the authenticity of history, it is hardly recalled that during the era of dispersal, many Africans wandered aimlessly without settlements. These very groups of Africans were either sentenced to enslavement by the Arabs or death by starvation. Those who could survive resorted to cannibalism. Thus, there was a preparatory ground for the justification of the Eurocentric thesis that Africa was a land of primitivity where human flesh eaters were most prominent. Even in the sanest society, civilized human beings may most likely resort to the devouring of human flesh as the only alternative for survival. This was the very condition Lon Fuller presented in the case of the Speluncean explorers.

➢ White Supremacy

In order to understand the basic idea that propels the denigrating view of Africa, the concept of white supremacy is a vital key.

> White supremacy is a historical based, institutionally perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations, people of color by white peoples and nations of the European continent, for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power, and privilege (Martinez 2004:51).

This was however not unconnected with Buffon and Blumenbach's racial determinism of the existence of the 'master race'. With their push for the theory of monogenism emerged the fabrication of 'impure race' which was made flesh in the existence of various classification, with the black race being at the bottom. Important to this definition is the politics of power defined as the ability to define reality and convince a people to apply your definitions to their lives. By doing so, in effect, it creates an imaginary world perceived through the manufactured lens of another (Black 2013:369). The kind of history that many have come to believe and live as reality are products of the politics of power, which in relation to the western world, gives Africa its identity, shapes her attitudes, establishes a standard of judging values and behaviors. Jacobson rightly conceived race as organizer of power. This power can be summed as power to control, power to oppress and disempower (Jacobson 1991:11). The ideological content of this power forms the pattern of education in the world today; a system of education that regards African history as tantamount to bondage; a system of education where past achievements of ancient Africans are attributed to White scholars. Hence, the power politics is enshrined in the miseducation pattern of the schools' curricula with broader notarization beyond the sphere occupied by the colonist.

One's history is paramount to the formation of one's identity. The white supremacy as embedded in the philosophy of Hegel and other western scholars is aimed at depriving Africa some historical achievements. Although empirical evidence has rendered this effort valueless to those who have been able to deconstruct the lens of stereotypes introduced by the politics of power. It is therefore necessary to understand that:

> the white race is not a passive demographic act but an invented volun-

> tary social institution whose main utility is oppression. It is one that continues to be collectively reinvented in a vain attempt to resolve the contradiction between white political power and social freedom and the denial of the same to (people of color) … (Rubio 2001:197).

This denial entails denigration of African history and identity of African people.

Important to the perception of white supremacy is the politics of colour which entails outright attribution of negativity to black. Unfortunately, the Christian perspective of colour embraces this brand of white supremacy. As recorded in the Christian Bible and portrayed in many contemporary pictures of God and devil, the devil who was once a white angel suddenly became a black figure after he became the devil. This belief unconsciously or consciously lies behind Kipling's portrayal of the black race as half-devil and half-child because if the devil is black, people of such colour automatically become 'sub-devil'. Also, the black colour is associated with sin, while the white colour is associated with righteousness. This understanding likely lies beneath shameful part played by some Christian missionary in the slave trade era. If sin ought to be condemned, then the black man who carries the image of sin ought to be condemned in slavery. The realization of the past achievements in African history is neglected based on this conception baptized in a 'pool of white supremacy'. What this does eventually is that it led to a kind of violent tendencies amongst the victims in a bid to affirm their humanity. So historiography moved in the trend of monogenism-negromaniac-negrophobia. In other words, from the arrogance of a group, to violent tendencies amongst some others and then to fear of the African by the very race that created the tension. This in turn has made it possible for some members among the colonist to become fragile to the point that there has been a perceived hyper-reactive tendencies and concentration on the plight of the Africans. This in our view has the capacity to stall any proposed healing process. On this note, the victims must also understand that even among the colonist race, some scholars have made attempt to create objective view of history. On this note, we use the concept 'white' and 'black' under protest since western historicism transcends colour.

➢ The Relationship between Western Historicism and White Supremacy

Theistic historicism shows its relationship with white supremacy. Just as theis-

tic historicism regards God as the author of the script that ought to be played out in accordance with divine will and law by the people chosen by God in the same fabricated script, white supremacy is the physical manifestation of Western historicism. Hence, Western historicism presupposes white supremacy because the idea evolved from the shift in focus from the chosen people to the chosen race, where a people were chosen through a racial contract with divinity while the rest of humanity are subsumed into the 'master race'. Wherever there is historicism of any kind, certain pattern, laws or rhythm are held in high esteem as the source of the evolution of history. This script upon which the historicism is based is often regarded as the gospel truth. The falsification of history as inherent in Hegel's view of African history as one of the sources of western historicism is regarded as the authentic history of Africa by most white supremacist. In the view of Browder:

> Throughout the last four and a half centuries, racism and white supremacy have continually threatened the existence of African people before, during, and after enslavement. These threats have forced Africans to modify their beliefs, thoughts, and behavior in order to survive on a planet where they are regarded as 'Third World' people. Those who now claim to be members of 'First World' are actually late comers to the human family (1996:3).

Browder's portrayal of the West as the actual late comer is based on various archeological evidence that bequeath to Africa the status of the cradle of civilization.

The relationship between Western historicism and white supremacy can further be explained by viewing western historicism as the theory while white supremacy is the practice. This view is accurate because the practices of white supremacist are based on the birth of ideologies in historicism. The upholders of Rudyard Kipling and Hegel's ideas of the black race and African continent is symptomatic of ideological imperialism.

In compliance with Hegel's view, some other philosophers and scientific historians of Western origin claimed that Africa has no history simply because so much of its past was not documented. This claim is usually based on narrative supported by the writing of African history by Western historians that do not have much knowledge about the African history. This view is flawed by the following argument by John E. Philips who held that:

> The idea that historians work (or should work) only with written documents has had unfortunate effects on history in general (imagine if detectives were only allowed to introduce written evidence in court!), although the lack of written evidence for much of African history has mitigated those effects on the history of Africa. The idea, borrowed from literary criticism, that nothing exists outside the text, useless for history (2005:39).

Also, since history is first of all conceived as an idea before it is penned down, it may certainly lead to a whole lot of problematic questions, one of which is the possibility of the study of history simply in books. Even so, in the fullness of time, the notion of orality without documentation will have to be debunked through various forms of writings either in forms of drum script, alphabetical script, hieratic, hieroglyphics, nsibidi and some others yet to be discovered. Based on this argument, the problem of African history is not documentation as such but the written script of the Western historicist that is the norm for others to follow. This is the practice of white supremacy that is inextricably interwoven with Western expansionism that culminated in colonialism and slavery.

Since Africans have been bedevilled by Western historicism and its brain child white supremacy, it is therefore necessary for the Africans to become the narrator of their own history not on the ground of sentimental reaction, but on the reality of authenticity, because history from a biased point of view cannot be regarded as history. A white supremacist view of African history is not a history in all its ramifications. It is pertinent to view Africa through the lens of Africans with real knowledge and not through Westerners with biased mind. This calls for Africanization of African history by disregarding the Westernization of African history which is a product of Western historicism. In the words of Brizuela-García:

> It was necessary first to rid the writing of African history of the prejudices and limitations imposed by traditional colonial and European history. In this regard the methods, questions, and sources used by historians in the writing of African history needed to be Africanized. Secondly, it was assumed that more of the personnel involved in the writing of African history and the institutions

> supporting this endeavor would be based in Africa, connected to African societies and their everyday problems (2006:87).

This calls for curricula for African schools that are based on Africanized history. In the final analysis, historicism is not all together evil in itself as it has created in the victims the extent of lack of awareness on their part and thus opened the Pandora's Box for discourse that takes into cognizance the inclusivity of the colonized.

To forget the past historical achievements of a whole continent where human beings originate is to forget the origin of humanity with important aspects that can only be traced to the origin. The past ought not to be forgotten as inculcated into our education system by the white supremacist. Even though the heinous effect of white supremacy seems to have become part and parcel of the being of many Africans, it is pertinent to reiterate the words of Malcomson who opined that:

> I doubt the past can be apologized for in any case, because it is beyond the reach of forgiveness. The past can only be understood and integrated into the present – its effects on the present recognized and incorporated into a daily practice of repair that cannot have an ending any more than the past has an ending (Malcomson 2001:507).

In order to understand the past, we shall state certain accomplishments in history that have been subjected to the evil of white supremacy. This understanding would help us in placing African and the negro race in their place in past, present and future.

5. Africa in History

There is power in definitions and historical explications that make it possible for people to define concepts and convince us that those definitions are ours. By doing so, we come to own definitions that were imposed on our consciousness. It is pertinent to note that there are several imposed ideas in theory and practice that Africans have accepted as part and parcel of the historical truth and included some directly or indirectly, in their educational curriculum. This inclusion in the curriculum forms part of the system of racial power being perpetrated in the guise of history and education guidelines.

Whenever references are made to past achievements of Africa in history, several scholars including Africans limit progress to Egypt as the only African country whose ancient history is replete with great achievements. Contrary to this belief system established about Africa, Jochannan pointed out that Egypt is one of the last of the ancient culture along the Nile. The importance of Egypt is not premised on the fact that it led any African society in antiquity, but that it is the society where most of the artifacts have remained engrained in stones. He also states that in terms of record on civilization, we can place societies of Africa at the head waters of the Nile; Ethiopia, Uganda, Somalia, Kenya, and Tanzania (Jochannan 2013). He further noted along with Clarke that the early Egyptians in the second and third dynasty '… came from the beginning of the Nile where God Hapi dwells, at the foothill of the mountains of the moon' (Jochannan & Clarke 1991: 83-84). Rwenzuri in Uganda and Kilimanjaro between Kenya and Tanzania are both called Mountain of the Moon in their respective countries. The fact that Egyptian civilization was not the first was reemphasized by Rensberger who held that:

> Evidence of the oldest recognizable monarchy in human history, preceding the rise of the earliest Egyptian kings by several generations, has been discovered in artifacts from ancient Nubia in Africa …. the various symbols of Nubian royalty that have been found are the same as those associated, in later times, with Egyptian kings (Rensberger 1979:16).

Rensberger also opined that the first king of Ta-Seti (Nubia) may have ruled about 5900 BC. This assertion affirms Jochannan's historical overview that 'Nubia is the mother of Egypt just as Ethiopia is the mother of Nubia and just as Somalia, Kenya, Uganda is the grandmother of Egypt' (Jochannan 2013). Williams devoted an entire chapter with the title: 'Ethiopia's Oldest Daughter: Egypt', where the advent of Ethiopia before Egypt is further explicated. The reason Egypt is regarded as the last of the ancient civilization is that; no society in human history started at the end of the river and walked up against the current of that river, because the means by which men travelled up the river is by locomotion with the log of wood and Egypt is at the lower part of the Nile. Hence the use of log of wood as a means of transportation on water remains an ancient means of humanity's transportation.

➢ Miseducation of Africans and the Falsification of History

No nation can afford to treat with levity the education of its citizens, since the kind of education a people receive either make or unmake them. This is very important because a weak educational system translates into a frail economy in the future. Our economy is largely a reflection of the education bequeathed to us and the quality of our economy cannot be better than the quality of our education.

Fortunately, while the education received in some advanced nations prepares them to meet the demands of each age, that bequeathed to Africans kept them in a static position. Such industrial education that was necessary to meet the challenges of every season that was and is still being received by the blacks, was merely to master skills already relegated in progressive societies (Woodson 2010:15). This was a deliberate attempt to perpetually relinquish the blacks to the Stone Age. Even the study of history has been distorted to remove Africans from the scene of events. European historiography presents the African people as a race that was once upon a time, not a people, but has been grafted into the siblinghood of humanity through Western benevolence. It is partly this distorted knowledge we have about Africa that constantly and consistently depletes our identity. No one expects a master to reproduce his own history, while at the same time exalting a slave. History as long as it is written and taught by the conqueror, will always be written and taught to his advantage. Thus, when we hear names of towns and historical events such as; the University of Djenne (University of Sankhore in Timbuktu), the story of the scramble for Babatus and the ploy of king Necho II, which dates as far back as 600 B.C.E. (Babatus was later renamed Cameroons), Goshen which is the birth place of Moses (which is actually in Egypt), what we simply do is project whiteness into them, without at the same time knowing that the renaming of cities and events in Africa was a preconceived ideology by the colonial masters since it aids in the distortion of African history. We could therefore clearly be reading history about ourselves, attributing greatness to those who accomplished such historical projects, without at the same time knowing that we make reference to our ancestors.

When we go through history and view some alleged treaties that Africans supposedly made with the Europeans, we would also note that there were some forms of historical forgery made at a time when there was no

English language, yet African leaders made and signed treaties in English (Jochannan & Clarke 1991:18).

