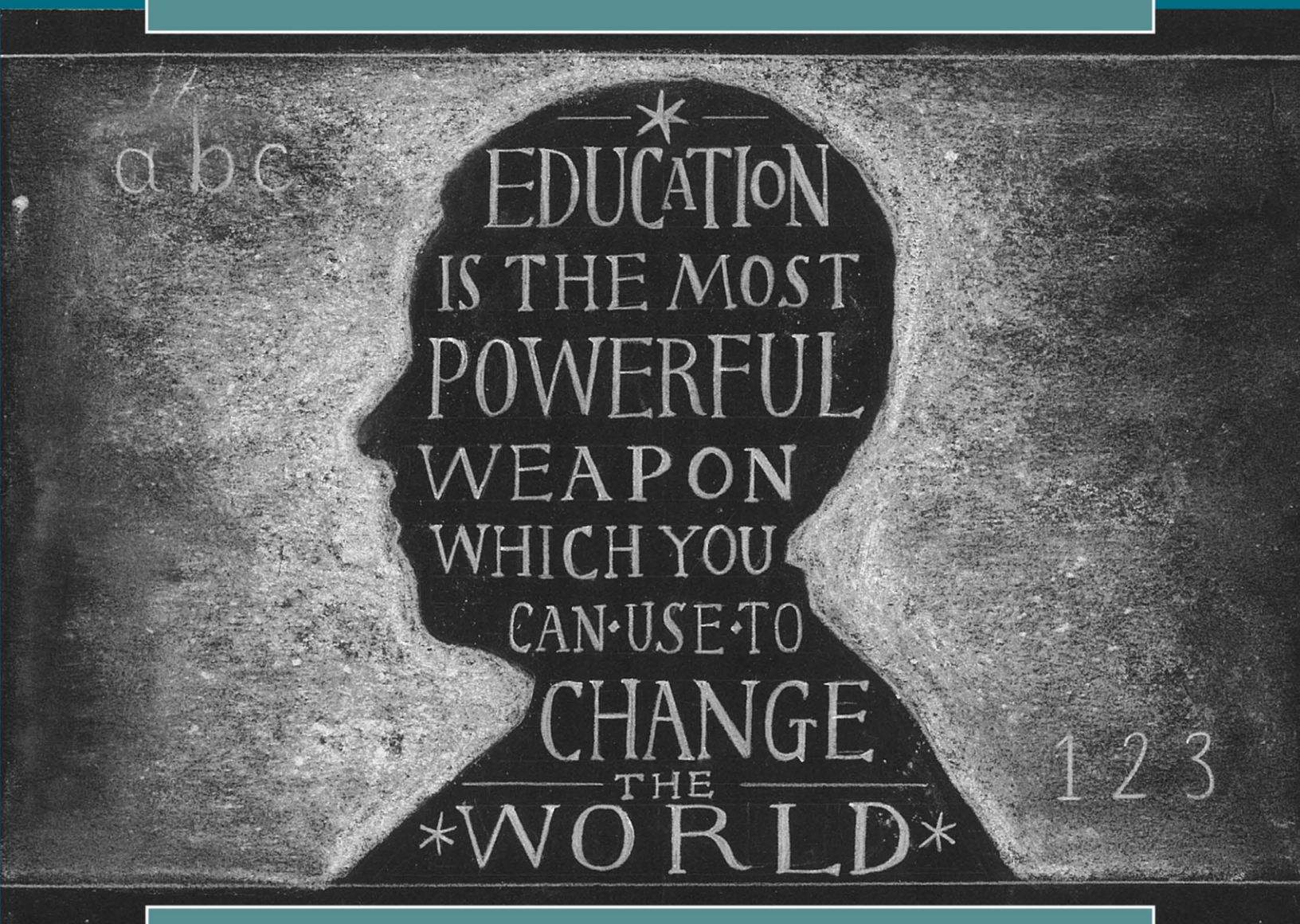
COMPARATIVE AND INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION: A DIVERSITY OF VOICES

Nelson Mandela

Comparative Perspectives of his Significance for Education

Crain Soudien (Ed.)



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A Diversity of Voices

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Scope

Comparative and International Education: A Diversity of Voices aims to provide a comprehensive range of titles, making available to readers work from across the comparative and international education research community. Authors will represent as broad a range of voices as possible, from geographic, cultural and ideological standpoints. The editors are making a conscious effort to disseminate the work of newer scholars as well as that of well-established writers. The series includes authored books and edited works focusing upon current issues and controversies in a field that is undergoing changes as profound as the geopolitical and economic forces that are reshaping our worlds. The series aims to provide books which present new work, in which the range of methodologies associated with comparative education and international education are both exemplified and opened up for debate. As the series develops, it is intended that new writers from settings and locations not frequently part of the English language discourse will find a place in the list.

Nelson Mandela

Comparative Perspectives of his Significance for Education

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CRAIN SOUDIEN

1. AN INTRODUCTION

Nelson Mandela and his Significance for Education

INTRODUCTION

This is the first book dedicated to the significance of Mr. Nelson Mandela for education. The Mandela reading list is long and extensive. It consists of his own work (*inter alia,* Mandela, 1986, 1994, 2001a, 2001b) and a growing collection of biographies, beginning shortly before his release from prison with the contribution of Meer (1988), followed by Benson (1989) and Lodge (1990) and then with a second wave of writing led by Meredith (1997) in turn followed by Sampson (2000), Boehmer (2008), Stengel (2010), Smith (2010), and most recently, Bundy (2015). There have also been books on the importance of Mandela for the struggle in Palestine and Israel (Adam & Moodley, 2005), books on Mandela's relationship with children (Gordon, 2002), and, interestingly, a book on Mandela and his relationship with food (Trapido, 2008). The complete oeuvre extends to several coffee table type books, journal articles and a continuous feed of popular writing relating to a wide range of subjects and issues. Much of this last genre of writing, not unexpectedly, was produced around the time of his death in 2013.

Vast as this corpus of work is, surprisingly, there is not a dedicated focus of attention on the significance of education for Mandela or about what his own significance for education might be. It is surprising because, actually, he devoted much of his public life to the cause of education. He lost no opportunity to emphasize the importance of learning. His earliest recorded speeches included references to education. In the collected compendium of Mandela quotations put together by Hattang and Venter (2011) the space accorded to education covers three pages. It is the third largest subject area in the book after the sections devoted to Liberation and Leadership. Significant, moreover, about the leadership section, which covers five pages, is that it has many entries which relate to educatedness. Of the 2000 quotations collected and the more than 300 subject areas categorized by the editors in the book, more than thirty are about education, learning, thinking and reasoning. Why it then has taken so long for a Mandela education book to emerge is a curious fact. This book is a small attempt to make good this absence.

The initial impetus for this book came from a global acknowledgement in the comparative education community of the importance that Mandela holds for the struggles for social justice and by a sense of the sheer scale of his global

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 1–7.

stature. The idea of the book was stimulated by the idea of paying tribute to the man. The process of putting the work together made clear, however, that his educational significance was and remains considerable. The book unfolds in three broad movements. The first five chapters locate the significance of Mandela for education. They are made up of the contributions of Moodley and Adam, Abdi, Rule, Mngomezulu and le Cordeur. The chapters provide and use insights into Mandela's life experience to draw out key educational lessons. A second section consists of the work of Nasongo, Mukonyi and Nyatuka, Tomlinson-Clarke and Clarke and Mukherjee. The value of these three essays is their explanation of Mandela for contexts beyond South Africa. Nasongo and his colleagues relate Mandela to the pantheon of African scholars, Mukherjee to educational innovation in India and Tomlinson-Clarke and Clarke to educational partnerships between South Africa and the United States of America. The last four chapters by Badat, Sayed and Badroodien, Brook Napier and Soudien look critically at the legacy of Mandela. They show what this legacy consists of in terms of its achievements, and most importantly, for its failures.

In this introduction I talk to the question of Mr Mandela's significance. I try to show how this significance can be understood in educational terms.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MANDELA

It needs to be acknowledged that there is in the current period in South Africa of 2016 an upswell of criticism of Mandela and the general politics he was assumed to stand for. It needs to be said that there has always been fierce opposition to the politics of the African National Congress with which Mandela, as its most visible public leader in the latter half of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, is associated. This opposition has come from both the left and the right. The right, for the purposes of this discussion, is not particularly relevant. Its calling card continues to be embossed with the signs and symbols of white supremacy – the belief in the unquestioned superiority of what is described as European civilization. The forms that this has taken in South Africa in the apartheid project are well known (see Pelzer, 1963). This view, given its ubiquity in international relations, in its institutionalisation in the cultural, legal-policy and social arenas in many facets of the everyday in the colonial, post-colonial and metropolitan spaces of the world, is deeply problematic. More pertinent for the purposes of this discussion is the view of Mandela on the left, from inside the South African and global liberation movement and from progressive organisations and commentators linked to socialist and communist political positions. Inside South Africa this left is made up of Africanists and African nationalists inside the Pan African Congress, the black consciousness community in organisations such as the Azanian People's Organisation and socialists of various hues and inclinations in the South African Communist Party, the labour movement and the organisations which trace their origins to the Non-European Unity Movement. The work of Alison Drew (1997) provides the strongest

documentary record of the programmatic and strategic positions of this group of people. In recent times Bundy (2014) has also provided some insight into this historical opposition. Important about this opposition, however, has been its impact on political life, political discourse and the actual historical turn of events. Strikingly, while the opposition to Mandela and his politics has not translated into mass popular support, especially in the electoral process in the post-1994 era, it has influenced the language and the approach of the liberation movement considerably. Concepts such as Africanism, non-racialism, non-collaboration and many others have their origins outside of the African National Congress and its alliance partners. Interestingly, up until recent times, vocal and perhaps even eloquent as this oppositional voice to the African National Congress has been, it has not translated into diminished popular support for Nelson Mandela himself.

In the last few years since Mandela's death, a decided shift in the iconography around him appears to have taken place. In the current period of the student protests in South Africa, in which a significant student voice has emerged, intense dissatisfaction has been expressed with what has been described as post-apartheid's perpetuation of colonialism. A strong call in the student process is for the country to be *decolonised*. While there is much debate and discussion about what decolonisation actually means, strident in the demands of the students have been calls for free higher education and a renewal of the curriculum to rid the colonial university of its Eurocentricism. In looking upon the university the students have criticised its perceived commodification – high fees and a market-inspired curriculum – and have centred their critique on the role of Mandela in bequeathing to them a poisoned chalice. They thought they were getting freedom but all they got, they say, was a compromised future of indebtedness and irrelevant education. Students have focused their analysis on the negotiated settlement and the agreement between the apartheid regime and the liberation movement in 1994 which they assert has left them no better off than their parents were before the coming of so-called democracy. They have been vocal in their denunciation of what they are now facing. Malaika wa Azania (2014) provides one with a sense of the language and the attitude many young people in the student movement have taken to the figure of Mandela. Mandela she says is an apologist for whiteness. Interestingly, in many of the forums in which the students have explained their positions they have felt no hesitation to make clear their rejection of Mandela and his comrades and colleagues. Delivering the keynote address at the 15th Ruth First Lecture at Witwatersrand University, in August this year, Leigh-Ann Naidoo (2016) remarked that the anti-apartheid generation had become afraid of the future. She spoke of the idea of revolution which was running through the thoughts and language of the student protest which is currently underway. "Revolution" she said,

> warrants attention in particular because it is starkly contrasted by the quick dismissal of talk of revolution by an older generation of anti-apartheid activists. I have heard them say over and over again, 'we are not in a time of revolution',

> as they shake their heads knowingly. Or they say, with certainty, 'you cannot justify such action because we are far from the conditions of revolution'; 'it's not the time for this or that because we are already in a democracy'… Or perhaps most earnestly, they say 'there is no *need* (emphasis in the original) for revolutionary action because the laws and institutions of post-apartheid are sufficient'. (Naidoo, 2016: paragraphs 2–5)

As interestingly, the Nelson Mandela Foundation, the vehicle established by Mandela himself to support the causes behind which he put his weight, has suggested that his period of leadership of the new South Africa was a failure (see Everatt, 2016).

Is this, one has to ask, the turning of the tide against Mandela? Are we seeing here a revision of the Nelson Mandela narrative? There is unquestionably now a revision of the Mandela narrative. But is there a turning of the tide? There is no doubt that the discourse which developed around his very public life, as a politician and as a social figure, was far too often overwhelmed with a tendentious optimism parlayed in unnecessary hyperbole. Romance and selective historical use of fact were its hallmarks. It overlooked significant contradictions that accompanied and even characterised decisions that were made in the course of his role as a leader in the African National Congress and in the making of the new South Africa. It was responsible, more critically, for producing exactly what Mandela himself rejected publicly several times. He said in his book *Conversations with myself* that he did not want to be remembered as a saint:

> One issue that deeply worried me in prison was the false image I unwittingly projected to the outside world; of being regarded as a saint…. I never was one, even on the basis of the earthly definition of a saint as a sinner who keeps trying. (Shea, 2010: para 6 and 7)

That the Mandela narrative is in the process of being made more complex is a good thing. This is very much what this book seeks to achieve. It does not wish to perpetuate the approach which depoliticises him, which even positions him in the role of the endlessly forgiving, endlessly tolerant and endlessly beneficent man. He may have had those qualities, but he was considerably more than that. He made mistakes. He was, as Badat and Sayed and Badroodien say in this book, responsible, at least to some degree, for many of the policy and political problems that the students are now experiencing. He was not without guile and the capacity to manipulate. He was, as Boehmer (2008:5) says, "a consummate shape-shifter". In that shape-shifting resided forms of masculinity, ethnocentricism and stubbornness which were not unproblematic.

But he was also profoundly more than that. For the purposes of this work, for thinking of his significance for education, several of the chapters seek to bring out the many ways and the many times that he demonstrates a sense of the importance of educatedness that demand attention beyond the many issues which critics correctly

raise. One of the most critical, I wish to suggest, is his capacity to manage how an individual could be managing him or herself in the maelstrom of modernity with all its contradictions and possibilities. I make the argument here that Mandela represents in significant ways what a thinking, or better, a thought-ful, ontology represents in modernity. What is a thought-ful ontology?

A thought-ful ontology is an awareness of oneself in the relational ecology of social difference. It is the capacity to live, relationally, in a fully aware sense, of one's own capacity to do good or evil and the capacity to look for good and evil in the larger social world in which one lives. It brings together, and this is its relevance for modernity, the full spectrum of one's knowledges, and puts them to work ethically. No part of it is sublimated or privileged. In the case of Mandela, it is his full historical inheritance – tradition, royalty, urban South African township life with its depredations, toxins and stimuli, the modern university, modern political structures and instruments, popular culture and aesthetics, and, critically, his sense of his own gendered nature. It is all there. He is a member of the abaThembu, he is African and male, but he is also modern, educated and sophisticated. The ontology which he develops is the hallmark of the identity he deliberately crafts for himself, his sense of self. The politics of this ontology, as I argue in the closing chapter of this collection, sometimes struggles. It struggles at a personal and at a larger social level. In it one sometimes sees Mandela making wrong political choices. But in the way he comes to a sense of how he as a modern subject should be making his way through the world he demonstrates acute self-awareness and sensitivity to the needs and requirements of others. This self-awareness is evident in his dealings with the full spectrum of the social and cultural world to which he is exposed, from his traditional Thembu clan to the British monarchy. In all of these spaces he remains completely confident of his unconditional subject status as a full human being. His Africanness remains a deep part of his identity. It accompanies his every move. But it is never all that he is. He never allows it to prefigure his thinking or his being. Neither, on the other hand, does his standing as a modern, so-called Western educated man come to predetermine what he does and how he thinks. His whole civilizational repertoire is his to call on. He is not a bifurcated, schizophrenic modern. In the African context, against the historic delegitimation of Africa and Africanness, this capacity to embrace and work with his full inheritance is extraordinary. He finds his centring through thinking. He emerges as an individual – his own self – but he is always connected.

Two features of Mandela's subjecthood are important to pay attention to. The first is his sense of his own humanity. It never accedes to any suggestion of inferiority. He is the equal of all who walk the world with him. But, and this is the second, it never takes away from others their right to exactly that which he seeks for himself. He is no more or less than they. How is this educational? That which makes this subjecthood educational is that he realises that it is taught. What is in people's heads is not natural. They are not born with it. They come to learn this in the environments in which they find themselves. One of his most powerful quotations is that which

speaks to and about racism. Racism, he says, has taught people how to hate "and, if they can learn to hate, they can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally than its opposite" (Hattang & Venter, 2011:197). Mandela would make many more comments which have been used, as is reflected in this book, to inspire and motivate. But it is this quote which takes one to the heart of how he sought to manage himself. This self-management was informed by the understanding that he could take control of himself, control of how he would look upon the world around him, and, fundamentally, how ontologically he would control his relationships with people around him. It is a powerful statement of learning. That he did not say more about this is a regret. But, as I try to show in the closing chapter of this book, he lived the learned way. He learnt his way into his relationships. He did not simply let them take whatever course. He learnt. And he acted upon his learning. I hope that this provides a stimulus for coming to understand Mandela in deeper ways.

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2. BECOMING MANDELA

Educational Implications of his Leadership

The popular perception of Mandela portrays him as a secular saint and a universal icon. Most of the multiplying biographies border on hagiography. This romanticized image of a miracle maker fosters myths, not political literacy. Even a moral icon is better understood as a complex person, a political leader with virtues and vices, an individual full of contradictions with views evolving over time and under changing circumstances. Furthermore, if lessons are to be learned from Mandela's public role, the context of his actions needs to be taken into account. Controversial decisions can only be assessed against other options available at the time and contested decisions judged against universal moral criteria rather than an idealized image to be emulated.

QUALITIES OF LEADERSHIP

In this chapter, Mandela's special leadership qualities are described. These include: (1) A political trajectory – he became a leader, he grew and learned, using prison as an opportunity; (2) he observed, listened and learned from 'the other', avoiding and thereby transcending stereotyped categorizations and embracing more nuanced understandings; (3) he stressed hope and agency and (4) he worked toward the common good and embraced compromise. The question then to be posed is: what implications do these qualities have for our educational philosophy and system?

Characterizing political icons by their impact on followers, as *Time Magazine* (May 5, 2014) did by including Hitler, Stalin and Mao among the 100 influential leaders of the 20th century, is misleading. Influence or charisma does not equate with morality, but often demagoguery, despotism and authoritarianism. In this analysis great political leaders possess five overriding features: vision, balanced by realism, integrity, courage and resilience. Mandela displayed all five attributes: the vision of non-racialism and equality of all citizens; pragmatism rather than dogmatism in dealing with the oppressors, both in his dealings with his jailers and later in negotiations with the still powerful minority regime; the personal integrity of resisting opportunistic compromises; the courage to speak out against Nigerian or Zimbabwean strongmen and many other controversial issues in his caucus; the resilience to press for his ideals, even to the point of humiliation by his National Executive Committee on the irrational Aids policy of his successor.

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 9–16.

When Mandela finally passed away, after undignified expropriation of his stature and opportunistic interventions to keep him alive, the entire world celebrated his life. Global media representatives had been vying for prime space and were ready to get the best location from which to report the spectacle. Personal commentary on his life by those who were associated with him was voraciously solicited. He was described as a 'secular saint', a 'moral beacon', as having a 'matchless humanity', all of which he shared with the entire world. What made for this widespread recognition and adulation? Charisma is only a partial explanation. 'Mandela magic' represents a friendly face of hope to a decolonizing struggling continent, where one leader after another failed to sustain hope. Mandela filled this gap. Here was a man who put a positive spin on life, despite 27 years of incarceration. Many South African whites absolved themselves of their racism by praising Mandela. His smile and gestures of reconciliation radiated hope. As a cosmopolitan patriot, he represented modernity without abandoning his roots. He connected well with all whom he met regardless of faith, colour, national origin, wealth or status. He served as an example of a universal humanity where the pressure of calcifying racial walls and barriers under apartheid conveyed the inevitability of revolutionary violence.

PRISON LESSONS AND TACTICS

His years in prison seemed not in vain. There are always unintended consequences. What his prison years enabled were (1) the opportunity to read, reflect, strategize with other prisoners dedicated to a common cause and subject to similar circumstances; (2) the development of a more nuanced understanding of power at all levels, from the power of the governing regime to the power of the lowly prison warden; (3) the recognition that they were in it for the long haul and therefore had to develop strategies for negotiating better terms for their day to day survival. This he did without compromising or kowtowing for privilege. (4) He learned to 'read' and understand more deeply the prison warden, their lives and needs, and to turn this knowledge to the prisoners' advantage. This entailed seeing them too as human beings, deprived of normal lives, isolated on an island, as less educated even than those they guarded, as lacking everyday survival skills when it came to dealing with the law and struggling with the English language, which limited their communication with others. Yet they also had the power to make everyday life for the prisoners tolerable. (5) Given this communication gap, he learned Afrikaans, a stigmatized language, associated with the state's imperious attempts to impose it on subordinate groups. Learning the language of the 'oppressor' met with the derision of other prisoners, and entailed some risk-taking on his part. When asked why, he mentioned that it was a disadvantage not to know a language spoken by most whites and coloureds. Mandela added an emotional component: "When you speak Afrikaans, you know, you go straight to their hearts" (Stengel, 2012:135). Beyond these 'instrumental' reasons was the Gandhian appeal to delve into the psyche of opponents and seek out the 'humanity' within.

Mandela was able to reel in and influence the younger, more radical incoming prisoners, who saw the prison wardens as synonymous with the state and vented their resentment against them, affirming a principled resistance regardless of personal consequences. Mandela appealed to them to tone this down, by differentiating the white Afrikaners employed on the island from the power holders of the state. At the same time, the self-assertive behaviour of Black Consciousness activists informed him about how things had changed in the world from which he had been shut off. For example, he had a quiet admiration for a new inmate who would not remove his cap in the presence of the commandant, and when asked to do so, he asked 'WHY?' thereby challenging authority (Personal Communication, Neville Alexander, September 5, 2001). The leeway gained from forging more amenable relations with the guards, enabled the prisoners to create space to strategize and plan, while completing their chores. It forged contacts among them which transcended earlier ideological divisions and fears about each other.

What can be gleaned from this iconic figure was, first, to disaggregate the ruling group and not view all members as monolithic and evil. Instead he advocated rejecting the system of apartheid without demonizing the beneficiaries. Far from compromising principles, Mandela led the way to seek out the shared 'humanity' between ruler and ruled from which Islamic jihadists could learn lessons for peaceful co-existence. Second, Mandela demonstrated cool, rational calculation without being manipulative. He understood that the state had enough power and control to hold out for some time despite the irritation of sanctions. He always revealed this pragmatic sense of reality. For example, when he was asked during the treason trial by Judge Bekker whether he would consider anything less than one man one vote, he replied: "Well, you know, I can't speak for the organization. But make us an offer, you know, and we'll consider it" (Bowman, 2009:82).

BUILDING NATIONAL COHESION

Mandela understood that regardless of what happened and how the struggle developed, eventually oppressor and oppressed would have to live together in one integrated society, adversaries to be sure, but also interdependent citizens. This vision explains why he sought ways to bridge the cultural divide between both not only by learning Afrikaans but by exploring Afrikaner history as much as he could. He understood the importance of recognition and acceptance to initiate and break down the fear of the unknown other and the healing role of sport. With this simple symbolic gesture he had succeeded in liberating many white people from fear and motivated them to embrace the new order.

Mandela valued deeply the importance of a unifying citizenship in post-apartheid South Africa, beyond the narrow focus of state prescribed ideals of rights and duties. He particularly courted and cajoled the hostile and suspicious Afrikaner community. He used symbolically charged gestures, such as wearing the Springbok rugby tricot to a major game at Newlands. He wanted to express formal identification with what

is considered a predominantly Afrikaner sport, handing the captain of the victorious home team Roosevelt's famous 1912 speech, "Citizenship in a Republic". After that event the old Boer flag which the spectators had waved previously faded like magic. Most of the delirious rugby fans now showed the new South Africa flag. Mandela even visited the widow of the architect of Apartheid, the 90-year-old Betty Verwoerd, for tea and koeksisters, an Afrikaner sweet delicacy. The prison warden who guarded him was included as a special guest to his Presidential inauguration. Those acts of symbolic reconciliation deeply impacted perceptions of belonging. They served to bridge gaps of race, class and culture with the aim of building a cohesive, inclusive new society. Van Robbroeck's (2014) analysis of the visual translation of his *Long Walk to Freedom*, demonstrated through these connections how he reconciled apparently irreconcilable binaries, the rural-urban, traditional-modern and communitarian- individualistic in the South African cultural landscape. Ethnic recognition was a highly contested concept given the history of separate development and the apartheid regime's use of ethnic identity to divide and rule. The entire ANC policy was based on a de-emphasis of 'difference', rejection of 'tribalism', to be replaced by a unifying non-racialism in the building of a common society. Like trying to reconcile Afrikaners with the ANC, Mandela took even greater political risks by advocating the same with Mangosutho Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. At the time of Mandela's release, ANC militants, particularly in Natal, were involved in a violent struggle with Inkatha members. Buthelezi was considered a collaborator with a 'Third Force', shadowy mercenaries of right-wing forces to destabilize and discredit the emerging new order. Several thousand on both sides had been assassinated, thrown off trains or killed in migrant hostels in townships on the Rand. Despite opposition in his own organization Mandela met Buthelezi and later addressed a mass rally in Natal where he advocated "throw your pangas into the sea". Several hundred walked out in protest, but Mandela persisted and eventually succeeded with the help of civil society organisations and clergy in bringing Inkatha to participate in the first democratic election.

Mandela was able to balance a pride in origin and roots without upsetting the unity with others of different origins. He was proud of his roots in Qunu, but not enveloped by them to the exclusion of others. His was an enviable life of comfortable connections with people from all linguistic and ethnic groups, local, South African, Africa wide and global. Yet we need to remind ourselves that the non-racialism which was ultimately to be his hallmark contribution was to evolve out of various struggles. For instance, it was preceded by distancing himself from interracial collaboration with Indians. Tom Lodge (2006:43) points out that in 1949, Mandela "as an officeholder in the Transvaal ANC, rejected an appeal from Ahmed Kathrada that he should sign a joint statement with Indian Congress leaders on the recent Indian African riots in Durban, arguing that the ANC should condemn such hostilities on its own." Mandela accused Sisulu of having sold out to Indians. He was convinced "that calls for political cooperation with 'Indian shopkeepers and merchants' would engender opposition among most Africans whom, he believed, viewed the Asian

community as exploitative" (Lodge, 2006:45). He upheld this position favouring separate organizational participation well into 1951. Who would have guessed that the very individuals whom he once censored for challenging him on this position, such as Kathrada and Cachalia, were to become his closest comrades years later. Much of this shift was due to early exposure to the internationalism of the (then mainly white) Communist Party and its Marxism (Bowron, 2009:36, 41; Lodge, 2006:32, 48–50). He was impressed with the genuineness and ease with which cross-racial social encounters took place in the closed circle of selfless activists like Braam Fisher, Beyers Naude and the accused in the Treason Trial. The brief spell of refusing to collaborate with Indians was to change exponentially as he came to know them personally as fellow university students, legal colleagues and comrades who revised his political stance. All this illustrates his ability to transform the 'fear of the other' which plays out so much in different ways in the South African political landscape even to this day.

This period of Mandela's life which differs so markedly from his later all-embracing humanistic years, highlights the importance of personal growth which comes from being able to rethink a position held under different circumstances. It reveals the immense value of having one's biases re-examined, transformed and transcended.

AUTOCRATIC OR DEMOCRATIC DECISION-MAKING

Leaders often differ in their articulation of principles and the reality of their practices. Mandela has been widely praised for his unyielding support of constitutional democracy and the rule of law. Yet his tolerance of dissent was not always what one would expect of someone who praised the traditional ways of listening to all voices and arriving at a consensual position. Pallo Jordan, a member of the first post-apartheid cabinet, reports that Mandela's approach to solving dissent within the Congress or in the Cabinet was "why don't we solve these problems the way we used to solve problems on the island? … Don't let's debate this matter in public, let's go and caucus it somewhere" (Bowron, 2009:298). When Jordan disagreed with this approach and on some issues of civil liberties, an autocratic Mandela was not to be moved and prior to firing him from the Cabinet, invited him to breakfast, ending with: "You know, I'll give you this friendly warning: in the national executive committee of the ANC you are there because the membership elect you, but in cabinet you are there because I put you there. I just want to remind you of that" (Bowron, 2009:299).

A much more consequential autocratic decision was the abandoning of the Freedom Charter's promised nationalization in favour of the embrace of neo-liberal market policies. Without Mandela's strong support and closure of the internal debate, after he returned from a World Economic Forum meeting in Davos with global corporatism, this decisive switch would not have gone down so smoothly. Yet at the same time the leader always emphasized that he subjects himself to collective

decision-making, when he should have intervened, for example on the question of Zimbabwe.

Keeping an open mind on politically contested issues and being prepared to change one's position on the basis of new information, avoids ideological dogmatism which results in a blindness to opportunities for change. From this standpoint, history is always open ended and most developments are not predetermined and inevitable. Mandela displayed the rare capacity for introspection to the extent of self-deprecation. He admitted being "appalled by the pedantry, artificiality and lack of originality" (Mandela, 2011:45) of his early writings. Humility shines through the confession that he once "was backward politically" (p. 43), but by implication, that determined self-teaching could reverse ignorance. Although he had more than enough reason for self-pity, Mandela never wallowed in victimhood, but stressed agency. The prisoner rejected his own liberation offered when acceptance of release (to the Transkei or by renouncing violence) could compromise political principles. An acute sense of reality inveighs against grandstanding and posturing. Instead of empowering a revolutionary organisation it could lead to delusions about the adversary and wishful thinking. An illegitimate regime is not necessarily an unstable one. This insight requires being flexible and dispassionate enough to peruse the logic of one's adversary and to utilize the cleavages and contradictions within that group. Cultivating the ability to seek out the shared interests between adversaries and establishing common ground so that both sides experience change as advantageous, underlay the ingenious negotiating of the peaceful transformation. Mandela foremost defined leadership as the art to compromise.

Equality of opportunity, with the hope of ensuing emancipatory effects for all, was a prevalent theme throughout Mandela's philosophy. Yet, decades after his release from prison, similar patterns of educational outcomes reminiscent of the past, persist along racial lines. There are personal lessons which can be drawn from Mandela's approach to learning and life in general. He cultivated intuitively, what psychologists refer to as a "growth mindset" (Dweck, 2016) thriving on challenges, avoiding victimization, and turning challenges and failures into opportunities. In our schools we too rarely teach with a growth mindset or help students turn around failure and see opportunities for change. Schools that are segregated racially or economically with regard to resources, or educational practices that track or stream curriculum on the basis of perceived ability differences, serve to stereotype students in ways that fail to engage them as equal citizens. The teaching of agency is often reserved for some students, not others, and the focus on competition rather than cooperation does not equip youth for compromise and a commitment to the common good. Rhona Weinstein, in her book *Reaching Higher: the Power of Expectations in Schooling* (2016), refers to two different achievement cultures, one that selects talent (looking for the most qualified, usually those with high status attributes) versus the one that develops the talent of all. The latter was the goal toward which Mandela was dedicated and the philosophy and organization of our schools ought to mirror this.

Mandela utilized critical self-reflection on many levels, mainly to transform praxis. He valued critical feedback and encouraged knowledge of contrary perceptions to be probed. One such example occurred toward the end of his presidency, as Martin Hall (2009) recalls an encounter in 1999. Mandela invited the Vice Chancellor and 20 faculty members from the University of Cape Town to a frank discussion of the successes and failures during his time in office. During a three hour session the issues raised and commented upon, included economic policy, reconciliation, and the then epidemic development of HIV and AIDS in the country, which he had not addressed until quite late. With this session Mandela not only demonstrated his respect for research and informed criticism, but also the value of team-work and consensual decision making by recognizing adversarial opinions.

ADHERENCE TO PRINCIPLES UNDER CONFORMITY PRESSURE

Firm adherence to universal ethical principles, to human rights and constitutional law in the face of opportunistic peer pressure to the contrary, probably stand out as Mandela's most important pedagogical legacy. Three examples demonstrate the moral high ground Mandela held, despite conformity pressure. (1) His steadfast support of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) flew in the face of his successor's criticism that the TRC had criminalized the liberation struggle by equalizing ANC violations in a just struggle with the atrocities of an unjust Apartheid regime. Mandela firmly supported the widely accepted distinction between a *just war* and *justice in war.* Like Desmond Tutu and the TRC argued, even in a just war, certain avoidable actions, like killing of civilians or prisoners, constitute injustice. (2) Mandela spoke out against the abuses of the Mugabe regime when the ANC government avoided public criticism or even supported Zimbabwe, because Mugabe was popular among black South Africans and government figures benefitted from the alliance. Likewise, Mandela abandoned his initial 'quiet diplomacy' on Nigeria, after the hanging of Saro-Wiwa and the Ogoni eight by the military Abacha regime in 1995. However, he failed in his advocacy of an oil boycott at home and abroad, because Shell and Anglo/US global interests would not support it. (3) Mandela's moral leadership and civil courage is most clearly demonstrated in his opposition to Mbeki's then-prevailing HIV/AIDS denialism. One wishes that other ANC executives had followed Mandela's lead and he himself had broken more often with his self-imposed 'organisational discipline' instead of submitting to a deadly lunacy. As the editor of the Sunday Times, Mondi Makhanya, recalls an event at the time of Mbeki's dismissal:

> Mbeki will not be missed. On hearing these comments my mind raced back to 2001 when Mbeki summoned Nelson Mandela to a national executive meeting for a dressing down. Mandela's sin was that he had become increasingly vocal on issues of HIV/AIDS, warning in his utterances that the disease would claim more lives than World War I and World War II combined if we did not treat it as the emergency it was. At this time Mbeki was at the peak of his Aids

> denialism and saw Mandela's entry into the debate as a personal affront. The then 83-year-old Mandela was summoned to be put in his place. One after the other, Mbeki's Rottweilers sank their teeth into the world's greatest statesman. They humiliated him and made him feel tiny. A shameful display of power. Those with a conscience sat there silently as the ugly fest was going on. (Sunday Times, September 28, 2008)

Nowadays Mandela is humiliated again by being called a 'sell-out' by a militant minority despite his approach to reconciliation preventing the destruction of the country in a civil war like Syria. If students learn the lessons about compromise in democracies, non-violence and principled moral leadership, historical heroes like Mandela, Gandhi or Martin Luther King have nevertheless triumphed.

The legacy of this complex figure will live on, idealized by most and reviled by few, hopefully to be dissected in all his virtues and flaws by politically literate analysts. After all, it was Mandela who massively contributed to a new South Africa emerging peacefully during a crucial historical moment, by persuading his own sceptical movement while pacifying and marginalizing a white right-wing threat to the change of political power. That the "Imagined Liberation" (Adam & Moodley, 2015) has faded and floundered in the current South Africa is not Mandela's shortcoming. His vision and legacy reminds us to revive it.

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3. THE EDUCATION OF NELSON MANDELA

Learner, Educator, Liberation Intellectual

The person of Nelson Mandela should be read as a complex amalgam of royal birth, tradition, multifarious corners and centres of learning, teaching and reflective being, and eventually leading a multi-racial, promising nation to freedom and to the potential realization of all basic rights for all. In essence, therefore, Mandela's educational life was multi-locational, multi-destinational and inter-subjectively, as well as communally, complex. In this chapter, a pragmatic attempt is made to cast a wide observational and analytical net that connects together Mandela's early informal learning life with his formal education, early professional contexts, and his enduring role as an iconic and instructionally active freedom fighter and liberation intellectual. In so doing, what becomes clear is the constitution of a humanist, proud African man who effectively deployed his ontological and epistemological contextualizations (not necessarily realities) to good use. Mandela did this by refusing, among other noble qualities, to dehumanize those who did it to him, and from there, slowly but pedagogically convincing a high majority of South Africans the possibility of something better than the status quo, or worse, the tragic project of a racial war that would have ended the quasi-realized promise of a more constructive and co-existentially viable South Africa.

INTRODUCTION

The life of Nelson Mandela as the towering figure of global moral conscience from late twentieth century into twenty-first century should not be that much in doubt. The number of world leaders who came to South Africa after he passed away on December 5, 2013, to attend his funeral services should be a lasting testimony to the high regard the world reserved for an African man who was born on July 18, 1918 in the small rural village of Mvezo in the Transkei in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. While he was born to a dynastic traditional royal family of the Thembu people, his socio-political rise and achievements in South Africa and on the world stages have become, to say it as simplistic as possible, stuff of legend. In essence therefore, studying the life of Nelson Mandela as an educational and pedagogical tableau shall itself represent an impressive learning journey with unexpected, even unprecedented, curves and turns that should give us thick and enduring instructional platforms

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 17–30.

that serve as examples to live by in the multi-locational categories of leadership, perseverance, triumph over adversity, achievement and deeply magnanimous humanity. Clearly therefore, the possible formations of select inter-subjective educational connections with Mandela are not difficult to aim for and achieve, as certainly millions of people in South Africa and all over the world have already done. Indeed, in so thinking and doing, the indirect instructional representations of the person of Mandela do not have to be completely discernible or extractable over time to deploy them for specific personal and social purposes. While it is certainly a realizable category, I believe the consciousness-raising of Mandela's subjectivity was as powerful in both local and global contexts as perhaps his utterances and actions. My starting point here, therefore, is that we need to understand and critically ascertain the personally located reality of Mandela as a pedagogically and learning-wise constitutive self that was continually teaching by, among other things, just being. Indeed, whenever his words were heard and his actions were recorded – especially from the time of the Rivonia trails in 1964– the value of his educational locations as well as the force of his pedagogical exhortations were already validated by the counter-colonial and counter-oppressive qualities he garnered in South Africa proper and around the world.

The above observations are important in affirming, post-facto, both the substantive and imaginary existentialism of Mandela, for these could be selectively signals of so many unintended instructional and extractable teachable moments that have a wider impact on him than one would initially think. Beyond that, Mandela's actions, speeches, overall experiences of oppression, his eventual triumph over apartheid as well as his post-apartheid leadership and achievements, represent for me as much as anything else, ideas and acts of educational thinking and doing that were not necessarily accidental in their nature. More often than otherwise, these were deliberately conveyed to achieve those learning and pedagogical moments that were to be responsive to deeds of singular or collective aggressions employed by the oppressive colonialist and apartheid regimes against the rights and lives of non-white populations in the long and complicated history of the South African sub-continent. With these introductory remarks, I will focus in the following pages on Mandela's traditional and colonial education experiences, followed by a select focus on his transformation into an engaged intellectual who deeply thought about, and acted on the liberation of his land which also cemented his status as a global human rights icon for so many around the world.

LEARNING THROUGH TRADITION, LIVING IN COLONIALIST TIMES: TRADITIONAL LEARNING INTO COLONIAL EDUCATION

As other African liberation leaders who articulated a socio-political anti-colonial vision – including, among others, Julius Nyerere (Tanzania), Kwame Nkrumah (Ghana), Amilcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau), Samora Michel (Mozambique) and Agostinho Neto (Angola) – Mandela's early life was shaped by a first-steps learning

process that started with his home environment. Slowly, this was complemented by the surrounding social contexts, which as he himself indicated, helped him learn from the infinite wisdom of family members and community elders (Mandela, 1994). What such environment gave him and to other leaders was an early epistemological balance to counterweigh the outright Eurocentrization of children's worldview and expressive dispositions that were to come as they started colonial public schools. This is important, for the transitional space of schooling, i.e., the earliest moments of leaving home and coming to school, must contain something of experiential connectivity for young learners as that can affirm their ontological relationships with the new educational regimes they encounter in their classrooms and with respect to the overall instructional and pedagogical relationships they involuntarily but institutionally enter into. That, most probably, is what Dewey (1963) had in mind when, in a different but still analytically corresponding platform, he spoke about the need for learners to see something of themselves in their schooling contexts which can then mitigate their potential alienations from their learning and related socio-locations.

Mandela's basic educational philosophy and practice should be traced back therefore, to his early formative years growing up in the Transkei in the Eastern Cape of South Africa. As a member of the local royal family, his education which started early, was focused, socio-culturally intense and connected, and purposeful. Perhaps above all else, such traditional education was constructed and valued as an emancipatory project that prepares young men and women to assume and excel in both their assigned and achieved life roles. That education also instilled in its recipients important clusters of personal and social confidence, self-efficacy and aspirational leadership possibilities that should have collectively elevated the lot of concerned communities. As he discussed in his impressive autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom* (1994), Mandela came from people who valued education and affirmed the quality of their social relations and lived realities through such education. In Pre-colonial Africa/South Africa and in the localized context of colonial Transkei, education was not just a utilitarian tool designed to enhance the efficiency of resources extraction and the maximization of human productivity, it was a situationally established, open ended platform designed and implemented to assure the collective well-being of all members of society.

Certainly, the important threads of traditional knowledge Mandela and other anti-colonial African leaders received at home were important in facilitating their pragmatic reading of the world with many of them appreciating later, the zone of relational and socialization comfort accorded to children in such contexts. As Mandela (1994) noted, while such situations were conducive to the wellbeing of young people, there were also specific ways African children were socialized, including the expected avoidance of questioning older people in public places including the family homestead, especially when people outside the extended family were present. Such custom could indeed be interpreted by some non-African peoples as a potentially inhibiting control mechanism that is unnecessarily imposed on

children which could later fog their intentions to develop open curiosity capacities, and that might negatively impact their life achievements. Contrarily, when Mandela first noticed the parents-children relationship in white families where apparently, the inquiry desire with any amount of questions and observations constructed by the child was not inhibited, this was something totally new for him. Here, while one could conclude more than what one should in these different ways of cultural socialization, I suggest that we be careful in reading too much into it, and especially avoid imposing, potentially ethnocentric characterization that would at best be presumptive and at worst, arrogantly offensive. There is certainly more to the case than simply elevating the story of kids who are given a free reign on the practice of being openly talkative. For starters, an introductory hint: it is about intergenerational respect for wisdom and knowledge and attached experiential achievements.

Indeed, as someone who had the same parent-child-household experience myself, I think I know beyond any comparative observations or externally designed research notations what such instructions and expectations are about. The relationships have important historical and contemporaneously attached cultural foundations and shifting behavioural conjectures mainly based on respect for age, earned categories of knowledge and accumulated wisdom. As the late brilliant Nigerian social critic Chinua Achebe noted (2000, 2009/1958), knowing needs time and space, which colonial powers ignored by claiming epistemic supremacy over people they just encountered, thus wreaking havoc on non-European lands and populations who still have to recover from what Van Sertima (1991) aptly called one of the biggest cataclysms that shook the history of humanity. This important story should also explain the way Africans view the locations of knowledge where, more often than not, it is seen as resident in the lives and minds of all people including those who may not have had formal schooling. The same should apply to pre-colonial traditional African education, in specialized community contexts that quasi-formally and selectively trained people in leadership, resources extraction and use, and territorial defence mechanisms (Semali & Kincheloe, 1999; Abdi, 2006). My use of the terms ‘all people’ here, might conjure up two possible concerns: (1) that children also have knowledge, and (2) if so, they should be considered as people. The potential answer to these quasi-legitimate concerns addressed in reverse is that yes, young Mandela was indeed, a person, and children do actually have knowledge, but at least in general African perceptions, they still need the knowledge of older people than the other way around.

At any rate, Mandela’s home education was to be later expanded into formal schooling contexts that were designed by Europeans, and that were based, for both their philosophical and practical intentions, on the elevation of European languages and epistemologies while suppressing African histories, cultures and ways of learning. As was the case in all colonial situations, even if the South African case was a unique internal colonization structure with European settlers continually resident in the land, this type of education was to de-culture Africans qua Africans and

re-culture them into European ways of thinking, speaking and doing (wa Thiong'o, 1986, 2009; Achebe, 2000). Indeed, this education was not dissimilar in some ways to what the one-time colonial governor of India, Thomas Macaulay (2006/1835) wrote in his famous 'Minute on Indian Education' where the colonized were only to be natives in skin colour and blood, but English in their perceptions, expressions and resulting deeds. In the African context, the deep contemplations on colonization through education by Hamidou Kane (2012/1963) should speak volumes about the deliberately attempted onto-epistemological de-patterning Africans like Mandela were to be subjected to so they adopted the grossly misnamed, but instructionally and socio-developmentally benighting, *Mission Civilsatrice* that Edward Said (1993) so brilliantly discussed. In reading Mandela's own understanding of this, one can sense his potential initial epistemological conscription into this type of education with expressions of critical re-evaluation in later observations on education and social development (Abdi, 2002).

COLONIAL EDUCATION AS COUNTER-LIBERATION AND SELECTIVELY COUNTER-OPPRESSION

In any educational context, learners like Mandela who encounter the instructional contexts he was exposed to both at home and at school, do not simply interact with new ideas, descriptions and factual information, but also slowly adopt to ways of succeeding in such platforms. In Mandela's case, the situation was of course different from what we may term, normal locations of schooling. As a young person, he was studying in a schooling environment where those from his background were relegated to second-class citizens or worse. As such, his extra-home schooling was not necessarily for his or his community's social wellbeing but for the maintenance of a basically oppressive and socio-economically differentiated life system.