Nobody speaks of the plunder of a virgin land, for humans only struggle for domination in a world where fellow humans live. So when Hegel referred to Africa as a continent that is unhistorical, without movement or development, it is a contradiction of the very scramble for Africa which started as far back as 1675 B.C.E (Jochannan & Clarke 1991:16) and is still been scrambled in the present era. This same continent without a history is the same continent that transported a life of contemplative devotion into Europe, a people that had a conception of resurrection and immortality long before the Christianization of those ideas in Europe; a continent that pioneered foundational patriotism in an organized form (Diop 1987:19, 32) with an organized political, economic and even educational system Or have we also forgotten that the only authentic form of art in America is jazz and that jazz could not have been feasible without the rhythmic structure of Africa and the drums? (Awoonor 2006:86). Even the tales and folklore of the people of America are not original to them (Du Bois 1994:7).

There is, therefore, a great need for a new historiography of the African race by the African people themselves, not a history that is based on the adventures of Europe but that is premised on the life of the African and the very things that characterized the essence of their being.

➢ Where are the Women in all of These?

The special attention given to women is in a bid to make it both more gender balanced and to emphasize that aspect of African history that is always negligent. This is not in any way to pave the way for affirmative action. It is our submission that affirmative action sub-humanizes the women folk since it proceeds from a status of deformity that is in need of empowerment. This is not a product of western historicism as such, more than it is a product of a patriarchal chauvinistic society to always assert male dominance. This is in addition to the fact that the lineage system of the Africans had hitherto been matrilineal, but was changed with Asian invasion. To this end, the influence of women had always been unequal to that of men and in some cultures it happened without animosity from the men folk. In the fullness of time, powerful rulers in history felt the imperial command and vigour of some of these women whose roles to a large extent defined and redefined the African

continent. One could therefore not have imagined that while Alexander the Great was on a voyage of conquering empires, he would have been too ashamed to stand the humiliation of the command of Queen Candace (Williams 1987:118). This led him to have a retreat with his army from going into Ethiopia. Being the oldest daughter (Egypt) of Ethiopia, it was very likely that had Alexander been able to penetrate Ethiopia, Egypt would have taken to its heels, or rather been too weak to confront the enemy.

Politically, from the pre-colonial period, women overcame difficult challenges in their societies and at the same time advanced the politics of their communities. In that period, they acted as queens, queen mothers, female chiefs, political advisors, law-makers, regents and individual women whose historical status and political responsibilities and contribution equalled that of prominent African men (Ogbomo 2005:355-356).

Their access to political power during this era enabled them to contribute to their various societies. This is however hinged on the fact that African women first gained economic and social status before they obtained political position, making it possible for them to exert influence. They gained influence by means of being wives or through their husbands, heredity, power and position through hard work, diplomacy, strategic warfare that was difficult for virility to attain, strength of character and personalities, the political system, economic structure, ritual prowess, etc.

Under arms, ruling Queens led troops to battle not as ceremonial figureheads but as effective war leaders. They had opportunities open to them. Adjepong gave examples of some of these women; Mamochisane of Zambia (whose father founded the Kolola Kingdom) who controlled one of her father's regiments against the Lozu people of Zambia; Okyenhene Afia Dokuaa of Akyem Abuakwa of Gold Coast (Ghana) who took up arms in defence of the independence and sovereignty of their kingdoms, which is the reason why a horn music is played in her honour at the Kyebi palace (Adjepong 2015:25-27). Ibn Batuta gave account of the women of Walata who traced their ancestry to matriarchal affiliation and the women were given more respect than the men (Windsor 2003:91). All these happened without resentment. Other women whose military exploits cannot be ignored are, Queen Nzinga Mbande of Angola of the Ndongo kingdom. She is also described as a great female soldier, diplomat and a heroine of advocacy against the slave trade. She played a major role in the Ndongo's opposition to the Portuguese imperialism in Southern Congo; Moremi of Ife (a warrior queen), Queen Amina of Zaria (a warrior and

a conqueror) who engaged in years of uniterrupted warfare; Queen Mma Ntatise who ruled as a regent in Kwazulu-Natal (Coquery-Vidrovitch 1994:40). These women sometimes exercised enormous power and authority which aided in the efficient administration of the society.

As political advisors and lawmakers, they contributed to the development of their societies through decision making, good counsel and adjudication. They also served as checks on Kings. Evident among them was the queen mother of Kanem Borno known as Magira, the first wife called Gumsu. They were revered because of the power they possessed. They use their status to dethrone or remove tyrant kings or to prevent the emergence of a tyrant leader. They also mobilised the populace from their lineage and its supporters and allies to bring to the throne the king of their choice. Loyalty is sometimes to these women and not to the kings (Adjepong 2015:28-29). In some cases, these women along with kings occupied topmost political position in the society. They presided over the highest courts, summoned gatherings, allocated lands, disbursed wealth and assisted in the organization of social/ceremonial activities. They advised the king on important matters. They aided in the formulation of laws which allowed for the smooth administration of the society. The collapse or survival of societies depended/ is determined by the bad/good counsel of the queen mothers.

As queens, chiefs and regents, women political engagement is not limited to the military services or to mere advisory bodies to males. The queen mothers assist kings in the efficient administration of societies. In this capacity, women had direct political control and opportunity to exercise their political skill. For instance, the Ogiso (Paramount chief) had 31 females who governed and shaped the politics of pre-dynastic Benin (Ogbomo 357). Agua Brafo ruled Efutu in 1700 for a short period in Gold Coast (Ghana), Tuteba reigned in Agona between 1680 and 1700. Her reign was characterised by a period of economic prosperity in Agona also in Gold Coast (Ghana) and she determined which European country and merchants carried out trading activities in her territory. It is however pertinent to state that she equally controlled the trade of Agona. Other women of Gold Coast (Ghana) origin include Amaa Serwaa, Afrokoma I and Aku Sapomaa, all of Dwaben in Asante (from 1840 - 1875) in succession. The contribution of queen Amina of Zaria of Northern Nigeria to political development cannot be forgotten hastily. As the queen of Zaria, she played a great role in the rise and fall of Zaria during the 16th century. Her reign is characterised with thirty-four years of uninterrupted warfare. Due to

Islamic ideology and practice, she is referred to as a mythical figure because sectarian religion did not accord women importance in the society specifically in public affairs. Traditional accounts however make reference to her as a leader who brought great prominence to her area.

Queen Yoko of Sierra Leone grew to the rank of a queen and powerful woman due to her marriage to a warrior called Gbeje. She secured her husband's freedom from the British who arrested him. As a result, he elevated her to the status of the head wife, sent her on diplomatic and political mission in a bid to advance herself as a prominent female political figure. She succeeded her husband as queen. To ensure the growth and survival of the kingdom, she initiated peace treaties with other kingdoms when her kingdom was involved in conflicts with its neighbours in order to prevent war. She refused to consolidate on her husband's policy of expansionism through wars of conquest. Realising the economic, political and social dangers of emigration particularly of its labour force, she avoided policies and programmes which might encourage the emigration of her subjects. Therefore, she devoted her time and effort to the consolidation of Kpa Mende kingdom. As an outstanding, intelligent and great diplomat, she successfully exploited her good relations with the British to achieve her ends.

The Tonga women of Central and Southern Africa had opportunities to occupy higher political offices and therefore contributed to the development of the society though, submissive to their husbands. As female chiefs, they had power over relatively limited units of production. In this regard, many women established their own settlements and governed them. To gain their autonomy, some of them left their husbands and formed their villages which they settled with their relatives. Examples are: Namulizili who divorced her husband to establish her own village with five of her unmarried children, a married daughter and her husband, a sister and her son, another sister and her husband and six other groups. Another woman is Civi who also left her husband and founded a new settlement with her sons, brothers and other male relatives. Also, Matimba established a village with fifteen adults and six children who worked on her fifteen acre farm. Mamochisane of Kolola kingdom of Zambia gained her power through her personality and bravery. She administered the central province of the kingdom. She succeeded her father, but since it is a patrilineal system and to maintain peace and political stability of her kingdom, she reigned as a surrogate for a while and abdicated in favour of her brother (Adjepong 2015:34-35).

In the 19th century, Queen Mma Ntatise, the first wife of Chief Mokotjo is also a regent of Kwazulu-Natal throne of South Africa. After the demise of her husband, she managed the kingdom on behalf of her young son at the expense of her brother in-law, who by custom should have inherited the throne. As a ruler, she asserted the independence of her people, the Tlokwa, from other Sotho people in South Africa and declared war on Moshweshwe, the Chief and founder of Lesotho. Between 1822 and 1835, Ntatise fought several wars against neighbouring people and won many of them (Adjepong 2015:35-36).

The first *Ata* of Igala who was a woman reflects the political place of women in the pre-colonial period. She was the first traditional ruler to occupy the throne of the *Ata*. Ebulẹjonu was a mystical female warrior who fought her way to Idah along with some followers. This explains why the *Ata Igala* have their ears pierced like a woman in her memory.

Madam Tinubu, an entrepreneur who traded in articles such as tobacco and salt in Badagry, as well as expanded her business during the European slave trade as a middleperson and became hostess to the exiled king Akintoye of Lagos in 1846. She inaugurated a pro-Akintoye movement in 1846 and dedicated it to the reinstatement of Akintoye as king of Lagos, who eventually regained his throne in 1851. In her desire to extend her business, she included ammunition such as gunpowder and bullets into her business venture. She equally contributed to the successful defence of Egbaland during the Dahomean (Republic of Benin) invasion of 1863 and was awarded with the title *Iyalode* and also installed the candidate of her choice during the Alake succession crisis of 1877 (Ayobade 2012:231-232).

In pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times, African women have not been idle in the developmental process. In as much as men benefited from Western education more than women, the few educated women did not allow the limitation presented to them by institutionalized patriarchal system to hinder them from actively involving themselves in the endeavours that will advance the continent.

➢ The Quest for a Decolonized Religion

The whole concept of religion is not a coinage of the supernatural, but a formulation of man to bring the human person closer to the consciousness to the suprasensible. The Christian religion becomes our victim in this research because large parts of Africa were colonized by nations that opined that

salvation comes only through the Christian route. Thus, one of the criteria for slavery was the fact that a people or a nation was unchristian. Religious tyranny operating under the form of religious authority gave permission to every nation in Europe to reduce every man in Africa to servitude who never accepted the Christian religion. It is an indicator that Africans have been a spiritual people before slavery since one of the primary reasons for Africa's enslavement was that the people were not Christians. Not minding the form of religion being practiced by a people in Africa, its basis of reducing an entire race to the level of animals was the fact that they believed in the Supreme Being in a way that the Europeans didn't believe. The justification of the enslavement of the African people was further given a biblical foundation. Was it therefore not a preconceived coincidence that the bible, which started as a colonial tool, was given to the black man with various verses that endorsed slavery, as a divine order? It would be sheer absurdity and a deliberate denial that has its foundation on irrationality, to conclude that the idea of religion was unknown to the African people before the emergence of the white man. History, however, has revealed that there is virtually nothing that is found in Christianity that is new to the human person, except for the untrained mind. Since the African people vividly had the knowledge of the supersensible before colonialism, there must be reason(s) for the establishment of an organized religion as imported into various colonies.

When we go through the various mythologies surrounding the concept of death and the afterworld of the Bantu people of Africa, the Masarwas, the Ashanti, the Nandi and Wabende peoples of East Africa, etc, we would understand that pre-colonial Africa did not only have organized religions, but also an elated form of spirituality. Thus, when Lightfoot and Ussher announced that the creation of the world dates back to 4004 B.C.E (Jackson 1985:5) in justification of the biblical foundations of the universe, it becomes clear that its main task was to justify a theocratic system that is based on European establishment. The fact that Africans along the Nile valley were already in their 13th dynastic period when Abraham was born, a period when taken back to her 1st dynasty, predates the failed thesis of the existence of Adam and Eve, goes to show to a large extent how we have been whitewashed by the falsification of African history in order to promote and maintain Eurocentric dominance.

> Colonialism brings us to a kind of history written by the conqueror for the conquered to read and enjoy. When the conquered looks around

> and finds that even God speaks from the heart of the conqueror, the conquered then becomes suspicious of God (Jochannan & Clarke 1991:60).

When even history records about twenty-five pre-Christian saviour-gods, all born of virgins, the whole project of Christianity and its subsequent projection of the white race and its enthusiasm to vilify the black race is an indication that raciality and distortion are found in scripture. When even scripture is used by the oppressor to project whiteness, then it becomes evident that Christianity came in the first place, not primarily because there was a messiah to be advertised to the African race that the conqueror wanted the oppressed to be beneficiaries, but because it fosters economic manipulation of the black race. Christianity which therefore teaches that the end does not justify the means, uses her own end as a guide to all other means. We see this been exemplified in the use of the Babylonian Baal to promote the Christian religion, while at the same time condemning such practices as pagan (Jackson 1985:43). The worship of Baal is therefore wrong in Christian theology, but the legend of the Babylonian Bel is right for the propagation of Christian ideology. This use of double standards in Christian doctrine is the very standard that is used to condemn traditional religious practices in African society, while at the same time using the myths of the same African religion to justify Christology. Black becomes demonic, while white is used to represent everything that is honourable. It therefore leaves us amazed that while the image of God and his angelic hosts are Caucasians, the pictorial representation of the devil is black. Those who conceived this notion never averted their minds to the fact that even the devil was part of the angelic hosts before he fell from grace. If everything evil has a black tag, did the devil who is the architect and bearer of evil turn black after the fall, or was he not Caucasian while he was among the angelic hosts? This Christological chauvinism has always been used to cage the African mind in a box, where he justifies slavery in order to condemn everything that is African. It becomes laughable that almost everyone who encounters the divine in a vision always sees the heavenly hosts dressed in the racial colour of his oppressor. This gives him more reasons to justify godliness in his oppressor, while at the same time perceiving godlessness in his fellow black man. And since the person who controls our minds holds the remote to our destiny, in this battle for ideological civilization, African civilization stands the chance of extinction.

Conclusion

The right to self-determination is key to the freedom of any people. There is a tendency for colonists to always play the role of 'head of state' that dictates rules for the African continent in the guise of partnerships, although this is not to deny the fact that such has happened to some extent with the connivance of some Africans at some point in history. But since the role of Africans in their plunder is not the crux of this work, we acknowledge the limitation of this paper to make reference to that. Coupled with the wholesale controlled miseducation that stiffles awareness, Western historiography of the black race has been patterned in same instructional direction that must be obeyed. And because knowledge of history brings liberation, there will always be resistance from both masters and even the victims of a misdirectedly ordered history. There is need for a balance of narrative that takes into account all human beings to a point that it bridges, and dispels the vacuity of conflicts. In the midst of scarce resources and political leadership that is sometimes deaf to research, the scholar must still take reasoned and pain-staking steps to deliver the continent from an imperial-centered rhetoric of history, since history as long as it is written for the colonized may never be written in their favour. However, in the reconstruction of history, such proposed narrative should not be humanoid but rather humano-centric.

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Isaiah A. Negedu
School of Religion, Philosophy & Classics
College of Humanities
Howard College Campus
University of Kwazulu-Natal
South Africa
NegeduI@ukzn.ac.za

Solomon O. Ojomah
Department of Philosophy
Federal University Lafia
Nasarawa State
Nigeria
sojomah@gmail.com

Academic Freedom and the Problems of Patriotism and Social Responsibility in Post-colonial Africa

Munyaradzi Felix Murove
Ezra Chitando

Abstract

This article interrogates the meaning of academic freedom in African universities after the attainment of political independence. It explores the nuances of the concept of academic freedom and traces its appropriation in African contexts. The article contends that African scholars operate in challenging political environments due to the quest by political leaders to dabble in philosophy. African 'philosopher kings' have sought to articulate grand visions and narratives of development and they brook no dissent in this 'sacred quest'. As a result, African academics are generally expected to tow the line and endorse the grandiose philosophies articulated by the ambitious presidents. We argue that this is dangerous and results in loss of academic freedom. The article concludes by emphasising that African intellectuals can make more effective contributions to the nations by refusing to be co-opted and remaining faithful to the tenets of academic freedom.

Keywords: academic freedom, Africa, Politics, ideology, social responsibility, patriotism

Introduction

In the context of post-colonial Africa, the idea of academic freedom has remained a controversial one, even as the very issue of academic freedom is a global one (Altbach 2001). During the colonial era academics were subjected

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a15

to legalised suppression. For example, academics were not allowed to criticise the colonial state. Thus, one finds that certain literature which was subversive to the colonial order was banned from book shops and libraries. For example, books about Karl Marx and other literary critics of the colonial establishment were placed on a catalogue of banned literature. Some academics were actually exiled because of their writings which were suspected by the colonial authorities of disseminating dangerous ideas. For example, in Rhodesia (later to become Zimbabwe), Terence Ranger was exiled for his support for the nationalist cause. Some scholars were forced to go into exile or face imprisonment or murder from hit squads. In post-colonial Africa some academics have faced direct and sometimes indirect persecution. Those who critiqued the post-colonial governments have found themselves imprisoned or exiled. In general, the post-colonial state in Africa has been very sensitive to academic critiques or dissent.

The issue of academic freedom in post-colonial Africa has come to be tied up with issues of survival. Thus, the academic has to make a choice between freedom of literary expression and being a bread winner of his or her family by supporting the status quo. Faced with these two choices, some African academics found themselves sacrificing their academic freedom for the sake of their families. Even though an African academic felt inspired to write on a particular social issue related to social injustice, the need to support one's family usually leads this academic to practice some form of self-censorship. The new post-colonial political agenda of nation-building weighed heavily on African academics as they were required by the new African government to demonstrate their support of the new government in their writings and curricula. Most of the academics who became critical of the new political dispensation were seen as unpatriotic and sometimes the university itself was suspected of being a breeding ground for opposition politics (Mamdani 1993).

Another factor which has militated against academic freedom in post-colonial Africa has come in the form of the apparent absence of economic independence. Most of the programmes that run at African universities do rely heavily on external donor funding. Sometimes foreign donors determine what is supposed to be researched and disseminated as authentic knowledge at African universities. Any knowledge that is deemed prejudicial to the interests of the donor will not receive funding. What this means is that academic freedom does not exist (Ake 1994: 17). In the case of natural sciences that are

funded by foreign donors, it is usually the practice that copyright to the research findings is given to the foreign donor company or organisation prior to their dissemination. These donor companies are in most cases based in Europe or North America. What Africa knows about herself usually comes from outside. Colonial experience remains integral to Africa's discourse on academic freedom. Academic freedom is an ethical issue that impinges on whether academic freedom exists. This article argues that the quest for academic freedom remains relevant in Africa today ever than before.

On the other hand, academic freedom in post-colonial Africa has come to imply some commitment to the transformation of the curriculum through a process of indigenisation. Certain subjects such as African psychology, African history, African philosophy and African ethics were hardly taught at universities during the times of colonialism because the curriculum at these universities was mainly Euro-centric. The realisation that what Africa knew about herself was a knowledge that was disseminated from Europe carried with it a scholarly agitation among African academics to want to create their own knowledge systems. The discourse of indigenous knowledge systems is thus closely related to the post-colonial African quest for academic freedom.

Academic Freedom and Africa's Experience of Oppression

A discourse on academic freedom is integral to Africa's experience of oppression under colonial rule in the sense that the effects of colonialism are still being felt in contemporary Africa. Under colonialism, the African university was not a free market of ideas. Colonial authorities had a direct control on what was taught and researched and disseminated at these universities. Those academics who disseminated ideas that were deemed subversive by the colonial regime were imprisoned or had to go into exile for fear of their lives. Universities were infiltrated by government secret agencies. What was to be taught at these universities had to go through a process of government approval, a process that meant censorship by the colonial department of higher education. Writings such as those of Marxist thinkers were considered to be subversive literature which was not supposed to be taught at universities and other institutions of higher learning. Some academics exercised self-censorship in order to avert the wrath of the colonial authorities. In most cases the cold war era which polarised the world along political and economic ideological lines influenced the whole debate on academic freedom

in colonial Africa. Amidst this world polarisation along ideological lines, African academics used both of these ideological lines in pursuit of their political and economic liberative agendas.

Those African scholars who used Marxist analysis in their writings were usually considered anti-colonial or apartheid establishment. The main reason is that capitalism was mediated to African through imperialism. As Ali Mazrui put it,

> But in Africa's historical experience it is indeed true that modern capitalism came along with imperialism. The enemy of imperialism is nationalism; the enemy of capitalism is socialism. If there is indeed an alliance between capitalism and imperialism, why should be an alliance between African nationalism and socialism? Such a paradigm of intellectual and ideological convergence has been found attractive in many parts of Africa (Mazrui 1983: 284).

Many African academics attributed most of the African social ills to capitalism. Thus, most of their intellectual social analysis was most informed by socialism. African novelists such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o wrote novels that were extremely critical towards the capitalist society of post-colonial Africa. Their criticism towards capitalism was partly related to rampant corruption which had become common place in post-colonial Africa. In their literary criticism of corruption and capitalism in post-colonial African societies sometimes resulted in these academics being imprisoned or barred from teaching and researching in institutions of higher learning. In this regard, the suppression of academic freedom in post-colonial Africa continued even after the demise of colonialism. It is partly for this reason that one finds that most of Africa's outstanding academics are employed in European or American institutions of higher learning. Although some African critics would want to accuse them of abandoning the continent in its hour of need, there is need to appreciate that some African governments have been exceedingly brutal in responding to criticism.

However, the debate on academic freedom in post-colonial Africa also oscillated between socialism and liberalism. Those who took the socialist trend of thought saw the oppression under colonialism as a result of a capitalistic economic system and its propensity to divide society along the dual lines of masters and slaves. In this way of thinking, the overthrow of colonialism

became synonymous with the overthrow of capitalism. Needless to say that this way of thinking resulted in the demise of the politics of pluralism in the form of multi-party democracy in post-colonial Africa. Some African politicians have compromised academic freedom by monopolising academic discourses. They regarded themselves as 'philosopher kings'. For example, Julius Nyerere, the former president of Tanzania stifled academic freedom when he indulged in speaking on each and every social issue as an academic. In particular, Nyerere saw the demise of colonialism as synonymous with the end of capitalism and multiparty democracy. Thus, one finds Nyerere arguing that,

> The European and American political parties came into being as the result of the existing social and economic divisions – the second party being formed to challenge the monopoly of political power by some aristocratic or capitalistic group (Nyerere 1968: 169).

We shall return to Nyerere below. Similarly, Kenneth Kaunda, the former president of Zambia, sought to popularise Humanism as the guiding state ideology (Kanu 2012).The idea that there was no class division in traditional Africa was used by African nationalists as a way of fostering a one party political system in post-colonial Africa. The killing of political pluralism became the fate of academic freedom. When political leaders articulate an ideological position in their writings the main casualty is academic freedom. Those academics who end up disagreeing with the writings of these political leaders are usually regarded as unpatriotic or counter revolutionaries. The main presumption was that the academic was supposed to research and disseminate that type of knowledge that is in line with the ruling party's ideological orientation as enunciated by the leader of the ruling party. In some cases in post-colonial Africa, the ruling party and the state were conflated by political leaders to mean one and the same thing

Unlike their European counterpartsthe situation which African academics find themselves compromises their neutrality on various social issues. Whereas most universities in Europe and North America are well funded, the situation is quite different in Africa. This lack of funding leaves African academics vulnerable to manipulation by some politicians. Sometimes academics are summoned by politicians to act as advisers, an opportunity which carries with it an improvement in their economic standing in society. In these instances their intellectual neutrality on issues of socio-economic and

foreign policies is usually compromised. Joseph Ki-Zerbo observed that,

> In Africa the situation is usually quite different. For here, all power might be concentrated in the hands of a single individual. Furthermore, the political vagaries by which a single party is identified with the state or even the people create situations in which every individual life is overwhelmed by a single triumphant political juggernaut. In such a situation the supposed neutrality of the African professor isolated in some laboratory with no stable political, social, financial or indeed any other base, is every bit as risible as the neutrality of a lone rabbit astray in the jungle (Ki-Zerbo 1993: 32).

In other words, poor economic backgrounds coupled with a political situation of totalitarianism compromises the value of neutrality among African academics. For example, when Julius Nyerere of Tanzania decided to embark on the path of a one party state coupled with an economic ideology of Ujamaa or African socialism, most of the academia and the curricula was expected to adopt this vision as enunciated in the Arusha declaration. Obviously when a particular socio-economic policy is adopted by the leader of the state as a national value, academics are expected to devote most of their intellectual energies supporting such an ideology in their curriculum and writings. Nyerere himself was popularly known as *mwalimu*, a Swahili word for teacher. There is no doubt that his intellectual sophistry gained him a lot of admirers among academics. When a politician is referred to as 'teacher' this raises a problem that what the politician says is most likely to be regarded as infallible. The popular belief that 'politics is a dirty game' could no longer be sustained when a prominent politician demonstrates that politics is also for the academics. This tends to inevitably silence any criticism that might be levelled against a politician from academics. Nyerere had brought some 'hygiene' into an arena which was for so long been regarded as a preserve for the 'dirty'. Politics has been regarded as a preserve for the dirty in the sense that the popular image of politicians is that it has been associated with a profession for the demagogues in which there is no room for intellectual hygiene. Nyerere's academic prowess as a political leader influenced the discourse of academic freedom in Tanzania in the sense that at last academics felt that they could find a national leader who shared in their intellectual cravings. When academics identify themselves with a particular politician there is a danger in the sense that academics will end up

sacrificing intellectual rigour for the sake of forging some solidarity with an academic politician. Nyerere is on record for proffering the idea of political hygiene by critiquing the western political system of multiparty democracy. Instead, he advocated a type of democracy within the one party system. Under Nyerere's leadership, as Mazrui observed,

> When in 1965 Tanzania therefore experimented with competitive elections within a single-party structure, the motivation was, to some extent, political hygiene. If dirt in politics was to be avoided, it was essential to avoid the conditions which give rise to it. Pre-eminent among those conditions is inter-party political context. It was far healthier to devise elections in which members of the same party compete for office. In such elections the Party itself would be in a better position to control the degree of mutual mud-slinging which its members were to be permitted to indulge in (Mazrui 1969: 259-260).