In essence, therefore, and in theorizing Mandela's learning life, the educational objectives prescribed for him actually fit well with non-liberatory, social reproduction learning theorizations and platforms that sustained the prevailing governance and development structures and relationships as they were. The relative opposite, i.e., the designs and practical formulations of education for social transformation, would have been too dangerous for the racist regimes that ruled South Africa in the 1930 and 1940s, and into the apartheid era of the 1950s and beyond. Education for social transformation in such contexts would have been tantamount to education for postcolonial independence, which should have the instructional capacity to re-conscientize people from the long slumber of cultural and mental colonisations (see Nkrumah, 1964; Nyerere, 1968; Cabral, 1979; Freire, 2000/1970). Such cognitive colonisations (Fanon, 1967; wa Thiong'o, 1986; Nandy, 1997; Battiste, 1998) almost permanentize the heavy internalization of thick doses of ontological inferioritization achieved through select epistemological relationships that function on the basis of superior and inferior complexities and perforce established relationships. It is with

such realities that the so-called colonial education of colonized populations was actually the opposite of education for meaningful liberation. It was intentionally deployed to create new relationships with the aim of maintaining unequal social connections that sustain the ongoing human and other resources exploitation of the colonized and their environments.

Interestingly, as so happens in complex systems of life such as education, the potential for new outcomes that defy the policy or quasi-policy objectives of the learning enterprise may arise. In Mandela's case, as with many other African anti-colonial liberation leaders including those mentioned above but also in relation to other South African leaders including the founding president of the ANC, John Dube who studied in both South Africa and at Oberlin College in the US, where he was influenced by the black liberation work of Booker T. Washington, founder of Tuskegee University, the way education unintentionally triggered in the minds of its recipients a desire to re-think their contexts and the world around them can be historically and certainly contemporaneously appreciated. As I have written (Abdi, 2002), colonial education reconstructed as a potent decolonization weapon is actually very common in the lives of liberation leaders such as Mandela. But such a counter-normative potential outcome of colonial education actually needs a place, and at least some kind of a social interaction, where it can thrive. In the cases of other leaders, including Nyerere and Nkrumah, its critical social or political space at least partially, if not mostly, happened outside the continent and in graduate schools in Europe or North America where they suddenly acquired the learning freedom to think pragmatically about the unequal political and economic relations imposed on their countries by a foreign entity. In Mandela's case, his family education and schooling at the royal house, followed by his learning at Clarkebury College, University of Fort Hare, and University of South Africa (UNISA), all happened in his native land. So what were the critical intersections that instigated his political education and nationalist agenda? From my reading, these were established or minimally inspired by people he met in those institutions, complemented by those he later encountered in his early professional life. At Fort Hare – a venerable institution that was attended by some of the most prominent anti-colonial leaders in South Africa who, besides Mandela, included such ANC stalwarts as Oliver Tambo, Govan Mbeki and Chris Hani – Mandela participated in his first organized political act when he became a member of the Students' Council that revolted against their living conditions in the campus. After he left Fort Hare and moved to Johannesburg, the seeds of his political education were slowly sown through his meetings with Walter Sisulu and later, with Oliver Tambo.

With those formative learning platforms, Mandela who was later formally educated at UNISA, should have constructively moved forward into full adulthood as a wellborn, and fully endowed man. Such a man would have also been accorded the capacity to deploy his educational and attached professional gifts for the well being of both his Transkei community and his South African society; alas, it was

not to be. As he found out quickly, the dominant South African educational, political and economic structures he was to encounter headlong, mainly consisted for him and those like him, a number of barriers that were, probably to his astonishment, deliberately constructed to confine him, along with other non-white South Africans, into a double-locked borderland that aimed to arrest his learning advancement and stunt his capacity to achieve his humanity. Interestingly, such full humanity was promised to him through his traditional education, by his family, his elders and his community. It is at this moment of Mandela's ongoing educational life that one might attempt to retroactively but also, sort of psycho-culturally, understand and critically discern his reaction to the unequal life dispensations that affected every aspect of his daily realities. That should also be the crucial analytical location where he would pragmatically but also critically ascertain the immediate meanings of African nationalist-attuned conversations with Sisulu, Tambo and others. More than that, for Mandela, these otherwise painful moments became important and socially connected teachable occasions that would cement the educational legacy of the *educational Mandela* I am discussing here.

Indeed, it is moments like these that great men and women separate themselves from the rest of us, and if one could have extensively recorded it, my reading of Mandela's life affirms his robust, non-defeatist awakening to the oppressive structures created by the dominant system. These structures were to apply differentially to men and women of so-called different races who were to be legally separated on socio-political and economic platforms that dehumanized the majority of South Africans, and which formed the foundational structures that affirmed and maintained the apartheid system of 1948–1994. The dates here are arbitrary as the history of apartheid actually dates back to hundreds of years and, in radical social justice terms, may still be having some residual educational liabilities (as these were constituted in the racist Bantu Education Act of 1953) and their economic effects for marginalized populations in post-apartheid South Africa. At any rate, Mandela's educational connections with his society did not collapse during his encounter with these learning problematics. To the contrary, I believe he achieved something of an educational legend: he decided and apparently achieved learning oppression. This educational character and outcome might be partially traced back to the above points about the primordial and unqualified role of all education as an important learning and valued experience in traditional Africa. Even beyond that, and equally important for my purpose here, was Mandela's critical understanding of the critical role of education, not only for socio-economic well-being, but also for liberation and decolonization.

With his South African and related conscientious attachments to the long history of colonial and settler education realities and outcomes, and as he became more socialized into the unequal daily life contexts of apartheid South Africa, Mandela, understood, as much as anyone else, that while education has important decolonizing qualities, it has also been used as a force of colonization in its multiple constructions

and formats. As I have argued (Abdi, 2002), the project of colonizing Africa, irrespective of its geographical connections, was as much as anything else, cultural and educational. More often than otherwise, these came before political and economic domination, and actually paved the way for the latter two to happen. Irrespective though, and as stated above, there were still other interesting moments in the history of colonial/western education in Africa. With its organizational efficiency, which is not to say, it was designed for the social well-being of all but more so, for unequal economic development mechanisms and for the select upholding of presumed western liberal democratic ideals, this education (especially in the social sciences and related disciplines) cannot totally shed some of its socio-critical qualities which as indicated above, were eventually selectively constructive in the lives of some anti-colonial liberation leaders.

Clearly therefore, through his critical re-reading of the different clusters of educational possibilities he was exposed to, Mandela refused to rescind the primordial instructional powers of his upbringing, and decided to take what was best from both systems of education to confront colonialism and its forces, not only in the battlefield but also in the intellectual space. Indeed, to robustly but pragmatically respond to the formidable apartheid forces stacked against him and his comrades, Mandela should have, and actually sought historical and cultural sustenance from his well-threaded onto-epistemological connections from his Indigenous contexts to help him survive the more dangerous and certainly more enduring phase of colonization, i.e., mental (cognitive) colonization. As Mandela's compatriot and founder of Black Consciousness, the martyred Steve Biko (2002/1978) so cogently noted, the most potent weapon in the hand of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed. Both Mandela and Biko, in different moments in their struggle for liberation – with Biko killed by the apartheid security forces that imprisoned Mandela in harsh conditions of select isolation and hard labour for 27 years – went back to their African culture and consciousness to confront the oppressive system. Biko also understood the importance of confronting colonialism and apartheid, not only in the battlefield, but equally importantly or even more so, at the thought level, which assured us what actually happened: both men should be accepted as having ascertained and acted upon the *devoir sacr*é of the leader-intellectual, in more normative terminology, the engaged public intellectual.

In Mandela's case especially, through his unique socio-critical self, complemented by his long struggle at all levels of the liberation project, I can go one step further by dubbing him the 'engaged public liberation intellectual'. I will say more about this below, but even looking solely at his onto-existential responses the apartheid regime to extensively de-pattern his thinking and intentions through multiple schemes of harsh punishment regimes, Mandela was able intellectually to decode the viable points of his educational being, which helped him, not only in continuously fighting against the regime, but as well, in boldly grasping the occasion of the right moment, as he did so eloquently during his Rivonia trial in 1964 when he uttered his now celebrated and forward-looking psycho-physical liberation lines:

> I have cherished the ideal of a free and democratic society in which all persons will live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal for which I hope to live for and see realized. But, my lord, if it needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. (Mandela, 1964)

The post-Rivonia imprisonment of Mandela was, besides being intended for his de-socialization from the freedom struggle, also constructed to achieve a prolonged separation from his all too important family and community connections. Apparently, the apartheid government understood the crucial nature of such self-sustaining connections and, by policy, disallowed him to see his immediate family, or even to go to the funeral of his mother. Those who do not read these denials to connect with his family with the deep epistemological implications they surely contain, would miss a major portion of the educational life of Mandela, especially as these issues are created and narrated through African cultures and attendant social relationships. In South Africa and elsewhere in Africa, these personal-family-community connections and the way one relates to them and values them is taught – rather directly – in the homes and attached social and cultural contexts. Unlike some tenets of western education, the message is not that once you violate these, you shall be expelled, it is more like this: this is how you live your life and the central tenet of such life is the quality of your relationship with your family and your community. These are the first instructional fragments African children learn, and such lessons should be binding for good.

Severing such binding, as apartheid was trying to do to Mandela, was tantamount to de-culturing both his immediate realities and his family and community horizons. The intention of the apartheid regime should not be difficult to comprehend; as indicated above, it was to damage his spirit, demoralize him with respect to his liberation mission, and diminish his strength to continue living, and aspiring for the end of apartheid and its de-humanizing totalities. With his thick socio-historical and cultural ontologies and connections though, the racist regime might have prematurely assumed that it could institutionally 'break' Mandela, so to say, and bring him down (both practically and metaphorically), so he gives up on his national liberation struggle. From my understanding, the man the concerned agents of apartheid regime were dealing with was not only more tough-minded, but even more complicated than they could have imagined. From a select Africanist angle, at least, this South African liberation hero, would fit the venerable African saying: 'the greatest glory is not in never falling but in rising each time you fall'. As important for Mandela was the unwritten and mentally but more importantly, culturally promised loyalty to family and community where as he alludes to in his magisterial autobiography (Mandela, 1994), in all places and at all times, you are an embodiment of your people who will share your successes, failures and aspirations. Indeed, the way Nelson Mandela deployed his learning life colonization and racism, and through persecution, imprisonment and internal exile from family and community, should epitomize not necessarily what he learned via the actions of an oppressive regime, but more so, how he lived the life of the informal teacher for those who looked up

to him. Stated otherwise, your own life and current conditions, irrespective of how painful the situation might be, are still at the service of your community, and your comportment in those circumstances will always remain an enduring example of your overall being as a member/leader of your people. Or in more direct pedagogical terms, you are always teaching by example, so even in such circumstances, teach the community by strength of will, perseverance and self-affirmed determination to survive and eventually thrive. In essence, a combination, or more hopefully, a reflective practice of Mandela's living cultural learning, his public intellectual location and his pedagogical duties to his folk.

MANDELA, THE (GLOBAL) ENGAGED LIBERATION INTELLECTUAL

A propos the preceding observations and analysis, one should actually be able to read the constitutive elements of Mandela's learning and by-example teaching, as representative of the role of the public intellectual. For him, such a role would have streamed from two sources: one ascribed and the other achieved. I will say more about Mandela as the national and global public intellectual below, but let me immediately say a few things about my point on the two sources alluded to here, more effectively. In Gramscian terms and as expanded over time and space by other scholars, if at times with different analytical intentions (see, inter alia, Gramsci, 1971; Said, 1996; Barlow, 2013; West & Buschendorf, 2014), we could in general terms, talk about the two genres of the intellectual, i.e., the organic and traditional intellectual. For my purpose here, I would rather use the terms, the institutional intellectual and community intellectual, with the former more related to conventional perceptions of the intellectual as formally educated with advanced degrees. Such an intellectual would also be, in Gramscian characterization, professionally and organically attached to contexts of organized knowledge production and/or analysis. The second category should refer to those who might be historically categorized with traditional intellectuals, but with more active and counter-system oppositional dispositions that deliberately and charismatically challenge power which accords them a space of leadership for emancipation and transformation. One area that can distinguish the traditional from the community intellectual is at the level of ascription vis-à-vis achievement in that the contemporary meaning of traditional intellectuals in especially the African context, could include inherited statuses such as chiefs or members of the royal/chief's family, which accords one the 'natural' right to be an opinion maker who by traditional medium then, becomes endowed with select extensions of the power-knowledge nexus in ways less complicated than the manner Michel Foucault, for example, intended in his power-knowledge perspective (see Foucault, 1980). Still, as Edward Said (1996) noted in his brilliant disquisition on the topic, *Representations of the Intellectual* (1996), for all pragmatic undertakings, the societal role of the intellectual should be, in its operationalizable totality, the communal realizations of knowledge and freedom.

In Mandela's case and in relation to the South African context of late 1950s and early 1960s, he qualified for all the said categories of the intellectual. He certainly had the royal/traditional connections, the community leader status and the comparatively elevated knowledge and professional achievements that distinguished him from the majority of black South Africans. In essence therefore, he was the professional-cum-community activist intellectual who actually sensed the weight of such designation, and was determined to fulfil it in the most noble but politically viable way possible. After all, without active public engagement, all his connections and learning qualifications wouldn't have amounted to that much, for as Said (1996:73) noted,

> the intellectual does not represent a statue like icon, but an individual vocation, an energy, a stubborn force engaging as a committed and recognizable voice in language and in society with a whole slew of issues, all of them having to do in the end with a combination of enlightenment and emancipation or freedom.

Indeed, Mandela's intellectual vocation was doubly attached to enlightened teaching and learning, and a concerted drive to achieve freedom for the masses. While his journey to that important mission of his life passed through different temporal and spatial lines and intersections, his professional association with Oliver Tambo seems to have awakened him to new possibilities for highlighting the plight of his people, which was becoming unbearable as the harshness graph of the apartheid structure was rapidly rising. There, it seems, among other places and moments, the combination of the personal and professional qualities he possessed and acquired, complemented by his ancestral background, didn't leave him much option but to see his own onto-practical location as reflective of his people's lives and aspirations, thus encumbering upon himself the sacred task to speak for them and assign his living to new ways of liberating them from oppression and dispossession. In more ways than one, therefore, Mandela's intellectual life fits well with the celebrated role of the engaged public intellectual whose professional raison d'être is to serve the interests of ordinary people who look up to him for contextual explanation and collective emancipation.

I should go probably one step further and move beyond describing Mandela as the engaged public intellectual. He was that but certainly more than that. As I was contemplating how to do this and was experiencing some thin mental constructions of how that new expression about Mandela should be labelled, I was also realizing how the apparent complexity of the case was related to the essence of a man who was different from me and from the overwhelming majority of my fellow human brothers and sisters. He was of an extraordinarily separate category, categorically representing a type of person and leader where the intended linguistic capacities to describe him or her could exhaust themselves. At least for the purpose of this writing, I have decided, I can draw this select conceptual manufacturing from the wide, global following Mandela has garnered as not only a determined symbol of anti-apartheid struggle, but also as a globally intelligent and articulate icon of

liberation. Indeed, this reality began to simplify my search as I decided to call him *the (global) engaged liberation intellectual* par excellence. It is on the basis of this and other pointers that I qualify Mandela as an educational thinker and intellectual leader who demonstrated all the qualities hitherto mentioned through his statements, actions and commitments. This should be evident via his multi-dimensional, multi-locational and multi-temporal personal and practical contributions to the articulation of important and inclusive social, political and economic platforms that should be achieved, as he stated in both his jail and post-jail lives. In such platforms, learning programs should be established and undertaken for the well-being of all individuals and communities in South Africa and elsewhere in the world. For Mandela, the engaged liberation intellectual, this would have especially applied to those that have been extensively marginalized through, inter alia, racist and de-humanizing learning and teaching designs that assured the privilege of some at the expense of everyone else. Yet it could so happen that Mandela, the historical, social and political global icon may not be one of the first persons that come to mind when we try to ascertain the historical and actual significance of educational and intellectual development in apartheid and, post-apartheid South Africa. Factually, though, Mandela was the quintessential educational thinker and consummate pedagogue (albeit informally but effectively) and heavyweight local and global intellectual who read the world diligently, learned with deep curiosity, instructed through concretely discernible examples, acted reflectively and inclusively, and interacted with others (including his oppressors) humanely and magnanimously. Mandela's educational and intellectual personae were not limited to his speeches, writings and policy positions. As much as these were important, he also exemplified, indeed lived his life, in the best way to relate instructionally to the world around him. Such a world was partially a place he was born into, but as much a world that was forced upon him, and later, a world he was able to transform.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have tried to establish a few observational lines and thematically attached analysis pertaining to the educational formations, as well as the subjective and inter-subjective instructional responses, Nelson Mandela engaged throughout his life. I have started with select narrations of his early and formatively important family education, later complemented by his general schooling and subsequent tertiary education experiences. In so doing, I have pointed out the unique nature of African family-based socialization systems where children are taught Indigenous ways of enthusiastically and amicably relating to the social and physical environments that surround them in the context of both their immediate and extended family and community locations. It was in these situations where Nelson Mandela learned and absorbed important blocks of culture and within these, acquired specialized custom fragments that specifically defined ways of knowing and doing and of course, not doing. From there, he started, selectively but critically, to read both the text and the world, slowly capacitating himself

to seek and find both educational and pedagogical correlations that advance his overall situatedness in his concerned relational and learning realities.

As could be gleaned from his autobiography, for Mandela, things did not happen qua happenstance, but were to inquisitively interact with his own being as a born leader who continuously and comprehensively saw learning as a subset of a wider universe that was to be understood with dignified pose and self-assured intentions. Indeed, he captured so well and intelligently reacted to the formal as well as life-instructed lessons early in his professional life, thus becoming and acting as the informal teacher for the millions who would eventually join him in the struggle for liberation. As I have indicated above, Mandela's educational persona was to serve as an ongoing informal instructional character for those who were waiting for his message and the long lived life of Nelson Mandela as a frontline teacher against oppression and as an engaged liberation intellectual, a momentous occasion that is already engraved on the walls of history was his famous speech at the Rivonia trial which, despite the problematic legal setting and procedures, remains a brilliant and powerful platform of teaching and learning. True to his primordial family and cultural connections and to his appreciation of humanist inclusiveness, Mandela categorically, but also instructionally for all, refused to miss, so to speak, either the humanity of himself and his people, or that of his oppressors. With that historical and educational achievement, Mandela served as a brilliant and humanist pedagogue and an actively, more often dangerously engaged liberation intellectual for the masses and even for his fellow co-oppressed prisoners.

With his conviction and perseverance, one could say that he literally wrote the book in living both a learned and instructive life in places and conditions that, for the rest of us, would have negated both. He even achieved more learning and teaching perspectives by advancing his education in jail and learning the language of his oppressors, which he later deployed to extract some recognition from those who denied his basic humanity. While being hunted down by the apartheid regime as he was organizing for the freedom struggle, which eventually led to his imprisonment and hard labour experience, it is more than impressive to see how Mandela, in the tradition of many other anti-colonial African leaders including the ones discussed as historical-analytical conjectured comparisons with his life, successfully transformed contexts of incarceration and isolation into critical sites of learning and teaching. As the bold initiator of the negotiations that led to the multiracial, democratic South Africa we have now (despite all its shortcomings), Mandela's freedom was not complete, as his oft-referenced statement, 'Education is the great engine of national development' indicated, until the oppressed masses of his country were also liberated through viable education and inclusive social development. While such liberation through education and related social well-being is not yet complete (especially with respect to income disparities, poverty levels and youth unemployment), yet Mandela's educational message and post-apartheid national programs constructively expanded the desired spaces of human development faster and wider than anyone else in the long history of South Africa's heavily textured history. One can only

hope that South Africa's post-Mandela leaders will continue striving to live up to his educational and community well-being example.

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4. NELSON MANDELA AND DIALOGIC LIFELONG LEARNING

INTRODUCTION

Dialogic pedagogy has diverse roots, including the emancipatory approach of Paulo Freire, the Russian dialogism of Mikhail Bakhtin and his circle and American traditions of progressivism and pragmatism, and critical pedagogy. The life and work of Nelson Mandela, together with compatriots such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Steven Bantu Biko and Beyers Naude, and informed by the historic influence of figures such as Mahatma Gandhi, Sol Plaatje, Albert Luthuli, Helen Joseph and Bram Fischer, point towards a South African contribution to dialogic education. Such a contribution is based on notions of human dignity, justice, reconciliation and active peace making and peace building across boundaries. It comprises a daring confrontation with and recognition of the other, not as an enemy but as 'another' with whom one can engage and experience transformation in striving towards a 'we', not of uniformity that erases all differences, but of dynamic co-being. This chapter explores Nelson Mandela's exemplary dialogic lifelong learning, and the dimensions and implications of a South African dialogism for education within a lifelong learning perspective.

Like everyone else, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was a flawed human being with his own quirks and limitations: he was known to be short-tempered, impetuous, and had an autocratic streak. Acknowledging his greatness and pondering his legacy for education do not mean succumbing to hagiography. On the other hand, his visionary embodiment and enactment of values of justice, love, dialogue and reconciliation, coupled with his own practice of lifelong learning and the esteem in which he himself held education, warrant attention to his educational legacy. This legacy has manifold dimensions: Nelson Mandela was himself an exemplar of lifelong learning; he was a passionate advocate of education and its benefits, both for personal development and social transformation; as President of South Africa, he oversaw important educational changes in the transition from apartheid to democracy; he left an institutional legacy, including the Nelson Mandela Institute of Education at the University of Fort Hare, the Nelson Mandela Children's Fund and the Mandela-Rhodes Foundation, among others; and his writings, speeches and example bequeath an invaluable point of reference for leadership education (Ramphele, 2003; Slabbert, 2003; Tuckett, 2013; Butler-Adam, 2014; Waghid, 2014). This chapter focuses particularly on the contribution of this legacy to our understanding of dialogic lifelong learning.

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 31–44.

My approach is to see Mandela‘s legacy for education not in isolation but as part of a broader progressive South African tradition which both precedes and elaborates his legacy. This includes key figures in the liberation tradition who were themselves educational visionaries, such as Mahatma Gandhi, John Dube, Sol Plaatje, Albert Luthuli and Steve Biko, as well as contemporary figures such as Desmond Tutu and Jonathan Jansen. My discussion of Mandela’s possible contribution to our understanding of dialogic pedagogy will be interwoven accordingly with the patterns of influences from others within this broader tradition. While this is not possible to accomplish in any great depth within the constraints of this chapter, I gesture towards it as a significant dimension of Mandela’s legacy for education.

DIALOGIC PEDAGOGY

Dialogic pedagogy refers to a broad family of approaches to teaching and learning that are informed by the notion of dialogue. While the roots of this approach extend back two and a half millennia to Socrates, the great Greek provoker and protagonist of dialogue, it has received considerable contemporary emphasis, partly as a counterpoint to neoliberal technicism and instrumentalism (Matusov, 2009; White & Peters, 2011; Wegerif, 2013; Lefstein & Snell, 2014). While all these approaches emphasise the importance of dialogue, they differ in how they conceptualise it in relation to education. For example, Lefstein and Snell (2014) see dialogue as a form of interaction through which teachers and learners critically engage with topics, as well as multiple voices and points of view, and create classroom relations which are based on respect and equity. A Latin American tradition, associated with the Brazilian adult educator Paulo Freire, embraces an emancipatory approach which views dialogue as a political praxis of action and reflection for reading the word and the world, and acting to transform it (Freire, 1973, 1994; Boal, 1979; Gadotti, 1996). For writers within the tradition of the Russian literacy theorist, Mikhail Bakhtin, and his circle (Bakhtin, 1981, 1984; Voloshinov, 1973; Sidorkin, 1999; Matusov, 2009), dialogue is not simply a method but an ontological aspect of human being: to be human means to be in dialogue – with others, with oneself, with the world. As such, dialogue underpins all pedagogy, whether it overtly promotes dialogue as a form of interaction or not, because “meaning is inherently dialogical” (Matusov, 2009:1).

In this chapter I situate Nelson Mandela’s dialogic lifelong learning within the ontological and emancipatory traditions of dialogue. An analysis of Mandela’s own education and his patterns of lifelong learning, as revealed in his autobiography and biographies, his speeches and other sources, reveal dialogue as intrinsic to his sense of his own person and his learning throughout his life: dialogue with himself, with others, with the collectives of the struggle and of the democratic era, and with his changing context. On the other hand, Mandela constantly relates his learning to the struggle for liberation and democracy in South Africa and to his role as a leader of and within that struggle. I argue that Nelson Mandela exemplifies dialogic lifelong

learning, that this forms part of the legacy which he offers education and that it is suggestive for a 'South African dialogism'.

I first examine Nelson Mandela's education. This is important for understanding his own dialogic lifelong learning, to which I then turn. I examine his learning in terms of dialogue with others, with himself, with the collective and with his context. I conclude by offering some thoughts on an emerging tradition of South African dialogism which is informed not only by Nelson Mandela's life, work and learning, but also by a broader progressive tradition of South Africans who informed and elaborated ideas of dialogue, justice, reconciliation and healing in relation to South African education.

NELSON MANDELA'S EDUCATION

Mandela's own education was complex and multi-faceted, associated with a range of institutions, occurring at different places, times of life, in a variety of modes and with various purposes. One way of understanding his education is as an edifice of six superimposed layers, something like a layered cake but with an inter-fusing of certain constituents. The layers comprised: a traditional education associated with his Thembu upbringing in the rural Eastern Cape; a formal schooling through which he ascended 'the mission ladder' of Wesleyan mission institutions, culminating in the interdenominational Fort Hare University; a higher education which included not only Fort Hare, but also a BA degree at the University of South Africa (UNISA) and law studies at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and a law degree from University of London; a professional education which initiated him into the legal fraternity through an articled clerkship at a Johannesburg law firm coupled with his formal legal studies; a multi-faceted political education, principally associated with the African National Congress and its Youth League; and a prison education on 'the Island University' and at other prisons, focusing on survival and continuing resistance, through his 27-year imprisonment. Each layer was associated not only with particular institutions and key teachers, but also with modes of teaching and learning, and an underlying set of values. While there were conflicts and tensions, as well as complementarities, between the layers, each layer contributed key aspects to his overall formation.

At the base is a traditional education which included grounding in Thembu culture, history, law and folklore, and the aristocratic politics and leadership of the Thembu royal household. His father told stories of "historic battles and heroic Xhosa warriors" whereas his mother "would enchant us with Xhosa legends and fables that had come down from numberless generations" (Mandela, 1995:12). He also underwent the rite of circumcision marking the passage from boyhood to manhood which taught him self-discipline and the ability to suppress his own emotions and 'be a man'. His upbringing included a civic education: "I was groomed, like my father before me, to counsel the leaders of the tribe" (Mandela, 1995:5). This is a significant choice of words which warrants further scrutiny. Being groomed

suggests not only instruction – in Thembu history and law, for example – but also formation on how to carry oneself, an appropriate posture and bearing, a habitus which is ingrained and expressed itself in every step, facial expression and gesture. The interpolation "like my father before me" indicates the patrilineal continuity of the formation – taking on the role of one's forbear, following in his steps – and so laying down one's own path for those who follow. The phrase thus indicates the connectedness of generations and the continuity of roles. The actual purpose of the grooming – "to counsel the rulers of the tribe" – points to the significance of the spoken word, of dialogue, deliberation, the exchange of views, mentoring, but also the importance of listening, of tact and discernment, for one has to know whom one counsels in order to counsel effectively.

From his time as a boy observing the acting Thembu regent, Chief Jongintaba Dalindyebo, hold court at his Great Place, Mandela learnt a consensual style of leadership which emphasised listening to everyone's views, including criticism of the leader himself, discerning, summarizing and "endeavouring to find a consensus of views" (Meredith, 2014:6) as key attributes of wise leadership. This resonates with a wider African view of leadership as consensus-building and reconciliation. As Albert Luthuli, like Mandela later to become an ANC president, writes of his role as chief in resolving disputes: "My main pleasure in this activity came from the rewarding attempt to reconcile people who were at variance, and from the debate involved" (Luthuli, 1962:51), and the understanding that "a chief is primarily a servant of his people" (Luthuli, The Road to Freedom is via the Cross, in Couper, 2010:216). Here the chief represents the unity of the people and works towards the healing of breaches and the reconciliation of conflicting views, while also acting as 'the voice of the people' in local affairs. This might bring him into conflict with wider authorities inimical to the interests and concerns of the people: both Luthuli and Mandela's father, the chief of Mvezo, were dismissed from their positions for speaking out against the injustices of racial oppression.

The second layer of Mandela's education consisted of an English-oriented Wesleyan mission education extending through a number of Wesleyan institutions, notably Clarksbury, Healdtown, and the interdenominational Fort Hare University. From these elite mission institutions – only a tiny minority of Africans could access them – Mandela garnered knowledge of English language and literature, a sense of Christian ethics, and an experience of institutional politics – sometimes as a rebel. Although he recognised and rebelled against the imperialist and colonial orientation of these institutions, he still valued the formation of character and leadership that they afforded him. African role models, such as Seth Mokitimi at Clarksbury, who stood up to the white principal, and the legendary Z. K. Matthews, teacher of social anthropology and native administration at Fort Hare "who spoke out bluntly against the government's social policies" (Mandela, 1995:52), were strong influences. These institutions also exposed Mandela to the wider issues of South African politics – for example, General Smuts visited Fort Hare to advocate South Africa's participation in World War Two – and to Africans from other ethnicities.

Mandela's mission education mirrored that of three generations of African leaders from South Africa and other Southern African countries, including leaders of the South African Native National Congress (later to become the African National Congress) – Pixley Seme, John Dube and Sol Plaatje in the first generation, Alfred Xuma and Albert Luthuli in the second, and Anton Lembede, Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu and Mandela himself in the third, among others. Despite their rebellion against white rule, these generations, like Mandela himself, retained an abiding legacy of mission education: an admiration of the system of parliamentary democracy; a Christian value system, including order, public service, decorum and good conduct; and the English language as a unifying force against ethnic divisions.

Mandela's professional education comprised an articled clerkship at the Johannesburg law firm, Witkin, Sidelsky & Eidelman, and studies for an LLB at the University of the Witwatersrand. Mandela was mentored by Lazar Sidelsky who, unusually for a white person at the time, was passionate about 'native education' and constantly emphasised the value of education to his clerk. Mandela learnt his profession by doing: handling contracts, interpreting, and dealing with wills and divorces. He also learnt from Sidelsky's instruction: "He took care to explain the firm's procedures, the reasons for them and the wider purposes of the law" (Meredith, 2014:31). From Sidelsky, Mandela learnt "to serve our country" and that law could be used "to change society" (Mandela, 1995:84). Later, as a partner in Mandela and Tambo, the only African law firm at the time, he was exposed to the myriad sufferings of black people at the hands of the apartheid machinery: "Every day we heard and saw the thousands of humiliations that ordinary Africans confronted every day of their lives" (Mandela, 1995:173). Similarly, forty years earlier, Sol Plaatje witnessed and documented the sufferings of Africans displaced by the Native Land Act of 1913 (Plaatje, 1914). A century later, Jonathan Jansen adopted a similar strategy, traversing the country to talk to ordinary people about their concerns regarding South Africa's transformation "after the cataclysm of apartheid" (Jansen, 2011:2). Mandela's profession thus afforded him a particular way of learning about and gaining insight into the travails of ordinary people: a bottom-up learning of the consequences of apartheid law from those who were subject to it. This learning continued inside prison as he took up the cases of inmates and applied his legal knowledge in confronting the authorities on prisoners' grievances.

As a law student and practitioner, Mandela met and engaged with a small but influential black legal fraternity (Gaur Radebe, Oliver Tambo, Anton Lembede) who had a strong sense of their role in public service and political leadership. As Lodge argues, "Lawyers in South Africa, as in many colonial or semi-colonial settings, were overrepresented in the leadership of political parties, a consequence of a vocational predisposition 'to see themselves as the embodiment of public interest'" (Lodge, 2006:28). Mandela the student also encountered a wider circle of lawyers from other races who were politically involved, in the Communist Party (Bram Fischer, Harold Wolpe) and Indian Congress (Ismail Meer). Mandela's professional education thus exposed him to a wider understanding of the law, its functions and

underlying philosophy; to the suffering of black people subject to oppressive laws; to a multiracial 'community of practice'; and to a milieu of public service and political leadership.

While Mandela's political education is worthy of a thesis in itself, some key features stand out. Popular struggle was a key source of learning. He learnt from observation of community and worker struggles in the 1940s. These included the Alexandra Bus Boycott of 1943, the African Mineworkers Strike of 1946 and the Indian passive resistance campaign of the same year. Although these actions were ruthlessly suppressed, Mandela was impressed by the mine workers union's organisation and control of its members, and by the "meticulous organisation, militant mass action and, above all, the willingness to suffer and sacrifice" evidenced by the Indian campaign which modelled itself on campaigns of passive resistance led by Gandhi in 1914 (Mandela, 1995:119). Perhaps his most formative and directly experiential political learning came from the Congress campaigns of the 1950s, which he helped to lead, and his period as an underground Mkhonto we Sizwe operative in the early 1960s. He also learnt from political mentors of various persuasions, both their words and their deeds, most notably Walter Sisulu and Anton Lembede in the Youth League, but also from Communists such as Michael Harmer and J. B. Marks, gaining insight into their positions while disagreeing with them.

Mandela's prison education was primarily about "how to survive prison intact" and this involved "learning exactly what one must do to survive" (Mandela, 1995:463). It entailed very specific and vital tasks: knowing the authorities' purpose; developing strategies to undermine it; and cultivating collective strength through sharing and solidarity. Prison was thus merely another site of struggle in the greater struggle to liberate South Africa. While learning the practical value of collective struggles, Mandela also learnt the value of cultivating relationships, especially with prison warders, and of seeing even his most hostile enemies as human beings who had been shaped by a racist system.

Besides learning about and through struggles, prison provided other learning opportunities. Robben Island was known among activists as 'the University': prisoners studied not only formal courses (school qualifications and degrees through correspondence) but also learnt from each other and created their own curriculum, both academic and political (the history of the ANC, of the Indian and coloured struggles, Marxism). They adopted innovative pedagogies: study groups "would work together in the quarry" and "station themselves in a circle around the leader of the seminar" (Mandela, 1995:556). Learning thus became part of the fabric of daily prison life and work.

NELSON MANDELA AND DIALOGIC LIFELONG LEARNING

Through these various layers of educational experience, Mandela embodied and enacted the principle of lifelong learning. In one sense his autobiography may be

read as an extended reflection on learning to be a leader. The metaphor of learning for living and leading, while not as explicit as the 'life journey' metaphor of the title *Long Walk to Freedom,* is pivotal to his understanding of his own development as a human being. It is evident in his reflections on what he learnt from particular episodes, often in the context of the collective learning of the ANC. It also manifests in the way that he introduces many characters – considering their education, formal or otherwise, and/or what they taught him. This extends not only to close relatives (father, mother, acting chief regent), friends (Walter Sisulu, Gaur Radebe) and colleagues, but also to opponents and enemies and their forbears (for example, General Christiaan De Wet). In effect, the message of the autobiography, at this lifelong learning level, is 'these were my teachers and this is what I learnt, and, as a result, who and what I have become'. It reveals a deep fascination with the nature of education, and with the processes and consequences of learning.

Mandela's learning, as a conscious self-directed pursuit, lasted throughout his life, through his formal engagement in institutions of learning, his non-formal learning through organisations such as the ANC and its Youth League, and informal learning through the experiences of and reflections on everyday life. His learning was also life-wide in the sense that it encompassed various interrelated aspects, including the academic, the professional, the political and the domestic, the needs of which were often and sometimes tragically at odds with his wider calling as a leader. Furthermore, his learning was life-deep in the sense that it involved moments of deep reflection and profound shifts in consciousness, such as the shift from a parochial Thembu ethnic consciousness to a broad African nationalism, from an exclusive Africanism to an inclusive democratic non-racism, and from non-violence to armed struggle to negotiations.

Mandela introduces the metaphor of "crossing famous rivers", from the Xhosa idiom *Ndiwelimilambo enamagama,* when reflecting one such transformation (Mandela, 1995:98). He returns from Johannesburg to his rural home in the Eastern Cape after the death of Chief Dalindyebo, who raised him after his father's passing. This causes him to reflect on his own journey from the rural Transkei to Johannesburg, how he had changed and what he had learnt from it. The Xhosa saying signifies that "one has travelled a great distance, that one has had wide experience and gained some wisdom from it" (Mandela, 1995:98). The metaphor is worth further exploration in relation to lifelong learning. River indicates a boundary that separates one 'territory' (phase of life, set of circumstances, mindset) from another. Crossing indicates movement: one actively negotiates the river, which might involve hazards and difficulties, and traverses it. This requires strategy (crossing at the right place and time), skill (choosing where and how to place one's feet) and strength and perseverance (withstanding the current). It also suggests the achievement of perspective: once one has crossed the river and attained the other side, one can look back at the river itself and the territory beyond it, and consider their meanings. The river crossing is not simply a private and individual experience (although it is also this) but a collective one that countless others have experienced, in their own ways,

as a rite of passage. For a river is always and never the same. Mandela's learning journey from rural Eastern Cape to Johannesburg and back was one that generations of migrant workers experienced, so that his own learning was both personal and trans-personal.

Of course, lifelong learning is not only about "crossing famous rivers". These definitive moments are rare and much of life's learning consists of 'traversing the territory', dealing with everyday realities, learning to master the familiar pattern. Mandela's lifelong learning is both 'river crossing' and 'traversing the territory of the familiar'. He engages with this learning in dialogue with others, with himself, with the collective and with his context, as I explain below.

Learning as Dialogue with Others

One is struck in Mandela's account of his own life, as well as the accounts of others, by his ability to relate to and engage meaningfully with very different people, not only friends, colleagues and comrades, but also opponents and even enemies. He was able to transcend the dehumanizing view of 'the other' inculcated by colonialism and apartheid with a humanizing view of the other person as 'another': first and foremost a human being with his or her own particular personality, history and formation. This did not involve giving up his own standpoint or denying all differences. Rather, his sense of security in himself, his beliefs and his commitments allowed him to reach out to others. It involved recognising the other as different but as human, as another whom he could acknowledge, understand and learn from. This resonates with the notion of Martin Buber, the Jewish philosopher of dialogue, of "moving to the other side" (Buber, 1964): the teacher being able to see the learning from the learner's point of view, while maintaining her own standpoint, thus allowing her to mediate the learner's learning. This is dependent on a certain attentiveness to the other: being able to 'learn' the other through careful listening, observation, interaction, reflection and investment in relationship.

Again and again this is evident in Mandela's relationships with opponents and enemies. For example, as a young leader of the ANC Youth League, he was strongly anti-Communist, but he continued to engage and interact with communists and to listen to their views. This led him to read communist literature and eventually to revise his view to one which accommodated communists in the ANC, without himself ever becoming a communist. Similarly, and perhaps even more strikingly, he engaged with outright enemies, even the most cruel and sadistic, in ways that recognised their humanity and allowed room for change. On one occasion, Colonel Badenhorst, a cruel prison chief on Robben Island who had oppressed and mistreated the prisoners during his tenure, spoke directly to Mandela on his departure, saying "I just want to wish you people good luck." This showed Mandela a human side of Badenhorst that he had never seen before, causing him to reflect deeply: "I thought about this moment for a long time afterwards… It was a useful reminder that all men, even the most seemingly cold-blooded, have a core of decency, and that if

their hearts are touched, they are capable of changing"; Badenhorst's inhumanity "had been foisted upon him by an inhuman system" (Mandela, 1995:549). This view of the other as 'another', as a fellow human being despite differences, has its roots in African *Ubuntu* as well as Christian notions of loving your neighbour and your enemy, not in a sentimental way, but in a pragmatic (and even strategic) way which affords space for learning and transformation.

Learning as Dialogue with Self

Mandela's autobiography demonstrates the ability to engage in an extended learning dialogue with oneself, and one's previous and current selves. He constantly reflects on the conflicts and confluences of his various identities: as a Thembu brought up in a traditional rural village; as a mission-educated member of the urban African elite; as a lawyer; as an ANC activist and leader; as a father and husband; as a president and statesman, among others. Often his own critical reflection is prompted by an uncomfortable encounter with 'another'. For example, after moving to Johannesburg from the Eastern Cape, he meets "the queen regent of Basutoland" (now Lesotho) who challenges him on not being able to speak Sesotho. "What kind of lawyer and leader will you be who can't speak the language of your own people?"

> The question embarrassed and sobered me. I had unconsciously succumbed to the ethnic divisions fostered by the white government and I did not know how to speak to my own kith and kin. Without language, one cannot talk to people and understand them… I again realized that we were not different people with separate languages; we were one people with different tongues. (Mandela, 1995:96–97)

Rather than being defensive (How can I learn all the languages? / I never had the opportunity? / I don't have time) he hears the queen regent, reflects on her words and allows them to challenge and inform him. This includes critically examining his own prior assumptions about ethnicity and identity, and shifting to a broader notion of "kith and kin" and being "one people". One sees in this the engagement of his parochial identity as a Thembu and his identity as an urban professional and prospective national leader. This resonates with Mezirow's (1991) notion of transformative learning as "perspective transformation": moving to more inclusive, integrated holistic ways of seeing the world, with the caveat that in an African context of collective identity and struggle this is not only a personal transformation, but informs and is informed by the collective.

As Brookfield (2008) shows, Mandela exemplifies the practice of critical reflection. Drawing on a variety of sources, including conversations with others, relevant literature, and direct experience and observation of the prevailing circumstances, Mandela is able to examine and transform his own deeply held assumptions, and to influence others to do the same.

Learning as Dialogue With the Collective

In Mandela's case, 'the collective' refers pre-eminently to the African National Congress and its structures, policies and history, both inside and outside prison. This is the collective that frames Mandela's politics and political education, and that he faithfully serves over nearly seven decades. Other collectives figure in his learning, such as the legal profession, educational institutions and the various residential communities (including prison) of which he was a part. However, the ANC is the 'home' and 'family' which he affords primary loyalty. The relationship is not a monological one of obedience and compliance, but a continuing dynamic and at times conflictual dialogue of commitment. Mandela abides by ANC policy, and often refers to it as his own benchmark: for instance, of relationships with warders in prison, he writes, "[i]t was ANC policy to try to educate all people, even our enemies: we believed that all men, even prison service warders, were capable of change, and we did our utmost to try to sway them" (Mandela, 1995:496). However, he also contests ANC policy, openly disobeys it at times and is censured, for example, by the ANC National Executive for his "premature and dangerous" advocacy of violence in a Sophiatown speech in the 1950s (Mandela, 1995:183). He even acts independently without informing the ANC, for example, in initiating secret talks with the government in the 1980s: "There are times when a leader must move out ahead of the flock, go off in a new direction, confident that he is leading his people in the right way" (Mandela, 1995:627).

Mandela's strong vision and personality as a leader are shaped by the collective ANC frame, but also in turn shape it. As a leader, he learns both from and on behalf of the collective and feeds his learning back into the collective. Often there is disagreement but this is always within a shared framework which contains and provides warrant for the dialogue.

Learning as Dialogue with Context

One of the factors that contributed to Mandela's remarkable longevity as a leader was his ability to read 'the signs of the times', adapting to and learning from radically different contexts. These included the patrilineal and parochial rural Eastern Cape, the crucible of Johannesburg, the fugitive anonymity of the underground struggle, the rigours of prison, and perhaps most remarkably, as a septuagenarian, the complicated, terrifying and rapidly changing reality of a violently democratizing South Africa in the 1990s. This learning from context involved not only a passive reception of information but an active engagement as a leader through words and action which, in turn, has an impact on the context itself. This learning incorporated the dimensions of learning from dialogue with others, with himself and with the collective of the ANC and the structures of government.

Mandela's intensive 'relearning' of South Africa after twenty-seven years in prison began before his release and took a number of forms. He consulted with

comrades, family members and other visitors, met with government officials, ministers (Kobie Coetzee) and presidents (Botha and De Klerk), and members of the secret negotiating committee, in developing a picture of the changed reality. He spent time in hospital, which exposed him to the changing racial relationships in South Africa, and was also taken out for 'trips' by the warders in order to acclimatize him. His keen observations of the shifting context caused him to reflect on the changes and what they meant politically: "I saw how life had changed in the time that I had been away" (Mandela, 1995:635). His reading of the new context also reinforced his sense of the need to take the initiative in order to precipitate a negotiated settlement.