Thus, Nyerere was implementing on the Tanzanian political landscape that which has never been fathomed possible – a democracy that was to differ sharply from the western multiparty democracy. In this regard, Nyerere was imposing himself in the Tanzanian political arena as a teacher or *Mwalimu* of democracy whereby competition for political power was supposed to be done within the ruling part instead of from without. Nyerere also exerted his responsibility as *Mwalimu* in the domain of economic policy when he came up with *Ujamaa* or African socialism as an economic policy that was to be followed by his country. African socialism or *Ujamaa* was for Nyerere an economic ethic that rooted in the African past. As a teacher par excellence, Nyerere would state it boldly that,

> We in Africa, have no more need for being 'converted' to socialism than we have of being 'taught democracy'. Both are rooted in our past – in the traditional life which produced us (Nyerere 1968: 170).

That people referred to Nyerere as *Mwalimu* was not an exaggerated epithet, he had exerted himself as a philosopher king. In this regard some academics ended up supporting some of ideological teachings of Nyerere in a way that compromised the value of objectivity, which is usually indispensable to academic freedom.

Academics against Academic Freedom in Post-Colonial Africa

For example, in the aftermath of the Arusha declaration, the historian Terance Ranger observed that,

> There was no room in Tanzania for a 'freedom' which allowed a small elite to exchange privileged or unpopular truths among themselves (Ranger 1981: 14-15).

When a national leader takes a stand on a particular socio-economic issue, the greatest temptation among academics is to try to make themselves relevant by supporting the national leader's ideological stand. In this process, academic values of neutrality and objective criticism, which are the crucial prerequisites to academic freedom, are in the process unscrupulously sacrificed. The idea of thinking with the leader is more beneficial instead of thinking against the leader or criticising the leader against his or socio-economic policies. In the context of Tanzania during the times of Nyerere, after the Arusha declaration, some academics actually came out forcefully against the idea of academic freedom. Thus following in the aftermath of the Arusha declaration, some Tanzanian academics are on record for saying that,

> The Government must be prepared to assume the main responsibility of policy-making and overall direction and must no longer be deterred by arguments of academic autonomy from doing so (cited in Ranger 1981: 16).

In such reasoning, it was actually academics themselves who undermined or who did not see anything of value in academic freedom. Rather, these academics decidedly took an unquestioning stand in support of Nyerere's socio-economic ideological policy. For opportunistic purposes, Tanzanian academics saw it more valuable to think in unison with the ideological lines with Nyerere, even though his economic policy of *Ujamaa* ended up impoverishing Tanzania in a way that can best be described as preternatural.

In some cases, post-colonial African states have worked closely with those academics who are deemed to be in support of the ruling party's ideological policy. In the case of Zimbabwe, academic freedom has been compromised by academics around what we would call in religious terms, 'the

cult of the Liberation Struggle' which is accredited for bringing freedom to Zimbabwe. When academics disseminate a particular knowledge that fits well within the grand narrative of the ideology of 'the cult of the Liberation Struggle', they are usually rewarded by the ruling party ZANU as patriots who are contributing positively to the post-colonial transformation of Zimbabwe. Ezra Chitando and Obert Mlambo observed that,

> The so called patriotic history being encouraged to be taught in schools and preached in the State print and electronic media has created a new pedagogy and rhetoric that recasts the liberation struggle to suit a certain class of heroes. In this class of heroes are not only the people who fought in the liberation struggle, but also intellecttuals and everyone who supports the project. At the heart of this kind of history are the anti-colonial, neo-colonial and the anti-neo-colonial trajectories which present a violent war hero with big dreams of creating a self-made empire (Chitando & Mlambo 2014: 38).

In such a context we have a situation whereby academics are the intellectual architects of an ideological history in support of the Liberation Struggle experiences of the ruling party. The paradox inherent in the academic support of liberation struggle project is that it lures academics into looking into the Zimbabwean ancient past at the expense of the future. Whilst Zimbabwe professed to be a new nation or a young state, the very idea of wanting to go back to ancient times tempts one to question the seriousness of the newly born nation's concern about the future. An obsession with narrating the present whilst putting too much emphasis on what transpired in the past is related to the problem which Mazrui described as 'monarchical tendency in African political culture' which is rather 'the African quest for a royal historical identity' (Mazrui 1969: 206-207). According to Mazrui, this quest for 'a royal historical identity' is related to the issue of identity crisis that is usually experienced in the newly independent state. As he put it,

> This revelling in ancient glory is part of the crisis of identity in Africa. …When I first visited the United Nations in 1960-1 it was fascinating to listen to some of the new African delegates revelling in the innocence of the newly born nationhood. But involved in this very concept of re-birth is a paradoxical desire – the desire to be grey-haired

> and wrinkled as a nation; of wanting to have an antiquity. This is directly linked to the crisis of identity (Mazrui 1969: 217-218).

The quest for an ancient identity has compromised academic freedom in the sense that any critique of the new order is usually regarded as unpatriotic or unconstructive. In post-colonial Africa, politicians have always spearheaded the grand narrative that is deemed to be the pillar for the newly independent African state.

When the former president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, came up with the concept of African Renaissance as his domestic and foreign policy, some of the academics in South Africa and the African continent adopted the discourse of African Renaissance in many of their activities of knowledge creation and dissemination. Here again, critical analysis of some of papers that were presented by some African academics at a conference that was hosted in Johannesburg shows the persistence of identity crisis as a motif that remained central to the African Renaissance discourse. Thus, one finds that the whole discourse is littered with papers that eulogise the African past in way that takes it for granted that African renaissance or rebirth is an historical momentous occasion that needs to happen. With reference to education at African Universities, Herbert Vilakazi had this to say,

> We now know that Africa is the mother of humankind. This most marvellous of mothers not only gave birth to humankind, but she prepared the remarkable cultural foundation which some of her children took along with them as they left for other regions and corners of the world. Africa was, indeed, the first civilisation, held in the highest esteem in antiquity. You only have to ponder over the words used by Homer and Herodotus when they remarked about the Ethiopians and Egyptians (Vilakazi 1999: 202).

This is evidently a eulogisation of the African past as part and parcel of the genealogy of the modern human race in general. But thereafter the modern socio-economic ills of post-colonial Africa are attributed to colonialism and the history of western oppression and domination. There is no acknowledgement of the complicity of the African ruling elite in authoring Africa's numerous challenges. As for Vilakazi, the responsibility of an African academic was to modernise the post-colonial African society by creating a

narrative of continuity between the pre-colonial African past and the present. He avers,

> Our intellectuals and intelligentsia, who must take the lead in building the new Africa, must engage in a most massive and serious process of re-educating themselves about the principles and patterns of African civilisation, whose knowledge they have largely lost (Vilakazi 1999: 208).

But how then does one bring about an African renaissance by resorting to some knowledge from the precolonial African antiquity which one has neither lived nor experienced?

However, the dominant motif of the African Renaissance discourse among academics was that the academia should participate in the transformation of the post-colonial African society. For many of the academics in Africa, Mbeki's vision of African Renaissance was about the renewal of the African continent as a whole economically and politically with reference to her place in the community of nations. No one bothered to question whether such a vision was practical, rather what we find is an uncritical support of the idea of African Renaissance. For example, when the Southern African Development Community (SADC) intervened in Lesotho against a military coup, Cedric de Coning wrote an article which interpreted the whole intervention of SADC in terms of African Renaissance whereby South Africa was portrayed as in the position to renew the whole of the African continent. This is the impression which one gets from Cedric de Coning when he said,

> The intervention achieved all of its objectives. Africa was spared the misery of yet another military coup. South Africa showed the sacrifices it is prepared to make to protect democracy, and to ensure that its vision of an African Renaissance is not derailed – at least not in its own backyard (de Coning 1996: 39).

Whilst there is nothing documented in the SADC regional authorisation of this military intervention which stipulates the protection of the African Renaissance as one of the objectives, it is evidently clear that a political discourse of continental supranationalism was adopted by academics as integral to African renaissance. There is no attempt to question the relevance

of African Renaissance to the coup in Lesotho. There is also no attempt to question whether South Africa has the capability of renewing the whole of the African continent on its own.

In support of Thabo Mbeki's vision of African Renaissance, the University of South Africa went as far as establishing a Centre for African Renaissance. At the University of KwaZulu-Natal we have an Ujamaa Centre which adopted this name from Nyerere's socio-economic policy of Ujamaa. Whilst it can be accepted that there is nothing wrong in academically supporting politically innovative ideas from politicians, it is usually the reality of instability which characterises politics which should persuade us the more that academics should always adopt a critical stance towards social issues without any form of partisanship. When Thabo Mbeki left political office as president of South Africa, the discourse on African Renaissance died a natural death in the academia as well as the public arena. Equally, it is common knowledge that Nyerere's socio-economic policy of Ujamaa or African socialism impoverished Tanzania beyond description. In the last years of Mugabe's presidency in Zimbabwe, an economic blueprint, namely, the Zimbabwe Agenda for Sustainable Socio-Economic Transformation (ZimAsset) became a mantra. Academics sought to demonstrate how their specific disciplines 'contributed towards fulfilling ZimAsset'. With Mugabe's departure, ZimAsset died a natural death.

Sometimes African politicians who were intellectuals did not make a serious reflection of the sociological realities of their African context. The idea that Ujamaa was based on the African traditional economic ethic of collectivism was not critically reflected in relationship to the modern world capitalistic economic realities that are based on the modernisation of the means of production. The question which academics should have asked themselves is: How practical is it to want to collectivise poverty? When the discourse of African Renaissance went into oblivion with the end of Mbeki's presidency, so did the myriad of the voices of those academics who had previously supported this African Renaissance discourse. But what is usually neglected in the academia is a truism that discourses that are spearheaded by politicians are in most cases tainted with a politician's personal quest for populism, a rhetorical practice that is closely related to the belief in numerical strength. The acquisition of numerical strength usually manifests itself when a politician narrates what the majority of the population within a given context would want to hear. Further, this notion of 'the people' has been used to justify overstaying

in office. Politicians often argue that they cannot leave office because 'the people' still want them to continue!

However, it can be said that academics are not apolitical by nature. They do hold specific political points of views and political ideologies on issues pertaining to society and the economy. Sometimes their ideas have changed the course of history in a particular society and the world at large for better or for worse. The regimes that have oppressed their own people do usually have academics around them as advisers or as architects of unpopular national policies. In the case of colonial Africa or apartheid South Africa some academics were serving in the commissions that helped in the writing of oppressive legislations (see Trevor 1927: 99). In most cases professors were appointed by oppressive regimes to head commissions that were created to craft oppressive rules. The South African colonial Prime Minister Jan Smuts was a world renowned academic who intellectually believed in the inferiority of black people as a factor inherent in biological or evolutionary determinism. He writes,

> No indigenous religion has been evolved, no literature, no art since the magnificent promise of the cave-men and the South African petroglyphs', no architecture since Zimbabwe (if that is African). Enough for the Africans the simple joys of village life, dance, the tom-tom, the continual excitement of forms of fighting which cause little bloodshed. They can stand any amount of physical hardship and suffering but when deprived of their simple enjoyments they develop sickness and die (Smuts 1940: 38).

Obviously such writings had a great influence in policy formulation of segregationist colonial societies. Such writings were dehumanising in the sense that Africans were presumed not to have any grain of morality, religion and architecture. In other words, the African represented that type of humanity that was not fully evolved. When one take into account such historical precedents the obvious conclusion is that academics are not neutral and objective observers of facts. Rather, they harbour prejudices which they disseminate as objective truth. Academics have been at the forefront in creating prejudices as objective truths. Those ideas have sometimes become lethal to the wellbeing of society. In South Africa, the person who propounded apartheid into a systematic oppressive doctrine was an academic by the name of Hendrick

Verwoerd (Adam & Giliomee 1983: 42). It is in the light of such examples that one is more inclined to say that academics have contributed enormously in undermining the ethical ideals of a just and free society. A similar observation was made by Ki-Zerbo when he said that,

> We know of cases where African intellectuals supported and advised regimes persecuting and torturing other intellectuals …. The motivation of all this is nothing more serious than personal ambition, tribal tension or ideological rivalry (Ki-Zerbo 1994: 33; cf. Khan 1975).

This type of behaviour is partly related to the issue that academics have a social responsibility, that is, they do not exist in a vacuum, but that they are fully immersed in society and are usually influenced by their social surroundings. It is for this reason that the issue of academic social responsibility poses a real dilemma to academic freedom.

Academic Freedom and the Problem of Social Responsibility

The assertion that academics have a social responsibility implies that they are responsible for what goes on in society, whether good or bad. A popular understanding of academic freedom is usually based to the idea that academics should be left alone to pursue their work without external interference or interference from the government. The tension within this idea arises when one takes into account what we have said above, namely, that academics are members of a given society and their activities have an impact in a society in which they are citizens. In this way of reasoning, academics are expected to undertake their academic activities as responsible members of a particular society because at the end of the day it is that particular society that pays the bill for work done by academics. In this trend of thought, George Hagan observed that,

> Granted that it is society that bears the cost of sustaining academic work and using the products of universities, those who control society and its resources also assert that society has a right to control, or, at least, participate in the control of the activities of academics (Hagan 1994: 39).

In the light of the above observation, it needs to be stated that the idea that academics are members of society is not necessarily subject to a debate; rather, some scholars argue that the issue of social responsibility implies that academics are accountable to a small group of the ruling elite of society. It is this elite which has the power to control the professional activities of academics. In the African context, sometimes this group of elite belongs to the academic establishment. Thus, one finds that academics were leaders who for most of the nationalist movements that agitated for freedom from colonialism. Thus the aspirations of African nationalists infiltrated the activities of African academics. Most of the African nationalists such as Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Jomo Kenyata, Tom Mboya, Leopold Senghor, Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Robert Mugabe were actually academics or had sound academic credentials.

In the history of African nationalism we have a lot of evidence that shows that academics can devote most of their energies in a way that can bring about powerful socio-economic and political change. During the days of apartheid some academics were martyrs for the ideal of a just, free and humane society. Allan Parton's book, *Cry the Beloved Country* reverberated to the whole world as the most powerful critical voice against the then inhumane apartheid political system of South Africa. Telling truth to power rooted in structural evil has often resulted in sacrificing one's own personal freedom. In the case of apartheid South Africa, some academics have been catalogued among those citizens with a criminal record for actively critiquing the apartheid regime. On the other hand, one finds that during apartheid or colonialism, some academics were also in the forefront of providing the apartheid regime or colonial government with the literature it required to justify its own evil existence. Academic ideas can change society for better or for worse. It is for this reason that we should desist from the idea that academic freedom implies that academics are above society and its problems. Academics can create problems for society or they can provide solutions to society's problems. An academic's capability as a critical thinker puts her or him in a unique existential position in society. It is partly because of their intellectual exceptionalism that an academic's contribution to society must be informed by making a critical distinction between what is right and wrong. Thus, the whole issue of academic social responsibility is related to ethics. To what extent are academic activities sensitised to ethical values? When academic activities are pursued without any sensitivity to ethics, they basically become destructive to the same society they

purport to serve. But sometimes the temptation is to see academic activities as value neutral, that is, they are not committed to any social ideal.

An academic can be defined as someone who is concerned with the management of truth within his or her discipline in the generality of existence. Here, we have qualified the phrase 'management of truth' with 'in the generality of existence' because of my conscious realisation that there is a plurality of truths in existence. Within his or her particular discipline an academic contributes to this pool of truths. Ian Mitroff observed that,

> Truth is a human activity that must be managed carefully for human purposes; to put it slightly differently, truth occurs only as the result of human activities for the purpose of solving an important human problem (Mitroff 1998: 70).

In the pursuit of truth, virtues such as honesty and the preservation of personal and institutional integrity are very important and should never be sacrificed. In their dissemination of truth, academics should be seen as serving the interests of society as a whole. Thus, they are required to contribute positively for the good of the community. When academic activities and discourses are only aimed at exciting academics among themselves to the exclusion of the larger society, then such activities and discourses become irrelevant to society in general. Hagan described academic social responsibility as follows,

> The *raison d'etre* of a university is the discovery and dissemination of knowledge, and – let us also add, for the avoidance of doubt – the application of knowledge to the concerns and needs of individuals and society. To pursue and sustain these objectives, academic culture puts value on originality, commitment to truth, excellence, rationality, creativity, humility – in the sense of the readiness to accept one's error, and respect for the opinion of others (Hagan 1994: 40-41).

Such a conceptualisation of academic social responsibility presupposes some sensitivity to ethics. The creation and dissemination of knowledge must serve the needs of society and not the other way round. On the other hand, the academic community is professionally expected to distance itself from the general community in order to be in the position to question some beliefs that

are usually taken for granted by the community. By distancing herself or himself from the community, the presumption is that the academic will attain more objectivity than when she or he is immersed in the community. Academic freedom helps the academic to contribute positively for the general transformation of societies. The effectiveness of academic activities in society can only be realised when they are not hindered in their search for truth. In post-colonial African context, this expectation is sometimes undermined when academics are expected to uncritically support the ruling party's ideological point of view. As we have seen previously, their unquestioning support of the ruling party is usually regarded as being patriotic. For example, Kwame Nkrumah saw the aim of education in Ghana in terms of constructing what he called a Ghananian character. As he put it,

> Even the ordering of text-books is an involved matter that makes the introduction of new ones with a Ghananian character a prolonged affair. This is something that we are, however, getting on with, as it is vital that we should nurture our own culture and history if we are to develop that African personality which must provide the educational and intellectual foundation for our Pan-African culture (Nkrumah 1970: 49).

Whilst academics have a social responsibility, there will be in the position to fulfil their social responsibilities within an environment that does not prescribe to them what to do. The problem of having some politician masquerading as a 'philosopher king' and prescribing to academics what their curriculum should look like is that such political interference with the professional work of academics tends to undermine the importance of critical thinking in the academic's execution of his responsibilities to society. For example, as we highlighted above, when the discourse of African Renaissance went into oblivion with the abrupt end of Mbeki's presidency, so did the voices of academics who had previously supported this discourse.

Whilst academics can support the national political leader on a particular issue that advances academic freedom and social responsibility, their support of the national political leader on an issue of social responsibility should be done in a way that is purely academic – that the idea makes sense independent of the politician's motives. However, following some academic utterances of a national leader is also related to the problem of the academic

quest for power and legitimacy. It is a practice which is also common in the Catholic Church whereby it is a habit among theologians to quote Papal dogmatic teachings as a way of expressing the legitimacy and authority of their own theological ideas. Among most of the Catholic theologians it does not matter whether the Pope is wrong or not because what matters is to be seen as 'thinking with the Church'. Such an academic behaviour is most likely to sacrifice objective truth and academic independence for the sake of gaining power and legitimacy. However, we do acknowledge that some Catholic theologians have been subversive when citing the teachings of the Pope, while others have been very critical of the same. When academics adopt their practice of 'thinking with the political leader' they are most likely to sacrifice their academic freedom and their social responsibility.

Conclusion

The issue of academic freedom in contemporary Africa is not merely an academic issue. It is existential. It has a bearing on the very existence and well-being of African academics. Operating in socio-economic and political contexts that can be quite hostile, many African academics have to balance their academic pursuits with safety considerations. The emergence of some African 'philosopher' kings has compounded matters. The temptation is high for African academics to 'think with the political leader' and to endorse ideologies uncritically. The turn towards jingoism threatens academic freedom in Africa. In this article, we have enjoined African academics to uphold academic freedom and fulfil their social responsibility. It is only when African academics are free to disagree with politicians and their acolytes, as well as when they can state their positions on matters of national importance without fear or favour that academic freedom will be experienced and cherished in Africa. There must be freedom to think as one likes, write as one likes, speak out as one likes, without fearing for their safety. When this is granted, the academia will make a significant contribution towards social transformation in Africa.

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Munyaradzi Felix Murove
School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics
University of KwaZulu-Natal
Pietermaritzburg
Murovem@ukzn.ac.za

Ezra Chitando
Department of Religious Studies, Classics and Philosophy
University of Zimbabwe
Harare
chitsa21@yahoo.com

A Holistic Approach towards Personal Transformation of Youth not in Employment, Education or Training

Lucille Meyer
Rajendra Chetty

Abstract

This article explores how young people experienced a holistic approach to personal transformation by participating in a three month residential programme for youth not in employment, education or training. The study deployed an ecological perspective that served to illuminate the influence of relationships and contexts on the development of youth. A phenomenological approach was used to understand young peoples' perceptions and experiences of a holistic approach. The methodological framework leaned on narrative enquiry to explore the views of five youth respondents. The data was analysed using thematic content analysis. The findings illustrated that a holistic approach as one particular philosophical and developmental approach to personal transformation, has the potential to enhance the psychological capital of young people, facilitate connection with self and family and provide the impetus for them to remain on a positive developmental trajectory. As 7.5 million youth in South Africa are not in employment, education or training, a status with the propensity to foster disengagement and disconnection from self, family and social, economic, political and cultural activities, the findings offer hope that credible and innovative strategies do exist to disrupt the current NEET crisis.

Keywords: holistic approach, personal transformation, youth development, NEET.

Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN: 2519-5476; DOI https://doi.org/10.29086/2519-5476/2018/sp23a16

Introduction

This article reports on a study of a holistic approach to personal transformation for youth who are not in employment, education or training (NEET). Although the NEET label is not without controversy, as it describes youth by that which they are not (Yates & Payne 2006:329), it nevertheless provides a useful fulcrum for focussing our attention on the status of many youth in South Africa and strategies that could be employed to disrupt this trajectory. Currently, it is estimated that 7.5 million youth are not in employment, education or training (CDE 2017:1).

The key purpose of the study was to explore youth experiences of a holistic approach to personal transformation so that we become more adept at addressing the current NEET crisis and simultaneously deepen the theory and practice of youth development. Within the current context of growing youth unemployment, the rationale for the study has grown in importance as it provides evidence-based data on the application of a holistic approach to personal transformation among youth. Over the last seven years, close to 4000 youth in the Western Cape Province (the site of the study), have participated in the programme facilitated by the Chrysalis Academy.

Disrupting the NEET trajectory is critical, as youth who are not in employment, education or training have a greater propensity of becoming disengaged and disconnected from self, family and broader structures within society (Norton *et al.* 2014:479). In fact they lose connection to social institutions (Vigil 1993:95). Panday *et al.* (2012:101) maintain that disengagement steer young people toward alternative structures to develop their sense of identity. The disconnection can become so deep, that young people are at risk of separating themselves completely from the broader society. They then carve out their identities based on risk factors such as substance abuse, peer pressure and gangs (Norton *et al.* 2014:479). The disengagement tends to impact negatively on the psychological capital of youth, which includes their 'hope, self-esteem, positivity and resilience' (Korthagen 2013a:14). Kessler (2000:xii) supports this view and associates 'emptiness, meaninglessness and disconnection' with a 'spiritual void' felt by young people. She maintains that although the socioeconomic issues which are the source of much violence must be addressed, there is simultaneously a need to meet the spiritual needs of young people (Kessler 2000:xii).

Although it is generally accepted that many youth experience some

form of identity crisis as they transition into adulthood (Erikson 1968:128), this crisis is amplified in the lives of working-class youth who have to contend with heading households owing to the absence or death of parents and a socio-economic context of poverty, lack of access to quality learning opportunities, unemployment and deepening inequality (Soudien 2007:xi). It is evident that the context within which many young people are growing up is fraught with complexity, challenges and despair as well as hope. Despite the increased investment in education following the ushering in of the democratic dispensation in 1994, the conditions under which learning is taking place in the majority of schools in poor communities have not improved significantly and inequalities continue to persist. Schools still do not have basic amenities like toilets, and suffer from poor-quality teaching, overcrowding, and extremely low levels of teacher morale and dedication (Chetty 2014:96). In Cape Town, some learners even need to join a local gang in order to pass safely through the school gates (Pinnock 2016:209). The experiences of learners in the classroom greatly influence their attitude to schooling and young people turn away from the academic and relational aspects of schooling, where there are limited qualified educators and an environment that is not conducive to learning (Fine 2002:24).

It is evident that educational achievement is greatly influenced by family socioeconomic conditions (Crouch 2005:6). The high school dropout, largely as a consequence of underlying structural policies and practices within the education system, is a huge concern for youth, their parents and the state. Of every cohort of learners that enter the schooling system, only 48% complete Grade 12 (John 2012:35). Many black working-class youth who do complete schooling may not meet the entry requirements for higher education institutions owing to poor-quality scholastic achievement. In 2014, out of 532 860 learners who wrote the National Senior Certificate (Grade 12), only 28.3% qualified for entry into a bachelor's degree (DBE 2016:22). Increasingly we are witnessing that early school exits are leading not only to underemployment or unemployment but criminal behaviour (Guerra & Bradshaw 2008:2). Hence, despite the vision of the educational reform process post 1994, there is evidence of the growth of social bifurcation through education (Motala & Vally 2010:88).

The majority of young people who complete high school are left with little options, since the low number of seats at universities are filled by middle-class and urban-based students. Even for those who are successful at finding a

place at university and complete a university degree programme, the chances of securing employment are limited, given the high rate of unemployment among graduates (Chetty 2014:89). The small number of black students who are able to obtain scholarships are the privileged ones with good matriculation results from advantaged schools where parents are able to afford high fees. The opportunities for poor and working-class students from dysfunctional schools, who are in far greater financial need, are limited when the key factor for funding is merit, as opposed to poverty, class and need. Despite there being constitutional and legislative imperatives to achieve a 'just, fair, equitable and humane social order with the mélange of official policy that only looks impressive at face value', the interests of the poor and marginalised are unfortunately not the premise on which the educational system post 1994 is built (Chetty 2014:89).