In reality these four moments of dialogic lifelong learning – dialogue with others, with self, with the collective and with context – are not discrete but constantly interact. The dialogue with others may become a dialogue within the self, as too the dialogue with the collective and with context, as the diagram below indicates:

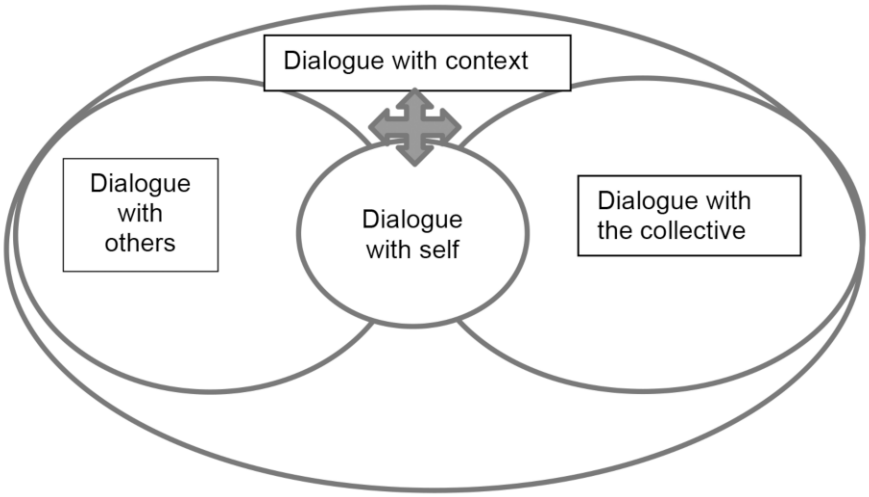

Figure 1. Nelson Mandela's dialogic lifelong learning

TOWARDS A SOUTH AFRICAN DIALOGISM FOR EDUCATION

Now that I have examined Mandela's remarkable education and dialogic lifelong learning, I turn to wider questions regarding the contribution of progressive tradition of which he is a part. Is there anything distinctive about the South African contribution to dialogue, education and learning? Might one begin to speak of a 'South African dialogism'? Against the background of violently monological colonial and apartheid regimes which, for three hundred and fifty years, emphasised racial division, exploitation and suppression of the black majority, it is remarkable that an alternative tradition of dialogue has developed and has had an impact, not only in South Africa,

but beyond its borders. This is evident, for example, in South Africa's peace-making interventions in Burundi and the Congo, and in the international iconic status of Nelson Mandela, but also of Albert Luthuli, Desmond Tutu and FW de Klerk, as peace-builders. Inside South Africa it manifests in many ways, for example in the continuing work of reconciliation in institutions and communities – the reconciliation of African workers and Afrikaans students over the Reitz incident at the University of the Free State is illustrative (Jansen, 2011) – and in the '67 Minutes for Mandela' which people commit to public service in celebration of his birthday.

Whereas Latin American dialogism arises from the arena of adult education (Freire, Gadotti) and Russian dialogism from linguistics and literary studies (Bakhtin and his Circle), a South African dialogism arises primarily from the arenas of politics (Luthuli, Mandela, De Klerk) and theology (Naude, Tutu, Boesak), and their engagement. It is overtly about public deliberation and action, and the nature of the public good towards which this is directed. It is also centrally concerned about values, not as abstractions, but as they are embodied and enacted in the praxis of "learning to live together" – to use Volmink's phrase (Volmink, 2008) – as a nation.

Central to the contribution of a South African dialogism are a number of features that arise from a distinctively African and multicultural context, but are not confined to it. The first is a sense of connectedness: that we as human beings are connected not only to each other, but to those who have gone before and those yet to come, as well as to the natural and social environment; that we are not isolated Cartesian individuals but persons who are constituted by and belong to one another in the continuing project of co-creation. This has a wider resonance within the global 'village' which has advanced rapidly at the level of IT connectivity, as Volmink (2008) observes, but lagged in the building of human connectedness.

The second, directly linked to the first, is a humanism that recognises that we are first and foremost human beings, whatever our distinctive identities and positions, and this provides a basis for our dialogue. This humanism is evident in the exemplary insistence of Nelson Mandela and Steven Biko on their own humanity in confronting those who denied it. The dehumanizing negation of the other paves the way for oppression, exploitation, war and genocide, whereas the recognition and affirmation of the other as 'another', and of the other-in-the-self, founds justice and peace.

The third is that our dialogue rests not only on commonality but on difference – there can be no dialogue without difference: the very word (dia) indicates difference, but recognising the potentialities for mutual growth and deliberation (logue) that lie in difference, opens up spaces for engagement. This is not a "repressive tolerance" (Brookfield & Holst, 2011) which acknowledges diversity in order to entrench the status quo, but a "liberating tolerance" which arises from a joint pursuit of truth, however difficult this may be.

The fourth concerns the importance of critical reflection and openness to the criticism of others as a way to build one another, and to test and strengthen the edifice that we build together. This is a characteristic of the kinds of consensus-building traditional leaders that are described by Mandela and Plaatje, who place the health

of the community above their own egos and ambitions, and of the deliberation that marked the making of South Africa's greatest public edifices, the Freedom Charter (1955) and the Constitution (1996).

The fifth concerns transformation: that dialogue holds immense and surprising possibilities for both personal and collective transformation, as we have witnessed from South Africa's transition, with all its critical shortcomings and indeed fatal hubris and violence; we as agents of dialogue and transformation can shape history. This entails an openness, first of all, to being changed ourselves.

Finally, as Nelson Mandela exemplified in his own commitment, sacrifice and selflessness at enormous cost to himself and his family, the good of humankind stands above that of any particular sectional interest.

CONCLUSION

A South African dialogism, suggested by the life, work and learning of Nelson Mandela and the progressive tradition of which he was a part, finds expression in values of connectedness, humanism, difference, critical reflection, transformation and the common good. It understands dialogue not simply as a form of interaction but as an ontological feature of human being and emancipatory becoming. It challenges an education system that entrenches inequality as inimical to and irreconcilable with its humanizing vision. As such, and as in the past, it is at odds with vested interests that seek to preserve the status quo and to perpetuate mediocrity and sycophancy in a monological drone of deference. A South African dialogism stands, hopes, speaks and acts for something better.

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5. MANDELA AND AFRIKAANS

From Language of the Oppressor to Language of Reconciliation

Nelson Mandela, often referred to as Madiba, believed that education is the most powerful weapon you can use to change the world. When South Africa became a democracy in 1994, the nation accepted a new Constitution, which stated that everyone has the right to education in one of the official languages, provided it is reasonably practicable. By offering official status to Afrikaans and nine other indigenous languages alongside English, the Constitution afforded all South Africans the opportunity to learn in their mother tongue. Scholars worldwide believe that language is the key to education (Vilakazi, 2002), especially if a child can study in his or her mother tongue. As such, Madiba transformed the education landscape in South Africa. In this chapter I will describe why Madiba studied Afrikaans in prison on Robben Island, why he used Afrikaans to reach out to the Afrikaans-speaking community of South Africa, why he asked Stellenbosch University to change its language policy, but more importantly, how he used the Afrikaans language to understand the Afrikaner, their history and their culture in order to create a new South Africa where everybody, including Afrikaners who felt under threat, could feel welcome. In this way he guided the new nation with an empathy that testified to his unshakeable love for his country and his people. Against the backdrop of South Africa's diverse and multilingual cultural heritage, this chapter describes how Nelson Mandela – through his words and actions, and as an attribute of his leadership and ideals – used and valued Afrikaans. In so doing, he took up the challenge of leading a young democracy by improving the education system.

INTRODUCTION

The National Party, under the leadership of Dr D. F. Malan, a former minister of the Dutch Reformed Church and editor of the Afrikaans newspaper, *Die Burger*, was a party animated by bitterness – bitterness towards the English, who had treated them as inferiors for decades, and bitterness towards Africans, whom the Nationalists believed were threatening the prosperity and purity of Afrikaner culture (Mandela, 1994:127). This bitterness is clearly evident in the words of the father of Zelda le

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 45–61.

Grange, former president Nelson Mandela's personal assistant for more than 19 years (2014:15), on the day Madiba was released, as relayed by her:

> On 2 February 1990 President De Klerk announced that Nelson Mandela would be released unconditionally after twenty-seven years imprisonment. I was in the swimming pool when my father came out of the house. I could see he had something on his mind. 'Yes, Pa?' I asked. After a short silence he answered: 'Now we are in trouble. The terrorist has been released.' At the time I had no idea who Mandela was or what his release would mean to us.

Because of this bitterness that Afrikaner people felt towards black people and their politics, white children like Zelda had been deprived of the history of someone as great as Nelson Mandela. The situation described by Zelda le Grange (2014) was the same in many Afrikaner homes. Famous poet and apartheid activist Antjie Krog (2013) put it as follows:

> When I grew up, in the 1960s, the name Nelson Mandela never featured in our Afrikaner home. Feelings of racial superiority precluded any thought that a remarkable or successful black leader might exist. If a banned name slipped through in the liberal press, it was assumed that either the liberals or the regime were secretly 'using' him. It was simple: there was no agency to praise or respect black people.

In contrast, Afrikaner children knew the names of Afrikaner 'traitors' by heart: those who betrayed them during the Anglo-Boer War and those who later joined the 'terrorists and communists' against apartheid (Krog, 2013). However, as the anti-apartheid struggle grew in intensity, certain names kept recurring. One was the name of Nelson Mandela. As years went by the name Mandela, shouted during torture or celebrated in underground songs and poetry, became – in the words of Krog (2013) – "a metaphor for hope and terror in the psyche of South Africans long before he became a person or president."

When Mandela was released in 1990, Afrikaners lived in fear and confusion. As Antjie Krog (2013) put it: "Afrikaners uneasily began to suspect that Nelson Mandela was 'like them' and would therefore definitely do unto them what 'they' had done unto him." Le Grange (2014:19) said it was the same in her family: "We expected revenge. But nothing happened on that day." What must have amazed Afrikaners was the fact that Mandela made a special effort to reach out to Afrikaners and paid attention to the history of which Afrikaners felt proud (Krog, 2013). Although they did not share the same political views, Carel Boshoff (2013), leader of the Afrikaans cultural movement, Orania, said: "Mandela's legacy will ensure him a place in South African history".

It wasn't just a rabbit that Mandela pulled out of a hat when he quoted Ingrid Jonker's poem[1] in Parliament (Joubert, 2003). He had cherished his love and respect for Afrikaans for a long time. How then did it come about that Mandela, who was hated so much by Afrikaners, developed such a love for their language? Why did he

go the extra mile to learn Afrikaans? Why did he allow Afrikaans to continue to be a language of teaching – given the negativity around Afrikaans that prompted the Soweto Uprising in 1976 – and why was he so much in favour of the development of all our indigenous languages? And how did all of this contribute to his legacy? These are some of the questions that I will attempt to answer in this chapter.

Terminology

A few terms I use in this chapter need to be explained.

Afrikaners: According to the HAT (Hand Dictionary of the Afrikaans Language, 2005:26), an Afrikaner is a person who is Afrikaans through birth or descent and speaks Afrikaans as mother tongue. Furthermore, Afrikaners are a Southern African ethnic group descended from predominantly Dutch settlers who first arrived at the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They have traditionally dominated South Africa's politics and agriculture. Afrikaners make up approximately 5.2% of the total South African population based on the number of white South Africans who speak Afrikaans – South Africa's third most widely spoken language – as a first language.[2] The word 'Afrikaner' also has specific political and cultural connotations. Afrikaners see themselves as Christian Nationalists. They are very sensitive about their history, which includes the Great Trek, when they left the Cape, a British colony, 175 years ago. Some of the earliest Afrikaner, nationalist leaders, like Dr D.F. Malan and Dr H.F. Verwoerd, are deemed to be the architects of apartheid. Not all white people are Afrikaners and coloured and black speakers of Afrikaans don't identify with this specific group. The word 'Afrikaner' as used in this chapter is much more exclusive than indicated in the HAT or Wikipedia.

Afrikaanse — According to the HAT (2005:26), an "Afrikaanse person is someone who in the widest sense associates with Afrikaans." The term is much more inclusive than the word "Afrikaner" and comes with much less political baggage than is the case with *Afrikaner*.

Afrikaans-speaking person (Afrikaanssprekende) — This is the most commonly accepted term to refer to everybody who speaks Afrikaans, either as a home language or as a second language, and includes white, coloured and black speakers of Afrikaans. It is often used as an alternative for "Afrikaanses".

Madiba — In this chapter I will at times refer to Mr Mandela as Madiba. This is the name of the clan of which Mr Mandela was a member. A clan name is much more important than a surname, as it refers to the ancestor from whom a person is descended. Madiba was the name of a Thembu chief who ruled in the Transkei in the 18th century. It is considered very polite to use someone's clan name.[3]

MANDELA: STUDENT OF AFRIKAANS

Nelson Mandela learned to speak Afrikaans in prison so that he could communicate better with the prison wardens on Robben Island. This was mentioned to Zelda le

Grange (2014:29) by Mary Maxadana, Chief of Staff in Mandela's office. Mandela (1994:556) talks in his autobiography about his and his fellow inmates' commitment to education and their determination to study. He also mentions several subjects that they used to study such as English, arts, geography, mathematics and Afrikaans. He writes:

> In the struggle, Robben Island was known as the 'University'. This is not only because of what we learned from books … or because so many of our men … earned multiple degrees. Robben Island was known as the 'University' because of what we learned from each other. We became our own faculty, with our own professors, our own curriculum, our own courses.

Very few of the inmates in his section had degrees, and a few did not even have high school certificates; some like Govan Mbeki and Neville Alexander were already well educated, but others had not gone past Standard 6. Mandela (1994:489) added that within months virtually all of them were studying for one qualification or another. At night their cellblock seemed more like a study hall than a prison. Two of the finest scholars who were with Mandela in prison on Robben Island were Neville Alexander, whom Mandela referred to as a "prominent coloured intellectual" (1994:457) and who later became a professor at the University of Cape (UCT) until his death in 2012, and Fikile Bam, a law student from UCT, who became Judge-President at the Lands Claim Court from 1995 till his death in 2011. Both men were members of the Non-European Unity Movement who formed a radical offshoot called the Yu Chi Chan Club. Bam, who was in prison with Mandela for ten years, revealed in an interview that: "Nelson was very serious about his Afrikaans … and put a lot of work and effort into learning to speak Afrikaans and to use it". Bam remembered the lecturer in Afrikaans methodology at Free State University's education faculty, BAJ van Rensburg, who said Madiba had been one of her students when she lectured at UNISA: "He always tried his best", she said (Carlin, 1995).

This fact is confirmed by Professor Jakes Gerwel, Director-General in the President's Office while Madiba was head of state, a former Afrikaans professor and Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Western Cape and well known for his love of Afrikaans, who said: "Yes, Madiba was very proud of his Afrikaans. It sometimes amused me, because he spoke Afrikaans better than many other languages" (cited in Joubert, 2013).

Apart from Ingrid Jonker, Madiba also loved the work of C J Langenhoven and Elsa Joubert. While he was president, he invited Joubert and her husband, writer Klaas Steytler, to dinner. Gerwel said Mandela remembered virtually everything he had read and he especially liked Leipoldt's poems about the Anglo-Boer War (Joubert, 2003).

Mandela and 'The Child' by Ingrid Jonker

When Nelson Mandela delivered his inaugural State of the Nation address to Parliament in May 1994, he read out in full *Die Kind* (*The Child*), an Afrikaans poem

by South African poet Ingrid Jonker. Ingrid Jonker (1933–1965) achieved iconic status in South Africa and is often called the South African Sylvia Plath, owing to the intensity of her work and the tragic course of her turbulent life. Joubert (2003) states that it wasn't just a rabbit that Mandela pulled out of a hat when he quoted the poem. He says the majority of Afrikaans-speaking people regard Mandela's reading of the poem as a gesture of reaching out to the Afrikaner community.

In commenting on Jonker's poem, Mandela said that "in this glorious vision, she instructs that our endeavours must be about the liberation of the woman, the emancipation of the man and the liberty of the child." Of Jonker herself Mandela said: "She was both a poet and a South African. She was both an Afrikaner and an African. She was both an artist and a human being. In the midst of despair, she celebrated hope. Confronted by death, she asserted the beauty of life" (State of the Nation Address, 1994).

According to Allan Boesak (2009:85), Jonker was "a beautiful tortured soul and a poet without measure (who) spoke of Sharpeville in the tones of one touched by a wounded and aching God." She wrote in Afrikaans, "but those who spoke the language on the white, Afrikaner side of the fence, their minds clouded by suppressed guilt and their hearts constricted by fear, did not hear nor understand her" (Boesak, 2013:85). Willemse (in Naudé, 2008:22) agrees:

> The poem – 'Die kind' (The Child) – did not start off as a poem of reconciliation. It was a very simple and honest poem by a sensitive woman who, in her time of life, observed the impact of a political system on the life of a child. Some Afrikaans critics and Afrikaans readers did not take her or her poem seriously. As a matter of fact they despised her and her poem.

But when Nelson Mandela read that poem at the opening of the first democratic parliament in 1994, her words, so long ignored, almost forgotten, were reborn, reached out and embraced all of us, her uncaptured audience – black and white. Boesak (2009:85) describes his feelings as follows:

> For the first time in the South African parliament, Afrikaans was heard as the language of all people. And on that day Ingrid Jonker walked back out of that sea into our hearts, never to be forgotten again.

The poem first appeared in 1963 in Afrikaans, but since then it has been translated into many languages – and after Mandela's citing of it, even more so. Here is the English version:

> The child is not dead not at Langa nor at Nyanga not at Orlando nor at Sharpeville
> nor at the police station in Philippi
> where he lies with a bullet through his brain.
> The child is the shadow of the soldiers on guard with rifles Saracens and batons
> the child is present at all gatherings and law-giving

the child peers through the windows of houses and into the hearts of mothers
this child who just wanted to play in the sun at Nyanga is everywhere
the child grown into a man treks all over Africa
the child grown to a giant travels through the whole world
Without a pass (From: Joyce, 1989)

In the photograph above (by Sam Nzima) the body of the 13-year-old, Hector Peterson, who was the first person to be killed by the police in the Soweto Uprising, is being carried away by a friend, Mbuyisa Makhubo. His sister, Antoinette Sithole, runs beside them. Soweto (*South Western Township* of Johannesburg) was the place where the 1976 uprising started when thousands of youths decided to stand up against legislation that forced black schools to teach all black learners in Afrikaans (Le Cordeur, 2016:223).

This picture has since became the symbol worldwide of the 1976 uprising and what black people in South Africa experienced under apartheid (Le Grange, 2014:37) and to this day it is still regarded as Afrikaans's worst nightmare. This tragic incident took place more than a decade after Jonker's premature death. Although her death and the poem written in the 1960s have no relation whatsoever to what happened in 1976, the poem was written in the aftermath of the Sharpeville shootings as an expression of her anti-apartheid stance. Some even suggest that Jonker's poem was a prophetic premonition of what could happen in the future.

In 1994 Afrikaans-speaking people countrywide, who could perhaps have been worried about possible marginalisation in the new political dispensation, were flattered and astounded by the outreach of Madiba when he read Jonker's poem. Many felt – as did Joubert (2003) – that it ensured the poem would live on in the national memory. Krog (in Naude, 2008:20) argues that Madiba deliberately chose a text which affirmed this cult Afrikaner poet's anti-apartheid stance.

According to Prof. Hein Willemse (Naude, 2008:22), the poem became the symbol of reaching out and reconciliation when Nelson Mandela quoted the poem in his inaugural speech; typical of Mandela – he saw the poem as a symbol for reaching out to the Afrikaner community. In quoting this poem he wanted to salute Afrikaans and Afrikaners to show that Afrikaner culture does have a place in a democratic South Africa. It was his way of demonstrating that South Africa could become a home for all.

Prof. Hermann Giliomee agrees (Naude, 2008:23):

> The reconciliation and worth of Ingrid Jonker's poem lies in the fact that it was written in Afrikaans. Afrikaners have been helped tremendously to develop a sense of worth amongst Afrikaner children and to free them from a feeling of inferiority towards the English. Jonker's poem is a celebration in Afrikaans of the black child's call to freedom and equality.

Madiba Talked to me in Afrikaans – My Home Language

In her book *Good Morning Mr Mandela* Zelda le Grange (2014:28) speaks about how shocked she was when she met Madiba for the first time in his office. She greeted him in English: "Good Morning Mr Mandela". What happened after that was too much for her to handle. This is how she describes the moment:

> After I settled my thoughts – or was it my stomach, I'm not sure which, I realised that Madiba was talking to me in Afrikaans, my home language. I was not sure whether I should reply in English or Afrikaans, and can't remember which one I chose…

She adds that she was overwhelmed by her emotions, that she felt a deep sense of guilt because Mr Mandela spoke to her in her language while her people had put him in jail for so long. She could not wait to tell her parents that Madiba talked to

her in Afrikaans. However, they did not take much notice and could not care less (Le Grange, 2014:29).

As Mr Mandela's working relationship with Zelda grew, so his relationship with Afrikaans also intensified. When Dr Johan Heyns, a prominent Afrikaner leader in the Dutch Reformed Church was murdered, the president called all his generals to his office. When Gen. Constand Viljoen, the Afrikaans-speaking leader of the Defence Force, arrived, he was introduced to Zelda by the president in Afrikaans. Madiba also mentioned that Zelda was "'n regte Boeremeisie" (true Afrikaner girl) (Le Grange, 2014:34). The word 'Boeremeisie' is a loaded term as it points to her Afrikaner heritage. The president often introduced her in Afrikaans to various ministers (cf. 2014:43). Le Grange (2014:51) adds that she soon realised that she could speak Afrikaans with the president when she was not sure what was expected of her. Madiba would then very calmly explain the protocol to her in Afrikaans.

Mandela: Sensitive to Diversity and Unity

Nelson Mandela was always very sensitive to diversity and demographics, a characteristic that was evident from his first day in prison on Robben Island (cf. Mandela, 1994:526). When he was elected as South Africa's first-ever democratic president, Mr Mandela right from the beginning chose his staff members so that they would be representative of South Africa's demographics. According to Le Grange (2014:24), Madiba invited black and white people for interviews, including white Afrikaans-speaking people. She states that Madiba wanted to ensure that a young, white Afrikaner woman, like Zelda, who represented her community, stayed close to him. He made sure that people from the conservative Afrikaner community were included in the new Government of National Unity.

Furthermore, Mandela was prepared to make use of the skills and knowledge of white professionals who were not members of the ANC. Examples are the inclusion of competent economists and bankers such as Derek Keys and Chris Liebenberg in his cabinet, as well as using officials from the previous government (Pretorius, 2012:551). According to Le Grange (2014:59), Mandela wanted to make a success of his Government of National Unity, which is why he set an example to show to the world that he was willing to practise what he preached.

Mandela Read Afrikaans Newspapers

Mr Mandela read all five daily newspapers published in and around Johannesburg, and especially liked to read Afrikaans newspapers (Joubert, 2003). According to Madiba, the Afrikaans papers reported more accurately than the English papers (Le Grange, 2014:63). One day he called Zelda to his home. Madiba had just had an eye operation and was not yet ready to read the papers by himself and asked Zelda to read the Johannesburg Afrikaans paper *Beeld* to him (Le Grange, 2014:35). At

times he asked her to stop, to explain something and to put things in context, before she continued. She had to read quite a few articles to him, including the lead stories and the editorial commentary. The Afrikaans journalist Jan-Jan Joubert (2003) stated that when the BBC broadcast a programme in that year about a day in the life of Mandela, a friend living in Oxford commented that Madiba "was reading *Beeld* throughout the programme". Joubert also referred to Jakes Gerwel, who himself remembered Madiba sometimes phoning him early on a Sunday morning to discuss "what Z B du Toit had written in *Rapport* that day".

Mandela and that Springbok Rugby Jersey

Le Grange (2014:52) points to the fact that most Afrikaners still practise and support rugby as if it were a part of their religion. Krog (2013) states that we know today that after his inauguration Mandela skilfully used the deep attachment of Afrikaners to their history, language and favourite sport, rugby, to lobby their support for his term as president, something that is confirmed by Pretorius (2012:550).

So, although there was a general feeling of optimism in the country at the time of the first democratic elections, for the majority of South Africans life did not change much after Mandela's inauguration in 1994 (Le Grange, 2014:52). But one very special opportunity arose in 1995 which would become a watershed moment for Mandela's career as president; it happened when South Africa was hosting the Rugby World Cup. Rugby is still been seen by most South Africans, and elsewhere, as a white sport, albeit that the coloured population in the Western Cape and black South Africans in the Eastern Cape have played the game for more than a century (Le Cordeur & Carstens, 2016:339). But coloured and black players were not allowed to play for the Springboks; in fact, they could not even sit with white people on the stands. So, in 1995, when the Springboks beat their arch rivals, the All Blacks, in the final with only a drop goal by Joel Stransky deciding the match outcome in extra time, the pandemonium that erupted in the Ellis Park Stadium was almost beyond belief. But not even that would match the applause that went up when Madiba entered the stadium wearing the Number 6 jersey of Springbok captain, Francois Pienaar. That gesture by Madiba would ensure him a place in the hearts of the entire rugby nation until his death. Here is how Le Grange (2014:53) experienced that magic moment:

South Africans embraced and hugged one another; strangers kissed each other and many burst out in tears. At that moment our separated past did not matter anymore. Suddenly we were colour blind and for the first time South Africans celebrated something together as one nation.

For many sportsmen and -women, Madiba became their hero and icon.

Mandela Reached Out in Afrikaans

Soon it became evident that Mandela's eagerness to learn Afrikaans had a deeper, secondary goal. Not only did he want to meet people, but he also wanted to address

them in their own language. This is why Madiba will always be remembered for one of his most famous comments (Le Grange, 2014:29):

> If you talk to a man in a language he understands, you talk to his mind. But if you talk to him in his own language, you talk to his heart.

In the field of education, Mandela's love for all South African languages in general and Afrikaans in particular was evident. Pretorius (2012:550) states that the effort that Mandela took to reach out to white South Africans was very much appreciated by them. In his interview with Carlin (1995), Fikile Bam made it clear that Mandela had absolutely no qualms about greeting people in Afrikaans, and about trying his Afrikaans out on the warders. Bam also said that Madiba did not have any inhibitions at all about speaking Afrikaans (Carlin, 1995). Joubert (2003) writes that Mandela spoke an Afrikaans that was perfect almost to a fault, maybe more so than many Afrikaans-speaking people themselves. As head of state, he spoke Afrikaans in the same way that he used the language while studying and he used every opportunity that he could to speak it (Joubert, 2003).

In 1995 Madiba was invited to Swellendam, a small largely Afrikaans town in the Western Cape, where he would receive the freedom of the town. Most of the town's inhabitants are Afrikaners, but a significant number of the citizens who live there are coloured and Afrikaans speaking. Madiba wanted to make an impression and asked Zelda to help him with the pronunciation of his speech. The people of Swellendam accepted him with open arms, but he insisted on walking among the people first. When a small girl came up on to the stage to greet him, he caught everybody off guard by talking to her in Afrikaans. She responded in Afrikaans. Mandela then delivered his whole speech in Afrikaans. This was just one of the many examples where Madiba reached out to the community through his ability to speak Afrikaans. In that way he won the hearts of many Afrikaners (Le Grange, 2014:47–48).

Mandela also made a special effort to reach out to the coloured Afrikaans-speaking population. It is significant that Mandela named his official home *Genadendal* (Valley of Mercy), after a very small town in the countryside of the Western Cape hosting a small coloured 'Afrikaanse' community. Le Grange (2014:47) said Mandela chose the name for the presidential home to show his respect for the people of this community.

Mandela's love for Afrikaans included its regional dialects because, as Joubert (2003) points out, he did not see the Afrikaans language as monolithic. It is well known that the coloured people, especially those in the Western Cape, speak Afrikaans with a very distinct accent, known in the literature as *Kaaps.* The famous poet and playwright, Adam Small, was the first to use *Kaaps* in the public domain, because he wrote most of his work in this dialect. Some people tried to minimize the importance of *Kaaps*, but Small was adamant about the value of *Kaaps:*

> Kaaps is a language in the sense that it bears the full fate and destiny of the people who speak it; a language in the sense that the people who speak it

> scream the first screams in their lives in this language, settle all the transactions of their lives in this language, and give their final death rattle in this language. Kaaps is not a joke or an oddity. (From: *Kitaar my kruis* [Preface], 1962)

Mandela Earned the Respect of Afrikaners

Three consecutive polls in the 1980s showed that four fifths of Afrikaners believed that under black majority rule there would be serious reverse "discrimination" (Pretorius, 2012:550). According to Krog (2013), "Afrikaners were scared of what Mandela would do to us (but) how wrong we were". She mentions several examples of how Mandela made a special attempt to earn the respect of the Afrikaner. He condemned apartheid as a crime against humanity, but acknowledged Afrikaner nationalism as a legitimate indigenous movement against colonialism. He would mention the famous Boer General Christiaan de Wet in the same breath as Afrikaner communist Bram Fischer. He paid attention to the history of which Afrikaners felt proud and offered alternatives for that part of which they felt ashamed.

Le Grange (2014:31) adds that Madiba insisted that the pictures of the former presidents and prime ministers must be maintained in Tuynhuis, the Cape Town presidential office, despite the fact that they sent him to jail – because he felt they were part of South African history. Krog (2013) argues that Afrikaners found themselves captivated in a state of "charismatic bewilderment". She felt that the consistency of Mandela's gestures towards Afrikaners indicated more than mere political manoeuvring, as Madiba was bringing a sense of the collective which opened up new possibilities for Afrikaners who felt under threat. Archbishop Desmond Tutu (2013:3) agrees: "Mandela had reached out to the Afrikaans community such as visiting widows of apartheid presidents to ensure Afrikaners felt part of the new nation," he said. Tutu, like Bigalke (2014:11), also reminds us that Mandela intervened to retain an Afrikaans verse of the former apartheid national anthem in its multi-lingual successor adopted after 1994 as yet another gesture towards Afrikaners.

Mandela: Debating Afrikaans at Stellenbosch

Following the dismantling of apartheid, it was imperative to transform the higher education system in South Africa to overcome the legacies of apartheid; issues of language, access, equity and quality were serious challenges in South African higher education. The vision of a transformed higher education landscape was captured in the *Education White Paper 3* and a series of policies that were developed to address this need (DoE, 1997:7). The White Paper also stipulates the requirements for the transformation of higher education in South Africa, which include the need to "increase [the numbers of] blacks, women and disabled students" and to develop "new curricula and flexible models of learning and teaching" (DoE, 1997:10).

In this context two key questions emerged after Madiba visited Stellenbosch University just after the first democratic elections in 1994: Will the curriculum be transformed to play its role to create an institution where a welcoming culture prevails in accordance with the values of the Constitution? Will the *language* through which the curriculum is transmitted be suited to enabling a transformed curriculum to play its role effectively? The language issue was branded in the Afrikaans media as 'Die Taaldebat' (language debate) at Stellenbosch University (SU) and centred on the continued use of Afrikaans as language of instruction at the former Afrikaans universities. Some Afrikaner leaders are convinced that SU can still continue as an exclusively Afrikaans institution even after the dawn of the democracy dispensation (Giliomee, 2012). Theuns Eloff (2014), former Vice-Chancellor of North-West University (NWU), points to Section 29 (2) of the new Constitution, which gives all South Africans the right to education in the language of their choice, where this is reasonable and fair. According to him, Afrikaans still deserves a permanent place in higher education. But the minister of Higher Education, Blade Nzimande (2014), believes that Afrikaans is being misused to keep certain universities white. Adam Habib (2014), Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), pleads that the Constitution be used as a mechanism to address the imbalances of the past. He also is of the opinion that we must create a new national identity amongst all South Africans. Jonathan Jansen (2014), Vice-Chancellor of the Free State University, is much more direct, saying that SU is not Afrikaner property but a public institution. He writes:

> Some of the historically white Afrikaans universities have a perfect alibi for not transforming – Afrikaans. When the Potchefstroom campus of North-West University or the University of Stellenbosch is pushed to enrol more black students, they take refuge in language rights protected by the constitution.

The language debate at Stellenbosch needed firm and influential guidance, as it could have had very serious consequences for our young democracy. It is interesting to note what Nelson Mandela said about the language debate, while visiting the campus of SU in 1994:

> Stellenbosch University must in future reflect the demographics of the whole of South Africa and to achieve this, the university will have to adapt its policy about Afrikaans as the medium of teaching. Furthermore, SU will have to make available all of its resources in a creative but purposeful way to the less privileged communities. (*Eikestadnuus*, 1994:2)

Mandela elaborated on this by saying the most important challenge facing SU is to move away from a system that benefits and empowers only the Afrikaner minority. SU must use its rich resources to the advantage of the whole of South Africa, Mandela said. According to Mandela, this does not mean that Afrikaans no longer has a role as a medium of instruction. However, he pleaded for the University to revisit its language policy in order to create greater accessibility to SU. These wise

words of Mandela would find their way into the Report of the Ministerial Committee investigating the issue of access to our universities. The chair of that committee, then Deputy Vice-Chancellor at UCT, Crain Soudien, summed this up:

> South African universities (that) use language as a gate-keeping mechanism … should embrace the conception of universities as open spaces for intellectual and cultural exchanges, encouraging and supporting cultural, linguistic and ethnic diversity, which have a vital role to play in Africa and the knowledge society. (Soudien et al., 2008:321)

Eventually Mandela's earlier request in 1994 and Soudien's recommendation in 2008 formed the basis of a new act promulgated by Minister Blade Nzimande (Essop, 2014:2; Nzimande, 2014) instructing universities to promote integration and to make sure that neither language nor any other practices would exclude certain groups from tertiary institutions.

Afrikaans: A Political Strategy to Understand Afrikaners

In his interview with Carlin (1995) Bam stressed that Mandela was not just serious about Afrikaans the language; he was very serious about learning to understand the Afrikaner, their minds, their psyche and their views. According to Bam, Mandela had the idea – and he actually preached this – that the Afrikaner was an African who belonged to the soil, and that whatever solution there was going to be to the political issues was going to involve Afrikaans people. Bam added that Mandela always advocated the view that the Afrikaner was part and parcel of the land; apart from the fact that they were once the rulers of the land, they had a history in the country, which he wanted to understand (Carlin, 1995).

Furthermore, Bam told Carlin (1995) that although Mandela and his *struggle friends* had been sentenced to life imprisonment, he made it clear in all his conversations with his inmates that it was unlikely that they would finish all their time in prison. Mandela urged all his comrades to believe they would survive the prison, to believe that the struggle would be successful in the end. Bam continued:

> He never stopped motivating us that we would be out of prison one day. Nelson actually lived that belief more than anyone else. But it applied to all of us. We never thought we were going to serve the whole sentence … we believed, and had to believe, that something would happen, that the people would be released before they died in prison. (Carlin, 1995)

Mandela's striving to learn Afrikaans also counted in his favour in a memorable scene which played itself out in a final confrontation between Mandela and three Afrikaner Defence Force Generals (Krog, 2013). The generals described their impressive, well-equipped army, indicating readiness to fight a war indefinitely. Mandela conceded their strength, but after sketching their victory as of little worth to either side, he suggested negotiations to become part of something larger.

This counter-intuitive alternative changed the course of South Africa's history. The generals could not think about negotiations, because they had been 'socialised to defend white privilege', Krog said. This prevented them from imagining a common interest with 'outsiders'. In contrast, Mandela's innate sense of the collective enabled him to formulate a vision of mutual dependence which included Afrikaners (Krog, 2013).

Anxious Afrikaners Await a Post-Mandela World

Krog (2013) points out that Mandela's collective sense of inclusiveness also worked on another, more disruptive level. Mandela insisted that one was embedded in one's community and that one was not an exception (Krog, 2013). He added: "If I am remarkable, so is the black community, so is South Africa." Despite Mandela's efforts, many Afrikaners baulked at suggestions of being connected to all black people – preferring to treat the man who changed South Africa's status from polecat to crown prince as a unique individual and an exception (Naude, 2008:20).

But not everybody was happy with Mandela's collective approach. Some – especially the youth – said that perhaps Mandela was giving too much attention to the speakers of Afrikaans. In an interview with Jan-Jan Joubert (2003) Gerwel gave the following explanation: "Madiba firmly believes in political stability. He believed one should respect a person's language. If one takes Afrikaans and Afrikaner politics seriously, one should also consider the language in a serious light".

Zimbabwean president, Robert Mugabe, said when interviewed in June 2013 by Dali Tambo, son of ANC stalwart and lifelong friend of Mandela, Oliver Tambo: "Nelson Mandela is too much of a Saint. He was too good to white people, to the detriment of black people in his country" (Le Grange, 2014:99).

Apart from Mugabe's view, there is a growing feeling amongst disenfranchised and unemployed black youths that Mandela focused too much on reaching out to whites in order to unite the country. This group hold the opinion that South Africa was united only during big sporting events such as the Rugby World Cup in 1995 and the Soccer World Cup in 2010, but for them these were only superficial cosmetic moments that did not make a real difference (Le Grange, 2014:107; Youngster, 2012; Mda, 2013).

As for the Afrikaners, many were grateful for Mandela's attempted reconciliation of the races and the majority of Afrikaners interviewed by *The Observer* on the day of Madiba's death expressed sorrow at his loss and admiration for his ability to bridge the nation's racial divide (Smith, 2013). When he heard about Madiba's death, former president FW de Klerk (2013) said the Afrikaans community had warm feelings towards Madiba and would pay tribute to his legacy.

However, several people also spoke of a deep-rooted fear that Mandela's death could dismantle the social pact of 1994 and lead to persecution, or worse, of the white minority (Smith, 2013). These fears are significant in the light of the Afrikaner community's exclusion from Madiba's funeral. In contrast to the poem Mandela read

at his inauguration, only a few sentences were uttered in Afrikaans at his funeral, to Tutu's (2013) utter disbelief.

Krog (2013) states this concern about their future after Mandela's death was the main reason why Afrikaners feared his death. Smith (2013) is of the opinion that some of the white minority still express fears of a 'night of the long knives'. Mandela was for them the only worthwhile product ever produced by Africa. Afrikaners are scared and anxious and many still await a post-Mandela world in which they can feel safe. In the words of Antjie Krog (2013:7), "through him they could belong. His death severs their tenuous link to the continent after which they so passionately named themselves and their language, but which they, deep down, despise".

CONCLUSION

The chapter has not addressed the larger issues of education; it has focused more narrowly on Afrikaans and its role as a language of instruction and a marker of culture and political positioning. The chapter has also described former president Nelson Mandela's love for the Afrikaans language and how he saw in it the opportunity to involve the Afrikaner in post-apartheid South Africa. From the time of the Soweto Uprising in June 1976 Afrikaans was stigmatised as the *language of the oppressor*, because it bore the political baggage of being the language of the Afrikaner that was used to oppress the black and coloured people of South Africa. Afrikaners therefore expected the worst after the dismantling of apartheid.

However, not only did Mandela 'liberate' all formerly marginalised languages, but he also attempted to free Afrikaans from its apartheid past. All the indigenous languages along with English were granted official status in our new Constitution. From an Afrikaner point of view it was a bonus that Afrikaans was maintained as a language of teaching. This meant a lot for mother-tongue education and many Afrikaans schools became oases of quality teaching, which produced good results. Many black and coloured learners who studied at these schools excelled and were given opportunities for further study, access to jobs and higher education and consequently a foothold in the South African economy. Through Afrikaans, Mandela extended the hand of friendship to Afrikaners, something they never expected. Hence Afrikaans became part of a strategy that would allow Mandela access to the knowledge as well as skills and economic power of the Afrikaner. By re-positioning Afrikaans as the *language of reconciliation*, Madiba succeeded in putting our young democracy on an economic path that would benefit the whole nation.

On the negative side, there will be those who argue that Madiba paid too much attention to white people and their language with no positive outcome for black education or wellbeing. However, Mandela left behind an enormous legacy in education – something to which he devoted his whole life. The Mandela Children's Fund and the Nelson Mandela Foundation have made a difference to the lives of thousands of children and will continue to support thousands of children to go to school or to further their studies.

A few people would not have been too troubled if he had sought revenge when he was in a position to do so. But he did not. Instead, he preached reconciliation and forgiveness. He pardoned his enemies, knowing all too well that they too were victims of their circumstances. I therefore thought it would be appropriate to conclude this chapter with a phrase from the poem, *Exodus* by the Hertzog Prize winner, Adam Small:

> Nou het 'n Moses vir julle opgestaan (Now, your Moses stood up for you)
> Wat al julle verleiers in die grond in slaan, (He will conquer all who mislead you).
> Hy wys vir julle die weg na Kanaän aan (He shows you the way to the Promised Land).

NOTES

[1] Ingrid Jonker was a famous Afrikaans poet who became well known for the poem *Die Kind (The Child),* written as a reflection on the struggle for freedom by black South Africans. At first she was hated by her fellow Afrikaners, but after Madiba read this poem during his inauguration address in Parliament, many Afrikaners were relieved, because they saw it as his way of reaching out to them.

[2] National Census of 2011.

[3] http://www.nelsonmandela.org/content/page/names

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6. INFORMAL EDUCATION AS THE FOUNDATION FOR GROOMING FUTURE LEADERS

Lessons from Nelson Mandela's Humble Beginnings

INTRODUCTION

Nelson Mandela is undoubtedly one of the world's most popular icons of the twenty-first century. His character and astute leadership qualities leave other political leaders across the globe envious. Some commentators even argue that "it is too easy to simply call him an icon" (*Umlando*, 2013:34) thus implying that Mandela deserves more than just being portrayed as an icon. The accolades that Mandela received worldwide during his lifetime attest to his unique character. While in prison, South Africans could not dare mention his name without risking their lives by inviting the wrath of the apartheid operatives. In fact, "for much of his adult life he could not be quoted at all" (Hatang & Venter, 2011:ix). However, outside South Africa Mandela's name reverberated as endless calls were made for him to be set free from prison. Defying the ruthless apartheid laws, South Africans joined the fray and incessantly demanded Mandela's unconditional release from prison by the heavy-handed Nationalist Party (NP) government.

Eventually, both local and international pressure took its toll on the apartheid architects. Consequently, the NP government under then President FW de Klerk was forced to release Mandela and other political prisoners unconditionally in February 1990. This decision marked a new epoch and a significant signpost in South Africa's beleaguered political history – an incident which was characterised by a state of euphoria and optimism among the oppressed masses. This hope was fulfilled on 10 May 1994 when Mandela was sworn in as the first black democratically elected President under the new political dispensation following the landslide victory of the African National Congress (ANC) in the elections held on 27 April 1994. The next five years would bring to the fore the leadership adroitness and problem resolution skills which Mandela had acquired when he grew up in Mvezo, Qunu and Mqhekezweni in the Eastern Cape before he left for Johannesburg where his political career took effect. Therefore, the issue of 'spaces' as discussed later in this chapter is critical in the present chapter.

Not surprisingly, more ink has since been spilt by different authors, journalists and other commentators across the racial, ethnic, religious, cultural and geographical divide in an attempt to chronicle the history of Nelson Mandela. There is even general

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 63–79.

consensus that Mandela is the most quoted politician even though he spent close to three decades under incarceration. These writings range from children's books which present Mandela's life in a succinct and easily accessible manner (Tames, 1991) to detailed and very serious biographical accounts of the man in official biographies (Meer, 1988). Those who could not read or write (an incident occasioned by social inequalities and racial discrimination) were not to be left out in this scramble for Mandela's life history. Newspaper articles as well as radio and television news archives are replete with quotations, praises and poems from different commentators who had something to say about Mandela at one point or another even though they could not put their words down.

Importantly, Mandela himself chronicled his own history in various ways. This includes books, as well as oral and written statements captured in his speeches. One of Mandela's prominent works is his autobiography *Long walk to freedom* (1994). Other books include: *The struggle is my life* (1990); *How far we slaves have come!* (1991 – with Fidel Castro); *Nelson Mandela Speeches, 1990* (1990); *Nelson Mandela by himself: The authorised book of quotations* (2011); *In his own words: From freedom to the future* (2004).

But while all these sources elegantly record Mandela's humble beginnings, it is through a cogent analysis of his speeches and leadership style that we are better able to link him to his past. By so doing, we can appreciate the educative role played by the informal and traditional education system in preparing Mandela for the harsh life under apartheid and, later, for the leadership roles he played after his release from prison as leader of the African National Congress and as president of a democratic South Africa. If informal education can be credited for what Mandela came to be later in life, it goes without saying that this form of education needs to be given space in Mandela's life, by extension it should be used to push for a new theory of education which is not grounded in Western education like many others.

Against this backdrop, the present chapter argues that Mandela did not become an erudite leader, a shrewd politician and a world icon as a result of his Clarkebury or Fort Beaufort education, his university education which he obtained at the University of Fort Hare in Alice (Edikeni), his sojourn at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits), his law degrees from the University of South Africa (UNISA) or his legal practice with Oliver Tambo in Johannesburg. On the contrary, the argument here is that Mandela's informal education as well as the African cultural practices he was exposed to in his hometown [Transkei] should be particularly credited for the political achievements he made and for the leadership style he demonstrated once he grew up and got involved in politics and leadership.