The study is significant in light of the growing NEET numbers and the paucity of research on credible and sustainable solutions to the NEET crises. Development pathways capable of facilitating personal transformation in youth who have become disconnected and disengaged are urgent. Especially important is the need for youth voices on their perceptions of their needs to advance their own growth. The risk profile of youth in the province is higher than that in other provinces in the country (Western Cape Government 2014:4). The province has an estimated 6.2 million people (South African Institute of Race Relations 2017:6). The youth population (15-34) is approximately 2.1 million (Stats SA 2016:8). The number of youth classified as NEET in the Western Cape is similar to the national figure (32%), while almost 15% of school learners live in homes where someone is a member of a gang (Western Cape Government 2014:4).

Context of the Study

The study focussed on young people who participated in a three-month programme offered by the Chrysalis Academy (CA), a non-profit youth development organisation, based in the Western Cape, South Africa. The CA implements a holistic approach, aimed at deepening the resilience of youth through physical, mental, emotional and spiritual empowerment, enabling them to become positive role models and productive citizens. The programme is offered to youth who are aged 18-25; have a minimum Grade 9 and no

criminal record. In 2006, the CA was described as a best practice example in youth crime prevention (Cooper & Ward 2012:252).

The CA believes that despite the issues that youth may present on entering the programme, they are fundamentally whole human beings. Secondly, although they present psychosocial issues, these are fundamentally socially-induced as highlighted in the youth narratives. Examples of this include a young person who witnessed his father beating his mother and grows up believing that violence is an appropriate response in dealing with inter-personal conflict; or a young person abandoned by his mother, while his father is in prison and in a gang.

The CA uses a structured and regimented approach, supported by love and compassion to accelerate the development and growth of young people. Three cohorts are recruited per year: two male and one female course. The majority come from income-poor homes, with many being unemployed at the time of entering the programme.

The programme is conceptualised and enacted in different phases over three-months:

- A *three-week orientation phase* aimed at providing skills to build personal mastery and agency as well as to introduce learners to a structured and regimented environment.
- A *two-week outdoor phase* aimed at enhancing youth leadership capability and introducing learners to the beauty of the Western Cape and basic biodiversity issues. The outdoor phase consists of a 24-hour 'solo', which is a period of solitude to enable reflection, contemplation and connection with Self.
- A *four-week skills phase* aimed at providing basic technical and vocational training as a foundation for further training when exiting the CA programme or for entry-level employment in various industries or sectors. These include firefighting, welding, electrical circuitry, basic cookery, office administration and so forth.
- A *two-week community phase* which includes a focus on careers and professional behaviour in the workplace; cultivating citizenship and a spirit of voluntarism through community service; and a three-day route march from Tokai to Cape Point in the Western Cape as a symbol of their determination and achievement.
- A *one-week exit phase* focusing on financial literacy, preparing stu-

> dents to reintegrate into families and communities and how to sustain the transformation back home. Various ceremonies take place during this phase, such as a prize-giving celebration to honour student achievement and a graduation ceremony where their achievements are publicly acknowledged by family, friends and the CA.

Due to the large number of challenges experienced by youth entering the programme such as trauma, physical violence, neglect and psychological abuse, a central element of the programme is psychosocial support, which is provided through one-to-one counselling and group work. A five-year aftercare programme commences after students graduate. This includes refresher days, counselling when required, career information, and assistance to access bursaries and job opportunities. This is in recognition that transformation and self-development are incremental and ongoing, and need to be supported, especially in view of graduates' challenging home and community circumstances.

The holistic approach at the CA influences the curriculum, teaching methods and institutional culture, so that all dimensions of a human being are deliberately and consciously incorporated in the teaching and learning.

Literature Review

Beckwith (2008:28) notes that a distinction should be made between change, improvement and transformation. Personal transformation, to be sustainable, has to be a process of renewal, reconnection with self or rebirth. It is largely a process facilitated from the outside, but is fundamentally an inner process of connecting with self, discovery of one's potential and recognition of the interconnectedness between human beings and the environment. It is in the recognition of who one really is, that the transformation occurs. Change is regarded as a change in consciousness, which results in a change of behaviour (Beckwith 2008:28-29). The process of transformation includes change, but change does not incorporate transformation. Change has its limitations, whereas transformation is 'limitless as it derives from an evolving discovery and expression of the Authentic Self' (Beckwith 2008:29). Personal transformation takes place when we act from our true nature (Beckwith 2008:30). Tolle (2005:21) argues that personal transformation is about the destruction of old 'mind patterns' and the development of 'new dimensions of

consciousness', while Wade (1998:715) describes personal transformation as a form of 'rebirth', culminating in fundamental changes to how one perceives one's reality.

A Holistic Approach to Personal Transformation

The word 'holistic' refers to the 'whole', derived from the Greek word *holos* (*OED 2009:443*). Edwards (2013:531) points out that a holistic approach, predates modern times, and draws on all major spiritual and wisdom traditions, yet, its ancient foundation is marginalised. Bohm (1980:25) argued that in the initial stages of the development of civilisation, human viewpoints were that of wholeness and that in the Eastern world that view survived. He asserts that 'reality' has always been whole, but human thinking has been fragmented. Once a person is able to bring her awareness to her habit of thinking in a fragmented way, the fragmentation will end. Bohm (1980:9) avers that the fragmentation is not only in human thinking, but also in the process of thinking itself and therefore it is both the 'fragmentary process and fragmentary content' that should end together.

Similarly, Strozzi-Heckler (2014:32) affirms that the concept of an integrated mind–body process has evolved from ancient Asian and Middle Eastern cultures, philosophy and practice. It appeared in the Western world as a philosophy only in the 1930s with the work of Willhelm Reich, a student of Freud, who maintained that by working with the body through touch and breath, it was possible to cure patients. Colley (2003:81), in tracing the genealogy of holism, points to its use in the scientific field of biology in the 1920s, contending that its use in the field of education started in the 1960s. The references to the ancient foundation of a holistic approach are important as when concepts are appropriated from the cultural practices of indigenous people, the original intention and meaning are often lost through the process of appropriation, either deliberately or mistakenly.

Ancient Vedic texts such as the Bhagavad Gita, written in the third and fourth centuries BC, contain references to the interconnectedness and oneness or wholeness of all life forms through use of Sanskrit terms such as Tat-Twam-Asi, which implies that human beings are all extensions of one universal energy (Chopra 2003:187). Hodgkinson (2006:10) speaks of the 'triple canon' of Vedanta as comprising the Upanishads, the Bhagavad Gita and the Brahma Sutras.

According to commentaries on the Upanishads, reference is made to the notion of five sheaths: food, vital force, mind, intellect, and bliss (Hodgkinson 2006:103). Nirmalananda (2009:42), provides further insights on the five sheaths: *Annamaya kosha* (physical body or the food body); *Pranayama kosha* (energetic body or the vital force); *Manomaya kosha* (mental body); *Vijnanamaya kosha* (wisdom or intuitive body or the intellect); and *Anandamaya kosha* (bliss body). These sheaths are one coherent whole, and influence and impact one another. With respect to an individual, the physical implies the physical body; the energetic refers to the energy (life force) within the body. Emotions can be described as energy in motion as they come and go. The mental body refers to the mind; the intuitive body refers to the intellect; and the bliss body houses 'spirit' or 'soul'. When one reaches the *anandamaya kosha,* one reaches the innermost Self (Sivananda 2012:394).

The Self is already present, not something which needs to be achieved (Hodgkinson 2006:105). This may imply that personal transformation is a recognition of the 'self' within, as alluded to by Tolle (2005:23) and this recognition of the self within is the transmutation itself. The objective of our lives is to 'evolve' all of the different sheaths and in the process discover our spiritual nature (Vivekananda 2005:10). It is discovering the 'unity of the individual's consciousness with the ultimate consciousness' (Vivekananda 2005:14).

The centre of a human being is the heart, not the head, which is something that ancient civilisations were aware of, but which was forgotten by contemporary society (Keepin 2016:197). This is due to science largely not taking cognisance of 'the subjective inner dimensions of life' with its advances being recognised in the technological domain: 'Interiorization is therefore the key to spiritual practice. The path of divine love is pursued deep within the heart' (Keepin 2016:201).

Schumacher (1978:47), in support of a holistic approach, notes that many teachings describe humans as comprising four bodies: physical, etheric, astral and I/ego/self/spirit. These four levels can be compared to an 'inverted pyramid where each higher level comprises everything lower and is open to influences from everything higher' (Schumacher 1978:46). He asserts that knowledge of the four great levels of being is found in all major wisdom traditions and has been around for thousands of years.

Chopra (2003:35) posits another way of understanding a holistic approach. He outlines three levels of existence: the physical, quantum, and the

non-local domains. The physical domain is all that which we can experience with our five senses. The quantum level is all that which cannot be seen or touched by the senses. It is the level of information and energy and includes the mind, thoughts and ego (Chopra 2003:35). Whatever exists in the quantum domain is not fixed, yet we all have experienced millions of thoughts rushing through the mind. All that which is in the physical domain can be seen to reflect that which is in the quantum domain (Chopra 2003:37).

The non-local domain is also referred to as the virtual or spiritual domain (Chopra 2003:43). It is the level of 'potentiality' and is termed 'non-local' as it is not confined to a particular area. It is an energy that organises what is. It is a difficult concept to grasp, but can be experienced. The notion of the non-local domain has been in contention for many years, but in the twentieth century it became possible for science to prove its existence (Chopra 2003:46).

Within the context of a discussion on personal transformation, various methods or approaches can be used to access the 'inner self' such as yoga as described by Cope (1999:324) as well as the practice of somatics. Somatics signifies the 'living, aware, bodily person' (Strozzi-Heckler 2014:31). The field of somatics, founded by Thomas Hanna, regard the body as the 'unified space in which humans act, perceive, think, feel, sense, express emotions and moods, and live in their spiritual longing' (Strozzi-Heckler 2014:33). The mind and body are not regarded as separate. The physical body is connected to the self and when the body is worked with, it leads to the question of what is beyond the self (Strozzi-Heckler 2014:38). This means that through the body, we develop the self. The somatic field makes it possible to have a view of the whole human being, as many views of the human being have often been incomplete (Hanna 1988:21).

Korthagen (2013b:35) developed the Core Reflection Approach in education and states that flow happens when people are supported to connect with their 'thinking, feeling and wanting'. He feels that if people are stuck in one dimension like the head, then flow cannot occur (Korthagen 2013b:35). Core reflection is an approach that seeks to 'nurture the whole student and teacher' and to pay attention to issues of 'identity, mission, inspiration and passion' (Greene *et al.* 2013:3). This approach is a strengths-based approach and is essentially about connecting human hearts and spirits.

Connecting a person's inner qualities and experiences is important, as Korthagen believes that very little attention is paid to the 'internal' and natural

qualities that individuals bring to teaching and learning (Korthagen 2013a:14). Greene *et al.* (2013:4) believe that if education is oriented towards a core reflection approach then deep transformation is likely to take place. When learning becomes a joyful or meaningful experience for students, it touches the spirit in ways that cannot always be measured, but that can leave a lasting imprint on their deeper sense of being (Greene *et al.* 2013:5). Core reflection stems from a positive psychology approach that focuses on people's personal strengths. A deficiency model is to look at what is not going well and then to work at how to improve things, whereas a core reflection approach focuses on nurturing what is best (Korthagen 2013a:14).

Bohm notes that because many people have a 'fragmentary self-world view', they begin to perceive that this is in fact 'the way everything is' (Bohm 1980:15). In similar vein, Shepherd (2010:2) argues that the biggest harm that has been done to us by society is through the divisions imposed on us. He notes that society exhorts us to ignore the intelligence of the body and to live as 'prisoners in our craniums' (Shepherd 2010:3). The human soul has an 'age old quest for wholeness – that is to feel the world as a whole and the self as a whole within it, and in feeling that wholeness, to live it' (Shepherd 2010:6). Similarly, an individual is a spiritual entity who is engaging with the world through using the body and mind as the instrument (Vivekananda 2005:23).

Caine and Caine (1995:23) articulate the holistic approach in the following way:

> Teaching Jimmy to fly a kite may involve some direct instruction, but anyone who ever experienced flying a kite on the beach will recall that they also learned about the feeling of sand under the bare feet, the smell and sound of the sea, the feel of the wind as it pulled on the string, and at the same time managed spontaneously complex mathematic calculations of distance and speed, either pursued or abandoned the sport, and possibly learned something about parents' patience and so on.

Delgado (2002:278) maintains that our concept of education must be expanded to include domains other than cognition, while Martin (1985:80) argues that emotions and feelings must be regarded as 'positive rather than untrustworthy elements of personality'. He points out that if an integrative approach is not taken, learners will not be able to feel injustices, and will have no desire to sol-

ve real problems in the world (Martin 1985:73).

According to Campbell (2006:29), holistic education sets out to 'encompass and enlist' three key aspects of the whole person: mind, body, and spirit in the learning process and environment. This is critical as the education system fragments each discipline. Campbell (2006:29) maintains that teachers should see their students as whole developing humans with a variety of needs, including their need for personal transformation and should not suppress things like spirituality. Kessler (2000:x) argues that the 'body of the child will not grow if it is not fed, the mind will not flourish unless it is stimulated and guided and the spirit will suffer if it is not nurtured'.

In what can be seen as a support of a whole person approach, Garbarino (1999:154), who has worked with youth who have committed violent crimes, outlines what he calls a conceptual toolbox to save lost boys; this includes the spiritual dimension. He points out that of all the things he found when working with violent youth, 'a spiritual emptiness' was the most common thread. He notes that spirituality is a recognition that as human beings, we are not only 'humans with a brain', but spiritual beings as well, and that not having one's spiritual needs met can be as harmful as not having one's physical or emotional needs met.

Garbarino's perspective is shared by Kessler (2000:ix) who maintains that despite some children having their 'inner lives numbed' by drugs, neglect and abuse; many continue to come to school 'with their souls alive and seeking connection'. For Kessler the issue is how spiritual development is addressed in schools. She maintains that there is general agreement that a spiritual emptiness or a 'spiritual hunger' is what many youth face, and that these issues are largely omitted from our analysis. She defines a spiritual void as those feelings of 'emptiness, meaningless and disconnection' (Kessler 2000:xi). Delgado (2002:97) cautions that spirituality is more 'inclusive' than religion and one can be spiritual and not be religious. He argues that spirituality can be cultivated in many ways in youth development programmes and that youth practitioners should not be fearful of including it in their activities (Delgado 2002:97).

Spirituality plays an important role in 'instilling and sustaining hope' and in making meaning of a 'disadvantaged existence' (Dass-Brailsford 2005:586). Although research has shown that spirituality supports a resilient outcome, Dass-Brailsford cautions against simply accepting research outcomes that support faith in a 'higher power' as a mechanism with which to

cope (2005:586). Caine & Caine, (1995:25-26) aver that learning should engage the 'whole physiology' and it is important to acknowledge that learning is 'enhanced or inhibited' by threat. This perspective confirms the importance of integrating all aspects of a learner's being. A learner cannot learn if he/she is fearful or suppressing fear, and fear is not a cognitive concept, it is contained within the physical body (Van der Kolk 2014:46). Hence, learning should embrace more than the cognitive; it should engage all aspects of a learner's being, including the body that 'houses' the fear, mind and spirit. Once learners' emotions are separated from learning, they are limited from making 'meaningful connections' which are critical in enabling them to develop 'compassion, personal interdependence and tolerance for multiple perspectives' (Jennings 1995:73).

Unfortunately, many educational institutions see their mission simply as imparting knowledge, while a holistic approach integrates the learner's many selves into the learning experience (Best 2008:344). A whole person approach to education is important in that it enables the learner to integrate the power of the 'mind, heart and will' and to develop a sense of identity as part of a global family (Podger *et al.* 2010:342). The dominant viewpoint in our society largely proclaims that learning resides within the domain of the mind or intellect and that the body is used primarily to serve the mind.

Holistic youth development questions the view that youth are not whole right now. It is an approach to think about the ways in which youth grow, learn and evolve. There are many aspects that make up the 'world' of youth. These aspects are: the emotional, physical, familial, social, spiritual, ethical, educational, and cultural (Fletcher 2014:6). It is vital that all these aspects are included in programmes aimed at promoting youth development. It is critical for adults to regard youth as 'uniquely important people right now', instead of seeing them as 'adults-in-the making' (Fletcher 2014:7). Young people are often viewed as 'problems in the making or as current problems' (Fletcher 2014:10). Youth are capable of changing the world they live in, rather than only 'consuming' the world that they have inherited. One central tenet of a holistic youth development approach is that 'all young people have inherent value no matter how they are identified by others' (Fletcher 2014:12).

Methodology

The critical research question is: How do NEET youth experience a holistic

approach to personal transformation? Narrative inquiry was chosen as methodological framework and the study incorporated tools that enabled youth voices to be heard. Schonert-Reichl (2000:10) points out that many researchers have expressed concern about the lack of qualitative research that illustrates young people's own interpretation of their experience, as this data has the possibility of influencing the implementation of effective programmes. Gallagher reminds us:

> When we pay attention to what young people say and do not only in the classroom but in interviews, we refer to the politics of knowing and being known (2007:7).

By drawing our attention to this point, the authors seeks to give effect to the work of Spivak (1988) who points out that it is critical to listen to the voices of those who are normally seen as 'other' and hear them as 'constructors, agents and disseminators of knowledge' (Gallagher 2007:8).

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to collect data. Heath *et al.* (2009:79) note that as youth are often marginalised, the interview method can be a valuable 'expression of voice'. All interviews were conducted as conversations. 32 graduates of CA responded to an email inviting participation in the study and five qualitatively rich-cases were selected using purposive sampling. The emphasis was on the depth of the information being sought, as opposed to focussing on representivity and size of the sample (Bailey 1987:87). The inclusion criteria for the five youth respondents were completion of the CA programme over the last five years and they must be back in their communities for at least six months. The rationale for the six-month period was to ensure that there was a form of integration into families after the programme. Three Coloured males and two Black Africans, one male and one female were selected (racial classification was used in the study in the context of how it is used currently in South Africa to monitor affirmative action, inclusion and equity. However, many South Africans object to any form of racial classification). Parents or guardians were selected through a form of snowball sampling, in that each of the five youth respondents were asked to suggest one parent or guardian who could be interviewed.

Data was analysed using conceptual content analysis (Babbie & Mouton 2001:493). At the first level, various concepts were highlighted in the transcriptions and then tabulated. The concepts were then clustered into

themes, using some of the ideas that emerged in the literature review. The themes were interpreted and analysed against the research questions. The study was guided by ethical considerations such as informed consent; voluntary participation; respondents could withdraw from the interviews at any stage; and permission was sought to record the interviews. To give effect to the principle of confidentiality, each respondent was requested to provide a pseudonym to be used in the final report. However, all the youth respondents wanted their own names used, which speaks to the desire of young people to be recognised and have their voices heard and acknowledged. However, pseudonyms (Gary, Jacob, Vatiswa, Timothy and Libo) were used in keeping with the ethical requirements.

Findings

NEET youth have a greater propensity of becoming disengaged and disconnected from self, family and broader structures of society (Norton *et al.* 2014:479). The holistic approach as articulated by the respondents and their parents/guardians has a number of benefits for NEET youth. The stories that emerged from the data illustrated that their needs were many and varied, and straddled a number of dimensions including food and safety, the need to be challenged, recognised and acknowledged, and a deep longing for connection and positive role models. Vatiswa described a broad spectrum of needs that youth have which a holistic approach, due to its philosophy, design, curriculum and peer model of instruction is capable of fulfilling such as the need for a father figure; someone to talk to; peer support, nourishment in the form of food; facilitating the resolution of emotional issues, helping to build confidence and self-esteem.

Other descriptions of the multi-facetted nature of the holistic approach include how it results in 'optimal development' and build on an 'individual's strengths and improves weaknesses'. The variety of needs illustrate the notion that youth 'are never just one thing' and provide some measure of caution about programmes that may be seen as one-dimensional or too utilitarian, such as skills or work-readiness programmes, as opposed to one that is aimed at developing and nurturing the 'whole' person.

The perspectives of the youth respondents suggest that the holistic approach is transformative as it embraces all aspects of who they are and fulfils many of their individual and collective needs. Their insights give credence to

the perspective shared by Jennings (1995:73) that if learning experiences are to be impactful, they should engage all aspects of a learner's being; in other words, they should engage all dimensions. Once a learner's emotions are separated from learning, they are not able to make 'meaningful connections' which are very important to enable them to develop 'compassion, personal interdependence and tolerance for multiple perspectives' (Jennings 1995:73). Korthagen (2013b:35) articulates this perspective slightly differently as he maintains that when people are supported to connect with their 'thinking, feeling and wanting', 'flow' happens.

A number of themes connect the dots between NEET youth and the value of a holistic approach, the key being *Socioeconomic context and ecology*. The narratives show how they continue to live in communities where unemployment is high and increasing, poverty is pervasive, crime is rampant, and substance abuse is a problem. All five youth described the impact of positive fathering, making the need for connection a high priority. They described issues of physical safety, fear, lack of opportunity, the 'passive' nature of their education, and lack of purpose. Their family backgrounds illustrate the deficits in economic, social, and cultural capital confronting many black youth from working-class families.

The second theme, *Relationships and the need for connection,* is significant as the respondents noted the absence of connection or relationship with a father figure. This may explain why they emphasised the relational value of the programme, such as being provided with a 'father figure' or 'peer support', or 'getting attention even if one is not sick'. Other themes that emerged include issues around identity, personal resilience, readiness for change and CA approach to adult learning.

An interesting element brought to the fore is the experiential nature of a holistic approach. Everything that is taught is experienced. They pointed out that the programme not only provided them with information, but it taught through 'experience' and it is precisely these 'experiences that culminated in changes to the different dimensions of their being.

The findings tell a 'political story' of the lives of young people, lives characterised by poverty, inequality, absent fathers and unemployment. Gary sums it up when he notes that 'the community is riddled with crime, gangsterism and poverty'. The narratives illustrate that many of their personal psychosocial challenges were socially induced such as an absent father, witnessing domestic violence, social marginalisation and exclusion as well as poverty.

However the findings simultaneously conveyed a deep desire for change, achievement and a striving for excellence. The stories reveal how poverty and trauma is intergenerational. Their stories before their tenure at the academy were in fact the stories of their parents. Jacob, points out that:

Over the years, I have come to understand, that my fear was almost like a genetic-trait. I think it was a fear from my parents. I think that whatever my parents feared was almost like transferred to me.

The respondents reported many changes on a number of different levels: physical, mental, emotional and spiritual. The most significant changes were perceived to be in the mental, emotional or energetic and spiritual domains. Changes included:

- *Physical changes:* Weight loss; becoming fitter; putting on weight *(this is a necessity where someone has lost weight due to drug use)*; became healthier.
- *Mental changes: P*erception of things changed; developed a realisation that human beings and nature are connected; developed a greater sense of purpose; developed the ability to think more deeply about identity questions; mental frame changed, although physical circumstances did not; realised that I am a leader.
- *Emotional changes:* Able to connect with emotions; speak about emotions; more aware of what is going on around myself; manage emotions; more self-confident; ability to communicate better; less reactive; released many emotions; more calmer; more accepting of myself; more open on an interpersonal level; gained self-respect; gained self-trust.
- *Spiritual changes:* Grew stronger spiritually; faith started growing; became more aware of who I am spiritually.

Timothy captures his transformation poignantly:

> I underwent many changes during the three months. Firstly, I became more self-accepting of myself. The three months were like a booster. I became more aware of my identity in terms of who I was. Much of my transformation was around issues of self-identity. I also became more aware of who I was on a spiritual level. There were not many physical changes, but there was an inner change that I could identify with.

On the value of a holistic approach, the respondents felt it was able to meet a range of needs that young people have: from food, safety, new ideas, role models and spiritual needs. The data shows that the needs of youth are indeed varied and straddled a number of dimensions, and that a holistic approach with its multidimensional nature, excluded none of their needs. They showed immense appreciation that none of who they were and what they brought to the programme was excluded. Jacob noted:

> I think that the Chrysalis Academy runs a holistic programme as they develop all aspects of a human being, which means there is optimum development. The CA makes provision for all systems in your life.

They also felt that a holistic approach was powerful due to its experiential nature. In other words, everything that was taught was experienced. What was taught was not only cerebral, but was 'in the body, mind and spirit' of the respondents. This confirms the view that despite the many critics, 'there is growing consensus that experience forms the basis of all learning' (Kolb 1984:3 - 4).

The biggest contributor to their change was time spent in nature over the two-week period and more specifically in silence. In fact, it was quite paradoxical, that it was the silence experienced in nature that enabled them 'to break' their silence on issues of emotional and physical abuse. Their experiences in silence seem to suggest that the personal transformation process for some may include a process of 'walking through the fire', that is, an inner wrestling or grappling with a challenge by oneself such as the absence of a father or domestic violence. This inner wrestling seems to have the potential to commence the personal transformation process, if the individual is supported so that the process does not become too overwhelming. Vatiswa remarks that:

> The solo was very difficult for me. The dad issue was the big one that surfaced during my solo. There was quite a lot of forgiving of my mom and myself. Total healing for me was about releasing that which I have parked for a long time.

Their sojourn made it possible for them to speak about their psychosocial challenges for the very first time in their lives, begging the question: What happens to youth who have no platform to speak about their personal inner challenges. It was very significant how powerful nature, being alone and

silence were in assisting youth to deal with their issues. The findings confirmed that there is power in silence to surface psychosocial issues that might have been parked.

The findings illustrate that a personal transformation process is both an inner and an outer process, with some respondents maintaining that aspects of the transformation cannot be described in words; in other words the experiences transcend words, perhaps pointing to why it is difficult to reach consensus on the exact nature of the personal transformation process.

It was quite extraordinary, from an academic research perspective, that the youth did not wish for their identities to be hidden, conveying the desire that young people have of wanting to be seen and heard. Within an environment of safety, where participants were insulated from risks such as crime, poverty and peer pressure, they were able to 'name' issues like absent fathers, domestic violence, rape and questions around gender identity. This naming of their reality is significant, as it suggests that the process of naming diminishes the power that the issue has over their lives.