Through this chapter, readers are implored to revisit African cultural practices which moulded the youth to become better citizens and to be able to resolve societal problems in an amicable manner. This calls for the revisiting of conceptions held about Western education which is usually credited for almost unilaterally shaping society in terms of economic development, cultural advancement, problem resolution skills, and many such attributes. On the contrary, the chapter argues that while Western

education has a role to play in society, it should not be given precedence over African informal education which provides the foundation on which children build their lives as they grow up, more especially those who grow up in the rural setting. Mandela is used here as an example to demonstrate the credence and sustainability of this theoretical assertion.

Another point which is worth noting from the outset is that the notion of 'place' is paramount in one's development. Some scholars have made a case for 'places' in the learning sphere. Among these scholars are Bekerman et al. (2006). In their influential book titled *Learning in place*s, these authors cover wide ground in their bid to appeal to a wider readership across academic disciplines. Given that this chapter values Mandela's place of birth in understanding his leadership style, a book like this one is relevant to and enriches this chapter.

Structurally, the chapter begins by discussing the conceptual understanding of education from a general perspective as well as its purpose. This is followed by an explication of different types of education. This section is necessitated by the fact that we cannot understand informal education on its own. It is for this reason that informal education is contrasted with other forms of education such as formal and non-formal education. The chapter then specifically looks at informal education and African cultural practices as the foundations which made Mandela the kind of individual and leader he turned out to be. After locating Mandela in the broader discussion on the different types of education systems, the chapter uses this case study (Mandela) to move towards a new theory of education which leans more towards African education and African practices as opposed to Western education (which also has both formal and informal forms). This is then followed by concluding remarks which reiterate the chapter's focal point and emphasize the broader context within which it should be understood.

CONCEPTUALISATION OF EDUCATION AND ITS PURPOSE FORMATTING

Several decades ago, there was a view proffered by certain scholars, stating that the pursuit of learning in its general sense is "a basic human process occurring throughout life and exhibiting itself in countless ways" (Houle & Nelson, 1956:45). This view, which has since been embraced by other authors in recent times (Brown, Roediger, & McDaniel, 2014), encapsulates the essence of learning and saliently finds a place for informal education in the broader discussion on education as a phenomenon. It does this by acknowledging that education is not an event but a process which takes place for as long as people live; they learn new things all the time. But even before focussing on informal education in our discussion it is prudent to first try to understand education from a general perspective and then zoom into the different types of education which includes informal education.

At a glance, the concept 'education' might seem simple and straightforward calling for no further explication and interrogation. However, looking at this concept more closely leads to the conclusion that it is an abstract concept which necessitates

contextual definitions. This is important because the term is understood differently by different people and in different contexts – some of which are informed by the type of education being envisioned. One of the definitions of education is that it is "the initiation of a learner by a teacher into the conversation which takes place between the generations of mankind" (Turner, 1996:2). Implicit in this definition are two assumptions. The first one is that education is a conscious and deliberate exercise by the teacher to teach the learner in a structured manner and in a controlled environment, and that the learner is constantly aware of the learning process involved. The second embedded assumption is that such education has to be formal in order to be assessed so that learners can be declared to have either succeeded or failed to obtain that education.

The truth of the matter is that not all education takes this form. Instead, "education takes different forms in many places… it is a basic mistake to talk about the contribution of education to national development without specifying what kind of education, for whom, at what stage of development, and where" (Kerr, 1972:18). Kerr goes on to mention different types of education to substantiate his submission. Included in the list are: (i) elite-oriented education which is meant for a selected few; (ii) production-oriented education whose primary purpose is to produce individuals who will boost production of whatever the country needs; (iii) universal access education which is sometimes referred to as 'education for all'; (iv) horizontal education whereby there is no hierarchy; and (v) atomic education whereby people get education as a by-product of something or some other activity; in other words, this refers to education which needs no planning but which happens nonetheless.

From the discussion above, it is clear that informal education fits neatly into the last type in the sense that both the teacher and the learner are not immediately aware that there is teaching and learning taking place and yet this is what happens in reality. They also do not sit down and spell out which goals should be achieved by the time the teaching and learning processes have been completed. This is what makes this type of education informal.

The view that when Europeans arrived in Africa they found Africans already having their education systems (Odwako, 1975) cannot be disputed. Other scholars have corroborated this point (Bray, Clarke, & Stephens, 1986). Even the argument that erroneously undermines African indigenous customs, cultures and traditional practices as having caused the continent's under-development has long been successfully debunked (Njoh, 2006). It is now generally accepted that Africans had their forms of education through which they prepared their youth to fit into society when they grew up. Bray et al. (1986:101) observe that: "There is no one, single indigenous form of education in Africa. Societies, differing from each other as they do, have developed different systems of education to transmit their own particular knowledge and skills." But this comment refers to the forms of education that were deliberate and consciously structured to prepare children for life in the future. Other forms of education, as stated earlier, were not structured; children learnt through

observation and, later, through active participation and imitation of elder members of their respective communities with whom they lived.

One of the key questions we need to address at this juncture is why education (however it is defined) is generally deemed important in the first place. In other words, why is it necessary for children to be educated at all? Certainly, there is no single answer to this question. This is so because the end-goal of education is not always the same. At a general level, two very different justifications may be offered – one concerning the intrinsic value of education; the other concerning its extrinsic value (i.e. as a means to other valued ends). Fafunwa (1971:3) once opined that "the goal of education and its approach and methods have differed from place to place, from nation to nation and from people to people". The Romans, Greeks, French, Germans, and many other nations conceptualised education differently since their needs were different. Africans are no exception in this regard. When East Africans were planning how to reconfigure their higher education system in the 1950s, for example, the Working Party which they set up to assist in this reconfiguration process had the following to say about education:

> Education is the key to progress in agriculture and industry, in public health and curative medicine, and in the sciences and the arts: and no less in government and political life, for without it democratic institutions become unworkable or pernicious. (*Report of the Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa*, July–August 1955, par.162)

However, while this view is both logical and sensible, it is equally true that there are broader guiding principles for education systems. For example, it is a generally accepted fact that education "is the greatest instrument man has devised for his own progress" (Morrison, 1976:17). Other commentators address this point by focusing on one form of education and build their arguments around it. For example, one view is that "indigenous education aimed, therefore, at conformity with the rigid mores of the tribe" (Cameron, 1970:14). In this sense, children were educated so that they could be able to fit into society and be able to perform the duties or chores assigned to them by adult members of the community. This indigenous education system started at the very early age when children spent time on their mothers' knees (laps) and backs. During this time, "a child was conditioned to take his predestined place in a fairly small-scale society" (Cameron, 1970:14). Education in its general sense is meant to cater to both immediate and future needs; it is an investment for the future (Ratoon, 1971). As societal needs change, so should the nature and form of education as well as its content.

What is cardinally important to note here is the fact that indigenous education across societies happened both consciously and unconsciously. As children were being told folklore, tales and moral stories, they were indirectly and unconsciously taught about life challenges and lessons to be learnt. When they reached puberty, they were separated according to gender so that boys could be taught how to become men while girls were taught how to become women in society. The latter forms of

education happened through initiation rites which were consciously structured to produce an ideal girl or boy that would fit neatly into society. It is in this context that Sheffield (1972:241) avers that "in Africa, as in other parts of the world, most people have traditionally acquired their skills, knowledge and attitudes from institutions other than formal schools". This is the form of education which moulded Mandela in the outskirts of Mthatha in the Transkei.

When the missionaries arrived in Africa they introduced Africans to different forms of education, i.e. Western education. Gradually, they established indigenous centres of learning (Bown, 2000). Their primary aim was to use this form of education to produce Africans who would assist them in their evangelizing mission. These Africans were to become auxiliary teachers and pastors as well as interpreters (Ade Ajayi, Lameck, Goma, & Johnson, 1996). Noticeably, missionary education was conscious of the fact that schools could not be divorced from the local circumstances. Thus, these schools had to be locally relevant for them to be accepted by local communities (Svein-Erik, 1972; Ade Ajayi, 1988). It was this thinking that forced missionaries to put much emphasis on vocational training. After the missionaries, the colonial state came to use education to train Africans to assist in administrative duties in order to keep the colonial governments functional and institutions viable. This was partly because the colonial masters did not have enough manpower to man their administrative offices.

While this form of education was an imposition from above and did not have the local concern as its priority, fortunately, some of the young Africans later became the first black leaders to take over administration when their countries rid themselves of the shackles of colonialism in the 1960s and 1970s. In that sense, a case could be made that formal education does not always produce the intended results.

The sub-section below discusses different types of education and draws differences among them.

Types of Education

In the previous pages, reference has been made to informal education but no specific definition of the concept was presented. In this section, formal education shall be defined together with other types of education. These are 'formal' and 'non-formal' education. To ensure that the definition of 'informal education' becomes more explicit, the other two types shall be defined first.

Formal education — Formal education refers to the form of education that is conscious and deliberate. It is a process of training and developing people in areas such as knowledge, skills, mind and overall character. This happens in a structured manner which is goal-oriented. Formal education is based on a structured curriculum which guides the kind of teaching and learning that happens at any given time and place. It usually happens in a classroom and is conducted by specifically trained teachers who specialise in certain subjects and thus become authorities in those subject areas.

In its attempt to standardise concepts, the European Commission (2001) drew a distinction between formal learning (and education) from the other two sister concepts. It defined formal learning as learning which is provided by an education or training institution and which is structured in terms of objectives, learning time or learning support. Importantly, it argued that this type of learning leads to certification and that it is intentional from the learner's perspective. This view of formal education and formal learning is corroborated by CEDEFOP (2000) and Colardyn and Bjornavold (2004) who define formal learning as learning that occurs within an organised and structured context and which may lead to formal recognition in the form of a diploma or certificate issued on completion of the set curriculum.

Formal education spans from the lower primary level and goes all the way to the university level (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974). It is in this context that some argue that formal education is the type of education or learning which occurs in an education or training institution. Such an institution is usually structured in terms of learning objectives, learning time as well as learning support to make it work. As mentioned above, the primary aim of this type of education is to lead to certification on completion of the prescribed subjects (Lindner, 2012). In a nutshell, we can safely say that the characteristic features of formal education are that it is systemic, organized, structured and administered according to a clearly stated set of laws and norms which present a very rigid curriculum regarding the set objectives, content, as well as methodology (Dib, 1988). Any form of education which deviates from these features cannot be classified as *formal education* but some other type.

Non-formal education — By contrast, non-formal education (and by extension non-formal learning) is, as the name denotes, not formal in nature. Those who are learning do not necessarily have to attend formal classes. Instead, they learn in an informal way. What is important to note in this regard is that the kind of education that happens is not provided by a formal education or training institution as is the case with formal learning. Moreover, unlike the former type discussed above, non-formal education does not have certification as the intended goal. Thus, non-formal education is the kind of education which takes place outside of the educational system and is not structured in terms of learning objectives, learning time or learning support (European Commission, 2001). Even in cases where learning is embedded in planned activities, such activities "are not explicitly designated as learning" – this is despite the fact that they have a learning element in them (CEDEFOP, 2000; Colardyn & Bjornavold, 2004).

Informal education — This is our focal point. One fact we cannot shy away from is that informal education is as old as the history of humankind. This is so because informal education revolves around and is grounded upon oral conversation and everyday activities which take place in the family setting and within the community at large. Amongst the many ways in which we could conceptualise informal education would be to think about it as "the education of daily living" (http://infed.org/mobi/a-brief-history-of-informal education/). Implicit in this conceptualisation

is the assumption that this kind of education is part and parcel of human life. Like non-formal education, it does not have to be structured.

The history of informal education can be traced back to ancient Greece where elders provided it to the youth. In Greek mythology, Phoenix served as a tutor for Achilles not because he himself had undergone any formal education but by virtue of the fact that he was an elder and therefore more knowledgeable than Achilles. In the general public, family attendants (including slaves who spent more time with the children of their masters) provided informal education to the children they took care of. While it is true that theorists (discussed later in this chapter) played a critical role in popularising and theorising about informal education, the fact of the matter is that our modern understanding of informal education owes much to philosophers like Rousseau and to educators such as Pestalozzi and Hart. These philosophers ensured that informal education entered mainstream discussion (http://infed.org/mobi/a-brief-history-of-informal education/; Henze, 1992; Shostak, 1990).

Just like the other two types of education discussed above (formal and non-formal) informal education has characteristic features which distinguish it from them. At a glance, informal education is different from both formal and non-formal education although it may have some relations with both. Unlike formal education, informal education "does not necessarily include the objectives and subjects usually encompassed by the traditional curricula" (Dib, 1988:6). On the contrary, as mentioned above, it is the type of learning which occurs in everyday life. The setting varies. It could be the work place, within the family or in a community setting. As opposed to formal education, this type of education is not structured and, like non-formal education, does not have certification as the focal point or as its intended goal. Lindner (n.d.) cites Coombs et al. (1973) who see informal education as a true lifelong learning process which draws from daily experiences through interaction with friends, peers, neighbours or other members of the immediate community. It is in this broader context that CEDEFOP (2008) holds the view that informal learning is obtained from daily work, family or even leisure activities that one gets involved in. As stated earlier, this type of education is neither structured nor intentional; it happens by chance. Given the fact that informal learning is largely non-intentional, random and accidental, it is sometimes referred to as 'experiential learning' or 'accidental learning' (CEDEFOP, 2000; Colardyn & Bjornavold, 2004). In essence, informal education is therefore a lifelong process whereby every person acquires and accumulates attitudes, values, knowledge and skills from exposure to the immediate environment where one grows up. It is all the learning that goes on outside of any planned learning setting or environment. As such, children who grow up in a particular environment are most likely to demonstrate certain qualities which are not visible to those who grew up elsewhere. This type of education is usually unorganised and unsystematic (Coombs & Ahmed, 1974) but produces certain types of children who grow up and become ambassadors of the communities they come from.

For the purposes of the present chapter, informal education is understood to mean the type of education which happens outside of the classroom environment,

which is unstructured and which sometimes happens unconsciously, whereby both the teacher and student teach and learn without articulating their teaching and learning objectives. Similarly, they do not always set the goal(s) to be achieved. This approach to informal education is informed by the view that indigenous traditions exist in all societies. They are based on thousands of years of continuous use by local communities long before education was formalised (Berkes, 2008). Writing with specific reference to ecology, Brown (2013) argues that sitting around and listening to stories is educative to the listener who gains knowledge, albeit unconsciously. This is the type of knowledge and experience which moulded Mandela and prepared him for leadership positions later in his life. The section below discusses how this happened.

INFORMAL EDUCATION AND AFRICAN CULTURAL PRACTICES AS THE FOUNDATIONS OF NELSON MANDELA'S LEADERSHIP STYLE

Flowing from the discussion thus far, it is imperative that we locate Mandela in the broader context and demonstrate how informal education shaped him and his leadership style. The key question posed here is: to what extent did informal education succeed in preparing Mandela for the leadership roles he played later in life? Taking a cue from the hypothesis which says that informal education shaped Mandela's leadership style and his overall approach to life, it would be logical to answer this question by saying that informal education contributed to a large extent.

There is a generally held view that if anything is to be done at all in this world; it has to be done by visionaries. This refers to those who see and make the future because they first envisioned it before it even existed. The conception encapsulates Mandela in an elegant manner. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Mandela is justifiably hailed as one of the most visionary leaders the world has ever seen in the 21st century. As a politician and an astute leader, Mandela's power "comes from being a person who put his ideals into action" (*Umlando*, 2013:34). But where did Mandela derive these ideals and the skills to do what he managed to do throughout his life? In other words, who or what moulded and prepared him for life's challenges later in life?

These questions force us to go back and trace Mandela's upbringing and try to piece together his life – taking into consideration those who were part of it in different capacities. No one would repudiate the fact that from a general perspective, mankind is a venture in knowledge and always aspires to accumulate more and better knowledge to ensure future survival. As such, both the story of knowledge and its uses – whether good or bad, is the story of mankind in general. While it would be incorrect to say that Mandela single-handedly rescued South Africa from the shackles of apartheid, it is however irrefutable that he played a crucial role in this regard because he was a visionary in his own right. Informal education prepared him for the leadership roles he played later in life. The sub-section below expounds

the submission that informal education as well as African cultural practices shaped Mandela's political career and leadership style.

Nelson Mandela and Informal Education

There is a lot that links Mandela to informal education. This link can be traced back to his childhood history, from the comments made by those who have tried to chronicle his history in one form or another, as well as through an analysis of Mandela's speeches made over several decades, writings and the manner in which he executed his administration before and after his incarceration. It is important therefore to use all these available avenues if we are to better understand how informal education moulded Mandela and made him the world icon he turned out to be.

Firstly, Rolihlahla Mandela was born at Mvezo on the banks of Mbashe River on 18 July 1918. His parents were iNkosi Mphakanyiswa Henry Gadla Mandela who was also the councillor to the paramount chief of abaThembu. Following the death of his father of tuberculosis in 1927 when he was only nine years old, Mandela was handed over to his father's cousin Jongintaba Dalindyebo for guardianship. Jongintaba was the Regent of the abaThembu clan and therefore better positioned to groom Mandela in accordance with abaThembu custom. This is how Mandela found himself staying at Mqhekezweni where he spent time with his cousin Justice Zwelivumile Mtirara. Mqhekezweni was once the meeting place of abaThembu chiefs and headmen to discuss clan issues (South African History Online. http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/childhood-and-education-1918-1990s). While it is indubitably true that Mandela's political history began at Fort Hare and took shape in Johannesburg where his political (and legal) work was largely concentrated, we cannot discount the fact that it was in the Transkei and at Mqhekezweni in particular where Mandela learnt most of the skills and approaches to life that would help him later in life.

Mandela, together with Justice, were in the compound when the meetings were held to discuss issues deemed important to keep the abaThembu clan together and to try cases brought before the traditional court. As Mandela would later recount, he used to hide (since he was too young to form part of the discussions), listen and watch how issues were dealt with in a balanced, objective and non-partisan manner. He also learnt about the need for a leader to first listen carefully and allows people to articulate their views exhaustively before making any final judgement on the issue that had been brought before the traditional court. This way of handling issues left an indelible mark in Mandela's mind and he would later revert to those strategies when it was his turn to discuss issues of party [the ANC] and national importance, albeit in a different political context.

Mandela and Justice attended school at Clarkebury, which was the Wesleyan mission and education centre at the time. It was here that he got the name Nelson. They proceeded to Healdtown Methodist Boarding School (Fort Beaufort) in 1937 before enrolling at Fort Hare College. Mandela had to leave Fort Hare prematurely

following his involvement in student politics and his subsequent expulsion from the university before completing his course. He would later register at the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) where he also did not finish and then at the University of South Africa (UNISA) where he continued to study after he had been incarcerated. Having been exposed to informal education in the Transkei (especially at Mqhekezweni) and having obtained his academic qualifications through distance learning, some have described Mandela in the following manner: "Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela is a well-educated man. He is a great believer in education and life-long learning" (http://www.nelsonmandelas.com/nelson- mandela-university-education.php).

The lessons Mandela learnt while he was a boy reverberated in his mind as he grew up and faced life's challenges. In 1962 during his trial which would deprive him of his freedom for the next 27 years, Mandela told the court: "Many years ago, when I was a boy brought up by my village in the Transkei, I listened to the elders of the tribe telling stories about the good old days, before the arrival of the white man" (cited in Meer, 1988:12). Later, Mandela confirmed the role played by informal education in his life when he recalled: "The structure and organization of early African societies in this country fascinated me very much and greatly influenced the evolution of my political outlook" (ibid.). This confirms the thesis of this chapter that Mandela became the kind of a person he turned out to be as a result of his informal education which gave him the necessary grounding. The fact that he cited African structural organization and not the Methodist education centres he had attended attests to the assertion that it was informal education that took precedence over formal or Western education in terms of moulding him.

The passing away of Mandela on 5 December 2013 robbed South Africa and the entire world of someone who even in his retirement remained a source of reference for many people even beyond South African borders. However, an analysis of the speeches he made and the actions he took during his lifetime give us a tantalizing glimpse (if not a vivid picture) about the role of informal education in his upbringing. Citing a few cases will give credence to this submission.

The theme of the dialogue organised at Qunu (Nelson Mandela Youth and Heritage Centre) on 18 July 2014 by the Nelson Mandela Museum in collaboration with the Nelson Mandela Foundation and the Department of Arts and Culture on Mandela's first birthday following his passing on was: "Lessons and values that could be derived from the life of the late first president of democratic South Africa Nelson Mandela." The main purpose of the two-phased dialogue (one involving the youth, mainly students from the University of Fort Hare, and another involving political activists, academics and museum practitioners) was to establish what South Africans could learn from Mandela's legacy. Those who were not physically present at Qunu participated in the discussions through social networks such as twitter. Umhlobo we Nene FM had a live broadcast of the proceedings. This became a national and arguably inclusive event. But from a general perspective, what have we learnt from Mandela's life which was shaped by informal education? This question is addressed below.

One of the many legacies Mandela instilled in the minds of fellow South Africans was the idea of the collective. Whenever he addressed parliament or the masses outside of the parliamentary chambers he constantly used "we" instead of "I". He learnt this when he was young and listened to the elders tackling issues of clan importance. Remnants of this influence can be detected from his speeches after his release from prison. Reading some of his unpublished writings gives glimpses to this belief in the collective. The theme of 'unity' characterised Mandela's leadership. Delivering his inaugural speech in Pretoria on 10 May 1994, he stated inter alia that "(t)he time for the healing of the wounds has come. The moment to bridge the chasms that divide us has come" (Mandela, 1994). A few days later, Mandela addressed the masses in Cape Town and refrained from eulogising the ANC, which had registered a landslide victory in the first democratic elections in April of that year. He stated: "Today we celebrate not the victory of a party, but a victory for all the people of South Africa" (Mandela, 1994). By all accounts, this was a unitary tone which was aimed at building the country and letting everyone own the newly achieved victory.

Therefore, Mandela taught his political friends and enemies alike that the unity he learnt about when he was young was the strategy he was going to use to build a new South Africa. In retrospect, we can confidently say that Mandela achieved this goal. Having tea, lunch or dinner with those who kept him in jail and/or their families and relatives proved that Mandela was grounded on the African belief systems which had taught him about life. He was forgiving. He would later embrace white rugby players in 1995 when *Amabhokobhoko* won the Rugby World Cup. Mandela did this with a conscious mind as he once stated: "If you want to make peace with your enemy, you have to work with your enemy. Then he becomes your partner" (Nelson Mandela quotes, http://www.nelsonmandelas- quotes).

These pronouncements were not new. Even while he was still in incarceration on Robben Island, Mandela refused to be divorced from his roots and the teachings that groomed him. At one point he wrote: "A story of one's life should deal frankly with political colleagues, their personalities and their views" (unpublished autobiographical manuscript, written on Robben Island. Cited in Mandela, 2011:43). This was a direct contrast with what most African leaders are known for, that is, self-elevation and self-pride. Drawing from his childhood experience, informal education and cultural practices, Mandela believed in 'the power of many'.

Another one of the many lessons Mandela learnt while he was still young was humility. He was made to believe that leaders are not above their subjects and that they should therefore treat them with dignity and respect. Mandela grew up with this belief which was reflected in many ways through his speeches and actions as he led the South African masses under the new political order. One of these episodes was during his address at a rally which was held in Soweto in December 1990 following his release from prison. During his address, Mandela opined: "Accountability of leaders to the rank and file and the accountability of members to the structures to which they are affiliated is the flip side of the coin of democracy" (address at

the rally at the end of the ANC National Consultative Conference, Soweto, 16 December 1990). Drawing from his youth experience, Mandela had a strong belief that it is always advisable for a leader to lead from behind and put other people in front, more especially when something good has happened and there is a need to celebrate. However, whenever there is danger that is imminent, his view was that the leader should immediately take a vanguard position and defend those he leads. When you do this, he opined, "then people will appreciate your leadership" (http://www.nelsonmandelas-quotes).

When looking at different historical moments in Mandela's eventful history, we find elements of this belief system. Of the many examples, we can mention the 1993 incident when Thembisile Chris Hani was assassinated, following a plot by Clive John Derby Lewis and Wanusz Walus a Polish immigrant, outside his home in Boksburg. The swords were drawn between black and white South Africans and the entire country was sitting on a time-bomb which could explode at any moment if a wrong move was made. Being the leader that he was, Mandela came forward and brought calm to all parties on national television. Not surprisingly, white South Africans were suspicious of his move while some black South Africans questioned the logic behind his action. Mandela risked his own life by taking such a bold stance amidst impending danger. Eventually, he was vindicated. When calm prevailed, Mandela earned the respect of all parties and everyone (including the international community) applauded him for having saved the country from an impending bloodbath.

There were to be many such instances during his term of office as president of the ANC and, later, as president of South Africa. Although some of the episodes have already been cited above, the reality is that they are so many to be captured in full in such a short chapter. In fact, even a voluminous book would struggle to capture all the incidents that characterised Mandela's leadership qualities which are deeply ingrained in his childhood informal education and which he revered right up to his last breath.

TOWARDS A NEW THEORY OF INFORMAL EDUCATION

From a general perspective, theories of education are largely (if not entirely) premised on the Western philosophy of education. Pro-western theorists build their theories around the origin of Western education, why such education came about and what it has achieved for the world over the years. This is a noble exercise which enriches our understanding of how education has evolved over time and the role it has played in the existence of mankind. However, in the African context where indigenous customs, traditions and the entire philosophy of life experienced concerted efforts by colonial authorities to relegate these into oblivion, it is imperative to bring traditional informal education into the mainstream. This is particularly important because, as demonstrated above, one of the products of this form of education shook the entire world. Proceeding along this line would ensure that Africans have an education

system which resonates with their immediate circumstances and also addresses their real day-to-day challenges.

For this reason, it is clear that informal education forms the foundation of formal education. Instead of looking at it as an insignificant player in human development, it should be considered as the centrepiece. What gives credence to this submission is that there is general consensus in academia that informal education provides the basis on which formal education builds human beings later in life. If this foundation is weak, it goes without saying that the entire structure will crumble and fall. In other words, without any solid foundation human development would be untenable.

In fact, the full-length exploration of informal education is not something new in the history of mankind. Early theorists include Josephine Macalister Brew who in 1946 wrote a book titled *Informal education: Adventures and reflections*. Using informal education as her rallying theme, she wrote about citizenship because she believed that informal education formed the basis of citizenship (http://infed.org/mobi/a-brief-history-of-informal education/). Other authors later embraced this view. Among them we can mention: Shostak (1990) who used the narrative of a female informant to demonstrate the power of informal education in human development, Henze (1992) who looked at informal teaching and learning in a Greek community and a few others who wrote along the same line. All these authors saw the value of informal education in grooming citizens and making them fit into society.

In the context of this chapter, Mandela was not prepared for life by Western or formal education – important as these might be. On the contrary, it was African philosophy and practices in general and informal education obtained at Mqhekezweni as well as the greater Transkei in particular that prepared him for life's challenges and shaped his leadership style. The fact that Mandela constantly made reference to his childhood experiences when dealing with issues arising in modern politics (including the Rivonia trial) means that he honestly believed in and respected this form of education which prepared him for real life as he grew up and faced a number of challenges occasioned by the existence of the ruthless apartheid state.

Therefore, in terms of the chronology we can talk about the *exigency of non-book education* as a precondition for citizenship. Once the citizen has been produced, then we can introduce him or her to formal education with its materialist overtones, which include ensuring personal development, self-aggrandizement, social stratification and individual dominance. Moving towards a new theory of informal education we can better term it the *grounding theory*. Such a label is predicated on the understanding that through informal education an individual is grounded or introduced to the basics of what makes a real citizen in any given society. Other experiences which come later in life build on this very solid foundation. Suffice to say that *grounding theory* is different from the *grounded theory* which is used by researchers to guide them in terms of data collection and details rigorous procedures to be used for data analysis once the research has been completed.

The life of Nelson Mandela discussed rather tantalizingly in this chapter fits neatly within the proposed *grounding theory*. Mandela became such a leader of

note because he had deep roots, a solid foundation which was built by informal education and African cultural practices obtained during his childhood life in the hills, mountains and dongas of the Eastern Cape. He was grounded in informal education and African cultural practices which fomented his leadership prowess. A case could be made that during his 27 years in prison, Mandela was also exposed to some form of informal education. However, in the main, the kind of education Mandela received while serving his term in prison was formalised. It was in this context that he was able to pursue his legal qualification. Noticeably, Mandela never had enough time to practise as a lawyer and therefore use his acquired knowledge in law. Instead, he took the leadership position in the ANC and, later, in the country and drew from his childhood experiences to lead both the ANC as a party and South Africa as a country. Therefore, the submission that Mandela was *grounded* on informal education holds firm.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has been guided by the thesis which says that Nelson Mandela's leadership prowess was moulded by informal education and African cultural practices which he obtained when he was still a young boy in the Transkei. This started at Mvezo but took better shape in different places, especially at Mqhekezweni where he watched elders deliberate on issues of clan and national importance. The argument sustained here is that Mandela valued traditional leadership styles and practices. Importantly, he implemented the same strategies in his own leadership of the ANC as an organisation and the country when he became the first democratically elected black president in 1994. The fact that Mandela later became the world's icon did not divorce him from his roots. It was for this reason that on many occasions in his oral and written speeches as well as in his books he kept making reference to the traditional leadership styles which provided him the foundation on which he built his own political career and leadership style. This connection with his rural upbringing was the main reason why he chose to be buried in his rural village of Qunu and not in Johannesburg where his political career had blossomed. It is in this context, therefore, that it becomes necessary and correct to propose the renaming of informal education theory as the *grounding theory*. This is different from the grounding theory which guides researchers on matters of data collection and details rigorous procedures that should be followed when analysing data.

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7. AN ANALYSIS OF NELSON MANDELA'S PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

INTRODUCTION

The late Nelson Mandela was not only a revered icon of liberation in South Africa but also an internationally decorated personality whose courage and clarity of vision regarding freedom was invaluable. While much has been written and published regarding Mandela's enduring fight to a free and democratic South Africa, there has been very little focus on the subject of Mandela's contribution in terms of worldviews on education. He considered education as one of the most powerful weapons which can be used to change the world.

This chapter presents a critical analysis of Mandela's views on education. The analysis is undertaken in the light of the philosophical tradition of existentialism. In the process of elucidating Mandela's worldview on education, parallels are drawn with views of liberation theorists such as Paulo Freire and Julius Nyerere so as to explicate the notion of education for liberation that cuts across the views of Mandela and the two theorists. For all three, education ought to lead to the transformation of individuals and society, and enhance human dignity.

We begin by sketching Mandela's biography so as to provide the context within which his views on education can be understood.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF NELSON MANDELA

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born on 18 July 1918 in the village of Mvezo, Transkei, South Africa. His mother's name was Nonqaphi Nosekeni and his father was Nkosi Mphakanyiswa Gadla Mandela of the Madiba clan. His father was the principal counsellor to the Acting King of the Thembu people, Jongintaba Dalindyebo. In 1930, when Mandela was twelve years old, his father died and the young Mandela was taken in by Jongintaba to be brought up at the Great Palace in Mqhekezweni (Nelson Mandela Foundation).

He attended primary school in Qunu where his teacher Ms Mdingane gave him the name Nelson, in accordance with the custom that required school children to be given Christian names. He completed his Junior Certificate at Clarkebury Boarding Institute and went on to Healdtown, a Wesleyan secondary school, where he matriculated.

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 81–92.

He later pursued a Bachelor of Arts degree at the university college of Fort Hare but did not complete the studies due to expulsion resulting from his participation in a student protest. He completed his Bachelor of Arts degree by correspondence through the University of South Africa and returned to Fort Hare for his graduation in 1943.

He later enrolled for the degree of Bachelor of Laws (LLB) at the University of Witwatersrand but did not graduate. After his imprisonment in 1962, he enrolled for an LLB with the University of London but also did not complete the degree programme. It was not until 1989, while in the last months of his imprisonment, that he finally obtained an LLB degree through the University of South Africa. He graduated in absentia at a ceremony in Cape Town.

Nelson Mandela became actively involved in the struggle for freedom in 1942. He joined The African National Congress (ANC) in 1944 when he helped to form the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL). He rose through the ranks of ANCYL where they organized campaigns of civil disobedience against unjust laws.

A two-year diploma in law in addition to his BA allowed him to practice law, and in August 1952 he and Oliver Tambo established South Africa's first black law firm, Mandela and Tambo. Mandela continued actively in the freedom struggle and encountered several confrontations with the unjust legal system and government security machinery. He was arrested repeatedly. In June 1961, he was asked to lead the armed struggle and helped to establish Umkhonto weSizwe (Spear of the Nation) which launched its struggle on 16th December 1961 with a series of explosions.

On 9 October 1963 Nelson Mandela, together with ten others, was tried for sabotage in what became known as the Rivonia Trial. While facing the death penalty he gave his famous speech from the dock on 20 April 1964:

> I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die. (Nelson Mandela Foundation, 2001)

On 11 June 1964 Nelson Mandela and seven other accused were convicted and the next day were sentenced to life imprisonment and jailed at Robben Island. He remained in prison until Sunday 11 February 1990 when he was released from prison. He engaged the white minority rule in talks to end the apartheid regime in South Africa and in 1991 was elected ANC president. On 27 April 1994 South Africa held the first general elections that involved all races with ANC emerging victorious. As a result, Mandela was on 10 May 1994 inaugurated as South Africa's first democratically elected president.

He stepped down in 1999 after one term as president of South Africa. Thereafter, he continued with his devotion to democracy and equality (Nelson Mandela Foundation). He died at his home in Johannesburg on 5 December 2013.

NELSON MANDELA'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION

Throughout his life, Mandela demonstrated a singular focus on the importance of the acquisition of knowledge regardless of the obstacles he had to endure, and at the same time dedicated his life to the course of freedom. It is in this dual commitment that his views on education have their roots. Mandela asserted that education is central to the success of a whole range of other human endeavours. Two of his popular quotations illustrate this: "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world" and "A good head and a good heart are always a formidable combination" (RSS Feed, 2014). He held the view that Africa's reconstruction and development efforts and interaction in the global village largely depend on the progress made in educating the population. Accordingly, the power of education extends beyond the development of skills needed for economic success. Among others, it can contribute to nation building and reconciliation (African National Congress, 1997). He argued that efforts should be made to offer education that enables children to exploit their similarities as well as common goals, while appreciating the strength in their diversity. In particular, he argued that we need to educate our young people to become adults who cherish the values of respect for all, that is, women, men and children**.** The following are some specific contributions of Mandela to the field of education.

Mandela as a Role Model (especially to learners)

At an early age, he learned the art of listening which helped in his role as a leader and peacemaker throughout his life. Mandela was the first member of his family to attend high school and when he matriculated in 1938, he formed part of a very small number of black pupils who had a high school education in the country. This served as an inspiration as well as motivation to others, not only in his country, but Africa as a whole. At the Fort Hare University, he took up sports, excelling in long distance running and boxing. And, during this period, he befriended African, Indian and coloured students, many of whom came to play leading roles in the South African liberation endeavours as well as anti-colonial struggle in other African countries (South African History Online, 2014).

Believer in Life-Long Learning

Mandela was a great believer in life-long learning. For example, he completed his Bachelor of Arts studies at the University of South Africa through correspondence. He also undertook his legal education while he was in prison. Although it was a cruel and tough life in prison, he somehow managed to turn it into a place of learning (RSS feed, 2014). Indeed, his love and belief in education was appreciated such that Robben Island, where he was imprisoned, came to be known as the 'Nelson Mandela University'.

Proponent of Access to and Quality Education for the Disadvantaged

Mandela was alive to the fact that the majority of children in South Africa, especially in the rural provinces, either did not have access to basic education or depend on institutions that lack the teaching media and equipment needed for effective learning and teaching (African National Congress, 1997). Thus, he cherished the view that people should join hands in efforts to improve the quality of education and make it accessible to the majority of South Africans. He appreciated the role of business, community and non-governmental organizations in the transformation of education. Participation of parents and students in the management of schools and tertiary institutions should be encouraged while the government needs to continue to create the statutory framework so as to allow all stakeholders to be involved meaningfully in policy formulation and in the education of the nation.

Mandela was disturbed by the fact that many schools in rural Africa do not help children to learn effectively. With this idea in mind, he launched the Nelson Mandela Institute for Education and Development (NMI) in 2007 in response to the education crisis facing rural Africa (Nelson Mandela Institute for Education and Development, 2014). He particularly reasoned that many schools were not yet set up to work and the solutions, including the curriculum and teacher support were often not well tested or calibrated to the linguistic and socio-economic contexts of rural settings. Based in the rural Eastern Cape, and attached to Mandela's alma mater, the Fort Hare University, the NMI is meant to work in partnership with rural teachers, children, parents and communities to create sustainable solutions to education serving rural Africa.

Working closely with rural teachers, and placing the rural learner at the generative centre, the NMI strives to create tools and methods through which to build text-rich primary school classrooms that promote reading, writing, expression and critical thinking (NMI, 2014). The institute uses these resources as the basis to develop teacher-training systems that are accountable to learner achievement in schools. As one of its major goals, the NMI seeks support to build an internationally recognized teacher training institute, serving teachers in the entire African continent. At the same time, the institute is meant to be accountable to the socio-economic and linguistic realties of rural learners.

It is abundantly clear that during his presidency of the country, Mandela used his influence to attract donors to fund schools, especially in the building of new classrooms and moving children out of dilapidated mud structures. This is particularly evident in his home village of Qunu, situated southwest of Mthatha in the Eastern Cape, where he helped to transform several rundown schools into modern educational facilities. Mandela also urged teachers to ensure learners were computer literate from Grade 1. Indeed, for many pupils, the name Nelson Mandela serves as an inspiration and motivation to get a good education (Media Club South Africa, 2013).

Advocate of Freedom and Democracy in Learning Institutions

While at the Fort Hare University, Mandela became involved in the Student Representative Council. He was, however, involved in a dispute related to the election process of the student body and was forced to leave the institution before completing his studies (South African History Online, 2014). In particular, he refused to take his seat on the council because he disagreed with the way the elections were conducted. This action is clearly in tandem with Mandela's belief that "for to be free is not merely to cast off one's chains, but to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others" (Mandela, 1994). Accordingly, he informed his guardian that he would not be returning to Fort Hare and stubbornly stood his ground even when the Regent pleaded with him.

Further, during his years as a student, Mandela became involved in the activities of the ANC, an organization promoting democratic policies in South Africa (Education Update, 2009). However, his university life was interrupted by his involvement in the ANC. He was especially instrumental in establishing the ANC Youth League where he became its president in 1951. Mandela's anti-apartheid campaigns finally led to his arrest. Interestingly, even during his imprisonment, he covertly engaged in the struggle against apartheid. Notably, he released a statement to the ANC in which he encouraged Africans to unite in the fight against apartheid.

Promotion of Social Equity and Justice Through Education

Mandela was actively involved in fighting racial discrimination in South Africa since his early youth (Education Update, 2009). For instance, as a student, he was involved in a protest of the white minority government's withholding of basic rights to South Africa's vast black population. As per RSS Feed (2014), Mandela saw education as part of the key to winning the struggle against apartheid. However, he also observed that education had nothing to do with a person being 'able' to vote or think.

In a speech delivered in 2001, Mandela argued that education was the panacea to the broader challenge of nation building. He asserted thus "there is no question in my mind that education is one of the primary means by which the inequality in our country, between rich and poor, black and white, is to be tackled. Education is liberation" (Nelson Mandela Foundation).

He further cautioned that the attainment of formal freedom and justice in South Africa was not an end in itself. He argued that "our struggle is not over. We all now have, as one nation and people, the historic task to promote and consolidate those humane values that have brought us to where we are. This is the major task of education, formal and informal" (Mandela quoted in http://allafrica.com/stories/200102230043.html). Mandela was right in holding the view that freedom from apartheid and the adoption of a constitution with a Bill of rights were not in themselves sufficient for the realisation of the values of freedom and justice. The cultivation of an appropriate environment conducive for implementation is also important.

MANDELA'S VIEWS ON EDUCATION IN PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

Mandela's ideas on education can be examined in various philosophical perspectives. However, for purposes of this chapter, we reflect on his ideas within the school of thought known as existentialism. Existentialism is a branch of philosophy that emphasizes individual existence, freedom and choice. It is the view that humans define their own meaning in life, and try to make rational decisions despite existing in an irrational universe. It focuses on the question of human existence, and the feeling that there is no purpose or explanation at the core of existence. Existentialism is generally considered to be the philosophical and cultural movement which holds that the starting point of philosophical thinking must be the individual and the experiences of the individual.

Existentialism began in the mid-19th century, with Søren Kierkegaard, as a reaction against then-dominant systematic philosophies. Kierkegaard held the view that it is the individual who is solely responsible for giving meaning to life. In addition, existentialists generally regard traditional systematic or academic philosophies, in both style and content, as too abstract and remote from concrete human experience. A central proposition of existentialism is that existence precedes essence, which means that the most important consideration for the individual is the fact that he or she is an individual – an independently acting and responsible conscious being ('existence') – rather than what labels, roles, stereotypes, definitions, or other preconceived categories the individual fits ('essence'). Thus, human beings, through their own consciousness, create their own values and determine a meaning to their life. In this case: (a) A human being can be defined only insofar as he or she acts, and (b) in so far as he or she is responsible for his or her actions.

For example, someone who acts cruelly towards other people is, by that act, defined as a cruel person. Furthermore, by this action of cruelty, such persons are themselves responsible for their new identity (a cruel person). This is as opposed to their genes, or 'human nature', bearing the blame.

As Sartre writes in his work 'Existentialism is Humanism' (1946), "man first of all exists, encounters himself, surges up in the world – and defines himself afterwards." Drawing from the theory of existentialism, several implications for education can be delineated:

a) The learner's experiences must form a basis in the practice of education.
b) Examples and illustrations within the process of education must be drawn from familiar realities of the learner.
c) The teacher and learner should encounter each other as human beings who are in the process of making and remaking their realities.
d) The focus of education should be to draw out the learner's talents and abilities and not to obstruct or limit their fruition.

Mandela's views on education reflect an existentialist stance in several ways:

a) His concern for genuine freedom and justice depict a specific focus on emancipating individuals from their lived experiences of oppression and domination. His struggle

for the eradication of apartheid in South Africa was hinged on an ideology that refused to accept the denigrated identity of the marginalized in the country. Indeed, the ideology of apartheid was founded on faulty conceptualization of human essence that considered peoples of African race to be lesser human beings compared to the white ruling class in South Africa.

b) He identified education as the sure means of ensuring freedom from inequalities that persist in human society.

c) He singles out education as a powerful weapon for transformation in society. Implied in this idea is the fact that individuals and by extent society, must continually embrace change as a result of education.

Having postulated Mandela's views on education in the context of existentialist trends in educational thought, it is necessary to briefly relate his ideas to those of educational theorists who similarly considered education to be a process of liberation, namely: Paulo Freire and Julius Nyerere.

Comparison of Mandela, Freire and Nyerere's Ideas on Education for Liberation

Mandela, Freire and Nyerere advocated for liberation of the human person in order to realize a free society. Whereas their nationalities and status in society differ, all three confronted systemic oppression and exploitation that infringed on human existence. In addition, the central theme of education for liberation in their speeches and writings point to existential realities that the oppressed encounter in society, a situation that requires emancipation. It is also illuminating to juxtapose the ideas of the three in order to underscore the fact that liberation is a human imperative that is not restricted to an individual country or continent.

The concept of liberation in philosophical terms can be understood in various ways. First, viewed from the standpoint of logic, it implies 'being freed from' what appears inhibiting, from a constraint, in order to be able to do certain things (Njoroge, 1990). In this case, liberation presupposes a constraint whose removal enables man to do certain things. Second, when we view 'liberation' from the standpoint of philosophical psychology, it presupposes the specific entity or element to be liberated. Here, it may refer to either physical or mental constraints being removed. From the ethical point, liberation has to do with the ethical worth or value attached to the state, or process of liberation. The three personalities present ideas on liberation in an eclectic manner but without losing sight of the vision of liberation.

Paulo Freire's Views on Education for Liberation

Freire was born in Recife in Brazil, a son of a well-to-do banker who suffered the reversal of fortunes due to the Wall Street crash in 1929. As a result, the family was forced to relocate to the countryside where Freire grew up witnessing the predicament of the impoverished peasantry (Flanagan, 2006). He realized that

ignorance and lethargy of the peasants was rooted in their political, economic and social powerlessness. He also observed that the peasants were victims of systemic oppression, which weaves into their consciousness, causing them to resign to their condition as part of their situation and part of their natural order.

Freire argues that education is never neutral. Every educational system transforms those who go through it in certain ways. In the case of the oppressed, education is deliberately moulded by the dominant group/class to encourage passivity and to accept oppression. In the process they acquire a submerged state of consciousness that augments fear of freedom (Freire, 1972).

Freire defines oppression as being a situation where 'A' objectively exploits 'B' or hinders his self-affirmation as a responsible person (Freire, 1972:31). According to him, the most potent form of oppression is not physical force or coercion but the control of the consciousness of the oppressed. Such mental control deprecates the individual of self-worth and renders him/her dependent on the oppressor for validation of their existence. In the process, the oppressed begins to aspire to become like the oppressor whom he/she considers to be the ideal of humanness.

In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (1972) proposes a panacea for this oppressive condition. He espouses the process of humanization as the central purpose of education. In this case, education should be a partnership process between the educator and the oppressed where the phenomenon of the oppressed, causes of oppression and the subjective experiences of oppression form part of the contents to be studied by learners. Pedagogy of the oppressed is a process of enabling – of empowering – oppressed people to see the realities which are keeping them in a state of subordination and to provide alternatives. The process of humanization must embrace critical thinking on the part of learners and educators so as to transform their experience from passive and recipient to active and creative. In essence, education should serve the purpose of liberation.

Considering Freire's views in the light of Mandela's ideology on freedom, a common strand of thought is evident. Freire's education project is to ensure that the oppressed are not only freed from oppressive conditions but also from the temptation of eventually becoming an oppressor. This idea is captured clearly in Mandela's commitment not only to fight white domination but also black domination. Whereas Freire clearly delineates the pedagogical path that can realize emancipation of the oppressed, Mandela's ideas are coined in political terms but envisage a liberated person who does not tolerate oppression of any kind. Freire's ideas therefore complement Mandela's vision of liberation.

Julius Nyerere's Views on Education for Liberation

Julius Kambarage Nyerere was born in 1922 near Musoma, Tanzania. After his primary and secondary education, Nyerere proceeded to Makerere University College, Uganda, where he obtained a diploma in Education in 1945. After Makerere, he returned to Tanzania (formerly known as Tanganyika) and taught at St. Mary's

school until 1949, when he was awarded a scholarship to Edinburgh University from where he graduated with a Master of Arts Degree in 1952.

Upon his return to Tanzania, he began to take an active part in Tanganyika politics. In 1954, he founded TANU (Tanganyika African Union) and was subsequently elected Member of Parliament during Tanganyika's first elections in 1959; he became the first Chief Minister of the country one year later, and was sworn in as Prime Minister of Tanganyika in May 1961. During the first presidential elections in 1962, Nyerere won the elections and became the first African President (Njoroge & Bennaars, 1984). He continued to be re-elected as president until mid – 1980s when he retired from the presidency as well as active politics. He, however, continued to participate in various international fora on global issues as an eminent person until his death in 1999.

Nyerere articulated his ideas on education for an independent Tanzania, and by extension for Africa, through various publications including: 'Education for Self-Reliance' (1967), 'Freedom and Development' (1973), 'Our Education Must Be For Liberation' (1974) and 'Adult Education and Development' (1976).

The primary concerns for us are his views on education for liberation. It is evident that Nyerere's interest is clearly in the phenomenon of man and not pure philosophical enterprise. We note that he does not restrict himself to any one sense of the concept of liberation. Rather, he argues in an eclectic manner. To illustrate this point the following citations as quoted in Hinzen and Hundsdorfer (1990:49) are useful:

> Development is for man, by man and of man. The same is true of education. Its purpose is the liberation of man from the restraints and limitations of ignorance and dependency. Education has to increase man's physical and mental freedom to increase control over themselves, their own lives, and the environment in which they live.
>
> Education has to liberate both the mind and body of man. It has to make him more of a human being because he is aware of his potential as a human being and is in a positive, life-enhancing relationship with himself, his neighbour and his environment. (ibid., 43)
>
> The ideas imparted by education, or released in the mind through education, should therefore be liberating ideas; the skills acquired by education should be liberating skills. Nothing else can be properly called education. Teaching which induces a slave mentally or a sense of impotence is not education at all. It's an attack on the minds of man. (ibid., 49)

These citations indicate the eclectic nature of Nyerere's view of 'Liberation'. The first points to what we have termed a logical view. Here, liberation points to certain restraints and limitations that need removal. These constraints include ignorance and dependency. The removal of obstacles leads to the state of 'being able' to carry out certain tasks. In this case, individuals are able to increase control over their lives and their environment. The second citation coheres with what we have termed a

philosophical psychological view of the term 'Liberation'. Central to this view is the identification of the targeted elements that require liberation. Nyerere argues that liberation should be directed to both the mind and the body of an individual. In this case, it has to attend to both the physical and the mental needs of man, meaning, to the whole person. The final citation lays emphasis on the ethical value or worth of education that is inclined to produce liberated human beings. He argues that the ideal goal of education is liberation. Failure to envisage liberation leads to inculcation of slave mentality and a sense of impotence in individuals.

Nyerere perceives liberation as an on-going process, involving systematic eradication of physical and mental impediments to freedom. For instance, Africa primarily needed political liberation during the colonial era. This was of necessity to be followed by eradication of political, economic and social structures at variance with the African subjectivity. However, post-independent Africa has, and continues to preserve Eurocentrism which has tended to make the African perpetually dependent. Such tendencies have forced the African, to seek, outside his own subjectivity, the criteria for worthwhile knowledge, skills and even ethical and aesthetic judgment. It is apparent that for liberation to be complete, it needs to be both physical and mental, either successively or simultaneously (Nasongo & Wamocha, 2012).

He also tends to stress mental liberation as the key to the attainment of genuine humanity. Comparatively, physical freedom is of little or no consequence if the mind remains fettered. For instance, in spite of the political freedom attained in Africa through decolonization, there still remain facets of neo-colonialism that include dependency on former colonial masters for support in social, economic, technological and even political models. Prevalent in this situation is a helpless resignation to circumstances.

Nyerere views the task of education as primarily the emancipation of the human person. Thus, he views education as a process of expanding freedom.

Arguably, education has to liberate both the mind and the body of man. It has to remove certain restraints and limitations that include poverty, disease, slavery, colonialism, ignorance and dependence. In Nyerere's view, this can be achieved by releasing liberating ideas and skills to the mind of learners. This, he hopes, is likely to increase their control over themselves, their lives, and their environment. The envisaged ideas and skills are radical in nature, such that they can shake people out of the resignation which has attended their lives for centuries, and enable them to become aware of the things that they, as members of the human race, can do for themselves and for their society. In this case, liberating education should make man aware of two things: one, his own human-hood, and two, his power as a human being to use circumstances rather than be submerged in them.

Furthermore, Nyerere's view of education implies rational approaches to educating in the sense that educating should arouse curiosity and provoke inquiry. In this case, old assumptions and established practices are to be challenged. In their place, man should be able to think for himself, make his own decisions, and execute these decisions. The main target of such an approach, is the cultivation of the 'self'

that is free and self-dependent. The foregoing assertion does not, in any way, exalt a state of individualism; rather, it tends to underscore the essential role of free people in building up a free society. Moreover, a society of liberated individuals tends to be preferable for self-reliance and development.

Nyerere, Freire and Mandela's views on education share a nexus in the sense that they consider education to be a key phenomenon with regard to genuine social, economic and political transformation. Education is crucial in liberating oppressed human beings. In addition, they do not consider political freedom as an end to the struggle for liberation. Instead, political freedom is only but a starting point, with education being assigned a significant role in the attainment of ultimate freedom.

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing sections, we have examined Mandela's views on education and juxtaposed his ideas with those of Paulo Freire and Julius Nyerere, particularly on the subject of education as a liberation process. Here we comment briefly on what we think is the enduring legacy of Nelson Mandela as far as his philosophy/worldview on education is concerned.

First, Mandela views education in the context of warfare. Here, education is a lethal weapon that can be used to transform society. Indeed, any country that desires to put at bay the malignant challenges that bedevil it must undertake far reaching reforms in education with emphasis on liberation of the individual to realize genuine transformation.

Second, Mandela's view of education as a panacea to inequality and social injustice is worthwhile. Most countries face challenges related to social inequality, corruption and other forms of injustice. Mandela's faith in education as a tool for eradicating such vices should attract serious thought and appropriate action

Third, Mandela's resilience in pursuit of education via full-time and part-time study modes should inspire educators to embrace open and continuing education so as to ensure access by all regardless of their circumstances. The fact that Mandela pursued his LLB degree studies while incarcerated at Robben Island prison is proof of resilience in educational pursuit.

Fourth, the philosophical orientation utilised in examining Mandela's views on education for liberation, coupled with the comparative approach of juxtaposing his ideas with those of Freire and Nyerere is a pointer to a variety of ways in which Mandela's invaluable ideas can be reflected upon. Indeed, it provides a basis for debate, particularly on the existential nature of his philosophical orientation towards education.

Finally, it is crucial to state that Mandela's views on education constitute significant contributions towards the understanding of the central role of education in human transformation. In this chapter we have tried to show that Mandela's contributions to humanity transcend the social-political arena that has hitherto preoccupied scholars and practitioners in diverse fields.

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MOUSUMI MUKHERJEE

8. INTERCULTURAL DIALOGUE AND INCLUSIVE EDUCATION

From Europe to Mandela's South Africa and Tagore's India

INTRODUCTION

> What is required is genuine dialogue among partners who not only talk but also listen and hear. (Samoff, 1998:24)

Intercultural dialogue and the importance of education has been a recurring theme for Nelson Mandela, as a lifelong learner throughout his life. Intercultural dialogue facilitated by the inclusive educational environment of various African tribes and white colonialists at his Methodist English high school, Healdtown, helped to form Mandela's unique hybrid identity. He writes in his autobiographical book, *The Long Walk to Freedom* that, it helped to "loosen the hold of tribalism" on him. He began to see his identity expand "as an African, not just a Thembu or even a Xhosa", though he and his friends aspired to be "black Englishmen" initially. Doreen Massey (2005:184–185) argued that,

> The lived reality of our daily lives is utterly dispersed, unlocalised in its sources and in its repercussions. The degree of dispersion, the stretching, may vary across social groups, but the point is that the geography will not be territorial. Where would you draw the line around the lived reality of your daily life? … If we think space relationally, then it is the sum of all our connections, and in that sense utterly grounded, and those connections may go around the world.

This argument about relational space by Massey (2005) can be very useful in understanding the relational space within which Mandela was engaged in intercultural dialogue throughout his life. This awareness of our interconnectivity and relational space also informed his politics. We can find similar awareness in the educational philosophy and pedagogic work of Indian poet, philosopher and educational reformer, Rabindranath Tagore. It is not a matter of mere serendipity that Mandela quoted from Tagore's poem – "Where the mind is without fear… into that haven of Freedom, My Father, let my country awake" in his thank you letter to the Indian Council of Cultural Relations from Robben Island on 3rd August 1980, expressing his gratitude for awarding him the *Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding*.[1]

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 93–110.

This chapter will explore the interconnectivity of this transnational relational space as an analytic framework to understand the intercultural dialogue such a relational space can generate. It will argue how this was instrumental in conceptualizing and institutionalizing inclusive education within an old colonial school in postcolonial India, under the leadership of an Irish-born school Principal. The school was established in the mid-19th Century in colonial British India as a result of a transnational network of missionaries traveling from Europe to Asia, Africa, Latin America and Australia. The chapter draws on a larger ethnographic case study of the school which also includes research on archival historical writings on the school's work during colonial and postcolonial India, prior to the beginning of the fieldwork for this research and biographical interviews with one of the longest serving retired school Principals.

This chapter will particularly analyse how this Irish-born former Principal of the case study school, to be referred to as Delphine Hart School,[2] established a critical pedagogy for inclusive education based on the values of freedom and self-discipline drawing on her personal experiences – childhood experiences in impoverished Ireland in between the great World Wars following the Irish freedom movement, experience of apartheid during a brief stay in South Africa and intercultural experiences through her college and university education in India, while working in several 'Jesuitess' missionary schools. The school and several of its retired and current staff are historically connected to various sister institutions across India and around the world. The school is now part of a larger global network of schools in 24 countries. Hence, in order to understand the school's work and social relations from a people's perspective, I have drawn on Dorothy Smith's (2005) sociology for people in conducting institutional ethnography. For data analysis, I have also drawn on various intellectual resources from around the world, particularly from Tagore and Mandela for this chapter, since their philosophy sought reconciliation across colonial, racial and cultural divides for democratic reforms and inclusive education.

DEHEGEMONIZED CHRISTIAN MISSIONARY SCHOOLING

Colonialism and Christian missionary work are often considered as coterminous in much of the research literature (MacKenzie, 1993; Pearce, 2006; Porter, 2008; Evans, 2008; White, 2010; Ball, 2011) including the classic work of comparative education scholars such as Carnoy's (1974) *Education as Cultural Imperialism* and Altbach and Kelly's (1978) *Education and Colonialism*. However, noted postcolonial literary critic, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1994), argued that within the Indian context missionary education was rather empowering for the underprivileged socially marginalized people. Missionary education helped them to become teachers to teach their social superiors in the classroom. When they taught their indigenous social superiors in these missionary schools, they actually "dehegemonized Christianity" (Spivak, 1994:274). Moreover, drawing on the work of historians, such as Bara (2000), Bellenoit (2014) and Allender (2009); this chapter argues that the hegemonic

influence of Christianity was dehegemonized in many ways within the historic context in the Indian subcontinent, similar to the processes which led to the birth of Christian liberation theology in Latin America in the 1950s–1960s, as the socially downtrodden indigenous population sought liberation through conversion (Oddie, 2013). Hence, I argue that Christian missionary schooling should not be seen ideologically as just colonial and, therefore, by default having a negative impact on the indigenous population. The intercultural dialogue that missionary schooling created within the colonial and postcolonial contexts in Latin America, Asia and Africa often produced some of the best minds from these regions. Often this intercultural dialogue also helped to produce inclusive pedagogies, policies and practices, as it will be argued in this chapter by analysing the work of Irish-born missionary nuns in India.

The history of the spread of women and girls education in modern South Asia is also associated with Christian missionaries. Although there was provision of indigenous education for some women, there were no formal schools. The first girl's school was set up in 1848 by Savitribai Phule, the wife of a Hindu social outcast and reformer influenced by Christian missionaries (Wolf & Andrade, 2008). Formal education within the Indian subcontinent was delivered through residential Brahminical Gurukuls and Islamic Madrasas to men belonging to certain privileged social class/caste of the Indian society. Though Sen (2005) had argued that ancient India had highly educated women like Gargi and Maitreyi, and there were other illustrious women who actively took part in public and political life during colonial India; within South Asia there was no formal schooling system for girls until the mid-19th Century. Moreover, Seth (2007) engages in extensive discussion about the decline of the status of women during British colonial times which led to great debates among colonialists and nationalists about the ways in which the status of Indian women could be revived or resurrected. He stated that women's education was not very important even in Britain at that time and the colonial government was least interested to allocate resources for the education of the lower classes and women in India. So, "[t]he earliest efforts at providing formal education for girls came from private agency – from the private initiative of colonial officials and most notably from missionaries" (Seth, 2007:137).

Christianity also spread in South Asia as a moral reaction to poverty and other indigenous social injustices in that region. Indigenous philosopher, poet and education reformer, Rabindranath Tagore wrote to his friend and biographer, Edward Thompson that:

> Indeed it is a great pity that the Europeans have come to us as Imperialists rather than as Christians and so have deprived our people with their true contact with the religion of Jesus Christ. A few individuals like C.F. Andrews, whom we have known as the true followers of their Teacher, have created in us respect for Christianity which the most brutal Lathi charges, shootings and detentions without trial of the British Government in India have failed totally to dissipate. (Tagore as cited in Dasgupta, 2009:163)

Although Tagore was a forceful critic of imperialism and the 19th Century pedagogy of 'discipline and punish' as a school and college dropout during colonial British India, O'Connell (2003) argues that he had a more positive relationship with Jesuits at a Catholic boys school and was inspired to translate parts of Shakespeare's Macbeth into Bengali. In his own school, he sought to promote a child-centric and community oriented model of education contrary to the mainstream 'factory-model' of education during his times. As Collins (2011:222) argues,

> Tagore's vast corpus of writings and practice – which covered rural reconstruction and development at Sriniketan, the philosophy of education realised via his Bolepur school and Visva-Bharati University, ecology, science, aesthetics and literature – constitute concrete responses to the problematic posed by the advent of British imperialism in India, but equally to problems that had arisen in European metropoles in the nineteenth and twentieth century, and had become, via imperialism itself, global in nature.

I argue here that, this critique of the problems posed by British imperialism and educational innovation of Tagore had a small but ripple effect within the local Bengali community in India during the colonial times and immediate postcolonial era. Even missionary educators in the region were enthused by his creative and educational work. His literary work in Bengali was read and taught by even Christian missionary educators in the local community. One of the Australian born Jesuitess nuns and historian, Mother Mary Colmcille was a great admirer of Tagore as an educator and social reformer. Though she was trained as a historian and an English teacher, she also learnt and taught Bengali. She produced several Tagore dance-dramas critiquing local social issues of caste and gender during Jesuitess school cultural functions (Colmcille, 1968).

Of course, this form of intercultural dialogue followed a long tradition of intercultural dialogue between native intellectuals and missionary educators during the Bengal Renaissance movement in 18th and 19th Century colonial Bengal (Poddāra, 1970; Dasgupta, 2007; Vasunia, 2013). However, unlike early champions of Western education and advocates of intercultural dialogue with the missionaries, such as Raja Rammohum Roy, Tagore became a forceful advocate for decolonizing education and making it more responsive to the needs of the local community. Through his own comparative research on English education in England vis-à-vis English education in India, and reflection on his own childhood experience as a school dropout, Tagore realized how disconnected English education in India is from English education in England (Tagore, 1892). Hence, though he emphasized intercultural learning through the study of literature and art, he sought to reconnect education and scientific enquiry to the needs of the local community. The following sections of this chapter will analyse how the case study school has been listening and responding to local needs of the community since it was established and the role played by its longest serving retired school Principal, Sister Valentine in the postcolonial times.

LISTENING AND RESPONDING TO LOCAL NEEDS

The case study school and other sister schools under the Irish Catholic Jesuitess order were set up in the mid-19th Century because of the initiative taken by a German Priest who spent some time as an apostolic in the Bengal province of South Asia during British colonial rule before settling in Australia. While working in Bengal during colonial British India, this German Priest was much moved by the condition of the minority Catholics in the region, who were very poor and had little education. They comprised small portions of a poor European population,[3] some mixed-race descendants of Portuguese, French and other Europeans with Indians (known as Eurasians during colonial times) and some low-caste[4] converted Indians. Out of a total estimated population of twenty five million, they comprised only ten to thirty thousand. Seventy percent of the rest of the population were Hindus and the rest Muslims. Because of a great deal of sectarianism among Christian denominations during those times, the colonial British government was indifferent and antagonistic towards this population. While there was some provision of schooling under the Jesuits for the boys, there was none for the girls. Hence, this German priest took the initiative to bring a group of Jesuitess nuns from Ireland to set up schools for these poor Catholics. The first school was set up in Calcutta, then capital of colonial British India and soon several schools were set up under the order all across the Bengal province and also other parts of colonial India (Nolan, 2008).

The origin of the school is therefore rooted in British colonial history and the human side of early 19th Century globalization related to the migration of soldiers and religious preachers from Europe to Asia and Australia. With its long institutional history of over 150 years through which the school has witnessed the freedom movement from colonial rule and formation of the modern independent Nation State, India, the school connects the colonial history of Indian education with contemporary times. Currently the school is part of a large interconnected global network of Jesuitess schools which operates in 24 countries and six continents around the world, including India, South Africa and Australia.

Despite the deep concern of the senior administration and missionary nuns for the poor illiterate masses of the Indian population, as revealed through old archival letters, the colonial government policies favoured Eurasian students and prevented the nuns from admitting poor Indian children to the schools (Colmcille, 1968). In the postcolonial era, the local elites started gaining access to these schools in large numbers after most of the Europeans and Anglo-Indians started leaving the country following independence. However, responding to historic geopolitical circumstances and cross border mass migrations of people since the 1947 partition of South Asia, culminating in the Bangladesh liberation war in the 1970s; the particular missionary order slowly began to change their access policy. The 1971 Constitution of the school declared inclusive education for all girls, irrespective of socioeconomic background, as the major goal. Gradually the school instituted a set of inclusive reforms responding to the local needs of the community. This historic

context leading to inclusive reforms will be discussed at length in the following section of the chapter.

TURBULENT 1970S CALCUTTA

In the postcolonial era, the Jesuitess schools kept a small percentage of their seats reserved for poor Catholic girls corresponding to their Catholic mission for social justice and were mostly engaged in educating the daughters of native middleclass and social elites. However, the 1970s were turbulent times historically for the city of Calcutta, where the Jesuitess schools were first set up in the mid-19th Century. The early 1970s witnessed the emergence of the Bangladesh liberation war from East Pakistan, a rising tide of refugees from East Pakistan on to the streets of Calcutta and an eruption of the violent Naxalite movement[5] for social justice.

Responding to the needs of the local community the Jesuitess institution stated in the 1971 Constitution (p. 29) that:

> Our goal is to form women alive to the needs of the world, with knowledge which gives them power to act, and motivated by the love which gives them purpose and wisdom in their action. The education of girls from every social background has to be undertaken so that there can be produced not only women of refined talents but those great souled persons who are so desperately needed by our times.

This is very similar to both Tagore and Mandela's social vision for education within their respective Indian and South African contexts, as expressed by Mandela in his autobiography while describing how during the freedom struggle Robben Island became like a University with a strong social vision "from each according to his ability and to each according to his need" (Mandela, 1994:76). Prior to the constitutional declaration by the Jesuitess order, encouraged by the then Mother Superior back in the 1950s and 60s, during the early years after independence when poverty and economic deprivation was very high, the retired Irish-born school Principal of the case study school, began developing a model of youth social action called the *Leadership Training Institute* to inspire young girls from middleclass families studying in the school to get engaged in 'social action' to improve the lives of the poor masses living in miserable conditions in slums outside the gates of the Jesuitess school in Lucknow.

The turbulent geopolitical environment of the 1970s in Calcutta and her intercultural transnational experiences eventually inspired the Irish-born nun, Sister Valentine, to develop a values-based curriculum to educate the hearts and minds of the students, which will be discussed and analysed in detail later in this chapter. Moreover, her early training within the Jesuitess order to promote social change by mentoring young students to get engaged in 'social action' saw the number of scholarship students at Delphine Hart School multiply. Following the rape of a 4-year old homeless refugee girl outside the gates of the school and requests

from students to the school authority to do something, the school opened its gates, converting the terrace of the school into a night-shelter home for homeless children. This model of residential homes for homeless children on the rooftops of existing schools has now been successfully replicated across the country (Dabir, Rego, & Kapadia, 2011). Slowly but steadily following a "pragmatic persuasive approach" (Bajaj, 2012) in establishing a dialogue with local fee-paying middleclass parents, 50% of children from marginalized backgrounds started getting enrolled in the school. However, along with these institutional contexts and institutional beliefs, the core belief of school leadership engaged in serious intercultural dialogue was also a major factor in facilitating the institutionalization of inclusive educational reforms.

In the following sections of this chapter, I will analyse how intercultural dialogue was involved in the inclusive pedagogic innovations of Delphine Hart School by paying attention to the learning needs of the individual child. This is very similar to the intercultural dialogue in which both Mandela and Tagore were engaged throughout their lives to develop their respective inclusive political and educational philosophies.

THE PERSONAL IS POLITICAL, SPIRITUAL AND TRANSFORMATIVE

> Human beings are both emotional and intellectual selves, constantly constructing the world around us. The categories we use in the complex process of self-construction are embedded in standpoints derived from our social memberships and identities. The world is thus socially constructed by language, and language is constituted by cultural meanings negotiated by persons with identities shaped by their historical experiences and social location. Knowledge is historically contingent and shaped by human interests and social values, rather than external to us, completely objective, and eternal, as extreme positivists view would have it. (Alford, 1998:2–3)

The above quote is relevant to the discussion in this section on the historic legacy of Mandela and Tagore, and the agency of Delphine Hart School's long-serving school Principal, Sister Valentine. Mandela's personal journey as narrated in his biography *Long Walk to Freedom* (1994) was as much political as it was spiritual and transformative. So, too, was Tagore's personal journey and pedagogic experiments during colonial India (Ghosh, Naseem, & Vijh, 2010). Gundara (2009:55) writes: "Knowledge itself is a result of interactions, both co-operative and conflictual, throughout history". In his biography, Mandela critically reflects on the comparative cultural difference within native Xhosa community and among 'whites'. While Xhosa children learnt mostly by imitating adults of their community, which enabled sustenance of internal hierarchies and social norms, 'white' children were encouraged by their parents to ask umpteen questions, questions that would be considered a nuisance in traditional Xhosa households. After his first trip to England, in a Bengali essay *Shiksar Herfer* (Topsyturvey Education); Tagore made similar observations about difference in pedagogic practices in England and English

education back in India. He delivered the essay as a speech in 1892 (O'Connell, 2003). Drawing on Mandela's political approach against the British Empire, Walton (2015) argues that, in order to dismantle the empire of educational exclusion, we need to work against the system (active resistance) and around the system towards a more just system. In a similar vein, Tagore's experiments of a new kind of pedagogy in his school at Shantiniketan was aimed at building a more just system by 'freeing the minds of people', rather than just territorial freedom from colonialism.

Through his practice of critical self-reflection, very much like Tagore, Mandela came to the conclusion that a reconciled inclusive approach was needed between white fears and black hopes for future development of South Africa as a Nation. While most freedom fighters (except Gandhi[6]) in South Africa and India took a passionate violent means to gain freedom, both Mandela and Tagore sought for a more reconciled cosmopolitan democratic future. They realized that territorial freedom will not totally free the minds of native people from many 'unfreedoms'- i.e. shackles of out-dated customs and rituals, which limits people's ability to make rational choices about their life. It will not free the minds of people from fear and hatred of the 'other'. However, while Mandela (1994:495) worked for freedom politically in South Africa inclusive of "any man or woman who abandon(ed) apartheid", Tagore worked for freedom through his inclusive approach at the grassroots through education. He stated while delivering a talk to teachers (Dasgupta, 2009:111): "In the East there is a great deal of bitterness against other races, and in our own homes we are often brought up with feelings of hatred…. We are building our institution upon the ideal of the spiritual unity of all races."

Within a larger historic and sociocultural context like this, the intercultural experiences of Sister Valentine are significant for her inspired leadership in promoting inclusive educational reforms at Delphine Hart School. She left Ireland at a very young age and reached India after a brief halt in apartheid-era South Africa during the Suez Canal crisis. She received all her post-secondary education, including a doctorate degree in science from an Indian University. She encouraged youth led social action projects in the school and around the school community following the Jesuitess institutional history and orders of her superiors. She also drew on the core philosophical ideals of major Indian religions – Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, Jainism as well as Christianity to write a ten part series of values-education textbooks – *We are the World* – along with a few other school staff. Later, the Institute of Human Rights Education adopted this values-education curriculum as the Human Rights curriculum in the region. The following section will further analyse at length the intercultural dialogue which inspired the inclusive pedagogic approach of Delphine Hart School under the leadership of Sister Valentine.

PEDAGOGIC POSSIBILITY OF FREEDOM

> I believe that the object of education is the freedom of mind which can only be achieved through the path of freedom. (Tagore as quoted in Dasgupta, 2009:87)

Tagore strongly disliked the streamlined, regimented 'factory-model' of education even in 19th Century England during his brief visit there. Such a model of education was not suitable for the creative free-spirited Tagore. Offering his sharp criticism of the system of education prevalent during colonial India, Tagore (1906) stated:

> What we now call a school in this country is really a factory, and the teachers are part of it…. Later this learning is tested at examinations and labeled. One advantage of a factory is that it can make goods exactly to order. Moreover, the goods are easy to label, because there is not much difference between what the different machines turn out. But there is a good deal of difference between one man and another, and even between what the same man is on different days.

He considered the formalized 19th Century system of education inside classrooms as a cage for training parrots, which he parodied in a short story written for children in Bengali, *Totakahini* (The Parrot's Training) (Tagore, 1964). Rather than any externally imposed disciplinary mechanism, Tagore championed freedom and self-discipline.

The transcripts of interviews for this research are strewn with similar reflections by Sister Valentine and also several students and teachers who worked with her. The vignettes below from interviews with two alumnae from two different Jesuitess schools, under the leadership of Sister Valentine, portray the values of freedom and self-discipline that were defining features of the values-education curriculum and pedagogic practices she designed:

> One of the best things we learnt from [Sister Valentine's] time is the way in which she taught us how to use our *freedom.* She began her lesson one day by telling us that we are free to do anything we want except the fact that we are not allowed to go outside the gates of the school. It took us a little while to realize that she really meant it, and when we realized that we went out and scattered ourselves and the first thing we wanted to do was to get to the spire of the school chapel and see the bell and then some of us wanted to go to the nuns' quarter to see how they lived and there but [Mother Laurel] chased us out. But when some of us came back saying we also wanted to ring the school bell… but we didn't, Sister Valentine asked: "Why?" We said that, "you know we realized that we would let you down. You have given us all this freedom and now if we would ring the bell it would upset the whole school and everybody would blame you." Then she explained to us that this is what real freedom is: "None of us are perfectly free if we have *relationships.* If we don't have relationships then we are perfectly free to destroy things and do whatever we feel like. But if we have relationships, then it would hold us in check, so that we don't misuse our freedom." (School Alumna, Mary)
>
> Now let me tell you during [Sister Madeline's] time before Sister Valentine… You couldn't hear any sound… pin drop silence. It was so silent. Not a word was spoken. We used to walk very softly with rubber soles and all that. Then when

> Sister Valentine came in she said: "This is like a graveyard. There is no soul. Everyone is like a dead man. The children… where is the spirit gone. They are like walking machines!"… So, then she launched this freedom you know and the children became like little birds chirping on and we also became very free. We could tell what we think and this and that. There was no strict discipline as such. The *discipline* must come from within you (School alumna and teacher, Mrs. Bose).

This relational model of schooling based on a close relationship between teacher, freedom and self-discipline is in essence Tagorean. The most important values on which Sister Valentine designed the values-education curriculum *We are the World* for students are the values of 'freedom' and 'self-discipline' in order to build relationships based on empathic understanding. This is very similar to the basic premise of Tagore's inclusive school built in Shantiniketan during colonial India, based on the values of freedom and self-discipline. Tagore's pedagogic model also emphasized the close relationship of students with nature, relationship with their teachers and relationship with their peers to educate the hearts and minds of the children (Mukherjee, 2016). Mandela, within the South African context also took a similar approach, as Walton (2015) writes: "Those active in resisting the empire of educational exclusion could emulate Mandela, and live lives that embody inclusivity."

Much like Tagore in colonial India and Mandela in colonial South Africa, Sister Valentine's personal experiences and critical reflexive practices as a Catholic nun shaped her ontological state of being and her understanding of the world. Her childhood experiences of the social class divide and war-torn 19th Century Ireland, sitting beside poor Jewish immigrants in a government school taught by Jesuitess nuns, her brief experience of apartheid in South Africa during the Suez Canal crisis and her intercultural experience in post-independent India reeling with poverty and exclusion helped shape her work as an educator. Facilitated by her interaction with teachers, staff and students as a college and university student, the experiences had a deep impact on her own personal spiritual journey, which inspired her to promote inclusive pedagogic approaches in her teaching.

EDUCATING THE HEART AND THE MIND[7]

Through the course of her own training and work within the Indian system since her arrival in 1956 right after independence from colonial rule, Sister Valentine understood that the mainstream modern system of Indian education set up during colonial times was very competitive. The education system set up during British colonial times was geared towards training children for instrumental material accomplishments in terms of power, prestige, money, etc. The goal was not to educate all children, but to educate a small minority of academic and economic elites. Within the colonial context, modern Western competitive education helped to produce the

educated native colonial subjects, who helped to run the governance in the colony as civil servants and bureaucrats, although native intellectuals during colonial times, such as Raja Rammohan Roy, advocated modern Western education for its intrinsic value to initiate much needed social reform within a society, which had become a "dreary desert sand of dead habit",[8] to quote Tagore. Historian of Indian education, Seth (2007) has discussed and analysed at great length the anxiety of 'moral crisis' which native elites and colonialists expressed because of the unintended outcomes of the introduction of modern Western education in colonial India.

In order to implement an inclusive model of schooling with 50% of children coming from poor disadvantaged backgrounds, Sister Valentine realized that she needed to instil a different set of values among the school community. If everybody would be competing to get ahead of everybody else, then nobody would come forward to help and assist the socially disadvantaged and marginalized. The following quote from an interview with Sister Valentine as cited in Mukherjee (2016:8–9) makes this point very clearly:

> The first thing I have to tackle is *competition*. Many of the schools are rife with competition. Competition means that the child who gets the highest marks gets the best prize every year. This makes the parents also rabid. Now they want their children to get the first prize. So, the first thing I have to tackle is children being pitted against each other for competition. Now when you get rid of that and bring in the idea of the community values, not competitive values, then you have already practically won the battle. Because if you have these competitive values when people are competing for half a mark, they are not going to stay back in the afternoon to help a poor child. They want to get their marks. They want tuition. But, when you remove that, then you compete with yourself. You strive for excellence at the level of your own potential, not someone else's. And, this relieves the children of a lot of pressure because they don't have to measure up to come first. They can all get the prize if they work hard enough. You will find a year after that the children will be willing to work for other children because the pressure is off them.

The above observations of Sister Valentine as an educator are similar to the research evidence and arguments of academic scholars in other contexts. Children coming from disadvantaged backgrounds miss the social and the cultural capital in school, which children from well-off backgrounds bring into school from home. This problem has been much discussed by academic scholars in different contexts in the US and in Australia (Ahlquist et al., 2011; Teese & Polesel, 2003). "School systems have evolved to ensure that the socially most advantaged children compete as a group, while the least advantaged children enjoy the fewest collective protections and compete most often as individuals" (Teese & Polesel, 2003:12).

By implanting the values of competing with one's own self to strive for excellence according to one's own potential, Sister Valentine sought to encourage the culture of peer-cooperation in school, rather than competition. Rankings and prizes based

on final exams in school were stopped and student achievements were individually assessed based on their progress throughout the year. Moreover, special merit certificates were established to recognize a student's work based on the heart values, such as 'compassion', 'service' and 'community engagement'. The selection for these certificates would be made after consultation with the general body of school staff, teachers and students.

Within the extremely hierarchical and socioeconomic class, caste, gender and religion divided Indian society, most children from well-off families never touch the lives of poor children unless they go into their houses as domestic servants who are often treated very badly like slaves. By bringing these children into the heart of the school, by making them mix with children from well-off families, having them stand in assembly, having them get up and take assemblies in front of others in the school, the inclusive pedagogic approach at Delphine Hart School under the leadership of Sister Valentine started breaking down all barriers. Since middle-class children, their parents and school staff became active stakeholders in the education of the marginalized, people began to see that these poor children are just the same as everybody else.

Moving beyond the deficit ideology often used to rationalize the failure of the marginalized, they started seeing that these children only lacked the opportunity, social network and mentoring which children from well-off families receive. Apart from tutorial help from school volunteers and peer-to-peer learning from advanced and senior students in the school, the school also hired special after-school tutors for students in the school's night-shelter home to provide additional support for children from disadvantaged backgrounds.

Guided by the principles of equity and social inclusivity, the school slowly started instituting several reform policies under the leadership of Sister Valentine.

- Teachers were given staggered work hours to help students in need.
- Students were allowed to come to school late if they have to commute long distance, as parents would be busy working as housemaids or selling vegetables in local markets. The entire system was made more flexible to accommodate the 50% of children coming from disadvantaged backgrounds.
- In order to make the school more democratic and inclusive, big classrooms of 50–60 children at Delphine Hart School would be divided into small groups of 10 with a mixed ability of children in every group, so that the smarter children or children coming from well-off backgrounds could support children coming from poor and disadvantaged backgrounds.
- A model of peer-to-peer learning was thus set up which connected children within the school and outside the school, when they would go out to teach children in the villages.
- Teachers would get promoted every year with their group of students to another class, so that teachers could form long-term relationships with them and be able to help them according to their needs. This was done particularly to provide the

additional pastoral support children coming from disadvantaged backgrounds needed. This policy of teacher promotion along with students was also welcomed by most teachers as it also provided them room for growing professionally, rather than the monotony of teaching the same syllabus and subject every year in the same classroom. Several teachers expressed this fact during our interviews.

- The school began running the National Institute of Open Schooling (NIOS)[9] curriculum alongside regular State Education Board curriculum to stop dropouts of disadvantaged children at any cost.

A good example of the success of these reform initiatives for social inclusion and choice is the case of Jolly, who is one of the daughters of a *Durwan* (gate-keeper) of the school. The following vignette from a teacher's interview narrates the story of Jolly.

> See, I have seen some children, as a teacher, who seem to be nowhere at all in academic rankings and yet what character! Jolly's case is particularly interesting in this respect. She was a difficult birth child and had a lot of learning difficulties that went up to class 5, as we do not have exams till class 4, and then she started falling behind but she was extremely brave and responsible. So she got some extra help from some of our school volunteers from abroad and went up to class 8. Then she enrolled in open school and cleared class 10 exams. Now she is preparing for nursing exam as well as higher secondary exams. At the beginning some of our students and parents were not sure of the open school curriculum. But, some of these children who have been through the curriculum from class 8 are doing very well as the curriculum allows them to choose the subjects they like rather than the compulsory burden of English and Math which many of them find difficult to master compared to specialized vocational subjects.

As an educator and school leader, Sister Valentine was convinced that once the wall dividing the children was broken down, it would never come back in their lives. Based on an analysis of teacher training handouts prepared by Sister Valentine, I referred to this inclusive pedagogic approach as "Educating the Heart and the Mind" (Mukherjee, 2016). Of course, because of her obvious religious background as a nun, a bias towards the spiritual heart values is evident in her model of education, which probably many educators trained in the secular atheistic traditions for social justice may not agree. However, in many ways Sister Valentine's approach to education goes back to moral philosophy and intrinsic purpose of education both in classical Eastern and Western society. The basic tenet of Sister Valentine's philosophy of education draws on both Eastern and Western spiritual approaches to education as 'just action' following the golden rule of 'care for the other', which 'prefigures' the formation of a just society in the future. This is evident from the fact that to argue for a more socially inclusive humanist education for democratic citizenship, Nussbaum (2006:7) quotes from Tagore to state that, "we may become powerful by knowledge,

but we attain fullness by sympathy… But we find that this education of sympathy is not only systematically ignored in schools, but it is severely repressed".

This holistic education of sympathy was the core of Tagore's pedagogic project to 'free the mind' of native Indian people from parochial shackles of social class, caste, religion, race and even gender divide, as early as during early 19th Century colonial British India. Much like Mandela's political approach of reconciliation, Tagore's approach was borne out of his reflection on his own schooling experience during colonial India. In his essay *My School*, delivered as a fund-raising speech in the United States, Tagore explained that his philosophy of education "was not any new theory of education, but the memory of my school day" (Tagore, 1917:138). However, O'Connell (2003, 2010) has argued that Tagore's pedagogic work and writings should not be seen as isolated from the diverse traditions of progressive educators from different parts of the world, such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Johan Pestalozzi, Freidrich Froebel, Maria Montessori and John Dewey, as well as early Buddhist centres of learning. Attentive to the individual child's learning needs, Tagore's inclusive approach to education can thus be read as part of the larger global intercultural dialogue on democratic pedagogic approaches for inclusive education.

Democratic political and educational reformers, such as Mandela and Tagore, are worshipped as 'saints' in the popular social imaginary around the world. However, as critiqued by Hogan (2003): "to see him (Tagore) as a saint is to violate the very principle of empathy that was so important to his life and art" as well as his education project. The same could apply to Mandela and his political project of freedom for the people of South Africa. Although he is worshipped as the champion of reconciliation and nonviolence in South Africa, Mandela (1994:485) wrote in his biography:

> I told reporters that there was no contradiction between my continuing support for the armed struggle and my advocating negotiations. It was the reality and the threat of the armed struggle that had brought the government to the verge of negotiations.

Similarly, in a recent publication, Dasgupta, Chakravarti and Mathew (2013:ix) quote from Nehru (1981) to assert that, "as Tagore grew older he became more and more radical in his outlook and views". This radical political aspect of fighting for social justice has been in many ways diluted within the mainstream discourse of reconciliation and deification. However, we should note here that the freedom that Tagore and Mandela sought in their own way was not totally achieved by them or the people. Newspaper headlines[10] and scholars like Nussbaum (1994) lament the decline of Tagore's cosmopolitan and inclusive educational ideals in postcolonial independent India and around the world. The truth of the matter is that the freedom that Tagore sought through education during colonial India was not achieved during his lifetime and even after 67 years of independence. Within the mainstream Indian system of education, Tagore's philosophical ideals of education remained in the periphery of Indian society and Shantiniketan remained as a 'special' school, like a 'special' child in a special education classroom and not an inclusive classroom.

Within the South African context, Soudien's (1998:28) study shows how naming student identity is "at once a fulfilment and a subversion of apartheid discourse". These are evidence of the fact that the project to 'free the minds' of people from parochial shackles as envisioned by Tagore and appreciated by Mandela is not an easy task. As Naseem and Hyslop-Margison (2006:59) conclude, "[a]lthough the sanguine hope of uniting citizens around the world on the basis of mutual respect is a potentially appealing aspiration… The challenge, it seems to us, is both a daunting academic and practical one".

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The discussion in this chapter based on an analysis of ethnographic data suggests the creative and humanist possibilities of inhabiting a "transnational relational space" (Massey, 2005). The spiritual awareness of the interconnectivity of our lives and intercultural dialogue with the cultural 'other' can be an inspiring and highly creative force. Mandela's social vision and political work in South Africa, Tagore's socially inclusive pedagogic project in India and Sister Valentine's inclusive educational work at Delphine Hart School are all evidence of this fact. However, evidence from Delphine Hart School also suggests that although the school's work has received much recognition nationally and globally for its model of inclusive reform, the Jesuitess order and the school seem to be in a state of high tension with recent leadership change and global neoliberal economic forces and imaginary, which appears to be reifying indigenous social class hierarchies and inequality (Mukherjee, 2015). This empirical research finding supports Rizvi's (2007) argument that neoliberal economic globalization seems to be "reversing the social gains" of the past decades by "introducing economic rationality into the public sphere". Edward Said (2000:436) wrote in *Travelling Theory Reconsidered*:

> The first time a human experience is recorded and then given theoretical formulation, its force comes from being directly connected to and organically provoked by real historical circumstances. Later versions of the theory cannot replicate its original power; because the situation has quieted down and changed, the theory is degraded and subdued, made into a relatively tame academic substitute for the real thing, whose purpose in the work I analysed was political change.

It appears that people and countries around the world have a long walk ahead to find out how to sustain meaningful intercultural dialogue and how to realize the promise of inclusive education for an inclusive society.

NOTES

[1] See http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/nelson-mandela-letter-mrs-manorama-bhalla-secretary- indian-council-cultural-relations-3-augu

[2] The specific name of the school and the name of the Catholic order have not been used for reasonsof anonymity as per research ethics protocol of the University of Melbourne. However, it is important to note here that the founding religious woman of the order back in Europe wanted to follow the scholarly

order of the Society of Jesus, which is exclusively for Jesuit religious men. So, she instituted her own order of scholarly nuns as the "Jesuitess" of the Catholic order, after facing much incarceration by the Vatican back in the early 17thC.

[3] Refer to the literature on "poor white" community during British India as discussed in the following publications: Arnold (1979), Hawes (1996) and Stoler (1989).

[4] The caste system in India has become a highly oppressive and discriminatory indigenous social practice, though some scholars claim that in ancient India these castes were mere professional labels like medieval European guilds.

[5] See: Dasgupta, B. (1974) The Naxalite movement derives its name from a small village Naxalbari on the tri-junction of India, Nepal and what was then East Pakistan, where tribals took up arms against the oppression of the landlords in 1967. The movement spread like wildfire to different parts of the country. Some of the finest brains and the cream of India's youth in certain areas left their homes and colleges to chase the dream of a new world, a new social order. Two decades had passed since the dawn of independence and yet large segments of the Indian population – peasants, workers and tribals – continued to suffer the worst forms of exploitation. The peaceful political process, it was felt, would not be able to bring about the necessary change because vested interests controlled the levers of power, regulated the wheels of industry and had a feudal stranglehold over the predominantly agrarian economy. An armed struggle was the only way out, they thought.

[6] Gandhi led the non-violent movement for swaraj (self-rule) towards the end of the freedom movement in India. As India attained self-rule, it witnessed mass migration of Europeans and even many Anglo-Indians out of India. Though *swaraj* was achieved after long negotiations, the country was also divided to eventually form three nations- India, Pakistan and later Bangladesh.

[7] This is part of the title of my recent paper Mukherjee (2016) published in Educational Philosophy and Theory, DOI: 10.1080/00131857.2016.1185002

[8] See: Tagore's famous poem from his Nobel winning volume of poems 'Gitanjali'- Where the mind is without fear: http://allpoetry.com/poem/8516621-Where-The-Mind-Is-Without-Fear-by-Rabindranath-Tagore

[9] A more flexible mode of curriculum

[10] See: http://ibnlive.in.com/news/ragging-at-visvabharati-university-girl-stripped-photographed-by- male-seniors/495108-3-231.html

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9. MANDELA'S INSPIRATION

Transformative Learning and Social Justice for U.S. Learners

Nelson Mandela's life is an inspiration and his legacy has become a symbol of the power of solidarity in the struggle to achieve human dignity and human rights. Mandela's personal characteristics and life history were central to leadership that mobilized South Africa and eventually the world in protest against the existing economic, political and social conditions resulting from a system of governed racial segregation enforced by the apartheid regime. Often compared to M. K. Gandhi and Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Mandela defined "an alternative viewpoint to the status-quo, developing [his] morality, and enhancing [his] capacity to withstand persecution" (Morselli & Passini, 2010:312). Waghid (2014) summarized the three interrelated aspects of *Madiba's* education legacy as:

1. Non-violence by deliberation, compassion and reconciliation;
2. Responsibility towards the 'other'; and
3. Cultivating a 'community of thinking'.