Despite the stereotypes that exist in society and research findings on the gender differences in emotional expressions (Levant *et al.* 2009), a holistic approach had no gender bias, in that both male and female respondents described their experiences, without reservation. There were no 'emotional restrictiveness' on the part of male respondents during the programme, and they were able to speak about issues that they had 'parked' for a long time (Levant *et al.* 2009:190).

There is evidence of the sustainability of the personal transformation experienced by the youth as they were either in meaningful occupation or studying at higher education institutions: this was further illustrated by their positive psychosocial disposition at the time of the interviews. All of them were still on a continuous developmental trajectory, despite one of them being unemployed.

Conclusion

The findings point to the value of a holistic approach in fostering personal transformation among youth who are not in employment, education or training. The holistic approach is not only psychological; it meets the physical, emotional, mental and spiritual needs of young people. In addition, it incorporates not only a three-month residential period, but a one-year

internship after graduation augmented with an aftercare support service. In other words, the holistic approach, besides its focus on all dimension of a human being, provides a continuum of care. It extends beyond skills development and is about education in a broader sense. Among others, it enabled youth to become more positive; more able to connect with their emotions; develop a greater sense of purpose; give up habits such as the use of illegal substances; become fitter; develop greater self-respect and self-trust. In addition, they gained a repertoire of skills that could be used when they are confronted with difficulties after their graduation.

Youth experienced significant changes in the realm of the mental, emotional and the spiritual. The changes helped them to transform their mindset and perspectives and assisted them to manage their emotions and deal with some of their inner issues that had been pushed into the subconscious (parked). It helped to build their confidence and self-esteem which enabled them to foster better interpersonal relationships when they left the academy. Their faith and spirituality had also grown. There were significant changes in their connection with an adult figure in their lives.

The potential of the holistic approach is not only to cultivate the psychological capital of youth and to stimulate change at different levels, but to meet a wide array of critical needs that youth have as a result of their NEET status such as the need for positive role models and the need for safe spaces to speak about deep wounds accumulated over a period of time. The approach could be considered as a strategy to 'disrupt' what can be seen as a negative developmental trajectory, particularly where youth are labelled as 'disruptive'. Within the context of the growing NEET numbers, we, like the work with youth in the USA by Weiss and Fine (2001:497), maintain that the holistic approach to personal transformation is an example of a 'disruptive pedagogy' capable of positively influencing the consciousness of young people.

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Lucille Meyer
Postdoctoral Fellow
University of the Western Cape
3880854@myuwc.ac.za

Rajendra Chetty
Faculty of Education
University of the Western Cape
rchetty@uwc.ac.za

Contributors

Lorena Brits is a senior lecturer in the Department of Financial Intelligence (postgraduate taxation) in the College of Accounting Sciences at the University of South Africa. Her research interests lie in the impact of technology-enhanced learning in distance education. She is a qualified Chartered Accountant. Contact details: britsl@unisa.ac.za.

Rajendra Chetty is Professor of Language Education at the University of the Western Cape. His areas of research are postcolonial writings; critical pedagogy; and race, class and marginalisation. His recent publications include *At the Edge: The Writings of Ronnie Govender* (2017); and *Narrating the New Nation: South African Indian Writing* (2018). Contact details: rchetty@uwc.ac.za

Ezra Chitando is a Professor in History and Phenomenology of Religion at the University of Zimbabwe and Theology, and Consultant on HIV and AIDS for the World Council of Churches. His research interests include religion and: politics, gender, security, HIV and methodology. Contact details: Chitsa21!@yahoo.com

Bekithemba Dube is a lecturer at the University of the Free State, he is founding member and managing editor of the African Journal of education in Rural Contexts. He has published various articles in the area of religion, education and curriculum theory. He also coordinates an international society for scholars in rural contexts. Contact details: bekithembadube13@gmail.com; or dubeb@ufs.ac.za

Jean Veronica Fourie is a registered Educational Psychologist and lecturer at the University of Johannesburg in the Faculty of Education. She is involved in

the training of Educational Psychologists; school counsellors and remedial teachers. Her research focuses on inclusive education and learning support. She has worked extensively within special needs education and consults on implementation issues surrounding inclusive education. She has presented at international and national conferences on supporting learners with diverse learning needs in both mainstream and special schools. Contact details: jeanf@uj.ac.za; Orcid qrcode 0000-0002-1367-0156

Sokfa F. John is a postdoctoral research fellow at the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics, University of KwaZulu-Natal, in Prof. J.A. Smit's African Digital Humanities project. His research interests include Religion and conflicts in Africa, Digital humanities, digital social movements and cultures, and postcolonial/ decolonial theory. Contact details: sokfa.john@gmail.com

Siseko H. Kumalo is Editor-in-Chief of the *Journal of Decolonising Disciplines*, a journal dedicated to decolonising disciplinary knowledge across faculties in higher education. His research focuses on epistemic justice, pedagogies of mutual (in)fallibility, feminist and queer theory, violence, Education for Sustainable Development and higher education transformation. He is Lead Researcher of #ThinkingAfrica under the Unsettling Paradigms Project (http://www.up.ac.za/unsettlingparadigms), which is an inter-institutional project co-ordinated by the University of Pretoria. He served on the Executive Committee of the Philosophical Society of Southern Africa and is a Mandela Rhodes Scholar (2017). Contact details: jdd@up.ac.za

Janet Jarvis serves on the Management Team in the School of Education, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. She is the Cluster Leader: Social Sciences Education and lectures in Life Orientation Education in both undergraduate and post-graduate programmes. She holds a Masters (cum laude) from Stellenbosch University and a Doctoral degree from North West University (Potchefstroom). Her research interest is teacher identity, Religion Education and gender equality. She has presented papers at both national and international conferences and has published several papers in this field. She is currently working collaboratively with colleagues in Norway and also at several South African Higher Education Institutions. She is a member of the following bodies: South African Universities Physical Education Association (SAUPEA); Human Rights in Education (HRiED); and ASRSA – Association

for Religious Studies in South Africa (ASRSA). Contact details: jarvisj@ukzn.ac.za

Lucille Meyer is postdoctoral fellow at the University of the Western Cape. Her areas of research are youth development, narrative research and holistic approaches to personal transformation of youth who are not in employment, education or training. She is the Chief Executive Officer of the Chrysalis Academy. Contact details: 3880854@myuwc.ac.za

Tabitha Mukeredzi is a senior lecturer and research coordinator in the Adult, Community and Post Graduate Education Unit, School of Education, Indumiso Campus at the Durban University of Technology. Her research Interests are in Teacher Development, and Rural Education. She has published on teacher professional development and professional learning, teacher knowledge, rural education, and distance mixed mode delivery offerings. Contact details: TabithaM@dut.ac.za

Munyaradzi Felix Murove, is an Associate Professor in Applied Ethics in the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics – University of KwaZulu-Natal. He holds a doctorate in Economic Ethics from the University of South Africa. He teaches African Ethics, and Comparative Ethics. He has published many journal articles and book chapters on ethics. He edited the first anthology on African Ethics titled, *African Ethics: An Anthology of Comparative and Applied Ethics*, which was published by UKZN Press in 2009. He has also authored a book titled, *African Moral Consciousness: An Inquiry into the Evolution of Perspectives and Prospects* which was published by Austin Macauley in 2016. He has supervised successfully and continues to supervise many masters and doctoral students in Applied Ethics. Prof Murove's main area of specialization is African Ethics/ Applied African Ethics. Contact details: Murovem@ukzn.ac.za

Ncamisile P. Mthiyane is a lecturer in the Life Orientation Education Department in the School of Education at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. She lectures in both undergraduate and postgraduate classes. She also supervises Honours, Masters and PhD students in the Psychology of Education Department. She graduated with her BA degree in Psychology and Communication at the University of South Africa (UNISA) and her Masters in

Psychology of Education at the former University of Durban-Westville. In 2015 she graduated with her PhD in Educational Psychology at the University of the Free State. Her research interest areas include adolescents' contextual-based psychosocial issues, innovative and creative strategies in teaching and learning including participatory visual methods in higher education and career guidance and counselling in schools. She has presented her work at both national and international conferences. Contact details: Mthiyanen1@ukzn.ac.za

Isaiah Aduojo Negedu holds a Ph.D in Philosophy from Nnamdi Azikiwe University and Bachelor of Laws from the Kogi State University. He is currently a Post-Doctoral research fellow in the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics, University of Kwa-Zulu Natal. He also lectures in the Department of Philosophy, Federal University Lafia. His research interest is Race/ African Philosophy. Contact details: NegeduI@ukzn.ac.za

Molebatsi Milton Nkoane is an Associate Professor in the department of Educational Psychology and Special needs at the University of Zululand. He has a strong research interests in praxis as an operationalisation of critical emancipatory grounded education, within post colonial and critical realist social discourses. He is the editor and co-editor of many academic and scientific journals. He has written extensively in the area of social justice and sustainable learning environments. Contact details: NkoaneM@unizulu.ac.za

Solomon Ojoka Ojomah holds a Ph.D in Social and Political Philosophy from the Nnamdi Azikiwe University and a Master of Science in Global Studies from VID Specialized University Norway. He currently teaches in the Department of Philosophy, Federal University Lafia. His research interest is in Intercultural and Political Philosophy. Contact details: sojomah@gmail.com

Bright Nkrumah is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow to the School of Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu Natal. He holds the degrees DPhil, MPhil (Pretoria) and BA(Hons) (Ghana). He previously served as a researcher at the Centre for Human Rights and the South African Human Rights Commission. His research interests include various topics in social movement, migration, constitutionalism, food security, foreign policy, peace and security, good governance, resistance, freedom, democratisation and climate change. Contact details: Bright.Nkrumah@ukzn.ac.za

Auwais Rafudeen is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Religious Studies and Arabic, University of South Africa. He undertook both his undergraduate and postgraduate training in Religious Studies at the University of Cape Town, obtaining his Phd in 2000. He also studied Arabic through the University of South Africa and the University of the Western Cape. He has published on Islam in South Africa and has translated a number of classical and contemporary Arabic Islamic texts into English. He has also published on work of Talal Asad and has been involved in the editing and translation of selected texts by Shaykh Yusuf, to be published by the University of South Africa. Contact details: rafudma@unisa.ac.za

Mabatho Sedibe is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Johannesburg in the Faculty of Education. Her research focuses on Diversity in Teacher Education. She has presented several papers on issues of Diversity in Education. Contact details: mabathos@uj.ac.za

Doras Sibanda is a chemistry education lecturer at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in the school of Education. Her research interests are in teaching sequences in chemistry education, and in topic-specific pedagogical content knowledge (TSPCK) mentoring of science teachers and professional teacher development. Contact details: Sibandad@ukzn.ac.za

Kgothatso B Shai is the Head of the Department of Cultural and Political Studies at the University of Limpopo in South Africa. He holds a PhD in International Politics and MA in Political Science (cum laude) from the universities of Limpopo and Venda, respectively. His research interests cut across the subject of African politics and international relations. An Afrocentric scholar of note, Shai is also interested in the academic discourse about the politics of scholarship in Africa. Contact details: SKgothatso@yahoo.com

Johannes A. Smit (DLitt) is a graduate of the University of Durban-Westville (now University of KwaZulu-Natal), founding editor of the SAPSE journal *Alter*nation and served as research chair of the Humanities for some years. He has a lifelong commitment to interdisciplinary learning and critical research capacity development in the Arts and Humanities. He is former Dean and Head of School of the School of Religion, Philosophy and Classics, as well as

of the School of Arts (Acting) at UKZN. He teaches Comparative Religion (main focus Christianity), and is the founder of the postgraduate Programme in Religion and Social Transformation in 2000. Contact details: smitj@ukzn.ac.za

Fallon Thompson is a registered Educational Psychologist in private practice who consults to schools regarding achieving learning potentials for all children. Her research focuses on systemic influences and dynamics promoting effective school functioning. Contact details: thompson.fallon@gmail.com

Theresa van Oordt is a senior lecturer in the Department of Taxation in the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences at the University of Pretoria. Her main research interest is assessment in accounting education, specifically the impact of the assessment environment on the validity and reliability of assessment results. She is a qualified Chartered Accountant and have published 2 articles in accredited peer reviewed journals. She won a Laureate for Teaching Excellence and Innovation Award in 2014, which was awarded by the Vice Chancellor and Rector of the University of Pretoria. Contact details: theresa.vanoordt@up.ac.za

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Translated book

Foucault, M. 1977. *Discipline and Punish.* Sheridan, A. (trans.). New York: Pantheon.

Online resource

Jansen, J. & P. Vale (Co-chairs.) 2011. *Consensus Study on the State of the Humanities in South Africa: Status, Prospects and Strategies.* Pretoria: Academy of Science of South Africa (ASSAf). Available at: https://www.assaf.org.za/files/2011/09/2011-Humanity-final-proof-11-August-2011.pdf. (Accessed on 08 May 2017.)

***Alter*nation Special Edition 23, 2018**
Print ISSN 1023-1757; Electronic ISSN 2519-5476

Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of the Arts and Humanities in Southern Africa

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