Humanism practiced by Mandela encouraged *forgiveness, reconciliation and hope,* facilitating awareness and producing knowledge that gave rise to the struggle for personal and societal transformation in South Africa. From protest to engagement, the connected themes of education and freedom emerged from Mandela's life and are central to his legacy. Mandela's struggles reinforced the relationship between education and freedom, and the need to protect both education and freedom from threats by the status quo. Education that produces knowledge to transform society cannot exist without freedom – and freedom does not exist without education. According to Freire (1970), education as the practice of freedom provides opportunities for self-reflection and critical thinking, expanding human possibilities (Giroux, 2010). Mandela's themes of education and freedom provided a foundation and inspiration for knowledge transformation and social justice leadership throughout the world. The struggle associated with Mandela's legacy is a 'gift' that may inspire generations in their journey toward justice and equality (Saleem, 2014).

Nelson Mandela's leadership of South Africa from apartheid to post-apartheid democracy, toward racial and economic equality is the inspiration for the U.S.

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 111–123.

educational immersion experience known as the *South Africa Initiative* (SAI). Developed at the Rutgers University Graduate School of Education, USA, SAI is designed to facilitate opportunities for transformative learning which are fundamental to social justice leadership. Inspired by Nelson Mandela's life philosophy, and connecting knowledge with place and time, SAI exposed learners to critical events that occurred during the apartheid era as well as present day life in post-apartheid South Africa. Within the historical and socio-political contexts of South Africa, Mandela's legacy of education and freedom provided U.S. learners with opportunities for *lived experiences* that encouraged self-examination and self-reflection. Mandela's humanism, in spite of structural racism, demonstrates the importance of identity, connectedness with others, and sustainability as critical to leadership for social justice (Jansen, 2016). Deeper understanding of the realities inherent in creating transformative change produces new knowledge to inspire learners toward leadership. Mandela's legacy has not only served to inform U.S. educational philosophy and theory, it has guided application of U.S. educational practice toward global humanity. In this chapter, we elaborate on U.S. learners' perceptions of Mandela's legacy and the impact of his legacy on perspectives toward societal transformation and leadership for social justice.

EDUCATION AND GLOBALISATION

Education, thought to be an equalizer, has not systematically erased social and economic stratifications in United States society. Despite U.S. education reform efforts, achievement gaps between white students and students of colour remain a focus of concern. Although the gap between students of colour and white students in the United States was reduced in the 1980s, insignificant and unsustainable improvements contributed to the widening of the achievement gap in the 1990s (Boykin & Noguera, 2011). In addition to social and economic challenges resulting from inequitable U.S. educational systems, the digital divide has resulted in additional barriers limiting access and opportunities for many poor and disenfranchised members of society. As a result, students of colour continue to be underrepresented in the U.S. educational pipeline (Samel, Sondergeld, Fischer, & Patterson, 2011; Thompson, Alfred, Edwards, & Garcia, 2006).

As technology advances, the way in which we live and interact with others in the world changes. Globalization and technology have reduced distance between people, and created continuous learning opportunities for cultural exchange (Tomlinson-Clarke, 2001). The rapid exchange of knowledge made possible through cyber communication, however, may be devoid of socio-historical and political contexts needed for informed understanding of individual and systemic barriers that continue to support social inequality. As a result, knowledge acquired is neither transformative nor sufficient for purposeful learning. Globalization devoid of knowledge transformation may serve to increase divisions between the

privileged and the oppressed. Mandela discussed the negative and positive outcomes of globalization, stating:

> Where globalization means, as it so often does, that the rich and powerful now have new means to further enrich and empower themselves at the cost of the poorer and weaker, we have a responsibility to protest in the name of universal freedom. Globalization opens up the marvellous opportunities for human beings across the globe to share with one another, and to share with greater equity in the advances of science, technology and industries. To allow it to have the opposite effect is to threaten freedom in the longer term. (Mandela, 2000, November, Speech after receiving the Freedom Award from the National Civil Rights Museum)

Education and freedom, as Mandela taught, have power to change the world by addressing issues of poverty and injustice. Rather than enlarging the digital divide, globalization that is informed by Mandela's vision may help in addressing inequities resulting from achievement and economic gaps in society. A diversified workforce prepared to meet the challenges of the 21st Century must develop the knowledge and skills to effectively interact in a technological and interdependent world (Hewins-Maroney & Williams, 2013). Globalization that is socially meaningful involves collaborative, international partnerships designed to advance societal transformation.

TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING, IDENTITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE

An on-going challenge in democratic societies is achieving social and economic equity among its diverse citizens. Historically, race has been used as a socially constructed divide by which whites were viewed as superior and privileged while racial-ethnic minority groups were treated as inferior and culturally deficient, resulting in marginalization and oppression (Sue & Sue, 2008). Although race may be defined differently based on the specific constructs of a society, the effects of racial socialization are evidenced "through the macrosystems used by a society to shape public discourse and institutional practices" (Thompson & Nelville, 1999).

Although the U.S. and South Africa are actively involved with efforts aimed toward appreciating their culturally diverse populations, historical events appear to influence views on national identity. A unified perspective may be more difficult to achieve given differing perceptions of identity and attitudes toward racial justice policy. These differing views influence a society's willingness and readiness for transformation with a vision and mission focused on improving educational, economic and social conditions for all people. Mandela viewed education as essential for unifying the nation, stating:

> The power of education extends beyond the development of skills we need for economic success. It can contribute to nation building and reconciliation. Our previous system emphasized the physical and other differences of South

> Africans with devastating effects. We are steadily but surely introducing education that enables our children to exploit their similarities and common goals, while appreciating the strength in their diversity. (President Mandela, 22 November 1997, Address at the Education Africa Presidential and Premier Education Awards)

With increased attention to social justice in the U.S. and abroad, academic disciplines (i.e. business, education, counselling, economics, geography, psychology, religion, social work) have integrated social justice into training and research (Palmer, 2004). Social justice provides a framework for 'moving to action' the principles of multiculturalism and diversity in society (Sue & Sue, 2013). Given a country's unique history and the racial/ethnic groupings created by social-political influences and racial socialization, however, it is often difficult to determine what constitutes social justice in contemporary, national, and local dynamics (Spalek, 2010). Social justice, therefore, "is a point of view that depends on the interpretative schemas and personal positions of its advocates for its definition" (Jones, 2006:885). However, a focus on a single discipline ignores the cultural and societal complexities and institutional forces that have marginalized and oppressed individuals and communities. It is important to understand the interplay of societal issues and dynamics from an informed, interdisciplinary approach. Using an interdisciplinary perspective prepares educators for their roles as social change agents. Roysircar (2006:78) asserted that educational professionals have an inherent responsibility to

> educate themselves and each other about their roles in a system of privilege and oppression, and to inspire each other toward transparency and equal access to information, compassion, participatory and inclusive decision-making, security of person and protection from fear and violence, and accountability.

Educational leaders acting as agents for social justice are challenged to prepare diverse learners to meet the demands of a 21st Century labour market and global economy (Goldrick-Rab, Carter, & Wagner, 2007). Using an interdisciplinary perspective, Buettner-Schmidt and Lobo (2011:954) defined social justice as, "full participation in society and the balancing of benefits and burdens by all citizens, resulting in equitable living and a just ordering of society". Sue and Sue (2013:108) discussed social justice in a democratic society as,

> an active philosophy and approach aimed at producing conditions that allow for equal access and opportunity; reducing or eliminating disparities in education, health care, employment, and other areas that lower the quality of life for affected populations…

In clarifying the concept, Sue and Sue (2013:110) elaborated that social justice:

1. Is a social change perspective focused on ending oppression and discrimination in society,

2. Assumes that inequality in society is not necessarily due to misunderstandings, poor communication or a lack of knowledge. Inequality is due to monopolies of power,
3. May result in inevitable conflict, which is not necessarily unhealthy (i.e. non-violent civil disobedience).

As a researcher and a practitioner with disciplines in psychology and sociology of education respectively, we understand the importance of and appreciate collaborating with universities, community NGOs (non-governmental organizations) and NPOs (non-profit organizations) in facilitating transformative learning experiences. Using an interdisciplinary approach allows for an examination of cultural, historical, physical, political and social dimensions. Understanding social relationships helps students to think critically and to develop advocacy skills in support of justice and equity.

Through social action and advocacy, justice for exploited, dominated, and marginalized people and communities may be attained (Speight & Vera, 2004). An interdisciplinary approach to social justice advocacy includes an understanding of micro-level and macro-level systems within a given socio-political context (Beer, Spanierman, Greene, & Todd, 2012). For these reasons, we chose to incorporate an ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) or bio-ecological model, (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998) in developing a model for transformative learning and social justice advocacy. Through this approach, we are better able to engage learners in an exploration of the social conditions and processes that have shaped the larger society, and the contextual factors influencing identity at national, group, and individual levels. A bio-ecological model lends itself to the study of culture and cultural issues as interdisciplinary science that consists of international researchers examining the microsystem, mesosystem and macrosystem in an attempt to better understand the complex interaction of factors that affect perceptions of identity, social justice and transformation at individual, community and national levels. The microsystem focuses on the individual and family interactions, the mesosystem focuses on the communities, and organizations, and macrosystem includes the national and social policies. The model includes:

1. Social, cultural, physical, and political structures that have influenced national identity (macrosystems).
2. Social and political dimensions influencing group (racial/ethnic identity) and personal identity (microsystems).
3. The relationship to the microsystems resulting in barriers or supports (mesosystem).
4. The influence of identity at the macrosystem and mesosystem levels on the perceptions of racial justice, racial justice policy and social justice.

SAI: TRANSFORMATIVE LEARNING AND SOCIAL JUSTICE LEADERSHIP

An interdisciplinary approach to social justice advocacy with goals of transforming society and inspiration from Mandela's legacy were used in developing an

international cultural immersion experience that explored micro and macro societal systems in South Africa. To date, over 200 U.S. adult learners have participated in SAI, and reported that the experience enriched their understanding of social transformation as a way of achieving a balanced society.

Developed in 2001 at the Graduate School of Education at Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, USA, the 3-credit interdisciplinary course is taught during the month of July. Course objectives include: (1) increasing cultural awareness and cultural knowledge, (2) challenging cultural beliefs and culturally biased assumptions, (3) examining institutional and systemic barriers that reinforce social inequities, and (4) developing new knowledge and skills in support of personal and societal transformation. The philosophical orientation for the course is grounded in Mandela's connected themes of education and freedom. Transformative learning experiences are guided by Mandela's humanism as exemplified through beliefs in the power of forgiveness, reconciliation and hope.

Through a two-week immersion in local community schools and non-profit organizations, U.S. learners examined issues of identity, race and culture within the historical and socio-political contexts of post apartheid South Africa. Learners also engaged in service learning in communities in the Western Cape, Gauteng and Free State Provinces. Through the process of culturally focused service learning (Brady-Ammon, Makhija, Dixit, & Dator, 2012; Harmon-Vukić & Schanz, 2012; Tomlinson-Clarke & Clarke, 2010), situational and contextual factors impacting the everyday life of individuals living in communities are experienced. Additionally, cultural realities in South Africa provided learners with the historical and socio-political contexts for engaging in conversations focused on race, power, privilege and oppression. Participants explored the legacy of Nelson Mandela and gained knowledge of South African history and culture through guided visits to the Apartheid Museum, Voortrekker Monument, Hector Pieterson Museum, Robben Island, District Six Museum, and the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory. Through these experiences, students also were exposed to different interpretations and representations of South Africa's history and the current realities in society post apartheid.

Many of these cultural landmarks served as 'triggering events' that were instrumental in assisting SAI participants to challenge existing beliefs, to make meaning and connections with their own histories and identities. In discussing Mandela's personal transformation during his imprisonment under the apartheid government, Heilman and Clarke (2016) emphasized the impact of triggering events on transformative learning experiences of SAI participants. New knowledge gained by seeing and feeling Mandela's struggle, his ultimate release from 27 years of imprisonment and his assent to the first democratically elected president of South Africa was the catalyst that moved individuals toward critical examination of their own personal transformation.

Through immersion in diverse socio-cultural environments, SAI learners were encouraged to use self-reflection in challenging cultural assumptions, cultural

biases, and in monitoring emotions. Tomlinson-Clarke and Clarke (2016) noted the importance of incorporating group debriefings throughout the course while abroad to afford students opportunities to share reflections and to engage in ongoing critical discourse. Participants were encouraged to keep journals or use blogging to document reflections. Ishii, Gilbride and Stensrud (2009) identified the processing of emotions as a way to facilitate emotional awareness during cultural immersion training. Also, reflection provided opportunities for participants to explore *subjectivities* and *identities*, and to engage in meaningful self-examination toward developing social advocacy and leadership competencies (Brady-Ammon, Makhija, Dixit, & Dator, 2012).

Through lived realities in South Africa, SAI learners experienced the concept of UBUNTU. The cardinal spirit of Ubuntu was expressed in Xhosa as, "Umntu ngumntu ngabanye abantu" – and in English as, "people are people through other people." "I am human because I belong to the human community and I view and treat others accordingly." SAI learners were taught and experienced the collectivism of Ubuntu as:

- The potential for being human.
- Valuing the good of community above self-interest.
- Striving to help people in the spirit of service.
- Showing respect to others and to be honest and trustworthy.
- Regarding humanity as an integral part of the eco-systems that lead to a communal responsibility to sustain life.
- Sharing natural resources on a principle of equity among and between generations.
- Fairness to all.
- Compassionate.
- A collective respect for human dignity.
- Referring to people.
- Recognized when you experience it.

EXPERIENCING MANDELA'S INSPIRATION FOR U.S. EDUCATION

Immersion in South Africa enabled SAI learners to experience the realities of a vision of justice and equality as well as the obstacles that disrupt progress. The parallel histories between South Africa and the United States also were realized. Both are culturally diverse and multilingual societies that have struggled to achieve human and civil rights, and freedom in light of racial, economic and educational inequities. Both the United States and South Africa are multi-racial, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual countries with histories of negative majority-minority relationships that have embraced a national effort toward social justice and equity. The United States legitimized racial segregation through local, state, and national laws (Plessy vs. Ferguson, 1896). A rigid system of social, spatial, and political engineering was created and reinforced in South Africa during apartheid (Ramsamy, 2011).

South Africa and the United States both fought for human dignity in countries where racists polices were used to separate, marginalize and oppress people. Similar to the racialized history that lead to the United States fight for civil rights and freedom, South Africa was met with insurmountable challenges resulting from the racialization and ethnicization of apartheid. The dream of a diverse multicultural and multilingual democratic society was the vision that fuelled the struggle to achieve equality. Connecting with the theme for a common vision, one SAI learner reflected, "[h]ow very different we are in some ways and then in other ways we are all the same." Jansen (2016) reminds us neither the United States nor South Africa has achieved a 'post-racial society'. He further stressed the critical need for bold, collective leadership for social justice in transforming societies.

Although similarities in the quest for social justice are acknowledged, the differences between the two nations in their progress to achieve equity are profound. To this end, Jones (2006) compared the persistence of racial inequality in the United States after over four hundred years to South Africa's capacity to dismantle itself from the 51-year history of the social engineering of apartheid, and to instil the values of human dignity and goals of racial and gender equality. Yet, the struggle for racial and economic equality continues (Pilger, 2007). Maanga (2013) reminds us of the virtues inherent in Mandela's legacy central to which is the belief in social transformation that benefits all citizens. Mandela shared this vision and stated:

> We in South Africa are convinced that it is both possible and practicable to reach our goal of a better life for all in the shortest possible time. We derive our confidence from the knowledge that this is a vision shared by the overwhelming majority of South Africans across the colour and political divides. (Mandela, New Delhi, India, 25 January 1995)

Mandela possessed the characteristics and abilities to display pro-social disobedience behaviours that ultimately led a country and the world in a fight for human dignity. Fears that sentencing of life imprisonment at the Rivonia trail for Mandela and other anti-apartheid activists would result in their invisibility to the public became quite the contrary (Ramsmay, 2013). Morselli and Passini (2010) noted the changes that Mandela underwent in prison that transformed his perspectives and attitudes to moral inclusion. In his autobiography, Mandela connected his sense of social responsibility becoming more salient as his life progressed. "[A] precise time sequence to the development of his own moral sense and social responsibility, Mandela moved from a self-focused responsibility (i.e. his own freedom) to a socially oriented responsibility (i.e. freedom for all)" (Morselli & Passini, 2010:312). A poignant parallel is the salient sense of social responsibility that emerged from the global community in response to Mandela and the people's struggle for freedom and justice. A mounting international opposition to the South African apartheid government was realized through demonstrations, boycotts and consciousness-raising. Not since the 1960s civil rights movement had Americans so willingly coalesced around issues of human dignity and rights.

Lessons of constitutional, political legislative, economic and social transformation are demonstrated through post-apartheid South Africa's peaceful transition to a democratic society (Hall, 2013). Two momentous events that served as inspiration for Mandela's themes of education and freedom were the release of Nelson Mandela from 27 years of imprisonment on February 11, 1991 and the democratic election in which Nelson Mandela became president of a democratic South Africa. Citing the election of Nelson Mandela as a transformation of South African society, Jones (2006:902) asserted: "The democratic elections, held on April 12, 1994, heralded a dramatic triumph of freedom over oppression, human dignity over evil". Lessons of constitutional, political legislative, economic and social transformation were demonstrated (exemplified) through post apartheid South Africa's peaceful transition to a democratic society (Hall, 2013). The National Party was defeated which resulted in a new Parliament and the inauguration of Nelson Mandela as the first democratically elected President. Old symbols and holidays were replaced by new symbols, and holidays in the liberation calendar: Human Rights Day [March 21], Freedom Day [April 27], Youth Day [June 16], and Women's Day [August 9] (Jansen, 2009). Racial transformation policies implemented by the ANC included affirmative action in education, employment and sport, Black economic empowerment and land reform (Durrheim, Dixon, Tredoux, Eaton, Quayle, & Clack, 2009). Furthermore, social movements in 1999 resulted in less expensive AIDS medicines, and improvements in water, sanitation, electricity, and housing (Bond, 2012).

In a review essay of two books on social movements, Wettergren (2010:345) wrote "the anti-apartheid movement provided the networks and know-how necessary to build a global civil society, but their legacy is also carried on into new solidarity networks and the contemporary critique of economic globalization". With Nelson Mandela as the President of the country, the post apartheid challenge was to respond to the education, social and economic needs of all citizens. "South Africa's new democratic government committed itself in 1994 to transforming education as well as the inherited social and economic structures and institutionalizing a new social order" (Badat & Sayed, 2014:128). The dismantling of apartheid began the transformation in South African society and a new democratic system.

IMPACT OF MANDELA'S LEGACY ON U.S. LEARNERS

Self-reflections of U.S. learners suggested the ways in which experiences in South Africa affected their learning. Opportunities to discuss reflections with others helped to advance their knowledge and commitment to social justice.

District Six and Robben Island

> Yesterday we went to District Six Museum and Robben Island where we got to see up close the impact of apartheid. Now that I look back on the experience I can appreciate it better because while I was in the moment I kept comparing

> what I saw and heard to slavery in America. What I take away from that is that we, meaning all human beings, must hold all who wish to oppress a group of people because of gender, race, religion, or sexual orientation accountable and challenge them. For one to sit by and do nothing doesn't grant you immunity. I thank God for reflection and self-reflection because now I can be critical of my own thought process thereby challenging myself which results into personal and professional growth. (SAI Learner)

Heilman and Clarke (2016) noted the powerful impact of historical spaces, and the personal connections that visitors make to Mandela's legacy. Robben Island is one of many triggering events of Mandela's life that moved SAI learners toward deeper self-examination. In their chapter on transformative learning, they describe (2016:49) the lived experiences of SAI learners, stating,

> [SAI learners] are here on Robben Island to see first-hand where Nelson Mandela was imprisoned for 17 years by South Africa's apartheid government. The experience has already been sobering and effective. It is one thing to read about Mandela's years of captivity and sacrifice, it is another to be present at the site and see the stark and cold prison catacomb, visit the courtyard where Mandela would spend countless hours breaking limestone rocks into smaller stones while squatting on the ground, feel the strong winds of the Atlantic Ocean chill your body and hear personal accounts of endurance from former political prisoners.

Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory

> We visited the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory, located a short walk from Nelson Mandela's home in Houghton, Johannesburg. There we found the archives of Mr. Mandela's correspondence with family, comrades and friends, diaries written during his 27 years of imprisonment, and notes he made while leading the negotiations that ended Apartheid in South Africa. Visiting the Centre in the beginning of the two-week immersion experience was profound, as archives further documented his life, legacy and vision. I heard a student say, "I felt a presence the moment I walked in the door, a feeling of awe and emotion, before I even found out that Mr. Mandela had been there. He is definitely still there." (SAI Facilitator)

The visit to the *Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory* exposed learners to the research, advocacy of critical social issues, coordination, research sharing and collaboration between 'memory' institutions. The Centre reinforced dialogue that is fundamental to the legacy of Nelson Mandela, and to South Africa's transition from apartheid to democracy by convening conversations around critical issues of equity and social justice. Evident are the contributions that the foundation has made in addressing current challenges facing South African society (e.g. poverty,

HIV/AIDS, unemployment and a failing educational system). Clear to the SAI group were the parallels with similar issues experienced in the United States. Paramount in the conversation is the lack of activism and empowerment, the growing dependency on government, the lack of attention to Global Warming, and the important role that non-governmental organizations (NGOs) might play in bringing about sustainable solutions to many of the problems that exist across the globe. "Citizens must be willing to be self-reflective and heal. The purpose of freedom is to work for the freedom of others. If you have privilege, use it to help others" (Harris, personal communication, July, 22, 2014).

Promoting the *International Nelson Mandela Day* campaign inspired SAI learners to take action to help change the world for the better and reinforced the vision of Mandela's legacy for education and freedom. As one learner reflected, "[a]ll people are urged to find inspiration for their contribution in the legacy of Nelson Mandela and to adhere to the ethical framework of "service to one's fellow human". "In the words of another SAI learner, "Mandela left us with some very profound words that represent my responsibility as an American citizen. I will try to practice willingly as long as I live".

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was described as "a resistance fighter and humble man whose passion for social justice overcame all odds of a violent racist system to establish democracy on the basis of forgiveness and reconciliation, leaving behind an enormous legacy" (Peters, 2014:1). Many have written about Mandela's accomplishments as well as his shortcomings as President, and the current state of South Africa with regards to achieving economic and racial equality (Foster, 2014; Lyman, 2014; Maanga, 2013; Masiza, 1999). Few, however, would deny the impact of Mandela's legacy on the pursuit of freedom and democracy (Saleem, 2014). For U.S. learners, experiencing South Africa and learning about events leading to the country's transition to democracy deepened their understanding of self, their relationships with others, the importance of social responsibility and the challenges in the struggle for justice and equity in society.

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10. THE IDEA OF HIGHER EDUCATION AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR SOCIAL MOBILITY AND SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION

A Critique of Nelson Mandela

INTRODUCTION

On becoming president of democratic South Africa in 1994, Nelson Mandela implored, "Let there be justice for all. Let there be peace for all. Let there be work, bread, water and salt for all. Let each know that for each the body, the mind and the soul have been freed to fulfil themselves" (1994a: paras. 27–30). Elsewhere, he observed that "to be free is …to live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others," and that this was "the true test of our devotion to freedom" (1994b:624–625). This implies a respect for difference, appreciation of diversity, and a powerful commitment to inclusion. He emphasized, "that none of us acting alone can achieve success. We must therefore act together as a united people … for the birth of a new world" (1994a: para. 26).

Mandela was wont to comment that he moved among people "not as a prophet, but as a humble servant of you, the people" (1990: para. 1). Like other luminous leaders, Mandela adhered to "some key fundamental values", and bequeathed the world a legacy of selfless leadership. He possessed an "egalitarian spirit", a "generosity of spirit and a common" (Maylam, 2011:10; 270). He had "a sense of obligation to further the common good" and held the conviction that "governments and leaders bear the responsibility to create conditions in which all humans can realize their potential" (Maylam, 2011:8). He believed in the "innate worth and dignity of all human beings", had "an unwavering commitment to democracy and human rights" and "a determination to pursue and promote social and economic justice" (Maylam, 2011:8, 16, 17). For Mandela, "promoting democracy and human rights meant creating channels of popular participation, and according "proper access of all to education, health care, personal security and justice" (Maylam, 2011:8).

The reality is that Mandela's wonderful ideals have to be pursued in a less than propitious context of the hegemony of the ideology of neo-liberalism, and severe and growing economic inequalities globally and nationally. Neo-liberalism holds that "the social good will be maximized by maximizing the reach and frequency of market transactions, and it seeks to bring all human action into the domain of the market" (Harvey, 2005:3). Importantly, it holds that "if markets do not exist

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 125–136.

(in areas such as land, water, education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution) then they must be created, by state action if necessary" (Harvey, 2005:2). Neo-liberal thinking and ideas have come to dominate economic and social policies, institutions, and practices. For one, the conception of development has become essentially economistic and reduced to economic growth and enhanced economic performance. This is to be contrasted with development as "a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy" (Sen, 1999:3). Development reduced to economic growth has given rise to goals, policies, institutional arrangements and actions that focus primarily on promoting growth. Globalization and neo-liberal ideology have also brought in their wake a "market society" in which a rampant "culture of materialism" is in danger of transforming "a reasonable utilitarianism… into Narcissist hedonism" (Nayyar, 2008:5).

Not surprisingly, "the logic of the market has…defined the purposes of universities largely in terms of their role in economic development" (Berdahl, 2008:48). Public investment in higher education comes to be justified largely in terms of economic growth alone and preparing students for the labour market. The notions of higher education as simply another tradable service and a private good have influenced public financing, and impacted on the structure and nature of higher education. As public universities have sought out 'third stream income' to supplement resources, this has often resulted in "at one end, the commercialization of universities (which) means business in education. At the other end, the entry of private players in higher education means education as business" (Nayyar, 2008:9). Driven by market forces and the technological revolution, globalization is "exercising an influence on the nature of institutions that impact higher education", on the "ways and means of providing higher education", and is "shaping education both in terms of what is taught and what is researched, and shifting both student interests and university offerings away from broader academic studies and towards narrower vocational programmes" (Nayyar, 2008:7; Duderstadt et al., 2008:275).

The harnessing of universities for economic advantage means that today certain kinds of knowledge and research, especially those generated by the natural, medical, and business sciences and engineering are privileged. There is either benign tolerance or outright neglect of the arts and humanities, and to a lesser extent the social sciences. Yet, it should be noted that in emphasizing the importance of "the science and technology systems" to the "new economy," Castells immediately added "including, of course, the humanities" (1993:69). With regard to Africa it has been argued that "attempts to improve Africa's prospects by focusing on scientific advances and the benefits accruing from them have all too often overlooked the important perspectives which the humanities and social sciences afford." It "is vital that the social sciences and humanities are granted their rightful place…if Africa's development challenges are to be fully and properly addressed" (Mkandawire, 2009:vii). At the same time, Mkandawire cautions against a 'developmentalism' in which research becomes the narrow instrument of "the developmental state," and

ignores various other "aspects of our people's lives" (Mkandawire, 1994:4). Here, 'development' becomes

> an alienating and humiliating concept for people helplessly sensing that they are to be 'developed' and made to feel that their preoccupations are retrograde…. Our people's spiritual concerns, their history, their sense of identity, their intellectual and aesthetic aspirations – all these are marginalized or even banished from a discourse whose primary concern is 'development'". (Mkandawire, 1994:5)

This is salutary counsel. There has to be space for the arts and humanities to interrogate fundamentally and critically ideas and conventional wisdoms related to development, progress, democracy, equality and inequality, their meanings, and their articulation within divergent discourses, including also questioning Mandela's ideas on democracy and a just society.

MANDELA AND EDUCATION

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere wrote in a sustained way on education. Nyerere was known to turn many occasions into "teaching-learning situation(s)" and didactic engagements (Mulenga, 2010:468). His "concept of his role as national leader" involved "education in the broadest sense," and post-independence Tanzania became "something of a giant in-service seminar, with Nyerere in the professor's chair" (Kassam, 1994:1). Not surprisingly, this approach earned Nyerere the title of Mwalimu (Teacher). Mandela, in contrast, did not author any books or articles on education. He, however, placed great emphasis on education, which he viewed as "the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world" (Mandela, 2003: para. 13). He also held that "Education is the great engine of personal development. It is through education that the daughter of a peasant can become a doctor, that the son of a mineworker can become the head of a mine, that a child of farmworkers can become the president of a great nation" (Mandela, 1994b:166). In the context of the ravages of colonialism and apartheid on the education of black and working class South Africans, and the necessity for the formerly oppressed to equip themselves to lead, govern themselves, and to build a new constitutional democracy, it is understandable that Nelson Mandela laid great stress on literacy, reading, and education. The reference to the offspring of peasants, mineworkers, and farmworkers reflected Mandela's ready reaching "out to people of humble origin and lowly status" (Maylam, 2011:270).

Access to high quality education and higher education and meaningful opportunities to succeed is certainly one pathway for the "daughter of a peasant," the "son of a mineworker" and a "child of farmworkers" to transcend their parents' class origins and/or locations, and to carve out economically more salubrious lives. However, dispassionate contemplation is necessary on the relationship between education and economic and social mobility, and social change. While it is a widely-held belief that

education is a critical instrument for social development and transformation, it may be "accorded (too) immense and unwarranted weight," especially when it is considered in isolation from the conditions outside education "which may either facilitate or block the effects" of education (Wolpe & Unterhalter, 1991:2–3). Education is powerfully shaped by the economic and social structures of societies. It is the object and outcome of ideological and political contestation between different social forces that accord it various and often diverse and even paradoxical social functions. It, thus, operates within a framework of both possibilities and *constraints*. Not surprisingly, education plays a contradictory role. It simultaneously conserves and reproduces certain aspects of extant social, cultural and economic structures, relations and practices, while it possibly erodes and transforms other aspects of these structures, relations and practices. For example, under certain circumstances education could be pivotal in eroding racism and different kinds of prejudices, and building respect and appreciation for difference and diversity – whether in terms of 'race', nationality, gender, sexual orientation, language or culture. Concomitantly, it could play no or little role in undermining class privileges, or patriarchy or sexism, and may even reinforce these through its own institutional structure, culture, and practices.

In a seminal article that analysed the relationship between education and development and was tellingly sub-titled "From the Age of Innocence to the Age of Scepticism," Hans Weiler (1978:182) argued:

> There is little evidence to suggest that education, even with a tremendous effort at reducing … its own internal disparities, is likely to have an appreciable impact on the achievement of greater distributive justice in the society at large, as long as that society is under the influence of a relatively intact alliance of economic wealth, social status and political power which is interested in preserving the status quo.

With regard to South Africa, it has been argued that "ostensibly consensual and unifying radical visionary policy frameworks," such as the 1997 White Paper on higher education, which promise social equity, redress, and social justice "often obfuscate the reality of power and historically entrenched privilege" (Motala, 2003:7). And that,

> in reality, many of the articles relating to equity are not achievable without purposeful [even aggressive] and directed strategies, which set out deliberately to dismantle the core of historical privilege, disparities in wealth, incomes and capital stock, critical to unlock the possibilities for social justice and fairness. (Motala, 2003:7)

There is ample evidence that is the case. The question is whether the South African state is willing to be "directive and interventionist", to take "positive discriminatory measures in favour of the poor", display "political courage in the face of administrative challenges, and whether it possesses "the will to defy public discontent from highly articulate and organized interests" (Motala, 2003:7).

KEY PROPOSITIONS

Taking into account Mandela's claims for the transformative possibilities of education, and the arguments of Weiler and Motala leads to my *first proposition*: Higher education holds the promise of contributing to social justice, economic and social development, and democratic citizenship. Yet, this promise often remains unrealized, and higher education instead becomes a powerful mechanism of social exclusion and injustice. The reason is that education is not an autonomous social force. It is a necessary condition of positive social change, but not a sufficient condition. If the concern is social justice and rich, rewarding and productive lives for all people, there have to be bold and purposeful social justice-oriented initiatives in other arenas of contemporary societies if education is to contribute effectively to creating more just societies.

We frequently proclaim a commitment to social mobility: to people from historically and socially disadvantaged and marginalized social groups – the urban and rural working class, the unemployed, blacks, women, indigenous communities, Afro-descendants and the like – being provided opportunities to enter occupations and professions that tend to be filled by, almost as a matter of birth-right, those who are from wealthy and middle-class backgrounds. Facilitating social mobility is an important responsibility and function of higher education and universities. For too long, universities have, for a variety of reasons, provided access to mainly those from wealthy and middle-class families and our doors have been largely closed to subaltern groups.

Yet, formal equality and democracy are no guarantees of equity of access, opportunity and outcomes for subaltern social groups. It is precisely this reality that gives salience to the ideas of *social equity* and *active measures of redress* in higher education as necessary conditions for creating more equitable universities and societies. Providing meaningful opportunities to socially disadvantaged and marginalized social groups to enter and succeed in higher education entails two things. First, it involves systematically identifying and abolishing all unjust structures, policies, and practices at universities that discriminate against and disadvantage people on the grounds of social class, 'race', ethnicity, gender, language, religion, disability, and the like. Second, institutions have to institute various measures of positive discrimination and empowerment, including critical academic transformations related to epistemological and ontological issues and curriculum, pedagogy and assessment; academic development initiatives; transformation of institutional cultures, and providing adequate financial support for talented students from subaltern social groups.

Fundamental here is taking teaching and learning seriously, activities that tend to be neglected and overshadowed by the supposedly more important and glamorous endeavour of research. The misguided naturalization of teaching and learning and their depiction as innate abilities or common-sense activities is untenable. Drawing on Antonio Gramsci, Carr points out that …the distinctive feature of common sense

is not that its beliefs and assumptions *are* true but that it is a style of thinking in which the truth of these beliefs and assumptions is regarded as self-evident and taken for granted. What is commonsensical is *ipso facto* unquestionable and does not need to be justified (Carr, 1995:53–54). A much more rigorous theorization of teaching and learning and deep reflection on contextual realities is needed, if meaningful opportunities are to be created for socially disadvantaged and marginalized social groups to succeed in higher education.

It means critical engagement with the "educational process in higher education – including curriculum frameworks, the assumptions on which these are based, course design, and approaches to delivery and assessment" (Scott et al., 2007:73). It also entails building educational expertise that caters effectively for student under-preparedness, diversity and inclusion, enhancing the capabilities of academics to revise and redesign curriculum, and promoting the status of teaching and learning. As a necessary consequence of the imperative of social justice, students entering universities will possess increasingly diverse social and educational backgrounds and experiences. They "know different things and in different ways to 'traditional' student cohorts. We have to engage with these students not as deficient but as different. This calls for thinking deeply about teaching and learning" (Boughey, 2008). Curriculum is critical to equity of opportunity and outcomes and a social justice agenda, and a responsive curriculum needs to address simultaneously "economic, cultural, disciplinary and learning-related" issues (Moll, 2005:2).

It has to be recognized that while "academic language … is no one's mother tongue" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1994:8); the achievement of academic literacy is more readily attainable for some students than for other students. This requires giving attention to how students are supported to become academically literate.[1] The academy's 'ways of knowing' are based on particular conventions and practices; these are more foreign to some students than to others. Greater student diversity entails the need to re-think the privileging of certain 'ways of knowing'. Many universities speak of the so-called 'under-preparedness' of students for higher learning. Here, there is "the danger of labelling, and thus pathologising, the students as underprepared", avoiding any "focus on the 'under-preparedness'" of universities and academics.[2] Yet, under-preparedness on the part of students occurs "within an epistemic context that is in some way or another opaque or inaccessible to" them. It "is not some abstracted psychological condition" that students possess,

> but is a relation between a familiar cultural context, which (they have) internalised, and the unfamiliar cultural and institutional context (a university environment), which (they have) not yet internalised. *All* students experience disadvantage when they enter into university learning practices, but some struggle more with it as a consequence of their specific learning histories. (Moll, 2005:11; emphasis in original)

South African universities remain shaped by historical, class, racial and gender privilege, and suffused by traditions, customs, norms, and images associated with their colonial, religious, and language origins. The lack of financial support for indigent students, and the institutional and academic cultures of universities tend to be experienced by blacks and women, and especially working class and rural poor students as discomforting, alienating, exclusionary, and disempowering. They compromise to varying degrees equality of opportunity and outcomes for black and especially students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds. The 2015–2016 student protests make clear that insufficient attention has been given to the institutional, cultural, expressive, and symbolic dimensions of universities and how these impede ethical conduct, human dignity and rights, active democratic participation, and critical citizenship. The fractures, bitterness, anger, pains, hurts, worries, and anxieties that suffuse South Africa, are evident at universities. The systematic and progressive transformation of institutional cultures, including uprooting historical cultural traditions and practices that impede the development of more open, participatory, and inclusive intellectual and institutional cultures, welcoming, respecting, and affirming difference, and the inclusion of black and especially working class and rural poor student that increasingly constitute are critical and urgent tasks.

My *second proposition* is that if the academic and institutional cultural transformations that are required are not taken seriously and given effect, opportunities will continue to be denied to people for no other reason than their social backgrounds. This is a tragic waste of the talents and potential of individuals from socially subaltern groups – from amongst who may be another Albert Einstein, Marie Curie, Angela Davis, or Nelson Mandela. It also compromises democracy, which usually proclaims the promise of greater equality and a better life for all people.

My *final proposition* is that to speak of higher education providing those from working class or rural poor backgrounds a pathway to middle-class occupations is to unduly confine higher education's role and responsibilities, and is to have too modest and limited an expectation of higher education. It also reduces the importance of higher education to its economic and labour market functions. On both counts, the value of higher education is unduly restricted and denuded of its critical wider social roles and functions. The challenges of universities also encompass the imperatives of social equity and justice, the democratisation of states and societies, the building of cultures of human rights, creating vibrant civil societies, and promoting cultures of vigorous and critical intellectual public discourse. In any event, currently, extremely limited numbers of people from working class and rural poor backgrounds are served effectively by universities with respect to access, opportunities, and success. It also cannot be blithely assumed that the production through higher education of more high level professionals from economically disadvantaged backgrounds will necessarily have positive effects irrespective of the external political and economic order. While

knowledge, expertise, and skills cultivated by universities is a necessary condition, it is not a sufficient condition for securing decent employment. This depends on the existence of appropriate economic and social policies and the availability of jobs. Graduates from working class and rural poor backgrounds often fare less well in securing employment than those from wealthy and middle class families.

It is not disputed that through different kinds of scholarship, research, and academic programmes, universities must engage effectively with the economic challenges of their local, regional, national, continental, and global contexts, including the imperatives of economic development, the creation of decent jobs and the elimination of unemployment, poverty, and inequality. The rise of an economy in which science and knowledge increasingly play a critical role, and are prized for the economic advantage that they can confer on businesses and countries means that knowledge production and the development and application of knowledge takes on a new significance. As Castells (1993:66) has noted,

> the science and technology systems of the new economy (including, of course, the humanities) are equivalent to the factories of the industrial age. Not that manufacturing will disappear, but the new manufacturing of the twenty-first century (as well as agriculture and advanced services) will only be able to perform on the basis of a new, highly developed cultural, scientific, and technological system.

The implication is that "if knowledge is the electricity of the new informational international economy, then institutions of higher education are the power sources on which a new development process must rely" (Castells, 1993:66). Universities clearly take on great importance in this context. Although universities are not the sole knowledge-producing and research and development institutions, they remain important sites, especially of fundamental research.

VALUING HIGHER EDUCATION

Beyond questions related to economic development, there are at least three wider issues with which universities must engage. First, a four-fold development challenge confronts all societies, and especially underdeveloped societies: How is *economic development* (not growth alone) to be pursued with greater *social equity*, in a way that is *environmentally sustainable*, and also extends and deepens *democracy* globally and in diverse societies? And crucially, how is this to be achieved *simultaneously* rather than sequentially or consecutively? How do universities engage proactively and actively with this significant four-fold challenge? What are the implications for the epistemic purposes of universities and the core purposes of teaching and learning, research, and community engagement? Given the diverse and complex challenges, can the natural, medical and business sciences, and engineering continue to be privileged to the detriment of the arts, humanities and social sciences?

Second, universities have to contribute to forging a critical and democratic citizenship. The task is not only to produce capable professionals; it also is "the arduous formation of a critical, creative and compassionate citizenry" (Higher Education South Africa, 2007:8). As the Indian Nobel Laureate Rabindranath Tagore (1917) put it "We may become powerful by *knowledge*, but we attain fullness by *sympathy*" (p. 142). Martha Nussbaum has argued that if higher education is to be the 'cultivation of humanity', "three capacities… are essential" (2006:5). The "first is the capacity for critical examination of oneself and one's traditions"; second is that students see themselves "as human beings bound to all other human beings by ties of recognition and concern" – which necessitates knowledge and understanding of different cultures and "differences of gender, race, and sexuality" (Nussbaum, 2006:5, 6). Third, is "the ability to think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person's story, and to understand the emotions and wishes and desires that someone so placed might have" (Nussbaum, 2006:6–7).

The contribution of higher education to democracy and citizenship is, however, not exhausted by the 'cultivation of humanity'. There are various ways that universities can, through the pursuit of their core purposes, contribute to the assertion and pursuit of ethical conduct, social and human rights, active democratic participation and critical citizenship. Universities can, through their own ethos, structures, processes and practices, serve as models for the respect, defence and promotion of human rights, democracy and democratic participation. However, it would be a mistake to conceive higher education in purely political and instrumental terms, for this would miss its potentially vital cultural, expressive, and symbolic contributions.

Third, universities must proactively engage with contemporary societies at the intellectual and cultural level as part of contributing to developing a critical citizenry. This entails a cognitive praxis of social commentary and critique, and the shaping of world-views and ideas. Beyond communicating with peer scientific communities, universities have the responsibility, in the words of Stephen Jay Gould, also to "… convey the power and beauty of science to the hearts and minds…" of the general public. There is a "… long and honourable tradition of popular presentation of science…" and it would be a 'mistake' to "equate popularization with trivialization, cheapening, or inaccuracy" (Popular Science section, 2006: paras. 1, 2). The issue of communicating beyond the confines of universities and scientific communities poses whether universities and scholars engage sufficiently with the public and serve adequately as catalysts of critical public education and intellectual debate, as part of higher education's rationale of advancing the public good. What is involved here is more than simply transmission of some established body of knowledge to users in the wider society, but a matter of the involvement of scholars in reflexive communication – an argumentative, critical, and thoughtful public engagement that shapes the very constitution of knowledge (Delanty, 2001). Its purpose is human freedom, through continuously extending and deepening economic, political, social, and cultural opportunities and rights, so that all may lead rich, productive and rewarding lives.

CONCLUSION

To return to Mandela's statement that "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world" (2003: para. 13), I have proposed that while indeed "the world cannot be transformed without education," education on its own "cannot transform the world" (Nasson as cited in Chisholm, 2004:13). Changing the world and societies requires political action, including the courage to design and pursue economic and social policies that address inequalities and create more equitable futures for all people.

I have also proposed that if we are to go to beyond the occasional "daughter of a peasant," "son of a mine worker" and "child of farm workers" entering a middle-class occupation, significant transformations are required within and outside education. In this regard, post-1994 South Africa has failed to adopt economic and social policies that can "contribute to the construction of a new South Africa" (Wolpe, 1991:1) that addresses severe economic inequalities and creates a more equitable and just future. In this context, the warning that higher education could "reproduce powerfully entrenched structures generated by apartheid" instead of "serving as instruments of social transformation" (Wolpe, 1991:16) has largely materialized.

Finally, I have proposed that if education is to be a liberating and "ennobling adventure for individuals, communities, nations, and the world at large", and is to advance human dignity, solidarity, and the public good, it must "transcend the edicts of market accountability and narrow commercial calculations and embrace the ethics of social accountability and an expansive humanism that will elevate and empower all … people" (Zeleza, 2005:54–55). This requires embracing higher education as a public good deserving of adequate state support, ensuring that there are meaningful opportunities for all to access and succeed in higher education, and that the arts, humanities, and social sciences are provided appropriate public support.

With the passing of Nelson Mandela, the world lost a great person. The greatest tribute to him will be to help contribute through higher education to "the birth of a new world", to ensure "justice for all", "peace for all", "work, bread, water and salt for all" (Mandela, 1994a: para. 26). Realizing his call to "live in a way that respects and enhances the freedom of others" (1994b:624–625) should be humanity's enduring monument to him.

NOTES

[1] Professor Sioux McKenna of Rhodes University makes the point that "it's more a case of discipline specific literacy practices being more aligned to some (middle-class) students' home and school literacy practices than to others. Race, gender and language do not correlate evenly to higher education success internationally. …. Even intelligence is not a consistently good correlate. But socioeconomic status correlates to higher education success in all studies that take this into account. It's an indictment on our system that we systematically privilege the privileged" (Personal communication, 2013).

[2] My thanks to Dr. Sue Southwood of Rhodes University for this important point.

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11. THE MANDELA LEGACY

Examined through the Shaping of Teacher and Teacher Education Policy in the Immediate Post-Apartheid South Africa Period (1994–1999)

INTRODUCTION

The late Nelson Mandela is regarded as a unique example of universal humaneness in the late 20th and early 21st century. He is endeared as an important political and historical figure whose legacy represents a beacon of hope in a deeply fragile, violent, and fragmented global world. For many individuals, organisations, and national governments, this legacy has become the moral compass to follow for durable and just solutions to complex conflicts.

Understandably in South Africa, approaching his legacy in this way is difficult as there is sparse literature and limited personal writing about Nelson Mandela's contribution to education. It is this that we explore in this contribution. We look at how Mandela's life examples and policy contributions provide instructional insights into educational policy change after 1994, paying particular attention to issues related to teaching and teachers in that period.

Nelson Mandela presided over the first post-democratic Cabinet of South Africa and it was during this tenure that a variety of post-apartheid education policies and decisions were taken. It was also during this time that critical knotty disputes emerged regarding how best to put teachers into schools where they were needed most, with a focus on quality education and how to make learning meaningful and relevant. It was further under Mandela's presidency and through the policies of his newly formed government that complex and contradictory decisions were taken on how to achieve equity alongside quality education and education access focused on equitable outcomes. Many of these contradictory policies continue to encumber current South African education policy. In the chapter we thus focus specifically on the unsuccessful post-apartheid teacher rationalisation and redeployment policies that have hindered successive government attempts to ensure that the best teachers are provided to those who need them most.

We begin with reflections on Mandela's personal education journey and his education philosophy. This is followed by a discussion of the key education policy of teacher rationalisation and rightsizing during his tenure as the first president of a newly democratic government (1994–1999). We conclude by drawing out some key

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 137–150.

aspects of education and teachers as a way of reflecting on Mandela's life, and his work as the first state president of the new South Africa.

MANDELA, EDUCATION, TEACHERS, AND POLITICS

There is little doubt that Nelson Mandela understood the enormous importance of teachers for the development of a fully democratic South Africa. From his youngest days as a schoolboy in Qunu, where Ms. Mdingane first gave him the Christian name Nelson, to his final years as benefactor of the Nelson Mandela Children's Foundation where he supported, among others, teacher development, Mandela understood the value of good teachers and the need to support them. This was based on the understanding that all those who achieve are invariably indebted to the work of one or other industrious teacher, and that on-going professional development and investment in learning is not only important for the individual growth of teachers but also crucial to the effectiveness of their teaching.

Equally, Mandela regarded the pursuit of education as fundamental to the worldview of all learners. In *Long Walk to Freedom*, he noted that for him education was more than "the great engine of personal development". Rather, it was through education that "the daughter of a peasant [in South Africa] can become a doctor, that the son of a mineworker can become the head of the mine, that a child of farmworkers can become the president of a great nation" (Mandela, 1995:166). For Mandela, education was the "most powerful weapon that could be used to change the world" (Mandela, 1995:166) – not only the lives of individuals, but of whole societies.

In the period preceding 1994, education within the anti-apartheid struggle was viewed as a fundamentally moral and political activity, and teachers were expected to stand on the side of social justice in performing their professional practice (Kallaway, 2002). This was not easy and for many conscientious teachers, teaching became a slow-burn activity where they were expected to light small candles in the minds of learners in the course of their lifelong educational journey. Approaching education as a form of personal growth and the bringing together of individual learning trajectories that were staggered and punctuated, teaching was about creating the coherent pedagogic activities that made learning meaningful and valuable, and about how to assist learners to recognise the different learning moments over their educational lifespans that connected them to others (and to learn from them).

It is this kind of teaching approach that had also influenced Mandela's formal learning, as he notes in *Long Walk to Freedom*:

> I had no epiphany, no singular revelation, no moment of truth, but a steady accumulation of a thousand slights, a thousand indignities and a thousand unremembered moments produced in me an anger, a rebelliousness, a desire to fight the system that imprisoned my people. (Mandela, 1995:95)

Mandela vividly describes this evolutionary experience as one where hope, humanity, morality, and pragmatism slowly took form and shape within both his

thinking and his everyday practice. Three life moments and educational journeys especially capture this.

Firstly, in acknowledging the value of teachers to his development, Mandela emphasised in *Long Walk to Freedom* that teaching is not always a benign force for good, but rather a journey of political socialisation. For example, his attitude to Ms. Mdingane giving him an English name was that it was part of the customary British bias of the education system that assumed that British ideas, British culture, and British institutions were automatically superior: "I looked on the white man not as an oppressor but as a benefactor. For me there was no such thing as African culture" (Mandela, 1995:30).

Mandela noted, however, that as he moved on to university and was exposed to the poetry and writings of Mqhayi and Matthews, he began to question his assumptions about 'the black man's role in a white man's world' (Mandela, 1995:12). This led to an initial immersion in a form of nationalism that he hoped would liberate African communities. This educational journey continued as his struggles within the anti-apartheid movement gained momentum and as he worked with a range of different individuals, as well as when he came into contact with a different range of people and ideas on Robben Island when he was incarcerated. In this respect, Mandela realised the importance of both knowing one's history and acknowledging its inter-relatedness with those of others. For him, education was a double-edged sword that could oppress as much as it liberated, free as much as it ensnared, and thus the value of teachers invariably lay in where they stood on matters of social justice.

A second life moment was when, as a young adult, his guardian arranged his marriage. Rather than abide by his guardian's arrangement, young Mandela instead ran away to Johannesburg and enrolled for and completed his Bachelor of Arts degree through correspondence at the University of South Africa. He subsequently convinced his elder that his yearning to 'make a difference' was important to him and that he should be allowed to study further. He went on to study law at the University of Witwatersrand, a degree that was interrupted by his involvement in the ANC. Although he did not complete his LLB (which he only attained in 1989), he completed enough within his apprenticeship to open a legal practice in Johannesburg with his friend Oliver Tambo. These were the years that his real education took place, where he worked within and with the different communities of South Africa, and took what he had learned at university and in meetings and practised it within his various engagements with them. For Mandela, education did not simply have utilitarian value. It provided him with forms of knowledge and thinking that developed his own self-awareness, as well as his responsibility to others.

A third life moment was his teaching and learning experiences at Robben Island in the 1960s. In providing legal advice to prisoners and prison staff, Mandela's love for education and its emancipatory effects led to Robben Island quickly becoming known as the Nelson Mandela University. Learning there was about deep discussions and debates and forms of abstract thinking, dialogue, and deliberation that became the lifeblood and sanity of both prisoners and prison staff. The experiences at Robben

Island were a reminder to Mandela that while resources mattered in education, good teaching and learning could take place in any context. Learning took place despite a lack of resources and in conditions of deep impoverishment and imprisonment.

Indeed, for Nelson Mandela it was in finding himself over his educational lifespan that he came to find others, to learn from them, and to develop ways of thinking that ultimately shaped how he addressed his term of presidency after 1994. Through his personal educational experiences he found that he could influence a great number of people around him. A compatriot Felix Balfour (Moore, 2013) described his interaction with him on Robben Island as follows: "As a lost youth generation that were bitter about what was happening, he both changed us and guided us."

It is this policy approach to education and teaching after 1994, one that sought to move beyond just meeting learning attainment measures, that most illustrates how Mandela addressed his term of presidency. With a firm focus on social justice, teaching and teachers were seen as more than simply drilling in the 3Rs or developing pedagogies for the poor as prescribed by many policy pundits.

Where Mandela's presidency struggled was how to position these approaches alongside a focus on the importance of examination results as a gateway to future progress. As such, policy intentions and policy implementation did not easily connect. In the next section we analyse policies on teacher rationalisation and rightsizing initiated after 1994, that were geared towards educational change but which struggled to achieve the intended aims.

MANDELA AS THE FIRST LEADER OF TEACHER TRANSFORMATION IN POST- APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

In presiding over the first Cabinet charged with the task of South Africa's reconstruction and development, Nelson Mandela set in motion a number of educational policies after 1994 aimed at bringing about fundamental change. Sayed et al. (2013, 2015) identify more than 170 policy texts generated between 1994 and 2012.

Arguably, the first post-apartheid period under President Mandela was the most significant because it required the creation of legislation and frameworks to redress the legacy of the historic colonial and oppressive apartheid system, and to transform a deeply unequal education system. In that respect, the most noteworthy of policy texts during Mandela's tenure was perhaps the White Paper on Education and Training (NDoE, 1995), which focused on transforming the education and training system, redressing educational inequalities, and promoting equity in the distribution of resources and democratic governance.

As part of the above processes teacher redeployment and rationalisation was touted as one of the more ambitious attempts at educational change at that time. It is a process that has received substantially less attention than other dramatic changes, such as outcomes-based education (OBE), and offers important insights into some of the complex contradictions that characterised educational change in that period.

The Policy

Notably, the state undertook to rationalise and rightsize the deployment and recruitment of teachers in the period 1994 to 1999 as part of an overall process of reframing the system of teacher governance in South Africa. This included rationalising, redeploying, and redistributing teachers within the system (the main focus on this chapter), while at the same time rightsizing teacher remuneration so that it no longer reflected racial and gender inequities, and restructuring the teacher education system in ways that incorporated teacher colleges into the higher education system.

The focus on reframing the system of teacher governance emanated partly from findings and recommendations in the National Teacher Audit of 1995, which highlighted fragmentation in the provision of teacher education, with a mismatch between teacher supply and demand (on the basis of race and ethnicity) and high numbers of unqualified teachers in the system. One of the main findings of the audit at that time was that teacher supply and utilisation policies remained predicated on premises and assumptions that were racially and ethnically based (Hofmeyr & Hall, 1996).

As such, the teacher rationalisation programme sought to achieve even-handedness in the system through a more equitable distribution of teachers across different schools and provinces. Teachers that were unwilling to move to other schools were able to apply for voluntary severance packages (VSPs), for which a targeted cost of around R600 million was allocated (Jansen & Taylor, 2003). Crouch and Perry (2003:480) describe the process in the following way:

> The rationalization plan was to be phased in over a maximum of five years, effective as of 1 April 1995. As a first step, the national teacher: pupil ratio of 40:1 for primary schools and 35:1 for secondary schools was set. It was agreed that rationalization would proceed in two stages: The first would be a limited-period where Voluntary Severance Packages (VSPs) were offered. It was decided that teachers who wanted to opt out of the system rather than accept redeployment, would be paid out by government. However, those who took this option would never again be able to work in the public service. Also, VSPs were not a right. It was agreed that the government would retain the power to approve or reject applications for VSPs. Teachers with critical skills like Mathematics would not be given the option of a VSP. The second and preferred stage would be the redeployment of teachers – compulsorily if necessary.

The success of this approach to teacher governance depended on certain stipulated conditions pertaining to service adjustment packages being met, amended pupil-teacher ratios being instituted, and redeployment and voluntary severance packages (VSPs) arranged in ways that would facilitate the premature retirement of teachers that were seen as surplus at some schools. Thus, it needed the steady introduction

of a policy of redeployment and rationalisation by the Department of Education with firm support from the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC) and teacher unions (Chisholm, 2004a; Vally & Tleane, 2001:184). At the heart of the process was a belief that rationalisation would create spaces for other teachers.

In the end however, most commentators agreed that while there was an urgent need for this approach to 'teacher equality' in schools, the timing of the process and the chosen courses of action for change were problematic. Vally and Tleane (2001:186) were of the view that "in some cases the blanket approach to redeployment actually undermined the intended beneficiaries, that is, historically disadvantaged communities and schools." Furthermore, in "white communities (particularly) the policy was seen as a means of getting rid of the best teachers to the detriment of the system as a whole" (Vally & Tleane, 2001:185).

Moreover, the policy also fared quite poorly in terms of its aims and attached costs. This pertained both to the large number of VSPs applied for, as well as the slow movement of redeployed teachers. Statistics supplied by a South African Institute of Race Relations Report (1998:520) noted that:

> By April 1997, more than 19 000 teachers had applied for voluntary severance packages, with close to 16 000 teachers granted packages at a total cost of R1.05 billion to the government. Also, although some 24 000 redeployment opportunities had been gazetted, no information was available on the number of redeployments that had taken place. While at least 5 000 teachers had been redeployed according to the Department's estimates, up to 10 000 still needed to be redeployed, especially into posts that had been provisionally filled by temporary teachers (Personal communication with Mr Duncan Hindle, Department of Education, 12 January 1998).

To add to this, as observed by the South African Institute of Race Relations (1998:524), the policy proved very costly:

> Mr Ihron Rensburg, the Deputy Director General of education, stated in June 1997 that the delay in implementing the teacher redeployment policy was costing the state R47 million a month as salaries were being paid to temporary teachers in posts reserved for redeployed teachers and to excess teachers awaiting redeployment.

At some point, in fact as early as January 1998, provincial departments of education had to take the decision to shelve the appointment of temporary teachers, as their budgets at the time would no longer allow them to employ such teachers even on a part-time basis. This led to as many as 43 000 teachers being affected, prompting the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) to challenge a system that they had initially sanctioned. Their key concern was that teachers that had been employed by the state for many years regardless of their qualifications were now suddenly out of jobs because the state could not square its developmental goals with proper financial backing.

Policy Consequences

By all accounts, the rationalisation and redeployment policy did not unfold as planned, with several unintended and perhaps unanticipated consequences.

Firstly, it was not anticipated that such a large number of teachers would take VSPs, leading to massive overspending by the provinces. With 16 000 VSPs approved in 1997, the estimated cost at a very early stage was already almost double its targeted budget of R600 million. It was estimated that "rightsizing cost provincial education departments almost R47 million a month, with salaries in some provinces consuming as much as 90% of the total education budget – leaving little money for other items such as textbooks*"* (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1998:585).

The key problem was that a number of mistaken assumptions were made about how teachers behave and respond to policy imperatives. For instance, the policy assumed that teachers would understand and support the rationale to adjust learner-teacher ratios in the context of increasing budget costs, especially given the need for salary parity of all teachers. The reality, however, was that the idea of redeployment for many teachers was simply unpalatable, with many being deeply uncomfortable with moving across school boundaries that under apartheid had been circumscribed by race. Crucially, the policy for many teachers was very unclear and had not been fully explained, so teachers were never sure about what they were actually agreeing to.

Secondly, the policy unsurprisingly split teacher unions along clear racial lines (Whittle, 2008), provoking widespread protests and leading to unions threatening national strike action. It also led to many teachers, bearing the emotional scars of teaching under apartheid, reacting bitterly by either taking the VSPs or by claiming to be unable or unwilling to carry out their expected duties (Chudnovsky, 1998).

Thirdly, teachers taking VSPs were generally those with higher qualifications, skills and experience (Jansen & Taylor, 2003). The policy thus led to the loss of large numbers of senior and experienced teachers or principals, who also had invariably worked in the most disadvantaged areas. Given that the buy-outs were geared to be more attractive to those within the education system, many teachers in disadvantaged areas could not pass up the incentives that were being provided (Chudnovsky, 1998). To add to this, the redeployment policy further made it easier for teachers to be reallocated to schools with more diverse curricula, or schools with established mathematics, science, and technology programmes which in most cases were former white schools. It meant that redeployed teachers rarely got sent to schools in disadvantaged areas (OECD, 2008), where they were needed more.

Fourthly, an unanticipated consequence of the policy was that several permanent changes emerged with regard to the character, distribution, and supply of teachers in South Africa. In the period between 1999 and 2004 the rationalisation policy contributed to a steady decline and stagnation in the number of employed teachers, which was worsened by a decline in the number of young teachers entering the system. While the latter was admittedly mainly tied to the merging and closure of

teacher colleges and to the spatial and 'racially determined' challenges tied to them, the decline in initial teacher education (ITE) enrolments from 71 000 to as little as 10 000 in the period 1994 to 2000 created serious challenges for the restructured system.

Fifthly, one of the key goals of the new teacher governance system was to rightsize the education sector in ways that improved salaries and working conditions for educators. Thus black teachers that had attained four years of post-secondary education experienced very real pay increases in the region of 25% in the mid-1990s (Gustafsson & Patel, 2008). The challenge however was that the sharp increase in the unit cost per teacher post-1994 generated considerable constraints for the public education system, making it considerably more challenging to maintain learner-teacher ratios (Gustafsson & Patel, 2008). The equity-guided rightsizing intervention thus stretched the system of teacher governance to its limits.

Sixthly, the most obvious blind spot of the rationalisation and rightsizing policy was that it failed to recognise how other policies, such as the South African Schools Act of 1996, would undermine its implementation with regard to teachers. A case in point was when Grove Primary School, on behalf of 40 former Model C schools in the Western Cape, instituted a court appeal in June 1997 that challenged the government's redeployment policy (Vally & Tleane, 2001:190–191), claiming "its right to free and efficient administration" (Motala, 1997). Grove Primary School argued that its governing body had the legal power to employ whomsoever was best suited to the job – as per the powers conferred upon governing bodies in terms of the South African Schools Act of 1996 – and that the ELRC resolutions unlawfully restricted their powers. The state argued in court that rationalisation was constitutional, that redeployment was a key component of this imperative, and that School Governing Bodies could be legally compelled to employ teachers from redeployment lists (as noted in the ELRC manual).

The subsequent ruling by the Cape High Court, in favour of Grove Primary School, that the teacher redeployment programme as applied in the Western Cape was null and void and were beyond the powers of the National Ministry of Education, meant that the Western Cape Education MEC was thereafter able to open up the official Department lists of vacant posts to all teachers. While a settlement was later reached (in November 1997) where it was agreed that public schools would be allowed to reject unsuitable teachers from the lists and to advertise posts if no suitable redeployed teachers were available, many were deeply concerned about its repercussions for the rationalisation programme.

Indeed, this concern led to the state circumventing the Grove High Court ruling in December 1997 by passing the Education Laws Amendment Act. In essence it enabled the National Minister to

> determine requirements for the appointment, transfer, and promotion of all educators, and provide a process to enable public schools to make recommendations for the appointment, transfer, and promotion of educators

> as a result of the operational requirements of the employer. (Vally & Tleane, 2001:191)

With regard to the rationalisation and redeployment programme however, what the Grove Primary School case most illustrated was how a progressively minded policy such as SASA, in seeking to give a variety of powers to schools, could be applied in ways that undermined state efforts to rightsize. More worryingly, it showed how policy could be used to fuel middle-class aggrandisement and further create and maintain privileged enclaves (Sayed, 2016, forthcoming).

Finally, the behaviour and capacity of key actors was not adequately taken into account. There was a failure to anticipate that teachers – especially those from well-resourced schools – would not voluntarily move to schools that were inadequately resourced. This meant that under-resourced schools had to often employ temporary teachers that were not as skilled or committed as was required (Chisholm, 2004b).

A further challenge was that the emerging system did not foresee that many school principals would not have the necessary professional expertise nor the skill and diplomacy to oversee processes of selecting teachers to be redeployed, leaving many teachers deeply demotivated, isolated and feeling victimised. Principals also struggled with the protracted waiting periods attached to redeployment, often having to deal with absurd situations where two teachers were appointed to the same post at their schools.

In the text above we tried to show how a well-intentioned policy meant to rationalise and rightsize the composition of the teaching corps in South Africa, even with strong political will and a clear commitment to transformation, struggled to gain traction in schools and thereby unseat deep-seated inequities. Beyond salary adjustment the policy ultimately failed to achieve its main intended goals of transforming the teaching force. As such the 'progressive' redeployment policies came to be overtaken by the greater need to "rationalise aggregate numbers of educator personnel in the system as a whole". This, according to Motala and Singh (2001:5), was tied to serious deficiencies in policy reform implementation thinking at that time.

In the next section, we ask what this means for the Mandela legacy, which by all accounts sought to generate processes that were purposeful, humane, and transformative.

COULD THE MANDELA EDUCATION AND TEACHER LEGACY HAVE RESULTED IN RADICAL TRANSFORMATION?

The Mandela legacy should not only be understood according to the personal vision and humanity of a truly great person. It should also be analysed, as this chapter argues, by the actions of the new government that came into being in 1994, headed by a state president who had spent his entire life struggling to overcome colonialism and apartheid in a deeply divided and unequal society. In this respect, there are five

aspects that bear mentioning in relation to on-going efforts to transform the teaching force and teaching in South Africa, efforts that ought to be ensuring equitable quality and lifelong education for all.

One, achieving policy goals requires more than vision and intention. It needs more than policies in the form of White Papers, legislation, acts, and guidance notes. Instead, it requires the charting of clear and decisive overarching transformation pathways, especially for education. The transformation path in education after 1994 should have ensured that there was an active strategy of redistribution from the rich to the poor, and from the privileged to the marginalised. This strategy should have created the basis of recognition and representation that laid the foundation for just and durable reconciliation. In its place, without an active strategy that sought to eradicate inequity in society, a pathway was pursued that prioritised symbols of a new society – such as the new flag or a victorious rugby team – as symbols of reconciliation, important as these were and are.

In education, for instance, it required a strategy for teachers that paid due attention to how teacher identity had been historically shaped by patterns of division, racism, and inequity, identities that were often impervious to calls to act in the interests of the common good. As the rationalisation and rightsizing policy subsequently demonstrated, teachers could in fact act in quite retrogressive and self-interested ways. What this policy revealed is that policies that simply expect teachers to behave differently are likely to fail if they don't address the deep-seated structural investments that teachers have in systems of privilege, and the extent to which their senses of identity and belonging are raced, classed and gendered.

Two, there is a need when generating new policy to fully understand the work of teachers in historical, political, and sociological ways. This discourages the development of teacher policies that simplistically follow global and other national prescriptions such as scripted pedagogies, the establishment of systems of teacher incentives, teacher accountability, teacher licensing, performance-related pay, and teacher contracts. While such prescriptions may offer politically appealing policy sound-bytes, what they do not always provide is a clear sense of what is feasible in different contexts.

Indeed, while there is little doubt that teachers in South Africa are often as much part of the problem as they are part of the solution, simplistic, quick fix education prescriptions will not shift the bifurcated and unequal two-nation education system. It is really only when teachers and teaching are addressed as part of a set of systemic reforms that seek to overcome the growing fragmentation of the public education, that teachers will be able to play meaningful roles in education transformation.

Three, transformation is significantly more difficult when accompanied by a flurry of new and different policies, acts, and structures. As mentioned earlier in the text, Mandela's tenure as State President was marked by a flurry of green and white papers that sought to effect change in a number of key areas in education. These included the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) Act in 1995, the South African Schools Act (SASA) and National Education Policy Act (NEPA) in 1996,

the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and Higher Education Act in 1997, and the Further Education and Training (FET) Act and Employment of Educators Act in 1998.

During Mandela's tenure the education system also witnessed the emergence of a variety of new structures, role players, and authoritative bodies that had attached to them commissions and task teams that had legislative authority grounded in the interim Constitution. These included statutory and non-statutory councils such as the Education Labour Relations Council (ELRC), the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA), the National Qualifications Framework (NQF), and the South African Council for Educators (SACE). The goal of all the above frameworks was to lay the basis for an education system that would overcome the previously fragmented and racially and ethnically divided education system. Indeed, the common refrain for all of the different policies and structures was that transformation would be achieved in and through education, and that it was through teachers that the creation of a new society and critical civic-minded citizens would be accomplished.

Yet, the vexing question remains why these policies and structures did not effect equity and redress in and through education? A variety of authors have offered explanations, some noting that it was simply an exercise in symbolic policy making (Jansen, 2002), that it was due to a lack of capacity (Sayed & Kanjee, 2013), or that the macro-transformation path lacked an overarching and clear conceptualisation of inequality (Sayed et al., 2015). But what these explanations don't clarify is why, notwithstanding significant political will and support, the new government did not act decisively in instituting a narrow and specific range of interventions that unbundled the system of privilege that characterised the apartheid education system.

Part of the answer, in reappraising Mandela's legacy in education, is that the new government was overly underpinned by a leader-driven vision that prioritised reconciliation over redistribution and privileged deracialisation at the expense of eroding class-based inequities. Indeed, the new government's approach was to first formalise forms of recognition and representation within policy and within systemic structures before engaging with issues of redistribution or reconciliation. This was best captured by the formulation of a South African crest that was committed to unity in diversity and that symbolically envisioned a new society rooted in benign multiculturalism in which the 'other' was reified and protected. It is argued it was this policy approach that hindered education transformation in South Africa, and that laid the basis for the emergence of a largely self-interested deracialised middle class in South Africa that currently seems disinterested in transformation.

Four, one of the more telling aspects of Mandela's legacy in government is how different progressive policies contradicted each other, putting a brake on radical transformation approaches. For example, two progressive education policy intentions were pursued after 1994, the one to increase participation and commitment through the devolution of school authority (Sayed, 2016), and the other to centrally rationalise and redeploy teachers. The problem is that the two approaches often nullified each other in important instances, as some school governing bodies could use the powers

accorded to them by the South African Schools Act (SASA) to thwart efforts to alter the previous character and composition of the teaching force at their schools. Equity as an overriding concern should have trumped other policy intentions, but this was not the case as the two policies pulled in quite different directions. This is perhaps the most revealing fault line of the first democratically elected government, namely its inability or unwillingness to take a firm interventionist stance in the interests of achieving acceptable margins of equity. Duncan Hindle, a key SADTU leader and previous Deputy-Director-General and subsequently Director-General of the Department of Education (becoming the Department of Basic Education in 2009), later noted that:

> Our most valuable resource, also our most expensive, is the one we have least control over in terms of deployment and utilisation. This has been perhaps the biggest impediment to the achievement of greater quality: teaching skills have remained locked up within a few institutions across our country. The best trained, most qualified and experienced teachers are inevitably attracted to the best-resourced schools, where facilities are abundant and there are layers of support. The ability of schools to choose their teachers, and of teachers to choose their schools, has seriously detracted from the pursuit of equity, and must be reviewed. No large organisation gives employees the choice of which branch office they will work at, even though there may be some attempt to accommodate wishes if possible. But the interests of the organisation must supersede those of the employee in the final decision! (Hindle in Sayed et al., 2013:532)

Five, the development of multiple policies needs to always directly engage with educational realities. In the case of South Africa, extensive policy activity after 1994 invariably did not recognise the extent of change required within the educational system and instead placed unrealistic demands on teachers in struggling schools. It also meant for example that a policy such as outcomes based education (OBE), which depended on all teachers being willing to pursue a new approach and to develop new skills and abilities to do so, struggled to gain proper traction. This was both because many divisions of the past had not been resolved, and the past and prior experiences and training of teachers working in disadvantaged schools had not been taken into account. Had the long reach of the past into the new future been recognised, a more targeted and focused education policy agenda (with focused interventions) might have more effectively realised the key goal of equity and redress.

Reading Mandela as a teacher and reading parts of his biography as important teaching moments, and then reappraising his contribution to education in relation to his tenureship over the first democratic government, reveals a complex picture of ambitious policy intentions rubbing up against debilitating historical legacies. It highlights how multiple policy intentions and goals, can easily generate contradictory and unintended tensions, hindering successful policy implementation. It reveals

that when tackling deep-seated privilege and inequality it is enormously difficult to pinpoint a singular policy silver bullet, or radical transformative strategy, 'for the long march to transformation'.

Moreover, while getting the better teachers into schools that need them most may be a difficult and complex process, it remains the most important transformational imperative if learning in the most challenged schools is to be meaningful for learners, and if education is to re-ignite in them the spirited, imaginative, creative, and boundless thirst for knowledge and understanding that was envisaged by Nelson Mandela through his lifetime.

Tackling privilege in education in South Africa requires proactive redistribution strategies to open the doors of learning and teaching for all, not only for those that are rich and able. Only when this kind of transformative thinking happens in education will South African policies finally speak to Nelson Mandela's iconic status as a moral compass to those working towards durable and just solutions in societies seeking to tackle deep-seated historic and structural inequities.

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12. "… MANY MORE HILLS TO CLIMB"

Reflections on the Legacy of Nelson Mandela and the Relevance for Educational Transformation[1]

INTRODUCTION

As South Africa moves through a third decade of democracy, the legacy of Nelson Mandela remains a powerful force, as he was the new nation's first President and champion of a non-racial democracy for a better life for all. Mr. Mandela's words in speeches, writings and observations galvanised sentiment over the goals for transformation, and how these might be achieved in all sectors including education. His words contained insights with powerful relevance for research and other endeavours in the field of comparative and international education, and in many other fields of scholarship.

In this chapter I reflect on some of the lessons and insights contained within a selection of Mr. Mandela's words, and the example he set in his own life and actions. These lessons and insights have proved to be enduring and relevant to post-apartheid transformation and educational reform in South Africa, to struggles for democracy worldwide, and also to the universal human struggle for freedom and a better life. The focus of this chapter derives from the immense significance of Mr. Mandela's words and actions for me; therefore these are personal reflections and my tribute to Mr. Mandela. His wisdom and example have been–and continue to be–an inspiration to me in my work and thinking about educational and societal transformation in South Africa over the last several decades.[2] Mr. Mandela's words were for me a touchstone, a reminder that there is little of worth that is instantly and easily achieved, whether in one's own life, or in all of a nation and its development.

Mr. Mandela was prescient in many of his statements, since he was correct in noting in 1999 that the "long walk continues" (quoted in Asmal et al., 2003:176). In the years to follow, the path of transformation and non-racial democracy was to remain a challenging one in education, but in other sectors too. Mr. Mandela's wisdom was to prevail. In his own life and actions, Mr. Mandela set an example of taking the high road and of being realistic about the challenges. His urgings to all were for developing an awareness of self, of the individual's role in transformation, and of the need to continue learning throughout life.

First, I present reflections on selections of Mr. Mandela's words with reference to their relevance for the path taken for educational reform and transformation in

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 151–163.

general in South Africa. I begin my reflections with a quotation of Mr. Mandela's words that was to become immensely significant to me in my own work and I provide an overview of salient features of the reform story. Next, I cite examples of pedagogical approaches reported by Jansen (2009) and Soudien et al. (2015), who illustrated the manner in which some elements of Mr. Mandela's message might be operationalised to inspire students to engage in self-reflection and reconciliation in educational settings. Taking different approaches, they explored the question: how can students and educational leaders honour Mr. Mandela's legacy by acting to participate in personal learning leading to reconciliation?

Following this, I offer commentary on the so-called 'born free' generation, the post-apartheid generation of South Africans whose profile reveals significant evidence of how many more "hills to climb" there are in the overall route to transformation in South Africa. In education, with connections to the dynamics in larger society, there are fresh concerns over the real progress made in race relations, and in non-racial democratic transformation. This leads to a cautionary note, on the question of whether or not the legacy of Mr. Mandela is at risk of being overlooked or forgotten if, today, students and other youth fail to remember, or are ignorant of, the massive progress achieved in earlier decades, and if a resurgence in bitterness and race animosity overrides the ongoing need for reconciliation and transformation. Then I reflect on some aspects of the universal relevance of Mr. Mandela's emphasis of the importance of education, and education as a vehicle for social change worldwide. I conclude with some thoughts on the lessons inherent in Mr. Mandela's life, his actions, and his words.

EDUCATION AND TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Mandela closed his autobiography with reflections on his own life to that point, on his personal struggles and experiences in the liberation struggle, and on the achievements and challenges remaining:

> I have walked the long road to freedom. I have tried not to falter. I have made mistakes along the way. But I have discovered the secret that after climbing a great hill, one only finds that there are many more hills to climb. I have taken a moment here to rest, to steal a view of the glorious vista that surrounds me, to look back on the distance I have come. But, I can rest only for a moment, for with freedom comes responsibilities, and I dare not linger, for my long walk is not yet ended. (Mandela, 1994:544)

These words contained a powerful message of hope but also of the realities of the challenges that he faced in his own life, and that the nation faced in the struggle for liberation. In earlier writings I explained that these words "helped me retain perspective while investigating the complexities of educational transformation in South Africa" (closing quote in Brook Napier, 2003a:70; also see Napier, 2014:969). Hope and uncertainty were recurring themes in my research, in the perspectives of

educators at all levels in the reforming system. On my choice of this quotation as a defining focus for my writing in an earlier publication (see Footnote 1), Soudien (2014: intro.), commented:

> A realisation of this – 'there are many more hills to climb' – brings Mandela to a central insight about the *self.* Interesting about this *self* in Mandela is the centrality of education. This *self* had to make a commitment to never stop learning. It is this commitment, interestingly, from which *hope* springs because it is through learning that alternatives present themselves to one.

Commenting on his own hopes and those for the nation, Mr. Mandela observed "Many of us will have to pass through the valley of the shadow of death again and again before we reach the mountain-tops of our desires" (quoted in Crwys-Williams, 1997:37). Likening his own life struggle to the wider struggles for the nation, in 1999 he urged: "Together we must continue our efforts to turn our hopes into reality…. The long walk continues" (quoted in Asmal, Chidester, & James, 2003:176). He also emphasised the importance of grassroots involvement. Referring to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the sector-wide blueprint for the first years of post-apartheid reforms, and to the Freedom Charter manifesto for "A Better Life for All" that became the ANC's campaign slogan, Mr. Mandela urged South Africans that "(w)e cannot do it all for you, you must do it yourselves" (Mandela, 1994:534–535). These messages remain ever relevant today.

Regarding education, Mr. Mandela had strong words about the apartheid-era Bantu education system. He called it *"*intellectual *baasskap*, a way of institutionalizing inferiority" (1994:145). At the time, Hartshorne (1992) detailed the challenges of destroying that monolithic system. While achievements over the past two decades *did* destroy that system, "many more hills to climb" remain today. In the early years of transformation Johnson (1995:134) identified the many "barriers to participation". Many of the old apartheid-era inequities persisted as "backlogs" of exclusion in the early years of reform (Brook, 1996:212), and then also in more recent years, for instance in persistently impoverished remote-area and township schools, and in loss of earlier gains in teaching indigenous languages. This is so despite the huge gains and improvements in the overall system. I have documented these persistent issues in much of my writing in subsequent years to the present era (see citations in Footnote 2 and elsewhere in this chapter). The indicators of persistent inequities were reported recently by Ndebele (2016) and they feature in the research cited below.

The words of Mr. Mandela quoted previously are but a few of his many statements with relevance for educational transformation, as the "long walk" in education proved to contain many highs and lows, cycles of hope and uncertainty, and consistent need for grassroots involvement. A sampling of illustrations follows. Hopes were high during early transition, 1994–1999. Christie (1990), Hartshorne (1992), Jansen (1997), and McGurk (1990) were among those who articulated the daunting challenges to create a new non-racial education system. The achievements included pioneering efforts in progressive 'open' schools, restructuring of all government schools, and massively

expanding access to schooling. Uncertainty set in early as inequities persisted, strikes dogged the reform effort, and new problems surfaced. The South African Schools Act of 1996 has been one piece of landmark legislation lacking the specificity to deal with much situation-specific implementation. 'Rationalisation', policies to collapse colleges and other institutions into one system, provoked much local anxiety and resistance. Successive rounds of curriculum reform and the dilemma of how best to train and *retrain* teachers presented other challenges. The imported system of Outcomes Based Education (OBE) became highly contested, as Jansen (1997) described. Top-down mandates often faltered due to woefully insufficient support and training of teachers, unrealistic implementation timelines, and lack of local support. As Jansen (2004:216) noted, "the entire system was woefully underprepared for the complexities of this new approach to education." Brook (1996), Brook-Napier (2003b, 2009), Jansen (2009), Jansen and Christie (1999), Sayed (2004) and many others documented the rocky road of educational transformation.

In recent years, the 'skills crisis' became a priority, related to shortfalls primarily in mathematics and science, intersecting with language-related disadvantage for non-English speaking learners (see for example Mbekwa & Vuyokazi, 2013). The need for local support was seen again in implementing the Integrated Framework for Teacher Education and Development—a blueprint to 2025 (Department of Basic Education, 2005). But hope also returned from time to time, such as during the 2010 World Cup festivities that highlighted all achievements in the new South Africa. That euphoria was short lived, as talk of 'schools in crisis' arose with resurgent racism in some schools, high unemployment, crippling strikes, and still-sparse evidence of transformation in remotest-area schools (Brook Napier, 2012). Mr. Mandela's references to "many more hills to climb" continue to have relevance for the path of transformation in education and other sectors.

By 2016, the record confirmed this again. Cronje (2016) summarised the suite of problems facing the education sector, noting first the "turmoil in universities and growing concern about South Africa's economic prospects" and itemising the educational concerns including high dropout rates and low throughput rates, only 4 in 10 schools having a computer facility, and only 2 in 10 having a laboratory, only 11% of grade 9 pupils having numeracy rates as expected, and the overall rate of pupils passing mathematics with 70% or higher having fallen by 30% since 2008. Further, Cronje mentioned the persistent issue of racial inequalities that leave African pupils still disproportionately disadvantaged over all other groups and that suffer from disadvantaged living conditions that impact educational performance. Cronje noted many successes however, such as in higher education transformation, enrolment and output, but he added that the real progress tends to benefit only a small number of Africans who were well schooled.

The "hills to climb" might be viewed as the gaps in the overall progress landscape, as illustrated by the following statistics drawn from Ndebele (2016). There are measurably huge gains in prominent indicators of progress such as expanded participation rates in the high 90% range for pupils in public schools, and in degrees

awarded to Africans showing an increase of over 400 % in 1991–2013 (2016:550). In 2015 staff vacancy rates (teachers, deputy principals and principals) in government schools were zero or miniscule (<10%) in the urbanised provinces such as Gauteng and the Free State, while in rural provinces such as the Eastern Cape and North West Province the rates were much higher (for example 10.9% teacher vacancies in Eastern Cape, 17% principal posts in North West Province). Vacancy rates such as theses mean that classrooms and learners are not served and affected schools lack leadership personnel) (2016:474–475). Public schools that lack stocked libraries were still noticeably high in the rural provinces –91.6% in the Eastern Cape; 93.5% in Limpopo for instance (2016:482). While many more learners were in school than ever before and one must never underestimate the huge overall gains in expanding education to learners of all races, low throughput rates dogged the overall vitality of the system. Throughput rates are measured as the proportion of learners enrolled in grade 1 in 2003 who stayed in school to grade 12 in 2014–only half the learners made this progression: 1,277,499 versus 571,819 learners. Further, of that 2003 cohort of grade 1 learners, a severely reduced number actually earned matric and bachelor's passes (11.8% in the case of the latter passes) and the pass rates were consistently higher for white pupils (98.3%) than the total which included all and therefore black pupils (75.8%) with stark differentials by province where pass rates in the rural provinces of Eastern Cape and KwaZulu Natal were only 65.4% and 69.7% respectively (2016:492). In addition, throughput rates have actually declined somewhat. In comparisons of the 1995–1997 and 2012–2014, the throughputs of grade 10 learners who became matric or National Senior Certificate candidates were 5% lower in the latter period (2016:500). Overall inequities exist in government schooling. Meanwhile, independent schools offering allegedly better schooling have risen in number quite notably from a total of 971 in the year 2000 to 1681 in 2014 (an increase of 73.1%). Interestingly, the largest increases were in rural provinces suggesting some filling in of the educational provision gaps in these provinces, for example a 356.4% increase in Eastern Cape and a 145% increase in Limpopo (2016:486). In short, the story in education remains a validation of Mandela's words of caution and his words of wisdom about the practicalities and challenges of transformation.

EDUCATION AND SOCIETAL CHANGE FOR REPARATION AND RECONCILIATION: WORKING WITH STUDENTS

Jansen (2009:203) offered compelling illustrations of how important education was for Mr. Mandela, for bringing about change in South Africa. As the Dean of Education at the former all-white Afrikaans University of Pretoria, Jansen noted that the "challenge facing us as a Faculty of Education was as complex as it was clear: how to do reparation and reconciliation at the same time." He found in the example of Mr. Mandela strong guidance to commit himself to doing both of these. This approach, he said, "found its echo in the broader terms of social transition, one

represented in the incomparable example of Nelson Mandela. … the process I was to lead within the institution would find its political corollary within the surrounding society, and this knowledge gave me courage and direction" (ibid.).

Reflecting on the importance of hope, Jansen (2009:272) suggested a pedagogical strategy for assisting students to participate in the processes of reparation and reconciliation:

> One pedagogical story told by a black parent to the next generation might be to see Nelson Mandela imprisoned for his beliefs by evil white captors: a complementary way of telling the story is to show how he imprisoned his white guards by the sheer force of his moral authority and his political cause. On its own, the first story leads to despair: the second story signals hope.

More recently, Jansen (2016) made the argument that, in universities, educational leaders (faculty and administrators) need to set the tone and the example, in the spirit of reparation and reconciliation. Jansen described the "messiness of change" and the need to communicate the "true non-linearity of change" (2016:216) in university settings as educational leaders struggle to provide learning environments conducive to transformation in all respects. These characterizations are akin to Mr. Mandela's warnings about change and "more hills to climb".

Jansen offered a series of recommendations to university personnel. His message was particularly aimed at those involved in desegregating former white university campuses, but the recommendations have general relevance for sound educational administrative policy and program development both in South Africa and in other countries. Among others, Jansen's recommendations were to "adopt a set of simple, strong and consistent entry messages" (setting an appropriate tone in the institution), design carefully a "co-curriculum (including addressing difficult issues such as racism often not taught in regular curricula or programs of study), and "model what is wanted from students in one's own leadership choices and example" (2016:203–206). One might suggest that the approach of engaging directly over issues such as race divisions and tensions recommended by Jansen today evokes sentiments voiced by Mr. Mandela on many occasions in earlier years. For instance, at a rally in Cape Town in 1990, Mr. Mandela stated: "I appeal to young people and all those on the ground: start talking to each other across divisions of race and political organizations." … "I pay tribute to the endless heroism of youth" (quoted in Crwys-Williams, 2010: 143–144). In the spirit of reconciliation and moving forward, Jansen's contemporary context strategies for achieving these would apply equally at lower levels in any education system, not just at university level.

In keeping with the pedagogical example set by Mandela that Jansen described, Soudien et al. (2015) reported on another pedagogical approach, in which university students write and reflect to articulate their identities in post-apartheid South African society and in Africa. These authors reported that their research findings demonstrated how many students struggle to grasp where they fit in the society, how they see themselves in a reconfigured societal makeup, and what role they see

for themselves. This approach too has potentially wide applicability both in other university settings in South Africa and elsewhere but also in school settings and programs.

Considering the issues of transformation, societal change, and working with students, in the following section some issues and concerns are presented, related to the so-called 'born free' generation of people in South Africa who were born after 1990, the year Nelson Mandela was released from prison. Where does the legacy of Mr. Mandela stand when it comes to South Africans who did not live under apartheid and who do not have the same direct frame of reference for his example and message?

THE BORN FREE GENERATION AND MANDELA'S LEGACY?

So-called 'born frees' are generally considered to be those children and young people in South Africa who were born in the post-apartheid era, including the 0–19 age group but also those in the 20–24 age group who are considered too young to have clear memory of the apartheid system that was being dismantled when they were born. Considering this generation in the context of Mr. Mandela's legacy is important for several reasons. First, he remarked on his own life history with regard to 'youth'. In one example, in a speech on Bastille Day in Paris on 14 July, 1996 he remarked: "I admire young people who are concerned with the affairs of their community and nation perhaps because I also became involved in struggle whilst I was still at school" (quoted in Crwys-Williams, 2010:143). Second, people in this generation number 27 million, amounting to half the country's population, and of this some 3.24 million are orphans having lost one or both parents. Issues pertaining to this generation are of special importance with regard to the future of the country and its development. Third, the work of Soudien et al. (2015) and of Jansen (2016) mentioned earlier in this chapter is pertinent since these authors addressed issues for students who are members of this generation.

Reporting on current statistics and societal issues, Cronje and Kane-Berman (2015) examined the demographic profile, and the needs related to this generation of South Africans. They document information with regard to the improved life that many of these people do lead in many respects, but also regarding the overriding problems of high unemployment, persistent disadvantage in schooling, and resulting inability to participate economically that many members of this generation experience. The disadvantage remains disproportionately on African youth, the largest demographic group despite significant gains in many respects during the post-apartheid era. For instance, while Africans account for more than two thirds of all university students, only 16% of Africans in the 20–24 year age bracket are enrolled in universities. Overall, the suite of negatives impacting vast numbers of 'born frees' leads them to feelings of exclusion, alienation and frustration. The Youth Desk in the Presidency reports that young people feel politically excluded because of high unemployment and their inability to be participants in the economy of the country (cited in Cronje & Kane-Berman, 2015:2). The proposals included calls for a predictable array of

reforms in local government, education, labour laws, economic growth, and so on. The final proposal focuses on *self-help* with a recommendation that "Critically, 'born frees' have to develop the capacity to drive these processes themselves through the skilled exploitation of democratic institutions" (2015:34). This is interesting if one recalls the quote of Mr. Mandela cited early in this chapter, i.e. "We cannot do it all for you, you must do it yourselves" (Mandela, 1994:534–535). His spirit and message prevail.

There arises a concern regarding the 'born free' generation, that they do not possess the same direct frame of reference for Mr. Mandela's wisdom and influence. Having been born after the apartheid era, they have a removed–indirect, if at all–frame of reference for the struggle and for his leadership and example within it. The concern surfaces in considerations of the student protests and actions on university campuses in recent years. For example, Jansen (2016) reported at length on the so-called Reitz scandal that rocked the former white university where he is a top administrator. The events in that scandal went viral on video worldwide, showing a few white students engaging in blatantly racist actions. On other campuses and at other times in recent years, former white universities have experienced significant rounds of student protests over an array of grievances that the protesters presented as perceived persistent injustices and racial inequities that kept black students victimised. Protests have taken on various forms of race resentment as well–white against black, and also anti-colonial or anti-whiteness. For a recent example, see the Economist, 2016 on "whiteness burning" and "anti-colonial" backlash against symbols of white or colonial power such as statues and art.

Is the message of Mr. Mandela at risk of being forgotten in the midst of these events and actions? Are the tremendous victories and gains of the last two-plus decades being forgotten or ignored? Hopefully not, but it is worrying to contemplate the degree of bitterness erupting in such events. What role is there for educational leaders (teachers and administrators alike) to keep alive the legacy of Mr. Mandela in the hearts and minds of the 'born free' generation? Can leadership and actions such as those recommended by Jansen be harnessed to address the need? The legacy of Mr. Mandela should hold special promise for the 'born frees' and through education and leadership his example surely needs to be remembered and followed.

THE OVERARCHING NEED FOR EDUCATION (IN SOUTH AFRICA AND EVERYWHERE)

In most general terms, Mr. Mandela emphasised the overarching need for education in South Africa. In 1998 in a speech at the opening of a new senior secondary school in Qunu, South Africa, he stated: "Among the steps government has taken to upgrade our education system, the Culture of Learning, Teaching and Services Campaign is one of the most important. I urge teachers and learners to commit themselves to education and to ensure discipline in schools" (quoted in Asmal et al., 2003:256). At the launching of the South African Democratic Teachers' Union

(SADTU) in October 1990, in his keynote address Mr. Mandela noted that "SADTU should be a professional teacher body that encouraged the teaching of pupils in the classroom" (quoted in Hartshorne, 1992:322). Mr. Mandela's calls remain urgent today, as this 'culture' has proven very difficult to cultivate uniformly in all schools, and in teacher training and practice in South Africa (see for example Mbekwa & Vuyokazi, 2013; Sayed, 2004; Jansen, 2009:218; Jansen, 2016).

In addition, Mr. Mandela's sentiments about the importance of education truly had universal relevance. Being acutely aware of the most micro-level of needs in South Africa he urged to "make every home, every shack or rickety structure a centre of learning" (quoted in Crwys-Williams, 2010:36). This call in the South African context evoked what was to become a worldwide goal of Education for All, in which education was to be recognised as a fundamental human right everywhere. The global reach of his message and example has extended to many countries, particularly to post-colonial states facing the challenges of developing and democratising their education systems and of overcoming a legacy of racism. Invariably, education has a key role to play in the broader processes of democratization and transformation in other countries, as in South Africa. Programs to effect reconciliation and social transition and to promote more harmonious race relations (including and especially in education) commonly invoke the ideals promoted by Mr. Mandela. Illustrations of such educational reform undertakings in Cuba, New Zealand, Australia, Kenya and Brazil–among others–are documented in Brook Napier (2015). Among all of the instances worldwide, Cuba is a most prominent example of a country undertaking democratic transformation and deracialization, with close ties to Mr. Mandela's legacy and influence. Turner Marti et al. (2015) described the educational reform process in Cuba and the importance of education in overcoming that country's history of racial discrimination. The Cuban case contains a heavy presence of Mr. Mandela's message and example, given his long-term close relationship with President Fidel Castro, the Cubans' recognition of Mandela's contributions to human rights struggles (he was awarded the Jose Marti Prize in Matanzas, Cuba during a visit in 1991), and a history of ties between the two countries that share legacies of slavery and racial inequality, colonial domination, and underdevelopment. A more detailed account of the longstanding connections between the two countries and of the relationship between Presidents Castro and Mandela can be found in Brook Napier (2006).

In short, Mr. Mandela became more than a national leader championing human rights, non-racism, and democracy in all respects in South Africa: he became a global leader and icon, someone whose message resonated with people involved in liberation struggles worldwide, and whose contributions were widely recognized including in his being awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1993 (with then-State President FW de Klerk). In like vein, Mr. Mandela's legacy and calls for universal and democratic education transcended the national level to become part of the global level imperative for the advance of education as a key component of a better life for all people. Whether implicitly or explicitly, Mr. Mandela's call to "make every home, every shack or rackety structure a centre of learning" (cited above), and his

legacy and influence, might be viewed as a part of the foundation underlying the contemporary global level undertakings such as in Education For All (EFA), the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), and the Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) (United Nations, 2007, 2014; UNESCO, 2012).

CONCLUSION

In the selection of Mr. Mandela's words presented in this chapter, and in the example he set for reconciliation and for future development, one sees several lessons: to retain sight of the overarching goals for educational (and other) transformation, in societal context, and despite setbacks linked to the minutiae of reforms; to retain hope; and to face the challenges with dignity and tenacity. There is even a lesson in Mr. Mandela's choice of words. He articulated his messages in plain language: he reached a wider audience as a result. Perhaps one of his most far-reaching and most often voiced messages was to retain hope but also to accept the past. For example in an address to the Joint Houses of Parliament on 11 July 1996 he noted that: "No society emerging out of the grand disaster of the apartheid system can avoid carrying the blemishes of the past" (quoted in Crwys-Williams, 2010:123). A recent survey of race relations in South Africa documented public opinions on a variety of indicators that all groups of South Africans have actually moved toward a more harmonious overall race relations landscape and that there is indeed reason for hope despite the challenges remaining (SAIRR, 2016).

Even before his death in December 2013, people pondered how Mr. Mandela's legacy would be honoured in South Africa among all South Africans, also across Africa and worldwide. On the question of how he wanted to be remembered, Mr. Mandela remarked that: "Whatever my wishes might be, I cannot bind future generations to remember me in the particular way I would like" (quoted in Crwys-Williams, 2010:51). In 1999, upon returning to his home in Qunu, Mr. Mandela commented: "On my last day I want to know that those who remain behind will say: 'The man who lies here has done his duty to his country and his people'" (quoted in Crwys-Williams, 2010:59). One hopes that Mr. Mandela's legacy, and his words and example, will indeed be remembered and will offer inspiration for a long time to come. Equally, one hopes that the generations of South African students who did not directly experience the liberation struggle, and who therefore have a different frame of reference for Mandela's legacy, will nonetheless pay heed to his wisdom in terms of education and transformation, and in terms of how individuals might engage in both reparation and reconciliation.

NOTES

[1] This is an expanded, updated version of an earlier paper published as Napier, D (2014). '…many more hills to climb': reflections on the legacy of Nelson Mandela and its relevance for educational transformation' in Soudien, C. (Ed.), Thinking about the significance of Nelson Mandela for education, Compare, 44 (6), pages 969–973.

[2] My research has focused on the micro-level effects of- and issues in the post-apartheid democratic educational transformation policies on multiple levels in South Africa. I have sought to understand and document the realities for educators at all levels as they participated in successive rounds of massive change. Taking a comparative perspective, I have also focused on the international context within which South Africa's educational transformation has unfolded, with many international influences. For selected examples of this work, see Brook, 1996; Brook Napier, 2005, 2006, 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2015 and other writings cited in this chapter.

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CRAIN SOUDIEN

13. THE PROVOCATION OF NELSON MANDELA

INTRODUCTION

What does Nelson Mandela mean for the great task of education? What might one take away from a study of his writing, speeches and actions? Appropriated often as he is behind the cause of education, there is not, as yet, in seeking an immediate answer to the question, a serious corpus of writing from which one can extract what one might call a *Mandela* approach to education. Most uses of Mandela in education are invocational. One frequently-cited example is the comment he makes in *Long Walk to Freedom* (Mandela, 1994:194) that

> [e]ducation is the great engine of personal development. It is through education that the daughter of a peasant can become a doctor; that the son of a mineworker can become the head of the mine, that a child of farm workers can become the president of a great nation. It is what we make out of what we have, not what we are given, that separates one person from another.

Open to deconstruction as quotes such as these might be, particularly his statement about 'what *we make* out of what we have', there is not anything like the clear analysis of a Mohandas Gandhi on education in the quite substantial collection of what he himself has written or in the growing literature around him. Little of Mandela's writing allows one to be able to say easily, as one can through a reading of Gandhi's work, that the position he takes lends itself to a post-colonial interpretation. Gandhi, to emphasize the point, was extremely critical of Western education and consciously set about constructing an alternative to it. He felt (Burke, 2000: para.10) that "to give millions a knowledge of English is to enslave them… we have enslaved the nation." While he was in South Africa he established a school at the Tolstoy Farm ashram and made it his primary duty to put forward proposals for what the education of children should look like in an independent India.

Despite the fact that Mandela did not reach Gandhi's level of critical engagement with what education was for, there is enough in the little that he did say and in the way he carried himself with *what he knew* that is cause for pause. In this chapter, building on this, I begin a discussion about Mandela to see how he might be drawn on for having an educational and a pedagogical discussion.

In order to do this we have to ask, however, what an educational discussion is. What distinguishes an educational discussion from, say, a sociological or a political discussion? A sociological or political discussion which is about people and how

C. Soudien (Ed.), Nelson Mandela, 165–181.

they manage themselves and particularly their relationships with one another, can be, it must be said, educational. But it is not automatically so. An educational discussion has to be, at its heart, one in which the possibility of a shift will take place from one state of conscious being to another *better* position*,* better in its cognitive grasp of a matter, better in the intellectual framing in which the matter is placed, and better, in the control that a subject has of his or her own thinking in relation to the matter. A participant in an educational discussion must experience through it a sense of having come to not just an *enhanced* understanding of a matter but fundamentally also an awareness of his or her own relationship to it. He or she comes out of it with a greater ability to locate him or herself and the personal implications of this emplacement. Different to a *schooling* experience, which is about induction into a way of thinking, an educational discussion is in these terms about bringing one to a point where there is recognition of the logics which inform particular ways of thinking, the assumptions with which a line of reasoning might begin, the descriptions used and the explanations which follow, an understanding of their differences, and, critically, an awareness of the personal implications of all of these for one. Inherent to it, unlike schooling, which operates on the basis of received truth, is the acknowledgement of contradiction. It is an experience, therefore, constituted in tension. The contradiction in it, however, is not abstract. It is not simply in the logics themselves. It is in the individual and thereby subjective appropriation of the logics, the process through which one takes on and indeed takes charge of one's subjectivity. It is about the 'I', about how the 'I' works with this contradiction, and how this 'I' comes to say 'I *know*' and owns it's 'knowing' in the awareness of and face of contradiction.

Against this then, what, specifically to the point of this essay, would make Mandela *educational* as opposed to simply or just inspirational? What would make an engagement with him one from which one can progress or move from one position to another which is *better*? How, to put it more starkly, does one make Mandela a catalyst for the surfacing of contradiction in one's thinking rather than the tranquilising balm for which he is used? How does one draw on him to incite contradiction, to stimulate conflict, and to locate him as a site of provocation for thinking, thinking about oneself, thinking about self-in-the-world? How, against the cult of piety being constructed around him, does one rescue him for the purpose of education?[1] How does one say the name *Mandela* and in it find the stepping-off points for questions about the things that matter in our lives, individually, in the solidarities which we make and in our relationship with the wider universe?

In writing this chapter, I draw on Mandela's own writing, writing by others, including an earlier essay I wrote on Mandela's imagination of South Africa, and popular accounts of Mandela that are in the public domain.[2] In reflecting on Mandela's own writing, it is important to note how pointedly much of this is for public purposes. Nuttall (2008:77), in commenting about it, says that in reflecting on the relationship between the public and the private in his work, that "[m]emory is seen as proceeding less from the inside out, structured by an internal set of needs and desires, as from the outside in. Structured in this way, the individual or private self

is vulnerable to being ignored." This is useful, but even in what could be described as his 'public' writing, one sees intimations of his inner frame of mind. It is this interiority, its articulation and manifestation, which I seek to both intuit, and instantly acknowledge the precariousness of this, and work with in this contribution. I seek to read Mandela through and beyond the symptomatic surface of his writing and so recover also insights from his personal behaviour and deportment. I use all of this to make a point about how he consciously sets about making a life for himself and to show how profoundly educational an engagement with this experience could be.[3]

So What Does Mandela Stand For?

There are, as the insightful work of Boehmer (2008) shows, many Mandelas. Against the tendency to iconicise him in a narrative of redemptive essentialism, even as this narrative is accented in different ways,[4] she describes him (2008:5) as a "versatile, even post-modern, shape-shifter who at each stage of his career, or his shape-shifting, succeeded in projecting an omnibus appeal." Shape-shift as he does, swaggering through the *Back of the Moon* nightclub in the flamboyance of 1950s Sophiatown, standing sternly erect in questioning the right of a white court to try him for treason in October 1962, flirting irrepressibly, even sexually, with many women in virtually the whole of his adult life, composing himself masculinely in battle-poise at the Orlando gym, and always participating with immense literacy in the subtleties of cultural tradition, there was, one could argue, a method which he deliberately evolved for managing his relationships with the politics of oppression, exclusion and marginalisation. This method was honed over a life-time of personal challenge, engagement with critical interlocutors, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, Bram Fischer, Ruth First, Ahmed Kathrada, Neville Alexander and many others, and through his exceptional personal ability to see the wonder in small things around him. Boehmer (2008:3) describes it as "skilful counterpoint." This counterpoint drew on the full landscape of his life and subsisted, I would like to suggest, on an insistent desire to find his own place and locate himself in relation to those around him. Given this desire's rootedness in the problematics of South Africa, Boehmer (2008:10) is correct to describe it as a "post-colonial practice… a new humanism." It is substantially more than that. It is beyond the 'post-colonial'. The 'post- colonial' domesticates him. It predicates his becoming around a particular teleology of Africa and Europe, of an Africa which has its origins and legitimacy in a European narrative. It does not sufficiently acknowledge the extraordinary psycho-social tension, indeed drama, of how he operated between the personal and the public in a way which was intent on shaping a distinct and autochthonous subjectivity for himself. This subjectivity was rooted in the detail of the South African struggle, but it came to be inflected in a sensibility which gave primacy to his own deep sense of self, his own individuality, and, ultimately, and this is the provocation, his own will to act. In this there were intimations of his own exposure and even embeddedness in the extraordinary acts of courage of his African forebears, of Fanon, and, critically, of

Nietzsche. He was deeply aware of what was expected of him, that he had "to act in accordance with custom, to be ethical means to practice obedience towards a law or tradition established from old" (Nietzsche, 1986:51), but he took from a critical consideration of this a 'will to act', a will which was his own, nobody else's.

Central to Mandela's 'will to act' – his methodology – I want to argue, was his self-awareness, an awareness which undoubtedly has its origins in the colonial order of his upbringing. But he moved to operate on a platform which was significantly beyond the colonial. It is this *beyondness,* the way he moved into it and began to constitute it – and so crafting a new human space – that we need to comprehend. Underpinning this *beyondness* was, as I have suggested, an acute sense of his right to fashion his individuality and the right of others, likewise, to do this. In *Long Walk to Freedom* (Mandela, 1994:463) he helps us understand what he was up against in prison and how he understood what the apartheid regime was trying to do: "…the authorities attempt to exploit every weakness, demolish every initiative, negate all signs of individuality – all with the idea of stamping out that spark that makes each of us human and each of us who we are." He was not going to have any of that. Already in November 1962, when he stood before a court having been charged for incitement and leaving the country without valid travel documents, he began to make clear how fundamentally he rejected the order which apartheid constituted. He wished only to be the master of his own destiny. "[A]ny man or institution", he says (Mandela, 1994:464), "that tries to rob me of my dignity will lose because I will not part with it at any price or under pressure." In this one has, arguably, one of the clearest statements of the conditions he had set for locating himself. In this sense he emerged not just as a model for a new South African identity but for a way of being in the modern which grappled with its hegemonic limits. This way of being was in its constituent parts neither new nor even revolutionary. But in the way in which it was assembled, presented and practised, he offered a model of what a new humanism might look like. He reconstituted the possibilities of what it meant to be *human* beyond the familiarity and hegemony of both his everyday and immediately colonial and post-colonial worlds and the larger world of modernity. It is this location of himself on a larger modern space – beyond its hegemonies – that we need to understand about him methodologically. It is in the amplitude of this *beyondness,* with all its contradictions, that we should be quarrying and to draw from it the raw material that is there to catalyse an educational conversation. It is here that he presents himself to us as an intense educational provocation.

But to extract the educational value of this statement we need a clearer sense of its politics. What, to engage critically with Boehmer's *post-colonial* characterisation of Mandela, were the humanistic politics of Mandela? I argue here that this politics took its grounding and was exemplified in the way Mandela conducted his life in the struggle against apartheid, during the time he spent in prison, and then, of immense significance, when he found himself operating on a global platform after his release from prison in 1990.

Mandela and Struggle South Africa

Periodising this struggle in terms of Mandela's own experience of it, one can see how deeply formative each phase was. It is impossible to make sense of him outside of the intimacy of his upbringing in the Transkei, his rapid acculturation into the ways of Johannesburg and then his period in prison.

Mandela's childhood was important for instilling in him a sense of the history of his own immediate Africa, one that his formal education would never teach him properly. He would come to hear about the great heroes of his own Xhosa cultural world, but also of other outstanding African leaders, Moshoeshoe, Dingane, Bambatha, Hintsa and so on. Striking, however, in terms of how he shaped his own agency, to take one directly to the purpose of this chapter, was how emphatically ambivalence inflected his thoughts as he heard his elders "rail against the white man" (Mandela, 1994:27). The first version of this ambivalence made itself felt after he had the experience of hearing the great isiXhosa poet Krune Mqhayi in performance at Healdtown where he was at school. On this occasion he was struck by the growing conflict inside of himself, of whether he was a 'Xhosa' or an 'African' (1994:50). This ambivalence multiplied when he, in quick succession, took a stand against the major authorities in his life at that point, his colonial and traditional overseers. The first arose when Dr Alexander Kerr, his principal at the University of Fort Hare, instructed him to take up a student representative council position which he did not believe was legitimately his. He refused and was summarily expelled. The second happened when his guardian, Chief Jongintaba Dalindyebo, tried to marry him off to a young lady not of his own choosing. He simply absconded. Twice he made clear that he would not do *just* what was expected of him. He would not simply be conscripted into whatever identity was expected of him, whether it was white colonial authority or the authority of his African and Xhosa tradition.

The second phase of his life, moving to Johannesburg and establishing himself in its charged social, cultural and political milieu as a pass-bearing person having to make a life, discovering political struggle at a deeply engaged level and becoming a lawyer, was equally important. Johannesburg in 1941 was a social space that contained the combustive contradictions of twentieth century *civilisation* – its wonders, excesses, and, most critically, its blindspots. It was a place that tested one's sense of personal worth in ways that the great immigrant cities of the world did, New York, London, Sao Paulo, but, for a person of colour such as himself, in significantly more challenging ways. Johannesburg thought of itself as anything but African. He was forced there into an encounter with it at both a personal level but also, quickly, through the public ways it sought to resolve its contradictions. He met there his most important interlocutors, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo, and later a wide range of individuals both inside and outside of the African National Congress and went through intensely challenging experiences. As he (1994:94) says, "I gradually adjusted to township life and began to develop a sense of inner strength, a belief that I could do well outside the world in which I had grown up… I did not have to

depend on my royal connections." He remained conflicted though. In a poignant moment, reflecting the full complexity of his attachment to the cosmological order of his forebears, he asks himself, "had I no obligations to the dead?" But in the midst of immense inner turmoil of what it means to be *true* to himself he came to the conclusion (1994:98) that "my head [tells] me that it is the right of every man to plan his own future as he please[s] and choose his role in life." The life he explicitly then chose for himself was beyond the immediate proscriptions of his forebears. He says (1994:102), for example, "I was beginning to see that my duty was to my people as a whole, not just to a particular section or branch." When he graduated with his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1943 and was told by his cousin, KD Matanzima, that *his people* needed him in the Transkei, he was clearly now of the mind that he was firstly an African and then a member of Matanzima's Thembu people. It was here that Mandela learnt the essential features of the modernity of his racialised colonial life and began the process which was to remain a life-long journey of constantly having to come to terms with the expectations of people around him, expectations that were not necessarily his own, and to find his own role. He struggled with these expectations intensely during that tumult of the 1950s. The African National Congress was at its zenith then as a political movement. Emerging from its petitionist style of engaging the colonial and apartheid authorities it moved significantly towards mass mobilisation, and Mandela was there, at its organisational centre. It was the Defiance Campaign which the ANC led against the slew of apartheid laws that the National Party government passed, which changed the rhythm and nature of Mandela's life. It propelled him as *volunteer-in-chief* into the heart of the drama which came to be defined as *the struggle.* 'My duty' and 'my people' become his watchwords. But they were by no means in themselves, he discovered, self-evident or self-explanatory ideas. He had to be constantly clarifying them for himself. He was unable to resolve either, importantly, in a categorical way. His elder son, Thembi, asked his first wife, Evelyn (Mandela, 1994:136), "where does daddy live?" He had been coming home late in the evenings, "long after he had gone to sleep, and departing early in the morning before he woke." He remained conflicted all his life about not being able to fulfil his duty as a father.

Mandela had to work hard too not to allow the idea of 'my people' to overwhelm him. In making sense of it he had the example of his closest comrades and confidantes in the progressive Johannesburg political community around him, many of whom, from very different backgrounds to his own, made intensely personal sacrifices. These forced him, as he says, to reconsider his prejudices. His considerations, however, did not always lead to clarity. What were these prejudices? They were the artefacts of his colonial apartheid upbringing. All whites were hypocritical oppressors. Communism was an unAfrican philosophy. He knew, however, that he could not just dismiss the arguments his new associates were making. He then took the decision that he should be reading the texts they were quoting in their arguments with him, and so he read, not very well, he admitted, Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Mao Tse-Tung. He discovered in Marx (1994:137) the "simplicity

and generosity of the Golden Rule: 'From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs'." From this he went on to use dialectical materialism which helped him (1994:138) to "see the situation other than through the prism of black and white relations, for if our struggle was to succeed, we had to transcend white and black."

But his 'prejudices' hovered over his very being (1994:137). Despite being in the company of and witnessing the selflessness of many of his comrades who were not African, he took the position in 1951 that 'Indians' and 'coloureds' should not be included in the Defiance Campaign. This position was defeated. He continued to wrestle with the matter. More than ten years later, in 1962, when he returned from his clandestine trip through Africa, he argued that because non-racialism was not a concept understood by African governments whose support the ANC needed, it was strategically necessary for it to speak in the more exclusionary language of African nationalism. The implications of this were that the non-racial alliance that the ANC had forged with organisations representing the other racial groups had to be subordinated to the ANC itself. Only the ANC could take decisions which affected the African people. That this, in the thrust and parry of political manoeuvre, was simply strategic, as he tried to explain to a troubled Chief Luthuli, is a point of some contention. He would, as the discussion in the next section on Robben Island makes clear, continue to struggle over the parsing of 'my people'. Significantly, however, he always seemed to find a vein of *being* in the most critical of moments, beyond his ambivalence, through which he articulated and performed a wider and more inclusive set of commitments. In this vein he proceeded from the immediacy of where 'his people' were but did not stop there. His statement from the dock in April 1964 in the Rivonia Trial was one of the most important speeches he was to make in his life. In it he showed that he was not prepared to allow identity, however, it came to be projected, to ultimately define the principled commitments he wished to make. It is worth quoting those parts of the speech which make this clear:

> Africans want a just share in the whole of South Africa; they want security and a stake in society. Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be African…. This then is what the ANC is fighting for. Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live.
>
> During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which am prepared to die. (Mandela, 1994:483)

Mandela and Robben Island

Important as this closing moment of Mandela's twenty-one year sojourn in Johannesburg was, there still remained, as he said, the question of what he was *for*. He knew what he was against but what was he for? The next phase of the struggle, the imprisonment years, from 1964 to 1991, were possibly definitive in bringing him to the point where he could with confidence say what he was for. The twenty-seven years on Robben Island and in Pollsmoor and Victor Verster Prisons provided him with a concentrated opportunity to think through the many contradictions of South Africa. Commenting on the Robben Island experience Gready (2003:71) suggests that what came out of the Island was a 'narrative archive' in which one sees people like Mandela "rewrit[ing] the nation… [the] …archive serves as a place of reunion, healing, transformation, and reconstruction." But it is not only what one can take away from Robben Island as a resource waiting to be used that is important, but in coming to terms with how significantly it shaped up as an ontological laboratory. I argued in an earlier paper that it was a rehearsal-space for the new South Africa. It was this, but for individuals such as Mandela, Neville Alexander, Ahmed Kathrada and others who were inclined to the contemplative, it was deeply also about themselves.

For Mandela the whole experience, when one comes to an assessment of it, was life-changing. There were several moments over the 27 years when he came to deep insights about himself. One such occurred in May 1971 when the Commanding Officer of the prison, Piet Badenhorst was transferred from the Island. Badenhorst had been particularly brutal in his dealings with the prisoners. On the occasion of an inspection of the prison by a panel of judges Mandela recounted all the abuses that had taken place under Badenhorst's watch. Badenhorst had threatened Mandela in the presence of the judges. When he took his leave from the Island, however, he made a point of calling Mandela and said "I just want to wish you people good luck." Thinking about what had happened then Mandela (1994:547–549) came to the conclusion that "all men, even the most seemingly cold-blooded, have a core of decency, and… are capable of changing. Ultimately Badenhorst was not evil; his inhumanity had been foisted upon him by an inhuman system." Learnings such as these were central to the basic position Mandela had evolved for himself. But his learning was to take place much more substantially in deep deliberative engagements – debates – he had with fellow-prisoners. The first was with Neville Alexander of the National Liberation Front, a socialist grouping established in 1962 in the Western Cape, the second with Govan Mbeki, his fellow Rivonia Trial colleague, and the third with the leaders of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). Significant about these engagements is how they helped Mandela to clarify his position on important issues relating not just to South Africa, but, fundamentally about what it meant to be human. In each the question arose sharply about the politics of connection. They revealed the depths of the issues with which he and South Africa were confronted – how to be a human, in its most basic ontological sense. He came to an acute sense in each of the debates of the complexity of what it meant to be a modern human being.

The debate with Alexander was essentially sociological. At its simplest it was about how the *nation* was composed, but at another, more complex level, it was about individual subjectivity. Were 'races' real or not? The debate was prompted by Alexander's disagreement with Point Two of the ANC's Freedom Charter on the National Question which said that South Africa consisted of distinct 'races', Africans, Whites, Coloureds and Indians or 'Four Nations' or 'national groups'.[5] Alexander tried hard to convince Mandela that 'race' was a sociological construction and that people were "just ordinary people and not national groups".[6] Mandela would not have it. Both threatened to walk away from the discussion. Mandela, however, came to realise that he and Alexander came from completely different understandings of the world and that it was important methodologically for him to work out how he would manage discussions of serious political difference. While Mandela did not shift his ideas of the sociological make-up of South Africa, he came to understand that he had to work with what Alexander was telling him. Troubling for him, it would appear, was not whether 'races' existed; he did in *Long Walk to Freedom* accede to the social constructionist argument ultimately, but the possibility of his own African subjectivity being erased by Alexander's arguments. Was this not just another version of the white domination which prevented people of different backgrounds living together, and accepting their distinctiveness?

The debate with Mbeki was different. In contention was the class character of the struggle and which social class held political responsibility for leading the struggle. The debate related to the discussion that Mandela had had with Alexander around 'race' but pivoted now on the primacy of class. As a communist, Mbeki argued that the primary motor force behind inequality in South Africa was capitalism and the exploitation of the working-class. The working-class, therefore, carried the historic responsibility for leading the South African struggle and also, as a result, the ANC. This gave, according to Mbeki (1991:ix–xxx), the South African Communist Party, as the party of the working class, special status in society and special status in the ANC. Mandela was deeply opposed to this privileging. He (Mandela, 1994:510) insisted that it would be

> as undemocratic to specify that the leaders had to be from the working class as to declare that they should be bourgeois intellectuals. If the movement had insisted on such a rule, most of its leaders, men such as Chief Luthuli, Moses Kotane, Dr Dadoo, would have been ineligible. Revolutionaries are drawn from every class.

These were people of selfless integrity. That they should be excluded from leadership of the struggle simply because of their social class offended him deeply. If this was the template for the new order, he was opposed to it. He would acknowledge the contribution made by key communists in South Africa and argued strongly for a continued relationship with them. But they could not claim special status in the struggle (1994:510): "Our long-term objective and the SACP's short-terms aims are

the same… to overthrow colour oppression and to establish a united and democratic South Africa, where all its people will live as equals."

The discussion with the Black Consciousness youth was, unlike that with Alexander and Mbeki, much more political. Mandela was told by his Black Consciousness colleagues that the ANC was selling out the interests of the African people and that they were multi-racialists masquerading as non-racialists. Mandela (1994:576–577) was taken aback by this anger:

> They were brave, hostile and aggressive; they would not take orders and shouted '*Amandla!*' at every opportunity. Their instinct was to confront rather than cooperate…. They chose to ignore our calls for discipline and thought our advice feeble and unassertive. It was obvious… that they regarded us … as moderates… to be perceived as a moderate was a novel and not altogether pleasant feeling. I knew that I could react in one of two ways. I could scold them for their impertinence or I could listen to what they were saying. I chose the latter.

Mandela writes in *Long Walk to Freedom* (1994:577) that he understood what the BCM wanted. He understood their philosophy of black people first having to liberate themselves from the sense of psychological inferiority bred by white domination. He remarked that these ideas were not strange ones and that they had indeed been part of the thinking of the ANC Youth League when it was established (1994:577): "We, too, were Africanists; we too stressed ethnic pride and racial self-confidence; we, too, rejected white assistance in the struggle". Mandela was encouraged by their militancy but could not accept their tactics (1994:578): "I thought that their philosophy, in its concentration on blackness, was sectarian, and represented an intermediate view that was not fully mature." Black consciousness did not respect the role played by brave white South Africans (Mandela, 2001:58) "who are prepared to break with their own racial group, surrender their privileges and fight on the side of their oppressed countrymen." "I saw my role", he says (2001:58), "as an elder statesman who might help them move on to the more inclusive ideas of the Congress Movement." He went on to make the point (2001:49) that "[e]xperience tells us that the road to liberation is not an easy romantic wish, but a practical and complicated undertaking that calls for clear thinking and proper planning."

It can quite fairly be argued that these exchanges are simply about the internal debates of the South African liberation movement. At one level that is correct. There was much more to them though. At stake was a personal conviction shaping up in Mandela's head about *human dignity.* This conviction was not always clearly articulated and was even, in some respects, problematic. 'Race' as an idea challenged him, as indeed did the idea of gendered and differently sexualised identities. I don't raise this here but in the evolution of his thinking, as Boehmer (2008:142) helps us understand, he was more than troubled by homosexuality on the Island. He comes, however, grappling, to insist that human dignity cannot be

compromised. It is something around which he will not compromise, even if he himself is to struggle with it. In his discussions both with Alexander and with the Black Consciousness leadership, he came to be irritated by what he felt were just semantics. He takes issue with their rejection of the concepts of 'African', 'coloured' and 'Indians', as he says (2001:49), "… [as] play[ing] with words." Moments such as these were important because they bring to a fine point a deeply critical distinction about who Mandela is. In these engagements, in some ways, the words do not say enough. It is the *action* that is crucial. He does not emerge from his verbal jousts, one can argue, with a consistently clear upper-hand, but he demonstrates an ethical will to include which brooks no compromise and which demands of him absolute consistency. Early on in his journey through the years at Robben Island he was accused by some men from the general section who had been working on a roof above him of a tribal attitude (Mandela, 1994:527). "Mdala! (old Man!)" one said, "why do you talk to only Xhosas?" He said, "I looked up and said, '[h]ow can you accuse me of discrimination? We are one people.'" From then on, he resolved to live this commitment – not only to be in the company of people deemed to be *his people.* All people were his people, irrespective of the words one used to describe them.[7] It was to become the basis for managing himself when the negotiations were over in 1994. Troublesome as his descriptions of his fellow human beings were, they were for him, all of them, just human beings. It is living this commitment that one sees when he is released from prison in 1990.

Mandela on a World Stage

An extraordinary series of events marks Mandela's return to public life in February of 1990 after being in prison for 27 years. He had to take charge of the negotiations process with the apartheid government, oversee the process of explaining to an incredulous and sometimes sceptical South African community what was happening between the ruling National Party and the liberation movement and introduce himself to very interested governments and supporters of the freedom struggle around the world. While the task of representing the African National Congress was challenging, in many ways more challenging was explaining himself. He had become the subject of intense scrutiny. Both in South Africa and in the rest of the world he found himself appropriated and used in all sorts of ways. Many South Africans had inflated expectations of what he was going to do. Others felt he had sold out. Within weeks of his release he undertook a gruelling tour of introduction to his friends and supporters around the world. Demonstrate as it did his enormous popularity, it allowed the world to see and hear what he stood for. *Mandela!* Who was the man?

Several important events over this concentrated early period immediately after his release and in later years when he became the first president of the new democratic South Africa provided the world with good illustrations of what he had come to

stand for. I take below a sweeping tour through almost arbitrary moments of these years. I do not look at all at the issues that arose in the negotiated settlement which continue to be the cause of much debate and which I acknowledge here require serious attention.

An important early public opportunity for the world to obtain an in-depth sense of who Mandela was arose on the occasion of a visit to the United States just a few months after his release from prison. He was interviewed on US TV channel ABC in New York by the well-known journalist Ted Koppel on 21st June 1990. The large audience consisted of important public figures and opinion-makers in the United States. One of the first questions he was asked came from a member of Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan's election campaign teams. "What can assure me as a human being and a concerned African American", asked the woman, "that the ANC will indeed have a fiscal, solvent policy that will continue the use of the resources of South Africa in a meaningful way? Or, should I put it more succinctly, will your economy be based on the Marxist system, socialism or capitalism?" His response was indicative of the broad view to which he had come in the course of his incarceration. The will to include was almost unstoppable. "I knew", he said,

> that [that] was the question you wanted to ask. I'm happy that you've had the courage to put it directly…. We are not concerned with labels. We are practical men and women. We do not care… whether the cat is white or black, as long as it can catch mice… We want to rectify the imbalances in our economy… One of the companies in our country owns more than 75% of the shares quoted in Johannesburg…. We want to develop an economy which will put an end to that. And we leave it to other people to put a label if they so wish.

His approach wasn't one which was going to be defined by labels – *don't play with words*. He wanted all of his people to be in the economy of his country. It went further though. Kenneth Adleman, an associate of the Bush presidents asked him about his association with Yasser Arafat and Fidel Castro. He said,

> [t]hose of us who share your struggle for human rights against apartheid have been somewhat disappointed by the models of human rights that you have held up since being released from jail. You've met over the past six months three times with Yasser Arafat, whom you've praised. You told Gaddafi that you share his view and applaud him on his record of human rights in his drive for freedom and peace around the world; and you have praised Fidel Castro as a leader of human rights and said that Cuba was one of the countries that's head and shoulders above all other countries in human rights, in spite of the fact that documents of the united Nations and elsewhere show that Cuba is one of the worst….

His response showed how significantly he had come to understand the nature of the world and what it expected of him. He saw, however, exactly how the power of

this expectation had been constituted and refused to be made a subject of it all over again. He said to Adleman that

> [o]ne of the mistakes which some political analysts make is to think their enemies should be our enemies. Our attitude towards any country is determined by the attitude of that country to our struggle. Yasser Arafat, Colonel Gaddafi [and] Fidel Castro support our struggle to the hilt.[8]

The politics around Mandela's and other political prisoners' release and the unbanning of the political organisations were subjects of fierce contestation. He had to work hard to persuade his colleagues in the ANC that the position he was leading them on – to negotiate – was the correct one. This meant being firm with FW de Klerk, the president of the apartheid state, a stance which he carried off with accomplishment. But it was not just demonstrating political nous which was called for. It was confidence in his own self-worth. His own dignity and the dignity of his comrades had to be held in the highest regard. He demanded nothing less. In one of the final sessions of what has become known as CODESA 1, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa involving principally the ANC and the National Party, he had acceded to de Klerk's request to speak last. This de Klerk duly did, but, as Mandela said (1994:714–715), "[h]e began speaking to us like a schoolmaster admonishing a naughty child…. In intemperate language, he questioned whether the ANC was honourable enough to abide by any agreements it signed." Mandela said that "[t]his was more than I could tolerate… the room had grown very quiet. I could not let his remark go unchallenged." Mandela then attacked de Klerk on his own government's duplicity, remarking that he couldn't be trusted as a leader. He appealed, however, to a higher principle. He asked that

> [de Klerk] place his cards on the table face upwards. Let us work together openly. Let there be no secret agendas. Let him not persuade us that he would be the last speaker because he wants to abuse that privilege and attack us in the hope that we won't respond. I am prepared to work with him in spite of all his mistakes. (ibid.)

The simple rule he was instituting was that his dignity was beyond compromise. He would treat everybody around him with the utmost respect and expected no less of them.

This no compromise attitude was demonstrated several times in the years to come. He would find himself courted and honoured by many. On each of these occasions he would bring to the event humility but always enormous dignity. The way in which he conveyed this sense of his dignity was simple but clear. I am a full and complete person without qualification. On the occasion of his receipt of an honorary degree at the University of Cape Town conferred by its Chancellor, Sir Harry Oppenheimer, also the chairman of South Africa's largest corporation, Anglo American PLC, he received the honour with gratitude but made clear, as was expected of him, that he would not genuflect before Oppenheimer. It was a simple gesture. A few years later

in seemingly much lighter-hearted vein he was hosted at Buckingham Palace by the Queen of the United Kingdom, Elizabeth. His assistant at the time Zelda la Grange commented that "it was always very entertaining to see their interaction, because he called her 'Elizabeth'… no one else in the world, I think, calls her 'Elizabeth'…. He would comment on her dress and weight, you don't do that with the Queen." Far from being offended, la Grange recalled, the British sovereign "quite enjoyed it."[9]

CONCLUSION

In an earlier contribution I wrote on Mandela, I suggested that Mandela used a Socratic form of engagement with many of his interlocutors.[10] This was frequently in evidence in his discussions with colleagues on Robben Island. As Sisulu said, when a difference of opinion would be expressed he would repeatedly return to ask for more clarity, "you didn't mean this, did you?" [11] I suggested that this was the methodology in his imagination. It was about clearing the ground to enable human beings to engage with each other respectfully. It was his insistence on full and complete dignity. At the time of his conversation with Alexander the question arose of whether it was possible to talk and fight at the same time. Mandela argued that it was not possible. I also argued that "this ethic of respectful recognition came to drive his imagination…. In his imagination there had to be place for all. He wants everybody inside it living alongside of each other on the basis of complete and unconditional equality".[12]

There are two features of this approach which warrant elaboration. They have to do with notions of self and other. The conventional way in which much of Mandela's management of the relationship between self and others is managed, I wish to argue, is to effectively displace Mandela himself. The virtue that is read into Mandela is derived from the *good* he invests in others. The syllogism begins with Mandela's demand to be recognised as a human being and then rapidly migrates to how he treated others. It is correctly said that, and by no means a fact of little significance, that he never falters in his determination to accord that which he demands for himself to all others. There is in this, as Boehmer (2008:167) says, a continuity between Mandela and activists such as Archbishop Desmond Tutu in their appeal to the concept of *Ubuntu, a person is a person through other people.*

Powerful as this emphasis on *Ubuntu* and *trust* is*,* much less noticed is the extraordinary way in which Mandela came to a sense of his own self, his individualism. The course of his life is powerfully defined, I suggest, by the way he confronted *what was expected of him.* It is this fundamental realisation of how he is emplaced and how he then seeks to determine his place for himself which it is important to retrieve and now to consider. He came to an awareness early in his life about what I shall call *emplacement* and how this singular accident of his birth produced consequences which called for his conscious response. Marvel always as he did at the beauty and the seductions of the spaces and times in which he found himself, the place of his birth, its magical stories, the glory of the South African

landscape, the golden vistas of the Free State, the beauty of the Garden Route, he was always aware of the danger these posed to his individuality. In and through all of this, at the forefront of his cogitation, was the question *what is required of me*. Significantly, he often, in these experiences, went along with what was expected of him, such as, for example, and notably so, when he repeatedly showed his loyalty to the discipline of the ANC. But he also regularly and repeatedly came to the conclusion that that which was required of him was inappropriate and unjust. His individuality was not being acknowledged and this, in its fundamental essence, constituted an affront to his dignity. Important about this insight about his distinctive humanness – his being – was that it did not apply to the colonial and post-colonial worlds that had become his primary points of reference. This insight applied to the whole of his human experience. It included those spaces and times that did not function according to the rhythm or the codes of the colony. It is in this *beyondness* too that he operated and where he performed his individuality, spaces such as his childhood courtly world, where convention hung on the body like a cloak, and where he decided to divest himself of the expectations around its wearing, and came to the momentous decision that he needed to do not what was right for the court but for himself. In the very new spaces in which he found himself, presided over by the great and the mighty in worlds with their own compulsive civilities and expectations, such as the court of media of the economically developed world, he would assert his individuality.

Why is this provocative? Why is locating Mandela in the personal such a dangerous thing? What makes this such an intensely important educational moment? It is educational precisely because Mandela is not defined by the *order* of meaning framed for him. On every occasion, when it mattered, when his dignity was in danger of being compromised he chose not to act in accordance with whatever the custom of expectation was. It was, for him, each time he confronted expectation a matter of exercising his own will. He was never going to sublimate it to the multiple social, traditional, cultural and even political authorities around him. This will resembles what Nietzsche described as the *will to power.* Like Nietzsche's will to power Mandela's affirmation of his will is an affirmation of his own difference. In this Mandela takes his individuality not just from his relationship with others – the *Ubuntu* effect – but from the fact of his own difference. He is different. He is not African, he is not post-colonial, he is different.

It is this difference which constitutes an educational provocation for each of us. How each of us comes to understand our difference, own will to power, how we understand this will to power outside of the historical compulsions of our birth, our 'race', class, gender, culture – our emplacement – is what we confront. The knowledges of these compulsions is what a confrontation brings us face-to-face with, how they are coded, hidden, recuperated and ultimately imposed. The educational moment is when we see them as they are and for what they are, knowledges with histories, histories made by human subjects and not knowledges brought to us from some unknowable space. Power is in us.

NOTES

[1] See, for example, Malaika wa Azania, The Mandela of white people, in The *Sunday Independent,* July 27, 2014, p. 13, where she makes the comment that "The Mandela that is celebrated in July is the Mandela of white people. He is a Mandela who white people are comfortable with celebrating because he does not pose a direct threat to their ill-gotten privilege."

[2] See C. Soudien, 2015.

[3] See Kathrada's accounts of these, e.g. A. Kathrada and Z. Mayat. *Dear Ahmedbhai Dear Zuleikhabehn – the Letters of Zuleikha Mayat and Ahmed Kathrada 1979–1989,* Cape Town, Jacana, 2009, pp. 58–59, and Mandela's own descriptions of his personal distress, e.g. Mandela, *Long walk*, p. 462 and p. 494, and Fikile Bam's interview with John Carlin, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/mandela/interviews/bam.html.

[4] See; inter alia, the key biographies of Mandela, M. Benson, *Nelson Mandela,* and F. Meer, Higher *than Hope: 'Rolihlahla we love you'*; T. Lodge, *Mandela: A critical life,* and A. Sampson, *Mandela: The Authorized Biography*.

[5] N. Alexander, *interview,* 10/05/2007.

[6] Ibid.

[7] John Carlin interview with George Bizos, n.d. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/mandela/interviews/bizos.html.) Retrieved 05 June 2012.

[8] See G. Caleb. Nelson Mandela faces off against US imperialists on the Ted Koppel Report: 1990 ushypocrisy.com/2014/05/19/nelson-mandela-faces-off-against-imperialists-on-the-ted-koppel-report-1990/. Retrieved, 21 July 2014.

[9] Pascal Fletcher and Shafiek Tassiem, *Business Insider,* December 9, 2013. www.businessinsider.com/nelson-mandela-called-the-queen-elizabeth-2013-12. Retrieved 18 July 2014.

[10] Soudien, Nelson Mandela and Robben Island.

[11] Carlin interview with Sisulu.

[12] Soudien, Nelson Mandela and Robben Island.

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